

**A STUDY OF THE GAY MOVEMENT  
WITH REFERENCE TO MUMBAI**

A Thesis

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BY

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**2018**

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled '**A study of the Gay Movement with reference to Mumbai**' completed and written by me has not previously been formed as the basis for the award of any Degree or other similar title upon me of this or any other Vidyapeeth or examining body.

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Place: Pune, Maharashtra

Date: April 24, 2018

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis entitled,

**“A study of the Gay Movement with reference to Mumbai”**

which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Degree of Vidyavachaspati (Ph.D.) in Sociology, of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, is the result of original research work completed by Mr. Ivan Mathew John under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this thesis has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or similar title of this or any other University or examining body upon him.

**Dr. Vishal Jadhav**  
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Date: **April 24, 2018**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABVA	AIDS <i>Bhedbhav Virodhi Andolan</i>
AGS	Attitude to Gay Sexuality
AGSS	Attitude to Gay Sexuality Scale
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
EDH	Ego Dystonic Homosexuality
GLB	Gay Lesbian Bisexual
GLSEN	Gay Lesbian School Education Network
GOI	Government Of India
GSA	Gay Straight Alliance
HIF	Homosexual Identity Formation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HST	The Humsafar Trust
IAH	Index of Attitudes towards Homosexuals
IGLA	International Gay and Lesbian Alliance
IGNOU	Indira Gandhi National Open University
IHP	Index of Homophobia
IPC	Indian Penal Code
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
QAM	Queer Azaadi March
SOD	Sexual Orientation Disturbance
STI	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TG	Transgender
TS	Total Sample
WHO	World Health Organization

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 OVERVIEW

The present study is unabashedly about the gay community in Mumbai: its presence, emergence and growth of a gay movement. Some of its underlying objectives among others are: creating greater visibility for gay men (or, male homosexuals) in Mumbai, understanding 'gay rights' as a very ordinary and natural component of human rights, as well as addressing the issues confronting the 'gay' male - within a social milieu of heteronormativity and patriarchy.

There are multiple terms which lend an understanding to the issues and challenges faced by gay men and these will be explored. In the same breath, it is useful to recognize that there is no one way of examining the implications of labels such as 'gay', 'coming out' or 'homophobia' that gets used so often. An effort is made to shed light on the gay community and detect its concomitant challenges.

Even to arrive at a sense of 'community' when referring to gay men, cannot be taken for granted. One might ask, "Where is this community?" The gay community has always been around; albeit, without the tag. The community had been rendered invisible by the 'dominant culture'. Same-sex desire, however, is not something new. The social system and its parts – cultural, economic, political, religious, educational - have colluded – to impact the lives of 'gay-identified' (or not) individuals.

While it is true that historical moments have shaped our notions of sex, sexuality, identity - and the lives of gay men, the fact still remains that gays are required to continuously "reinvent the wheel" as it were; sometimes, even on a daily basis, to assert themselves, to prove that they exist, or even in their cry to live as equal human beings. Alas, stories abound, of the many - who are

no more with us, who harm themselves, who hate themselves, who chose to end their lives due to the circumstances that they find themselves in; who are victims of hatred or non-acceptance, or those who are publicly flogged, or killed for simply who they are.

The underlying thread of this study is ‘movement’ – the gay movement as a *social* movement. This sense of movement cannot and will not be found directly; it is a movement that is propelled by the efforts of multiple forces, beginning with oneself, one’s family, the neighbourhood, the media, the school, the government and society at large. We should always bear in mind that the study is referring to a hitherto ‘invisible’ community that has been struggling to emerge from the shackles of pain, torture, deceit, blackmail, extortion, prejudice, shaming, religious exhortation, and what not? The gay movement is not a ‘monolith’ and it cannot be perceived as one either! It is a set of multiple and simultaneous, as well as sporadic and organized efforts to challenge and change the status quo.

The thrust of this study - nay, the *heart* of this study is gay men. This is a *thesis about change and for change*: it examines and explores the lives of ‘real’ - not fictitious, nor imagined gay men in Mumbai. It sets out to explore the continuous and tireless efforts at addressing their lives, their sexuality, and issues that concern not just themselves, but indeed *everyone* - as will be demonstrated through the course of these pages. This is rooted in the fact, like it or not, that gay persons are after all, human; they come in all guises and colours - good and bad, desirable and undesirable, no less, no more - as any other.

The chapter will trace significant landmarks of the gay struggles and victories in the ‘West’ and at home, to ascertain a *sense of movement*. These may be progressive and regressive, with forces for and against, steps forward as well as setbacks. They shape our overall understanding of where we could be headed; and the newer challenges from within, and without. Literature related to studies on gay men and homosexuals use a plethora of terms that can easily flummox a naïve reader. An effort is made to explore these too.

## 1.2 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

All disciplines construct and make use of concepts. They are the tools by which ideas, observations and experiences can be conveyed. For the purpose of this research there is a need to operationally define, discuss and delimit the meaning of the terms which are frequently used in the course of this study:

### 1.2.1 Attitude

Attitude refers to the way people *think*. Their approach and the manner in which they view an idea or behaviour. They “refer to our evaluations of virtually any aspect of the social world.” (Baron & Byrne, 2002:118) They influence our ‘cognitive’ processes which often get reflected in behaviour that is overt. In short, attitudes affect human behaviour. Our “unconscious biases shape our behaviour. From an early age, we take in information and absorb negative stereotypes from society, our friends and our families, and this information shapes our beliefs and attitudes.” (Browne, 2014:85)

Though there is some literature on the innateness of attitudes (Arvey et al., 1989; Keller et al., 1992 *in* Baron & Byrne, 2002:118), and scholars are divided on this matter, the fact still remains that it is not possible to negate the role of social environment in the formation and development of attitudes. “Attitudes are modes of consciousness which are being constantly modified by our special situations, training and education.” (Bhushan & Sachdeva, 2006:149) They are dynamic, as they *can* change; but they are not necessarily consistent. “Attitudes are the way in which we look at people (or objects) and the way they are assessed in relation to ourselves.” (MacIver, 1945: 149) Feelings of inferiority or superiority can stem from our attitudes and these have implications for the relationships that people have and/or acknowledge or choose not to have or accept.

Attitudes may operate as “mental frameworks” through which information that is received is then processed and interpreted. They



significantly impact human perception. “Research findings indicate that we view information that offers support for our attitudes as more convincing and accurate than information that is contrary to our attitudes.” (Munro & Ditto, 1997 *in* Baron & Byrne, 2002:126)

Attitudes perform various functions: The “knowledge function” of attitudes helps to organize and interpret information that is received. “Self-expression or self-identity function” enable individuals to express their core beliefs and values.” (Shavitt, 1990 *in* Baron & Byrne, 2002:126) The “ego-defensive function” provides protection from unwanted information about ourselves. The “impression motivation function” help individuals create a good impression on others, by expressing the “right” views. (Baron & Byrne, 2006:126) Attitudes are measured by the extent of favour or disfavour accorded to an “object or person or issue.” (Mac Iver, 1945:150)

In the present study, the researcher has developed a tool called the ‘Attitude to Gay Sexuality Scale’ (AGSS) to ascertain the attitudes of the population towards gay sexuality and related issues. These will provide insights into the attitudes of society at large, towards gay men, gay sexuality, homosexuality, and various issues and challenges related to the lives of gay men.

### **1.2.2 Gay**

The term ‘gay’ refers to males who are “emotionally and sexually attracted to males”. A biological male may, or may not necessarily identify as ‘gay’. To identify oneself as gay would constitute one’s ‘gay identity’. Contrary to the coloured mindset, it does not mean that he will ‘act upon’ his acknowledged or unacknowledged, accepted or rejected gay identity - to satisfy his emotional, physical or sexual needs. He may or may not even be ‘open’ about his identity of being ‘gay’. The meaning of the term gay as it is used here dates back to Victorian England when female and male sex workers were called “gay boys” as they dressed *gaily* (happily). “Thereafter, the first undisputed “homosexual” link is attributed to Noel Coward, who used it in his

1929 tune “Green Carnation” - invented by Oscar Wilde, which was supposedly a sign of gayness.” Some, trace back its gay use to Greenwich Village of the 1940s, “the then-beating-heart of the “bohemian” community.” (Reuter, 2006: 88)

### 1.2.3 Homosexual

The term ‘homosexual’ is a creation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and has two *implications*:

- (i) It refers to *persons* (typically, female or male) who are emotionally and sexually attracted to members of the same sex. Thus, there can be specific terms such as ‘female homosexual’ and ‘male homosexual.’ In this study, the term ‘homosexual’ when referring to males, is sometimes used interchangeably with the terms ‘gay’, ‘gay men’, ‘gay male’ or ‘male homosexual’.
- (ii) It may also refer to the ‘*identity*’ held by a male or female. An identity is a notion of ‘who’ one is; how an individual perceives himself or herself. It may well define the person, in one sense. A sexual identity such as being ‘homosexual’ is surely, but *not* the only identity of a person; it is certainly not the *only means* to define oneself. Thus, homosexual persons like heterosexual persons, have multiple identities.

Homosexuals are *sexual minorities*. Their numerical strength cannot be ascertained easily, as many homosexuals zealously guard their identity – depending on the society and culture in which they live; and timing also plays a role. Homosexual men are often marginalized by the heterosexist environment in which they find themselves.

### 1.2.4 Homosexuality

The term ‘homosexuality’ is understood to be a mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century invention. It was Károli-Mária Kertbeny who used the term, in a letter to Karl

Heinrich Ulrichs, a German advocate for the rights of gays, in 1869. The term was popularized by Krafft-Ebing in Germany, and by Ellis in the US. This is a 'label' that describes one type of sexuality; the type where members of a specific sex are emotionally and sexually attracted to members of the same sex. Homosexuality is sometimes seen as being situational or institutional, for example in single-sex environments, for example, in a prison or single-sex dormitories.

### 1.2.5 Sex

Here, the term 'sex' is used as a noun. It refers to a person's external biological characteristics that typically define whether one is 'female' or 'male'. Sex is an *ascribed* status. Clearly, the binary of 'female' and 'male' has dominated all discourses, especially those surrounding issues related to 'suffrage' and 'equality'. Today, the term sex is understood as inclusive of *all* representations – female, male and intersex persons. The binary 'social constructs' of sex, taken for granted usually, become problematic as it forces society, and therefore people, to see the world only from the perspective of either 'female' or 'male' as if none other exist! It forces one to necessarily 'fit into either of two boxes'.

Let us take the case of children born with physical attributes that do not conform to the categories of sex as, female or male. Parents, sometimes in collusion with doctors, have used their powers to 'right' the 'wrong'. Parents and other adults choose to raise a child as a 'boy', or 'girl' despite the difference that is previously observed. Some consciously abandon their child. Most parents make decisions on behalf of the infant or child, understandably, but all hell can break loose when the child (or young adolescent) discovers that something is amiss.

Today, such decisions made by parents are being questioned and, in some cultures, they are legally unacceptable. The term previously used in medical circles and literature was "hermaphrodite"; also, the term "eunuch" was used to refer to such "anomalies". In India, the term "hijra" is used to

refer to the “third sex”. From early times in Indian history, references are made to persons of the ‘third gender’. They were accepted as human beings and sometimes even given special social status and functions to perform. Indian mythology, tales, art and architecture make references to and even depict the same. Many ‘hijras’ identify as “Third Sex” and some describe themselves as ‘transgender’.

### **1.2.6 Transgender**

The term transgender may be defined as “a person of one sex with the characteristics of the other: a masculine woman, a feminine man.” (Reuter, 2006: 212) Transgender (or ‘Trans-person’ or even just ‘Trans’, “TG”) refer to individuals who perceive and experience conflict between the ‘biological self’ that they are born with, and their ‘psychological self’. This is *not* a matter of preference nor choice. Some TGs are able to access treatment from mental health experts (that is, psychiatrists and psychologists) especially, and medical doctors, to understand and tackle their daily trauma of having to live with their ‘condition’. This study is not about transgender persons, but understanding the term and its meaning helps to dispel some false notions that prevail about gay men.

### **1.2.7 Gender**

The term ‘gender’ as different from ‘sex’ has gained significance in many disciplines such as sociology, psychology, feminist literature, language, gender studies, especially since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Gender refers to the ‘non-biological’ aspect of human beings. It includes a plethora of notions, “gender beliefs”, and socially learnt characteristics that revolve around, and which are typically associated with the gender binary. So, for example, typically, ‘females’ are socialized into being less aggressive, dormant, passive, ‘expressive’, subordinate; whereas ‘males’ are expected to conform to the notions of being more aggressive, dominant, active, superior, “macho”, ‘instrumental’ and so on. Social conditioning makes most people feel odd or uncomfortable with so-called ‘effeminate men’ and ‘masculine women’.

These social expectations end up becoming *stereotypes*. Psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists have for long, emphasized that these ‘qualities’ (or social characteristics) are not exclusively genetic nor innate. There are several examples of early human societies where females, males and inter-sex persons have played varying roles; roles that have now challenged us to revisit our definitions. “*Berdache* is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century term that has been used to describe “native American men who dressed and functioned as women, and who, rather than being despised, were revered for embodying the spirit and wisdom of both sexes.” (Reuter, 2006: 17)

### **1.2.8 Gender Identity**

Gender identity “refers to one’s internal sense of being male, female, or something else.” (APA, 2008) Human beings are not born with ‘gender identity’. Gender identity gradually develops in the course of one’s lived life. There is no unanimously accepted definition of gender identity or explanation for the same that is accepted by scholars. Identity begins with the understanding of one’s genital differences and thereby, the sexual identity of being female, male, neither or both. In several cultures including Indian culture, birth names are typically associated with a sex type, although this trend has seen some changes. Gender-conformist behaviours that are reinforced by society – through family, relatives, neighbours, religion, literature, media, peer groups and so on, shape gender identity.

Gender is a term that has psychological and cultural undertones. If typically, ‘female’ and ‘male’, are described as ‘sex’ categories, then, the analogous terms are ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ are used respectively, to describe ‘gender’. The terms ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ need not be reliant on biological sex either. (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000: 186) Here again one is referring to the dichotomy of the sexual binary, which is a social construct.

### **1.2.9 Gender Role**

Gender roles can be better understood *within* the context of a given culture. There are cultural variations with regard to gender roles. This is precisely why both, psychologists and sociologists, see gender role as being a social construct. Thus, there are “feminine” and “masculine” behaviours expected of females and males respectively. The process of learning the roles assigned to a specific ‘sex’ category is called “gender role socialization”. Those who do not conform to ‘role expectation’ are perceived as “deviants. They may be labelled and teased with terms like, “sissy”, “pansy”, “homo” etc. for “deviant” males; and terms like “lez”, “tom-boy”, “butch” etc. for “deviant” females. Such so-called deviants become victims of exploitation, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, psychologically trauma and/or rape. Teasing and bullying which might appear insignificant for many may have lasting impressions on young minds especially while in school; this is a matter of concern.

### **1.2.10 Sexuality**

The term ‘sexuality’ refers to the behaviours that human beings engage in, to obtain sexual gratification; an interest or concern for carnal activity. (Reuter, 2006: 187) Such gratification is not necessarily linked with physical acts alone but is usually associated with one's beliefs, self-concept, feelings and a range of emotions. Among gay males, sexual gratification is linked to self-stimulation, mutual masturbation, using male imagery, anal sex, fellatio (oral sex), thigh sex, to name a few.

Sexuality is a product of culture; an understanding of sexuality will remain incomplete if the focus is solely on its biological aspects and not the social. Notions of gender, femininity and masculinity, androgyny must be factored in. Sexuality must be understood within a historical framework, as notions of sexuality are dynamic. There is a relationship between sexuality and social structure. Social as well as political forces shape one's views regarding sexuality. These are linked to power relations that revolve around age, economic class, race, religion and gender. This perspective may be described

as ‘constructionist’. By contrast, ‘essentialists’ hold the view that sexuality is “trans-historical’ and universal.

Sexuality also stems from the ideas that surround us, impact us, and the ideologies that we subscribe to, or are forced to adhere to. They may stem from philosophical notions of such as feminism, communism, equality, freedom, culture, religion, economy, polity and so on.

### **1.2.11 Sexual Orientation**

“Sexual orientation refers to an enduring pattern of emotional, romantic and/or sex attractions to men, women, or both sexes. It exists along a continuum that ranges from exclusive homosexuality to exclusive heterosexuality and includes various forms of bisexuality.” (APA, 2008)

The sexual orientations of people in the literature reviewed have been classified into three types – homosexual, heterosexual and bisexual. These terms are explained below:

- (i) **Homosexual** refers to a male or female who is emotionally and sexually attracted to a person of the same sex.
- (ii) **Heterosexual** refers to a male or female who is emotionally and sexually attracted to a person of a different (often described as ‘opposite’) sex.
- (iii) **Bisexual** refers to a male or female who is emotionally and sexually attracted to persons belonging to both, male and female sexes.

There is no implication of equal attraction. It is also possible that there is an attraction to a transgender person who is transitioning from one sex to the other.

### **1.2.12 Queer**

The dictionary meaning and synonyms of the term “queer” are interesting because of the *social* implications that are contained within. The

term 'queer' is listed as an adjective that means "strange, odd". The synonyms for the same, though not exhaustive, include the following: "unusual, peculiar, curious, bizarre, weird, outlandish, eccentric, atypical, different, out of the ordinary, mystifying, incongruous, uncommon, irregular, deviant, aberrant, freakish..."

([https://www.google.co.in/search?ei=vQPHWrS\\_No-WvQSw7HYAQ&q=queer+meaning](https://www.google.co.in/search?ei=vQPHWrS_No-WvQSw7HYAQ&q=queer+meaning))

A second meaning of the term 'queer' as an adjective relates to a *person*. It may be considered to be "offensive." The meaning is, "homosexual", that is, "a person whose sexual orientation or gender identity falls outside the heterosexual mainstream or the gender binary." (<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/queer>)

Sexual orientation is inextricably linked to one's gender identity and sexuality. The term 'queer' is inclusive of a host of identities such as the following: gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, questioning, intersex, cross-dresser, *kothi*, *panthi*, *hijra*, MSM, queen, drag, genderqueer.

The list of "queer" identities is quite endless and individuals belonging to any of the above-listed 'labels' may or may not choose to identify with these terms, or they may identify with them but need not be open in telling others about themselves in this light.

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender and its acronym "LGBT" is a 'western import'. Today, these terms/labels and the acronym are also used in India. However, Indian culture has its own labels for certain sexual identities such as *Kothi*, *Panthi* and *Hijra*. The acronym has therefore expanded to accommodate all possible types. Thus, the literature on sex, sexuality studies, gender studies and queer studies, for example, uses acronyms such as GLB, GLBT, LGBTI, LGBTIQ, LGBTQ, LGBTQ+, LBGTHKI and so on.



The letter ‘Q’ in the acronym not only stands for ‘queer’ but it includes those individuals who are in a stage of ‘questioning’ their sexual/gender identity or sexuality. Questioning may happen at any age and is not restricted to pubescent years, adolescence or early adulthood. This is not a matter of one’s choosing; it is *not* a sexual ‘preference’. It is the right of individuals to use or not use labels: some may identify as ‘gay, ‘homosexual’ and/or ‘queer’.

Historically, the term “Queer” was used in the pejorative sense; just like the term ‘black’ or ‘disabled’. This has changed today: members of the LGBTQ community may describe themselves as “queer” without feeling offended; just as the Black community accepts the term “black”; or in the same way that disabled people want to be called “disabled”, and Dalits want to be called so. However, the term ‘queer’ is an identity that is not always embraced by all members of the community.

### **1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

The researcher, in trying to understand the ‘gay movement’ in Mumbai examines various lead strands from the movement in the West and notions about sexuality or same-sex desire/love in India. The impact of developments in the West has its repercussions in several countries including India – with regard to the law, philosophy, religious teachings, human rights, academic discourses and of course, the Gay Movement.

### **1.4 HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE WEST**

The origins of homosexuality will probably never be specifically known. Both, Vanita and Kidwai, and Giti Thadani agree that “Same-sex love and eroticism have origins that go back to as far as one has the cultural/linguistic resources” to do so. (Menon, 2007:14) There is sufficient evidence to show that “same-sex relationships” were prevalent in Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. It was socially acceptable behaviour and was practised among certain social and political elite of society, in early human civilizations. Plato’s symposium praised the virtues of male homosexuality.

Several Greek Gods and heroes such as “Aphrodite, Eros, Eros, Heracles, Hermes and Sappho” were associated with same-sex sexual practices. Some literature of the period also is reflective of same-sex relations. Even in the ancient Egyptian civilization, there is evidence to suggest the prevalence of same-sex behaviour, though the status of the ‘recipient’ was deemed to be inferior as compared to the ‘active partner’.

The far-reaching impact of the Christian church is considered here. Church teachings strongly influenced British society and its laws. When the British colonized various countries in the world, the law followed them; and that is how Section 377 reached Indian shores too. Not merely colonization but ‘westernization’ and church teachings have an indirect and direct impact on the ‘public psyche’, on prejudice formation, contempt for ‘wrongdoers’ and non-acceptance of gay sexuality/homosexuality. Church teaching on homosexuality as being “immoral” influence the public and public opinion; which, in turn, has an impact on policy and lawmakers. For example, it is a perceived fear that the present dispensation in the US seems to have arrested the momentum of positive developments in the US as regards the queer community. The implications and repercussions of anti-LGBT policies thrust inequality and forced invisibility on the gay community.

Going back to Western history, following the birth of Christianity in the first century CE, and especially with the establishment of an organized and structured ‘Church of Rome’, moral codes got embedded in ‘church teaching’. The early church position against homosexuality has been attributed to St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. All this, despite the fact that the Bible does not even mention the term ‘homosexual’ - as the term did not exist then!

For the church, ‘sex’ is not held in high regard except in the union of marriage between male and female, and for the sole purpose of procreation. This continues to be the teaching even after over two millennia, in most traditional and evangelical Christian denominations across the world. In this scenario of firm orthodoxy, one need not wonder why there is an unwillingness to accept gay sexuality, gay men, gay rights, gay adoption and

gay behaviour. Religion becomes a barrier to discourse; it seems non-negotiable.

Advocates for conservative Christian teaching constantly make it a point to cite the few references in the Bible and especially to the stories of 'Sodom and Gomorrah'. The essential idea propagated by 'mainstream' Christian denominations - Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox, is that homosexuality is a sin and by logical extension, homosexual behaviour is sinful, and therefore both are untenable. No discussion seems welcome.

In more recent times (in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century) a few Christian denominations have embraced the LGBT community and started special services and outreach ministry to those who identify as such. The literature review, comments on the Episcopalian church in the US, as having revised their 'Confirmation of Faith' based on the "spirit of Jesus" rather than the literal understanding of the Bible. They are now more willing to accept gay men. The church's official position on gay sexuality: it accepts the person but not his/her lifestyle and behaviour. These are seen to be "vices of the flesh" and therefore rejected. The only way around this is, therefore, is for LGBT persons to remain celibate.

In 2003 the Episcopal Church elected Revd. Gene Robinson as Bishop of New Hampshire Diocese in the US – amidst huge debate and the threat of a schism in the church. The Church of England, the Anglican Church of Canada, The Church of Sweden and the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), the Methodist Church is welcoming of the LGBT community. In San Francisco there is a religious community of men, who call themselves 'Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence'; they are men in 'drag' who extend their religious ministry to sexual minorities, although, with a sense of humour, through their attire and 'performances'.

The above discussion demonstrates how the church can be - unwilling and willing to change. Their impact is seen all over. The Judeo-Christian perspective (sometimes called "Abrahamic" religions), that is, Judaism,

Christianity and Islam - on the whole, view homosexuality as *sinful*. That was one way of understanding the term homosexuality.

From the point of view of psychoanalysis, theories to explain the causes of homosexuality revolved “around three broad categories: pathology, immaturity, and normal variations.” (Drescher, 2015: 566) By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, an early advocate of gay rights who “hypothesized that some men...constituted a third sex he named urnings”. Hungarian Károli Mária Kertbeny first coined the terms “homosexual” and ‘homosexuality’ in 1869. (Drescher, 2015: 568) The German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing provided an explanation of homosexuality being a “degenerative” disorder. Magnus Hirschfeld, an openly gay physician, psychiatrist and sex researcher provided a normative view of homosexuality.

Freud, refuting the earlier theories, offered an alternative theory of immaturity. After his death in 1939, psychoanalysts regarded homosexuality as *pathological*. Freud and Ellis influenced professional as well as public opinion on these matters. Ellis’ tolerant attitude was given scientific support in the study of male and female sexuality by Alfred Kinsey, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. This was at a time when sex researchers were actively engaged in doing field studies with ‘non-patients’ from the wider population, unlike psychiatrists whose samples were mostly patients. Psychiatric claims that homosexuality was extremely rare was not supported by Kinsey’s study which found homosexuality to be more common in the general population than was believed to be. A study led by Ford and Beach among human cultures and animal behaviours observed homosexuality to found regularly in nature. In the 1950s, psychologist Evelyn Hooker through her study conducted on 30 gay men with 30 heterosexual controls, “refuted psychiatric beliefs of her time that all gay men had severe psychological disturbances”. (Drescher, 2015: 569-570)

All this was happening while psychologists and psychiatrists who were unsympathetic towards homosexuals perceived them to *sick*. Homosexuality

was regarded as a *mental sickness* and was listed as such by the American Psychiatric Association – which had significant professional influence in many parts of the world; even to this day. Homosexuality was cited as a sickness in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, DSM–I (1952), and then again in DSM–II (1968). It is only after much protest and debate that ‘homosexuality as a mental sickness’ got struck off from DSM-III in 1973.

This in no way meant that psychologists and psychoanalysts abandoned the “gay-conversion” practice. The mention of new labels - “Sexual Orientation Disturbance” (SOD), later re-christened as “Ego-Dystonic Homosexuality” (EDH) gave ammunition for psychiatrists to administer so-called Conversion Therapy or Reparative Therapy. The purpose of such “therapy” was to change a patient’s sexual orientation using techniques like “nausea-inducing drugs, behaviour therapy and electric shock therapy.” (Narrain, 2004:85)

Given below are two accounts which narrate what gay men the silent suffering of gay males. Many hold the view that counselling, therapy or the intervention of psychiatrists will “cure” a homosexual person of his “homosexual orientation”.

“I approached a psychiatrist, assuming he would help me. ‘Help’ he did. ‘It’s all in the mind,’ he said. My bouts of depression (which I never realized arose from bottling up my gay orientation) he glibly informed [me] was a disease called schizophrenia. ‘Your gayness is the cause of delusions and hallucinations.’ He prescribed ‘Orap’ and ‘Sernace’, which are powerful neuroleptic medications. The nightmare began in earnest, lasting fifteen years, ravaging body and soul... I took an overdose of Orap hoping to die. I did not. I was rescued.”

(Narrain, 2004: 5)

The extract given below reflects the fears and questions, shame and guilt that homosexual persons may suffer quietly within. The extract given below has been written by a bisexual person.

“I began to dislike myself for being a homosexual and felt ashamed that I had to hide my sexuality all the time. Many questions haunted me. ‘Why did I become a homosexual? Am I not man enough? What if somebody discovers I am gay? Would I be able to live the rest of my life with shame?’ I could own my sexuality under the cover of darkness, in a world peopled by anonymous individuals; everywhere else I had to suppress it. Leading a double life was tearing me apart.”

(Narain, 2004: 9)

The well-known psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar maintains that Hinduism has always had a tradition of acceptance of society’s notions of “deviance and eccentricity” that are adherents of Western religions which typically view sexual variance as being anti-social or psychopathological, requiring ‘correction’ or ‘cure’.

There is no evidence of successfully converting a gay man to becoming “straight”, or vice-versa. Looking at homosexuals as ‘sick’ people gave rise to the “medicalization” of homosexual people. It was seen first as a sickness of the body, and later of the mind too. Homosexuality was considered “perverse behaviour” for which there could only be one solution – treatment.

It was effective “gay activism” that served as the “catalyst for diagnostic change,” as a result of which EDH was removed from DSM-III-R in 1987. This move signalled the “beginning of the official end of the social stigmatization of homosexuality”. (Drescher, 2015: 570) There is no mention of homosexuality as a mental sickness or SOD or EDH in the fifth edition of the manual, DSM –V (2013).

The decade of the 1980s and 1990s made the world awaken to the reality and challenges of HIV and the AIDS epidemic. Alarms bells rang. It was perceived to be the problem of gay men, that is, male homosexuals. Debates surrounding gay sex, and promiscuity were at the forefront. Mainstream churches and fringe fanatic groups saw this as the ‘wrath of God’ bestowed upon gay men for their sinfulness and departure from ‘God’s’ plan. Many still are unapologetic about their position on this contentious matter.

When the early cases of HIV and AIDS were reported in the US, organizations of gay men and women in Europe, Canada and Australia were the first to respond. In 1982, The Terrence Higgins Trust was set up in the United Kingdom. A Norwegian gay health association called '*Helseutvalget for Homofile*' was started in 1983. New organizations championing the cause of gay rights drew their inspiration from the gay rights and feminist movements of the earlier decades.

(<http://www.who.int/whr/2004/chapter3/en/index2.html>)

Since this epidemic became an international concern, governments began acting upon it; funding for research increased and ways to handle this health crisis was uppermost on people's minds and the government's too. As a matter of fact, it is this concern that forced developing nations to take stock of their situations locally. Wealthier nations played a big role in reaching out to countries, especially in Africa and Asia. So, in countries like India, to provide 'health services' and care for persons with HIV and AIDS, voluntary agencies began working especially among MSM, gay and migrant communities.

It is after the Second World War that campaigns for the rights of gay people began; first in the UK, then in Europe and North America. (Ranjan, 2010:244) In the late 1960s, "the modern gay and lesbian movement exploded as a component of the larger 'liberation movements – New Left, anti-Vietnam War, counterculture, black and feminist.'" (Sahani, 2008:45) All these movements had one common thread – they were all fighting for recognition for *marginalized* sections of society and for greater equality.

The Stonewall Riots of 1969 – where the local police raided a local gay bar and the spontaneous protest by gay men, especially inspired LGBT people in other countries to come out and fight for their recognition and rights. The first major counter-movement to gay rights in America was led by Anita Bryant, a result of her fundamentalist Christian views. This campaign met with some success and there was lobbying to oppose the goals of the gay rights movement. "In Western Europe, organized movements for social and

legal reform and gay rights have been active since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.” (Ranjan, 2010:252-3)

The World Health Organization removed ‘homosexuality’ from the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10). In its ‘2030 Sustainable Development Agenda’, WHO emphasizes “universal respect for human dignity leaving no one behind”. The document emphasizes the need to comprehend the key concepts surrounding the intersection of health with gender and sexual diversity, to be able to tackle the dramatic disparities faced by queer people. (<http://www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/news/health-sexual-diversity/en/>)

Today there are many countries around the world which openly support the “Equality Agenda” and have thus translated this into policies and laws that support equality to gay men in particular; there are policies for zero tolerance to hate-crimes and anti-discrimination policies based on sex, gender, sexuality, sexual and gender identity. IGLA (International Gay and Lesbian Bisexual Trans and Intersex Association), based on data available in May 2017, reports Criminalization in 72 States (see Figure 1.1), Protection in 85 States (see Figure 1.2) and Recognition in 47 States (see Figure 1.3). The Human Rights Foundation reports 24 countries that support Marriage Equality. (See Figure 1.4)

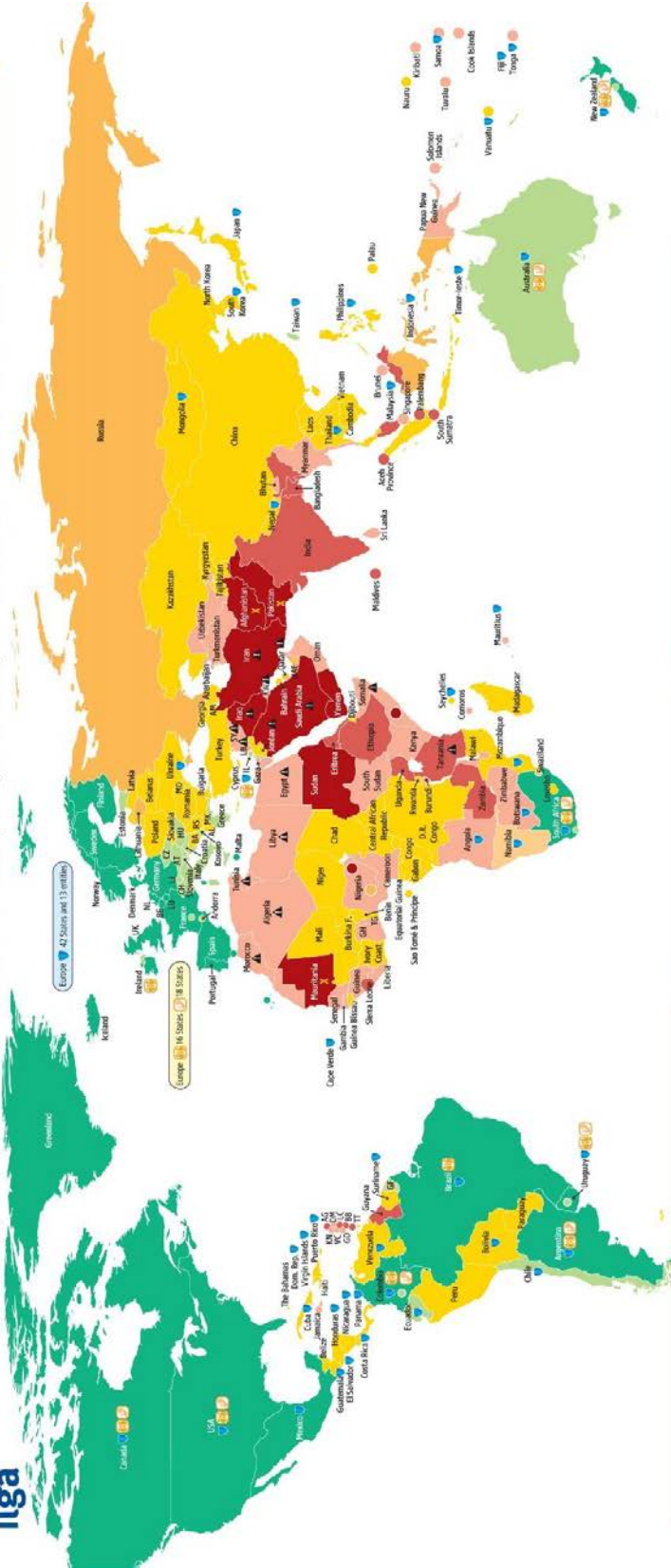




# SEXUAL ORIENTATION LAWS IN THE WORLD - OVERVIEW

ILGA, THE INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANS AND INTERSEX ASSOCIATION

**MAY 2017**  
ILGA.ORG



The data represented in these maps are based on Steps-Sponsored Homophobia: A World Survey of Sexual Orientation Laws: Criminalisation, Protection and Recognition, in ILGA Report by Aengus Carroll and Lucas Barrio Mendez. The report and these maps are available in the original English, Spanish, French, Russian and Spanish on ILGA.org. This edition of the world map (May 2017) was coordinated by Aengus Carroll and Lucas Barrio Mendez (ILGA), and designed by Eslon de Erick (eslon@erickdesign.com).

### CRIMINALISATION

72 STATES

- Implemented in 8 States (or parts of) 14 States
- not implemented in 5 States 57 States
- Religious-based laws alongside the civil code 3 States
- No penalising law 19 States

In green, yellow and orange countries, same-sex sexual acts were decriminalised or never penalised. 123 States

### PROTECTION

85 STATES

Many States run concurrent protections

- Constitution 9 States
- Employment 72 States
- Various 63 States
- Hate crime 43 States
- Inclination to hate 39 States
- Bar on 'conversion therapy' 3 States

### RECOGNITION

47 STATES

A small number of States provide for marriage and partnership concurrently

- Marriage 24 States
- Joint adoption 26 States
- Partnership 28 States
- 2nd parent adoption 27 States

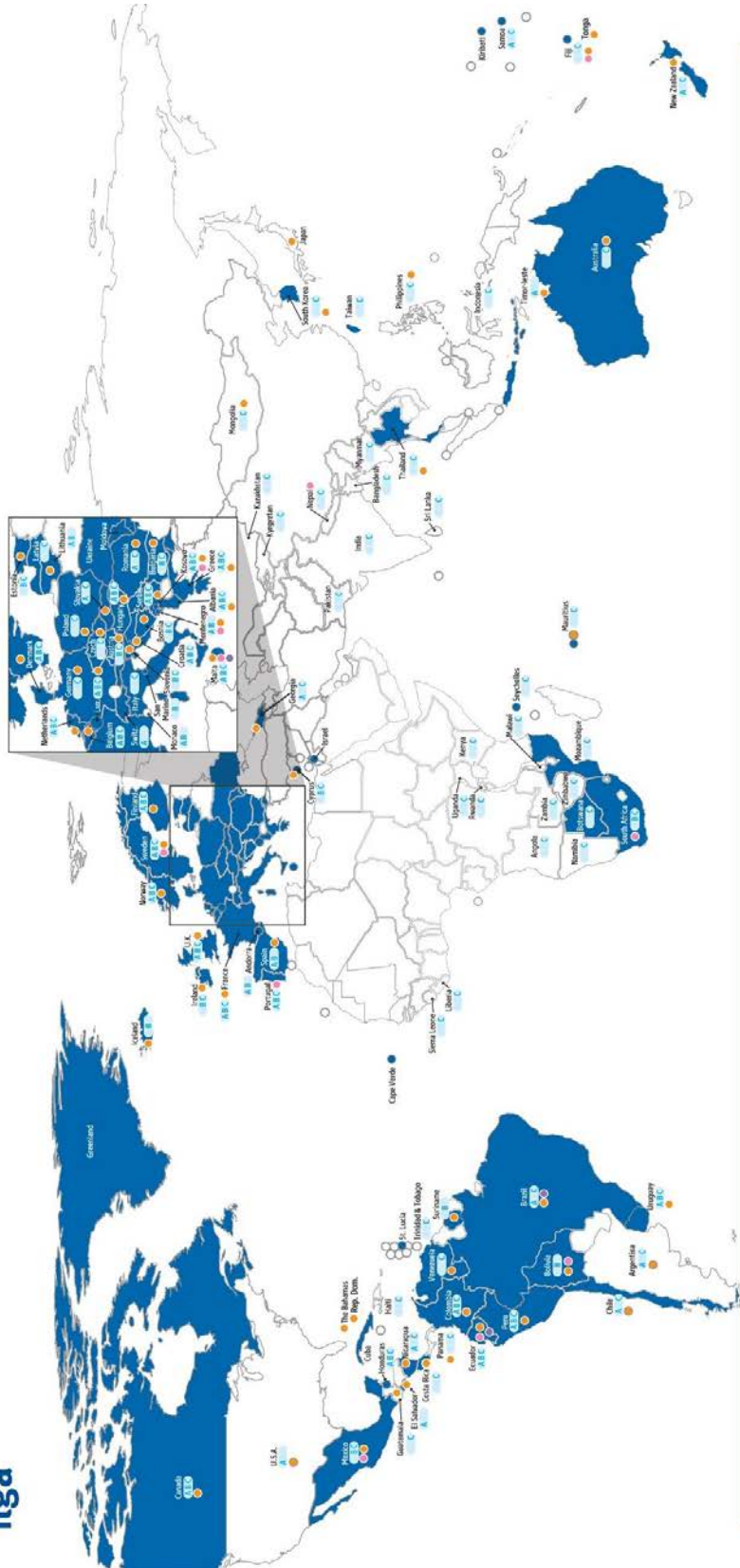
Separate detailed maps for these three categories are produced alongside this Overview map.



# SEXUAL ORIENTATION LAWS IN THE WORLD - PROTECTION

ILGA, THE INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANS AND INTERSEX ASSOCIATION

MAY 2017  
ILGA.ORG



## PROTECTION

Non-discrimination in employment  
72 States

**A** Hate crimes based on sexual orientation considered an aggravating circumstance (43 States)

**B** Incitement to hatred based on sexual orientation prohibited (39 States)

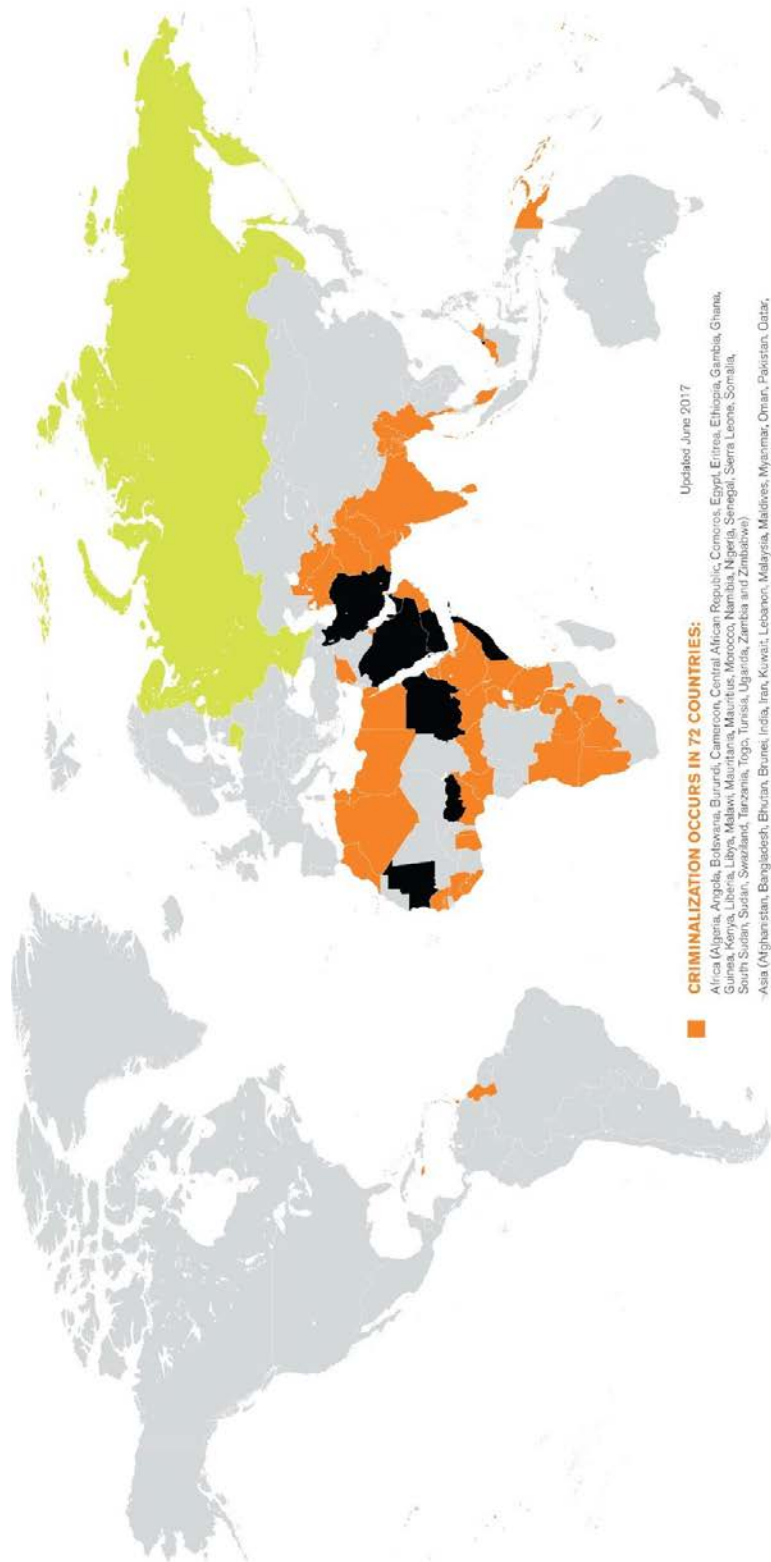
**C** Presence of a National Human Rights Institution [NHRI] that includes sexual orientation in its human rights work (66 States)

Conditional prohibition of discrimination based on sexual orientation (9 States)

Other non-discrimination provisions specifying sexual orientation (63 States)

Ban on so-called 'conversion therapy' (3 States)

The data represented in these maps are based on State-Sponsored Homophobia: a World Survey of Sexual Orientation Laws: Criminalisation, Protection and Recognition, an ILGA report by Amega Corral and Lucas Román Méndez. The report and these maps are available in the six official UN languages: English, Chinese, Arabic, French, Russian and Spanish on ILGA's. The editors of the world map (May, 2017) was coordinated by Amega Corral and Lucas Román Méndez (ILGA), and designed by Patricia Erbe (patriciaerbedesign.com).



Updated June 2017

**CRIMINALIZATION OCCURS IN 72 COUNTRIES:**

- Africa (Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Comoros, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe)
- Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, India, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Syria, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan and Yemen)
- Caribbean (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago)
- South Pacific (Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Tuvalu)
- Entities (Cook Islands, Gaza, South Sumatra and Aceh Provinces of Indonesia)

**PUNISHABLE WITH DEATH PENALTY IN 10 COUNTRIES:**

- Africa (Mauritania, Sudan, as well as parts of Nigeria and Somalia)
- Asia (Brunei, Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen)

**SO-CALLED ANTI-PROPAGANDA LAWS INHIBIT LGBT ADVOCACY IN 3 COUNTRIES:**

- Africa (Nigeria\*)
- Europe (Lithuania, Russia)

\*Nigeria is in all 3 categories. Research based on news reports, information from local advocates, the annual U.S. State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and the annual State-Sponsored Homophobia Report of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA).



# CRIMINALIZATION AROUND THE WORLD



Updated October 2017

■ **MARRIAGE EQUALITY LEGAL (24 COUNTRIES):** Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Uruguay.

1. In several states of Mexico, same-sex couples need to obtain an amparo - which cannot be denied by the courts - before they can wed.  
 2. The U.K. has marriage equality with the exception of Northern Ireland.  
 3. Taiwan's constitutional court in May 2017 ruled in favor of marriage equality, which has yet to be enacted by the legislature.  
 4. Some of the countries above have territories and colonies that do not have marriage equality.

# MARRIAGE EQUALITY AROUND THE WORLD



## Map Sources

[http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA\\_WorldMap\\_ENGLISH\\_Overview\\_2017.pdf](http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA_WorldMap_ENGLISH_Overview_2017.pdf)

[http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA\\_WorldMap\\_ENGLISH\\_Protection\\_2017.pdf](http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA_WorldMap_ENGLISH_Protection_2017.pdf)

[http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA\\_WorldMap\\_ENGLISH\\_Criminalisation\\_2017.pdf](http://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA_WorldMap_ENGLISH_Criminalisation_2017.pdf)

<https://www.hrc.org/blog/filter/campaign/4370#stq=MARRIAGE%20EQUALITY%20AROUND%20THE%20WORLD>

### 1.5 HOMOSEXUALITY IN INDIA

Like in the West, and other previously colonized nations of the world, homosexuality did not exist as a category or ‘label’ in India’s ancient past. However, “same-sex desire” and “same-sex love” did. (Vanita, 2004, 2008). The descriptions in the Rig Veda (1500 BCE), Puranas, Bhagawath Gita, The Ramayana, The Mahabharata, Jataka Tales, Kamasutra and Manusmriti, make references to same-sex behaviours. The sculptures depict sexual acts between females; this is an indicator of sexuality and it certainly connects with present-day notions of “sex for *pleasure*”. References are made to characters from Indian mythology too. Ancient and Medieval Jain texts also comment on same-sex desire. Thus, an entire range of sexualities have coexisted in Indian culture since ancient times up to the present: only the English labels such as “gay” or “lesbian” are relatively recent and imported from the West.

In a society that places much importance to *procreation* and especially, the preference for male offspring, penetrative sex between a male and female became the norm and standard. It was perceived as the essential purpose of marriage. As a matter of fact, with the emergence of women's’ studies as a discipline, tomes have been written and spoken by activists, scholars, academics, researchers, and law professionals - about the ‘expected’ role sets of women and men within the continuous framework of a ‘heterosexist’ and ‘patriarchal’ society. There are instances which show that while same-sex

behaviour may not have been openly or easily accepted, they continued to be practised in different guises – for pleasure, for fun, ‘masti’, or substitution. Penetration of females by males was the norm, and any other expression of the same with especially the “third sex” (read ‘hijra’) or even other males were present, tolerated but never openly seen as ‘acceptable behaviour’.

*Temple architecture and paintings*, for example, at Khajuraho show explicit sexual positions and possibilities, inclusive of all kinds of means to derive satisfaction of a very basic and commonly felt human and biological ‘need for sex’. *Kama* is the third of the four *Purusharthas* - the aims of Hindu life. It refers to satisfying one’s sexual or pleasurable needs. Hinduism has no injunctions against same-sex behaviour. The Kama Sutra explicitly describes third-gender males assuming both, masculine and feminine identities; as well as ‘active’ and ‘passive’ roles. The Kama Sutra is famous and infamous, around the world for its value as a tool for sex education which no 21<sup>st</sup> century manual on the subject can dare to compare with.

These paintings and carvings – without ambiguity or hypocrisy, explore the range of life, human emotion and sexualities. It is possible that these variations on the sex theme may not be openly practised, encouraged or discussed. One cannot but wonder about the very fact that such explicit painting or sculpture which existed over two millennia ago, inform us in the present day, about practices, aspirations, fantasies and realities that reflect thought processes, and surely, even practices that will have occurred at some point in time. Also, the theme and its representations - of same-sex desire is, to the dismay of many, recognized and celebrated even among the Gods. This reveals a certain level of openness to a range of sexualities and a highly developed expression of the erotic.

The Manusmriti is a very old code of conduct of Hindu society which dates to around the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. The code makes no reference to “homosexual” practices; same-sex behaviours are not encouraged.

It is also a known fact that during the *Mughal period*, aristocratic men had male lovers. Urdu and Sufi poets celebrated same-sex love through their writings. A case in point is that of the first Mughal emperor, Babar, who had written romantically about his love affair with a boy, Baburi in *Turuk-i-Baburnama*. (Joseph, 2005) From the point of view of religious teaching, a conservative understanding of the Qur'an shows non-acceptance of homosexuality, though, like the Bible, there is no mention of any such term.

Eminent scholars like Ruth Vanita, Saleem Kidwai and Hoshang Merchant have waxed eloquently on the interpretations of a range of writing (in verse, prose, lyrics) in numerous languages in India, indigenous to India – Sanskrit, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, Odiya, Bengali and those that came from outside, like Persian and Farsi. There are references to relationships between God and man, expressed using homoerotic metaphors, in Sufi mystical poetry, both in Persian and later in Urdu. The phenomena of same-sex weddings, mostly by Hindu rites, have been reported in the Indian Press in the past few decades.

Vanita (2005) mentions how Hindu doctrines such as rebirth and the genderlessness of the soul are often interpreted to legitimize socially disapproved relationships, including same-sex ones. “Vanita and Kidwai have claimed on the basis of extensive research that pre-colonial India was generally tolerant.” The love between men and between women though not supported wholeheartedly was not actively persecuted. “One must not blame colonialism for everything...As Narrain (2004) pertinently points out, the continued perpetration of the stigma against homosexuality in India ‘owes as much to nationalism as it did to colonialism’.” (Sahani, 2008:49)

The WHO system of classification of mental and behavioural disorders (ICD-10) has been accepted by the Medical Council of India, the Indian Medical Association and the Indian Psychiatric Association. The distinction between syntonic and dystonic homosexuality needs to go away. This classification itself is laid with problems: (i) even though it is clinically determined, the root cause may be rooted in social expectation and family

aspirations such as pressure to get married or to beget children, (ii) there is an assumption that the individual is suffering from ego dystonic disorder; and (iii) it operates in a context where an understanding same-sex desire and gay relationships are minimal. (Narrain *in* Sexualities, Menon (ed.), 2007: 73-76)

Much of the activism with regard to ‘gay rights’ are hanging in the air, as it is based on Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). This has been dealt with in the next section. While there is no illegality in identifying oneself or to others as ‘gay’, the present status of the law makes it problematic and it can even prove to be traumatic.

## 1.6 “SECTION 377” OF THE INDIAN PENAL CODE

With the *coming of the British to India* and their governance for over 150 years, Lord Macaulay drafted The Indian Penal Code in 1837 which came into effect in 1860. “It was through Section 377 that for the first time, homosexuality was criminalized explicitly as ‘unnatural sex’. (Narrain & Gupta, 2011: xv) It reads:

*“Unnatural offences. Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal, shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.”*

(Gupta, EPW, November 18, 2006: 4815)

This provision criminalizes *anyone* who engages in “unnatural” sex: that is, those acts which go “against the order of nature”. Arguably, this provision at one level can be seen as a direct attack specifically on the sexual lives and sexual behaviour of gay men. The number of convictions though is reportedly minimal considering the fact that this legal provision has been around for 157 years. In the past two years, there have been more reports of men who abused younger males getting booked under the “unnatural offences” provision. These have been reported from time to time, in the press.



Section 377 of the IPC is a leftover piece of British colonial law; it is rooted in the Abrahamic (Judeo-Christian) teaching of *sex for procreational purposes alone*. (Recall, that this colonial legislation came from a society governed by Christian norms.) This tacitly implies that even behaviours such as masturbation (self-stimulation), sex for pleasure, and all other forms of ‘sexual expression’ that are *not* “peno-vaginal”, for example, ‘fellatio’ and ‘anal sex’, come under its purview, as they are seen to be “against the order of nature”.

‘What’ constitutes the “order of nature” is a point of debate; ‘who’ decides this is yet another. Whether in the world’s largest democracy, the government can invade one’s private spaces and private lives is a question that is asked. “At the end of the day, I returned to my most basic beliefs about government – that it does not belong in our private lives” (Duncan Campbell, Sexual rights of homosexuals on trial in U.S., in Douglas Sanders “Flying the Rainbow Flag in Asia”, 2004: 7) Our colonizers, the British, had decriminalized homosexuality half a century ago in their country, but the same legal provision continues to be upheld in twenty-first century modern India.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/2017/jul/27/gay-relationships-still-criminalised-countries-report>)

In sum and substance, Section 377 actually has serious ramifications for everybody – irrespective of one’s sexual orientation – homosexuals and heterosexuals. This law continues to have effect to date; but, it cannot criminalize gay males or any LGBTQ+ person for ‘identifying’ as queer. However, technically, if gay men are ‘caught in the act’ it can then, become problematic and traumatic, and could lead to a host of other problems that gay men face: having to live in fear, the problem of extortion, police brutality, emotional blackmailing, fear and threat of shaming and so forth. Due to the influence of this legal provision, the ‘non-heteronormative’ sexual identity continues to be outlawed.

A significant landmark for the Gay movement in India was in August 1992. It was a protest demonstration in front of a Delhi police headquarters, by

activists of the AIDS *Bedabhav Virodhi Andolan* (ABVA), a movement against AIDS-based discrimination, ABVA protested against the illegal arrest of men suspected to be gay. Many more rights' organizations joined the stir and there was wide publicity in the print and visual media. (Joseph, 1996) In 1994, a PIL was filed by the ABVA in Delhi High Court to “to consider the constitutional validity of IPC section 377” and to abolish it, as it violated the right to privacy and discriminated on grounds of sexual orientation.

The Naz Foundation - an NGO working with HIV and AIDS-related issues in New Delhi, in 2001, approached the Delhi High Court. Its plea was to ‘read down’ Section 377 as not criminalizing sex between consenting adults in private, rather than having the section removed. The reason for this is that Section 377 was also being used to tackle the problem of child sex abuse, at that point in time.

In June 2003, the GOI explained to the court that Indian society was not prepared to accept homosexuality; that it “by and large disapproves of homosexuality” (Editorial, EPW, 25 October 2008: 6) The home ministry was of the view that delinquent behaviour” would be on the rise if the section was repealed; the health ministry held a different view: for them the concern was reaching out to the MSM population which had a higher risk of acquiring HIV. Section 377 denies the right to sexual expression, to all sexual minorities. In 2008, the government referred to homosexuality as a disease.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 2009 judgement was a watershed moment for the gay community in India. The Delhi High Court *decriminalized* same-sex behaviour between mutually consenting adults, in private. The reason for this move was that the justices found Section 377 of the IPC to be in conflict with the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. This was a moment of empowerment for many: to be recognized, if not accepted, by the law of one’s land. Undoubtedly, it did not suddenly transform the attitudes of society. However, the law made gay men feel human as any other, and ‘non-criminal’ too.

It is imperative for courts to stop demeaning the existence of people with same-sex desire in India. “Section 377 is used to harass, control and criminalize those who threaten patriarchal structures upheld by compulsory heterosexuality.” (Annual Conference of the Indian Association of Women’s Studies, Goa, in Resolution on Section 377, in Menon, 2007: 316)

“Section 377 with its broader shadow of criminality is the biggest affront to the dignity and humanity of a substantial minority of Indian society. ...(It will) allow for the opportunities and space for the gay movement to emerge from the shadows out into the open and create a space for itself to interact with the rest of the civil society, in a relatively more equal position. ”

(Gupta, EPW, 25 October 2008: 4822)

This joy was not to last for long; homosexuality got recriminalized by the Supreme Court in December 2013. It viewed the gay community as being a “minuscule” minority. The present status of Section 377 is that a Curative Petition is pending in the Supreme Court (SC), to review its December 2013 judgement, by a bench comprising five judges. (Rao 2017: 130) It is hoped that the recognition of the right to privacy will have a positive bearing on the fight against Section 377.

“The recent judgement in ‘Justice Puttaswamy vs the Union of India’, the Supreme Court has recognized that privacy is a Fundamental Right. In doing so, it also removed the basis for its decision in ‘Koushal’, which had upheld the constitutionality of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC)... Section 377 denies a person the right to full personhood, by going against the constitutional values of dignity, fraternity and inclusiveness.”

(<https://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/toi-edit-page/legalise-sex-by-consent-section-377-has-become-untenable-in-the-light-of-supreme-courts-historic-privacy-judgment/>)

The ensuing excerpt raises an important point. At one level, the need for change in the law is felt; at the micro level, gay men will continue to have gay relationships in their private spheres irrespective. Surely, the fears of being outed, or getting caught, and extortion will continue; none of these can be happy moments – in fact, they can be nightmarish when one thinks about

them. However, there still remains that impermeable space, within the confines of one's own mind, body and space that can be treated as one's own. No legal or any other power or provision can take away one's sexual or gender identity.

“I am constantly talking about the law, challenging it at department seminars and even in lazy- conversations with friends...What do the sentences in the penal code have to do with my life and my thoughts? Perhaps I should ask: does it (can it?) change the way...I fall in love with ‘that boy in the philosophy department’, the way I remember my first kiss? And finally: Can 377 change my poetry? Can it alter my orgasm?”

(Katyal, *in* Narrain & Gupta, 2011:576)

*Voices Against 377* is a coalition of various Delhi-based groups which not only fight for the cause of the gay community but several other human rights concerns. They propelled the ‘Million Voices Campaign’ in order to bring together different expressions of gender and sexuality. (Menon, 2007: 317) It is interesting to note that the theme of the *Queer Azaadi Movement* held in January 2018 was ‘#377QuitIndia’, seventy-five years after Gandhiji’s call for the Quit India Movement. Then, the call was made from the historic August Kranti Maidan; it’s at the same venue that the call for freedom from the “draconian Victorian-era law – Section 377” is made.

(<http://www.firstpost.com/living/mumbai-pride-2018-your-comprehensive-guide-to-the-queer-azadi-month-and-parade-4291243.html>)

## 1.7 GAY RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS

“Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible.”

(<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Pages/WhatareHumanRights.aspx>)

Human Rights are for all people, and by logic, applicable to men who are gay as well. Just as heterosexual people have rights to express their love, desire and sexuality, gay men too (and people with any sexuality, sexual orientation or gender identity) should have the equal right to live their lives with human dignity and pride. According to Justice K. G. Balakrishnan, former Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission in India and former Chief Justice of India, “Human rights of the LGBT community need protection, and they should not be classified as criminals.” (Rao 2017: 130). The Humsafar Trust (an NGO based in Mumbai) was the pioneer organization, as a legally Registered Trust, to fight for the rights of gay men in India. Today, there are several groups which are involved in gay rights advocacy.

Gay men continue to face lack of social acceptance. The question about being “different” is relevant here, as many gay men have reportedly felt “different” at some point in time in their lives. In a society where “heterosexual” notions are the norm, and all-pervasive, the problem of self-acceptance is the starting point of the challenge for many. Once, a gay man has come to terms with and accepted his own sexuality, yet another challenge might be, to live one’s life as an ‘openly’ gay person. This does not mean that one has to wear one’s sexuality on one’s sleeve, but the knowledge of living with the stigma is not easy. As has been stated previously: IPC Section 377, is like a “Damocles’ sword” above one’s head. The world around gay men more often than not prevents many from even getting past the first hurdle of self-acceptance.

The United Nations has openly declared Human Rights to *include* the rights of people within all sex, sexualities, sexual orientations, gender identities and gender expression. Discussions held at international forums, and their subsequent formal ‘resolutions’ are not always binding on ‘member’ nations; they certainly do not always receive red carpet acceptance in the home country. This is especially true with regard to the matters that surround homosexuality.

However, fortunately, we are bound by the eternal value of ‘equality’ enshrined in the Indian Constitution as far back as 1952. There it remains as an ‘ideal type’, as a goal which needs to translate into the daily lives of all Indians, and in the context of this study, gay men.

## 1.8 COMING OUT

“I lived a pretty closeted gay life in Bombay for several years....I had some gay friends and socialized with them occasionally – but for the most part, my sexuality was something that I had compartmentalized as something that was surreptitious and all about the sexual act, not about an identity.”

(Sahani, 2008:23)

Parmesh Shahani is an “out” gay and Indian male. The above extract is taken from his own book, *Gay Bombay*. This is not just his story, but it resonates with several gay men. He studied abroad, lived ‘openly’ on the MIT campus, organized events, had the ‘gay life’, and yet he needed to discover what it meant to be Indian and gay, simultaneously. Through his research, he writes, his coming out is inevitable. He continues, “I weave my personal narrative in and out of the rest of the text as a means of being ‘unabashedly subjective’ in exploring the ‘hybrid and positioned nature’ of my own identity along with that of my research subjects (Narayan, 1993).” (Sahani, 2008:27)

In the West, the notion of “coming out” seems to be significant and is much talked of. There are countless internet sources and YouTube videos, especially that have gay men ‘come out’ to the world, or at least, to the web world. They are called ‘Coming Out’ videos.

‘Coming out’ is a process of informing anyone and everyone, and especially one’s parents and siblings, about one’s gay identity. Typically, ‘coming out’ to others - begins with informing either a member of the family, or close friends. However, not all gay males feel the need to do so. Some situations also ‘prevent’ the process of ‘coming out’. Even here, one can argue that there is “choice”; not a choice to ‘be gay’, but, a choice to live life as a gay person, the choice to be ‘openly gay’.

‘Coming out’ is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, if gay men “come out of the closet”, as the expression goes, they could face the possibility of non-acceptance, rejection, expulsion from the home, peer group or workplace; social ostracism; isolation, loneliness, depression; of being teased, harmed, humiliated, punished; illegal detention, imprisonment; or even getting killed. The probability of all of these “inconveniences” are higher in traditional societies but they are not necessarily unreal elsewhere. There is often a tendency to believe that “all is well” out there, in another country, especially in the West. The review of the literature shows that even in countries that have explicitly inclusive LGBT policies in place, queer-friendly social legislation, or clearly stated Constitutional provisions, the challenges of being gay continue to prevail.

On the other hand, it is only when gay men *come out* that the heterosexual society “out there” will recognize that gay persons exist; that they are *real* beings. Thus, gay sexuality/male homosexuality has the hope of getting ‘normalized’ and visible. Besides, ‘coming out’ is liberating for the individual concerned as he would not have to live in hiding anymore. There is a certain sense of joy and liberation in openly living the gay life, irrespective of what the world thinks and feels. Then, there is strength in numbers. In fact, gay activists often encourage ‘members’ and ‘non-members’ to ‘come out’. Non-members are those who do not identify as queer, but are allies of the gay community. When more allies speak out their minds, they also play a role in the gay movement for change and social acceptance. A slogan asserting one’s identity, among the plethora of many more, that I like and which finds its way to Pride Marches is: “We’re here, we’re queer, get used to it.” Mumbai has an annual *Queer Azaadi March*: it is the only march in the city, which brings together sexual minorities of all hues onto a single platform - to make their presence felt, their voices heard and their lives acknowledged, irrespective of Section 377.

Having stated this, coming out is then a *personal* journey for every gay man. In the present situation, it should be a natural process; certainly not forced nor extracted from a gay male. In an ‘ideal’ world, there is would be no

need to ‘come out’ even, as gay men would be gay, just like transwomen or heterosexual or androgynous person would be who they are. The labels would go away and be rendered unnecessary.

“Coming out’ is not merely a process relevant for gay men. It is applicable to family, friends, peers, colleagues and allies of gay persons. By acknowledging their children, family members, relatives, co-workers, and mates who are gay, not only does this empower the concerned gay individuals, but it gives hope and positive motivation for the gay community at large. At the QAM in January 2018, a group called ‘*Sweekar*’ which represented family members of queer children, marched alongside the LGBTQ+ community at the annual Mumbai Pride March. Such efforts add on to the movement for change in people’s mindsets and enables greater visibility; it also enhances the process of ‘normalization’.

## **1.9 HOMOPHOBIA**

Very simply put, it is the irrational fear that individuals, groups and society have of homosexuals. It includes all such fears, prejudices, and hate of any and everything to do with homosexuality, homosexual people and the “homosexual orientation”. This includes a rejection or intolerance of their very beings, their presence, their identity, their lifestyle, their lovers, their interests, their dreams and so forth - by ‘homophobes’. It may be rooted in a perceived threat to the stability of social institutions like marriage, family, and religion; or an underlying threat – of loss of control over sex and sexual behaviour, control over property, wealth and materials. Today, it is common to use the term ‘homoprejudice’ – which clearly refers to prejudices that people may have about gay/lesbian individuals.

Homophobia and homoprejudice are fed by the culture - the ‘dominant culture’ in which gay men live. Religious beliefs, mass communication media, literature, advertisements etc. ingrain ideas of the ‘normality’ of heterosexuality alone and none other. By this logic, everything else is an



aberration, or evil and sinful. Deviations from the ‘normal’ are treated as a “passing phase” for gay males during their childhood; but as they attain puberty and mature, their ‘way of life’ and behaviour is reprimanded, scoffed at, mocked, ridiculed – beginning in the home and elsewhere too. The literature reviewed demonstrates how parents think that their son’s “gayness” will go away; but it does not, it cannot go away (as many psychologists and psychiatrists today, will affirm). Just as one goes through stages, when for example, one has to deal with the inevitability of death, in the same way, accepting the “gayness” of an individual by parents, could go through a series of phases – from non-acceptance and denial to complete acceptance; from being homophobic to becoming an ally.

The story of a 21-year old student, Matthew Shepard at the University of Wyoming comes to my mind. In October 1998 while he was at a bar, two men who found out that he was gay, pretended to be gay themselves, took him to a secluded area, beat him, tied him to a post and left him out there to die. (Shepard, 2009) This is a ghastly example of a hate crime. Gay-hate crimes are reported in many parts of the world.

### **1.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

There are two broad views on the matter of sexuality. A traditionalist view looks at sexuality as being ‘essentialist’, that is, rooted in a biological basis. The other view holds is one where sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular is ‘socially constructed’. In reality, both these positions are useful to understand ‘sexuality’. While the ‘essentialist’ view recognizes the importance of the role of biology, the ‘social constructionist’ perspective shows how culture plays a role in channelizing and shaping our notions of human sexuality.

No discussion of human sexuality would be complete without the examining what Michel Foucault had to say on the matter of homosexuality. According to him, the history of sexuality since the 18<sup>th</sup> century CE can be seen as what is called, the “repressive hypothesis”. This has been linked to the

emergence of the *bourgeoisie* as a social class, where sex is seen as something that is private - between husband and wife only; where sex beyond these boundaries is not only prohibited, but also repressed; and where discourse on sexuality is confined to marriage. Foucault is not particularly interested in contradicting the hypothesis.

According to Foucault, in the twentieth century, even though Freud may seem to have made open and frank discussions about sexuality, the discourse was still largely confined to the academic or the confessional realm of psychiatry.

The discourse on sexuality can be perceived as a revolt against a 'repressive system'; it has the potential to politically liberate rather than become a mere tool of intellectual analysis. Foucault was interested in the "discursive fact" of sexuality – a term that he used frequently and which means to look beyond the knowledge of *what* is being said, to find out *who* has spoken, *how* they have spoken, and its context and reaction. These are important; Foucault believes that language and knowledge are closely linked to power – both of which have a political edge. The discourse on sexuality is seen by marriage as its special property: it has power over what is and is not said about sexuality. Culture bans any discourse on sexuality outside the limits of heterosexual marriage.

Thus, one sees how discourse, power and knowledge are linked to the repressive hypothesis. Those who are vested with this power, end up controlling discourse. Thus, they also control the kind of knowledge we have regarding sex. This desire to control discourse and knowledge about sex is at its very basic, a desire to control power.

Foucault is not satisfied with this hypothesis but he is interested in seeing where it comes from. He sees the repressive hypothesis itself as a form of discourse; as a means to talk about how bourgeois society represses our sexual impulses. The discourse where one talks about the need to liberate oneself from this repression – where one can talk about sex and enjoy it too; it

becomes part of a larger political rebellion against the elite. The repressive hypothesis read through a Marxist lens looks at sexual repression as a part of a larger history of class struggle. Discourse, for Foucault, is a surface manifestation of something deeper - a will for a certain kind of knowledge and a certain kind of power.

Philosopher and feminist theorist Judith Butler provides a notion of performativity in her ideas regarding gender development, as a “reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains”. She likens performative acts to authoritative speech which is enforced through the norms of a given society. Repetition is an integral aspect of performativity. She sees gender as an act that has been rehearsed, similar to the role and function of a script. Human actors, through performing these actions over and over, make the script a reality. She regards as fiction, the distinctions between the personal and the political, or between private and public, as they are designed to support an oppressive status quo. Butler sees gender as not what *is*, but what one *does*. According to her, homosexuality, like heterosexuality is not a fixed category; a person is merely in a condition of “doing straightness” or “doing queerness”.

The researcher seeks to understand the problems and challenges faced by the gay community in Mumbai within the theoretical framework of the “Theory of Gender as a social structure” but with reference to Giddens’s (1984) “Structuration Theory”.

Gender can be comprehended through *four* lenses. They are as follows:

- (i) “nature versus nurture” debate as regards to sex differences,
- (ii) “gendered behaviour” that sees gender as part of the social structure
- (iii) “doing gender” and how this creates social inequality due to conforming behaviour,
- (iv) “integrated approach” which sees gender as a structure that is embedded in society.

Giddens's Structuration Theory adds depth to the analysis of gender as a social structure with his emphasis on the recursive relationship between social structure and individuals. This means, individuals are shaped by the social structure, but simultaneously, individuals also shape the social structure in return. This is a two-way process. It is not as if the social structure is all important and "out there". Individuals constitute the structure of society: they become 'actors' who play a role – a role they are socialized into performing or one that they take upon themselves to challenge the *status quo*.

Giddens embraces the "...transformative power of human action. He insists that any structural theory must be concerned with 'reflexivity' and actors' interpretation of their own lives". Social structures not only act on people; people act on social structures. Social structures are the result of human action. They are not static: they can change and actors take it upon themselves – individually and through collective efforts to initiate and perpetuate changes in the system.

The researcher's aim is to position gay men within the structuration theory "where gender is the structure under analysis and to identify when behaviour is a habit (an enactment of taken-for-granted gendered cultural norms) and when we *do gender consciously*, with intent, rebellion, or even with irony." Gay rights as a Human Rights Movement reflects this "transformative power of human action" by which actors impact the social structure. (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000: 186)

In the context of this study, the researcher also sees the relevance of "agency" as the agent of change. The change agent is not always "out there"; it must begin with the individual as the smallest "unit of the social structure".

This leads us to the concepts of 'social movement' and "New Social Movement". Any movement is a movement in some direction. The direction may be progressive or retrogressive; revivalist or reformative. Movements are driven by certain goals, typically rooted in some ideology, or philosophy. So, for example, the goal of Arya Samaj was to go "back to the Vedas", Gandhian

movements are rooted in Gandhi's teaching such as ahimsa, Sarvodaya, Nai Talim. Movements may be driven by human rights and values that seek equality, justice and end to discrimination.

The Gay Movement is, as stated at the outset, not one unanimous congenial whole, driven by a single person, or group, values or ideology. It is composite of a whole range of values, people from across the globe – different in so many ways – language, culture, beliefs, economic class, levels of comfort or suffering – but, the common denominator that drives them all, in their respective spaces, regions or countries: is the need to live with dignity, equality and justice. 'Agency' in this context includes individual gay men, CBOs and NGOs that work for gay issues/causes and also, allies of the gay community.

### **1.11 ROLE OF EDUCATION**

Various literature on the subject of homosexuality shows that world over, there are various stages of acceptance of gay males and all other sexual minorities. The factor of social acceptance ranges from complete acceptance at one end, to non-acceptance at the other end of this spectrum. Even the notion of social acceptance has variations on the theme: some accept the identity, others only with regard to relationships, but not to marriage; yet others who support adoption; some who are fine with legal rights for partnership and property transmission and hospital care and so on.

Studies reviewed suggest the need to create awareness about homosexuality and indeed all sexualities within, as prejudice, hate and crime against gay males, gay sexuality and all sexual minorities, stem from ignorance. One of the key goals of many NGOs and CBOs is the dissemination of accurate information. To this end, there have been various discourses in the form of talks, discussions, seminars and conferences, at various levels, to promote awareness on the subject and related issues, by scholars, researchers, activists and many other very ordinary individuals. These occasions enable people (activists, organizations, volunteers, sexual

minorities, scholars and allies) to come together to sort out, discuss, and debate issues; as well as identify challenges, seek solutions and work out strategies for the gay community.

Some seminars and conferences that have been held are as follows:

- December 1993: Seminar on - 'Gender Constructions and History of Alternate Sexualities in South Asia', in Delhi
- June 2004: The first South Asian Gay Conference entitled 'Gay Men and Men who have Sex with Men', in Mumbai
- June 2004: The second International Conference on, 'Sexualities, Masculinities, and Cultures in South Asia', in Bangalore
- September 2013: National Queer Conference on, 'Gender-Sexuality: Exploring the Conjoined Possibilities', in Kolkata
- September 2017: National Queer Conference on, 'Praxis, Politics, Possibilities', in Kolkata
- March 2018: Seminar on – 'Mental Health issues faced by the LGBTQ+ community', in Mumbai

The University of Hyderabad was the first university in India to start a Gay Studies course; it was led by the poet and writer, Hoshang Merchant. To even start an academic programme is a challenge, because of mindsets of those in academia, and in seats of power, who fear political or other consequences that could follow. Dr. H. Merchant – an openly gay professor, taught these courses and wrote widely on the subject of homosexuality, and other areas too. Professor R. Raj Rao from Pune University (now called Savitribai Phule University) also led courses in LGBT Studies and has published several books, prose and poetry on the subject. Professor Himadri Roy from IGNOU coordinates a Post Graduate Diploma and a Masters' Degree programme on 'Women and Gender Studies' – which includes an entire course on Queer Studies/Theory. The University of Mumbai, in its Third-year BA Sociology programme, offers a sub-unit on the LGBT Movement as part of a broader paper on Social Movements. Since 2013, the Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education in its

Sociology Textbook for Standard XI has introduced the concept of homosexuality in the sub-unit on Marriage and Family; the prescribed textbook also has a conscious use of gender-inclusive pronouns throughout.

Research studies that were reviewed have shown the value of teaching about sexuality and gender, queer issues, LGBT rights – as it becomes a formal means to dispel ignorance and educate both, learners and facilitators. This goes a long way in breaking down stereotypes, demolishing myths and building allies. It also creates spaces for LGBTQ+ persons to relate to ‘content’ in education, as the learning environment can then become more inclusive, in these small measures, to begin with.

### **1.12 ROLE OF MEDIA**

Liberalization of the Indian economy has brought in numerous opportunities for the world of media. This ‘opening up’ has “made sexuality visible in public spaces, both elite and non-elite”. (Menon, 2007:6) Every form of media – print, visual, audio-visual and virtual/online have increasingly reported about homosexuality, and debates around Section 377, court judgements of the same from time to time - trials and tribulations, successes and failures, hate crime stories, male sexual abuse, and innumerable injustices meted out to sexual minorities in India and across the globe. In addition to events which cause hurt and pain, discrimination and suffering, the media also reports numerous positive ‘coming out’ stories, formation of gay-friendly policies, promotion of social justice, equality rights, same-sex unions, gay-marriage and so forth.

In Mumbai, The Humsafar Trust, way back in the 1990s started India’s first ‘gay’ magazine, “Bombay Dost”. It focused on gay activism as well as matters pertaining to HIV, AIDS and STIs. The local newspaper, Daily News and Analysis (DNA) continues to have a section dealing with ‘Sexuality’. Prominent gay icons/activists/celebrities have their own newspaper columns – through which they reach out to the gay community as well as heterosexual people.

A positive effect of globalization is the ‘opening up’ of media (Radio, Television, Films). The world has come into our homes, classrooms and indeed our lives. As is normal, it comes in all shades – from good to bad, desirable to undesirable, serious to amusing, intelligent to ridiculous. The Internet has now become the one huge window in the lives of many who live in Mumbai and have access to it. It provides spaces, opportunities, and education for people of all sexual or gender identities, and serves multiple purposes: to know more, to clarify, to identify with, for informal support, to seek like-minded friendships, forge alliances, seek pleasure, share stories - and sex, connect with LGBTQ+ people from the local, national and international network, contact NGOs and support groups, showcase talent etc. The list of benefits are endless. Naturally, there is a downside to this as well – entrapment, blackmail, extortion, getting trolled, con jobs, dates that ‘go wrong’, and so on.

Mumbai proudly hosts its very own five-day ‘KASHISH Mumbai International Queer Film Festival’. It was founded in 2010 by filmmaker, Sridhar Rangayan, who is also its Festival Director. It has become an annual event and is the largest queer film festival in the South Asia region. It is held in multiple locations within the city; has grown in size over the years and presently attracts over 7500 viewers. The 9<sup>th</sup> edition of this festival is scheduled for May 2018. In order to “keep the mainstream engaged in the conversation around LGBTQ issues through the year” various initiatives have been started through the medium of films. They include:

- *KASHISH Forward* - to take the discussions to educational campuses, thus reaching out to students, and staff – and “straight allies”; it’s a travelling festival – going all over India, so it is not limited to a Mumbai audience.
- *KASHISH Rendezvous* is a “customized programme of films and discussions for Corporates” – makes them sensitive to issues pertaining to LGBT-inclusive policy formation, working with colleagues or leaders who are gay, lesbian, trans etc.



- *KASHISH Global* provides opportunities for “Indian filmmakers who make films on ‘queer themes’ - by enabling screening them at film festivals in India and abroad.

The Humsafar Trust (HST) and Gay Bombay (GB) also organizes film screenings from time to time. The value of film festivals is entertainment, education, creating awareness, stimulating discussions and reaching out to the LGBTQ+ and heterosexual community.

### 1.13 ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONS

Given the culture within which we live, the homophobia around us, and the state of confusion of many, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) play a huge role in reaching out to gay men and all other sexual minorities in the city. Some prominent associations include:

- **The Humsafar Trust** was established in 1994, by Mr. Ashok Row Kavi, India’s openly gay activist who spearheaded the Gay Movement in India. HST is the first formally ‘Registered Trust’ that works especially for gay males, MSM, TG and other sexual minorities. (A detailed account of ‘The Humsafar Trust’ is provided later in this report.)
- **Gay Bombay (GB)** was started in 1998. It is an organization whose explicit and express purpose is to provide ‘safe spaces’, especially for gay males in the city. A ‘space’ for them to meet socially, network, discuss issues, have fun, watch films, seek guidance, showcase talent, lend support. (A detailed exploration of ‘Gay Bombay’ is provided later in this report.)
- **Queer Azaadi Movement (QAM)** is a series of events that culminates with the ‘Pride March’ which is held in the week following India’s

Republic Day (26 January). At this event, all sexual minorities and their allies come together to support the rights of all LGBTQI+, as well as *Hijras*, *Kothis*, and *Panthis*. It is the largest platform that brings together several groups – NGOs and CBOs to walk together. The first Pride March was held on August 16, 2008, with its main aim: freedom from IPC Section 377. The goal is to live in a “society *sans* discrimination”. The march has several participants – students, popular media, television, parents of sexual minorities, and those who support equality (read, allies). The demands of the march are for rights and human dignity. Some of the pre-Pride March events that help to mobilize the LGBTQI/Queer community include film festivals, panel discussions, Q-Games, Treasure Hunt, Standups, Flashmob.

- **Queer-Ink Ventures Pvt. Ltd** is a social enterprise that was started in 2010 by Ms. Shobana S Kumar. It arose from a felt need to for queer specific products - for queer people and those in the mainstream. Later, QI decided to publish books and produce films partly because of a gap in availability of quality resources. They held a Queer Book Fair and Queer Events in 2010, published their first book in 2012 and produced their first short documentary film in 2014. A plan for an Online Film Festival in 2018, is in the pipeline.
- **Saathi** is IIT Bombay’s LGBTQ “positive space” and resource group for LGBTQ persons and who are confused about their sexuality or gender identities. The group advocates for the rights of gender and sexual minorities and for a more inclusive campus. It was established at the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai campus in 2011. The stated goal is to reach out to queer IIT students at its Mumbai campus. They provide IIT students, opportunities to become aware of queer sexualities and through various activities like awareness programmes, talks, discussions, Connect Stories, film screenings, Queer Lit fests, wall painting and theatre. LGBTQ youth living in India can share their stories on Saathi Connect, which is a multimedia anthology project, that also features written chronicles and video stories. The project was

funded by Rainbow Solidarity Foundation and coordinated by HST. The project was executed by Saathi IIT Bombay, the LGBTQ resource group of IIT Bombay. (<https://www.facebook.com/saathi.iitb/>)

- **Godrej India Culture Lab** was founded in 2011. It is a space supported by the company. It is a platform that “explores what it means to be modern and Indian” through various discussions and programmes related to culture in its myriad forms: including LGBT/queer cultures. Godrej has led by example for other organizations to follow: through its Godrej LOUD campus challenge, the Godrej Leadership Forum, Godrej’s Diversity and Inclusion initiative, the GPL Design Studio, and BBlunt. They strive to create spaces where new ideas and opportunities are constantly encouraged. “Agendas for innovation need not just be procedures and methodologies but also an underlying philosophy of creating a work environment conducive to a culture of thinking.” (<http://indiaculturelab.org/about/>)
- **MINGLE** is the acronym for Mission for Indian Gay and Lesbian Empowerment. It was started in January 2016 as a “nation-wide advocacy group”. As a part of Mingle’s ‘Coming Out’ Project, the first edition of an online booklet, “Living Life Openly: Mingle’s Coming Out guide for gay and lesbian Indians” was published in 2017. They plan to publish Indian Coming Out stories, in the future.
- **Color Positive** was established in December 2016. This group works through plays and events to take forward various causes - primarily LGBTQIA, animal rights, child rights, against child sexual abuse, and for women’s rights. They have an online presence since February 2017. The main focus is working with motivated persons (gay and allies) who are willing to lend support, energy time and talent (in the performing arts such as acting, singing and dancing) - through which they perform. Their first play ‘Jeena’ was held at the QAM event on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2017. It focused on the stigma that surrounds people who

are HIV positive; the need to “brave discrimination even in the LGBTQI community despite being a part of a highly discriminated group”. The second play was held in October 2017 and related to the issue of forced heterosexual marriages for queer people.

- **Mumbai Seenagers** is an initiative of Dr. Prasad Dandekar to reach out to gay men who are above age 50. The group was formed in 2017. These are men who probably lived at a time when discussions about being gay were extremely closeted. This group acts as a support group for elderly gay men who may feel discrimination even within the gay community. Then there are issues of “emotional and physical loneliness”, fear of falling ill and depression. This is a space for elderly gay men “to connect with each other and begin conversations they cannot have with other people.” The group has an active WhatsApp group that shares information, humour, news and events. The size of this groups is steadily on the rise. The group has already had a get-together event, a health related program and a talk on investments for one’s especially as the group comprises several gay seniors who need to plan for their future.

(<https://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai-news/mumbai-seenagers-initiative-gives-elderly-gay-men-safe-space-to-connect-over-cups-of-chai/story-SzHG7qLwXAVbqOQSaXMnGJ.html>)

- **Healthcare Professionals for Queer Indians (HPQI)** was launched in March 2018. It is an affirmative position on the part of health professionals to understand the Queer community and address their issues, concerns and needs. A seminar to discuss mental health issues faced by the LGBT+ community was organized in Mumbai on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2018, with over 500 delegates attending the sessions was its first event.

## 1.14 SUMMING UP

The chapter provides a *context* within which the researcher proposes to explore the lives of gay males in Mumbai and to ascertain the views of the general population, as this has far-reaching impact on the lives of both – those who identify as ‘gay’ or ‘homosexual’, as well as the families and various groups that they belong to. It sheds light on the practice of same-sex desire since early times; it also touches upon significant milestones in the struggle for gay rights; the journey of labelling that homosexuals have been subjected to; and last but not the least, the chapter ends on a positive note of various ‘agents’ which contribute to the gay movement. In the subsequent chapter, the researcher looks at various studies undertaken in India and abroad, to examine the challenges from within and without.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2.1 OVERVIEW**

This chapter looks at various studies related to male homosexuality (gay sexuality). It begins with the need for related studies. Then it examines the significant findings in research studies done in India and abroad. This is followed by a summary.

#### **2.2 THE 'WHY' OF THE STUDIES**

The review of literature is an important part of the research process as it provides a context to the present study; it throws up ideas, concepts and relationships between various variables related to the field of inquiry. This is important to avoid unnecessary duplication of research. It plays a role in the rationale of the present study. Such a review informs us about the research previously done in the particular area under investigation. It also sheds light on tools and techniques used and more importantly, the significant findings. The researcher is able to identify the constraints and limitations of the research. It provides the norms of deciding the significance of the study and thus it plays a role in the formulation of the research hypotheses.

#### **2.3 LITERATURE REVIEWED**

Within each area, the researcher has selected studies related to various aspects of gay sexuality. The studies are not necessarily only related to gay issues, but may indeed be a part of a wider spectrum of sexual minorities. Most of the studies were related to the following areas of enquiry:

- (a) The studies on attitudes towards homosexuality/LGBT.

- (b) The studies on the role of education.
- (c) The studies on MSM.
- (d) The studies about the lives of gay men.
- (e) The studies on social movements.
- (f) The studies on self-esteem and acceptance.
- (g) The studies on self-acceptance and coming out.
- (h) The studies on the debate between essentialist and constructivist views.
- (i) The studies related to prejudices and homophobia.
- (j) The studies linked to HIV and AIDS.
- (k) The studies from the point of view of Christian denominations.
- (l) The studies related to challenges of the movement in various cultures.
- (m) The studies related to media.

**Beach and Ford (1951)** conducted an anthropological study spanning 71 countries; they reported a favourable attitude to homosexuality in 49 of them. They report that “inversion of sexual behaviour” is found not only in human society but also observed in the animal world. The study was “cross-cultural and cross-species” comparison that suggested this inversion.

**Dank (1971), Kooden et al (1979), McDonald (1982) and Troiden (1979)** These studies examine “critical aspects of the coming out process”. According to them, coming out begins with one’s own acknowledgement of same-sex feelings and attraction towards members of one’s own sex. It includes one’s experiences in a gay sub-culture and the ability to label oneself as gay. Revealing one’s ‘gay’ identity to others is subsequent.

**Hammersmith and Weinberg (1973)** observe that gay males are able to construct “a positive commitment to homosexuality”. They also have better psychological adjustment if they have access to significant support systems such as family, friends, co-workers or associations.

**Srivastava (1974)** studied sex life in Central Jail for males, in Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh. It is estimated that between 10-15 percent of the inmates were 'situational' or 'habitual' homosexuals and 3 percent were 'committed' homosexuals. Rather than age difference, or the perceived power and prestige or intimacy between the partners, he discusses homosexuality inside the prison setting in relation to seniority of inmates within the prison set up.

**Weinberg and Williams (1974)** examined factors that enable individuals to come to terms with their homosexual orientation and who have better adjustment as a result. The study demonstrates that "well-adjusted individuals" were those persons who did not perceive homosexuality as a sickness when compared to those who had "poor psychological adjustment" among those who held so. The former category of persons also reported bonds with "supportive associations" with people who were gay. The latter category also tended to avoid contact with other gay persons.

In *Public attitudes toward homosexuality in New Zealand*, **Bowman (1979)** interviewed 321 adult homosexuals in two cities in New Zealand in 1978 to "assess public attitudes toward homosexuality." Their findings reveal "that attitudes expressed tend to be tolerant...of homosexuals and homosexuality." This could partly be attributed to the fact that discussions, musicals, theatre, television programmes on homosexuality and related issues are present in New Zealand and well as it's "widespread and well organized gay liberation movement."

On the matter of 'coming out' and the process of development of homosexual identity, **Cass (1979)**, **Coleman (1981)**, **Dank (1971)**, **Lee (1977)** and **Plummer (1975)** suggest that the process of coming out and the emergence of a homosexual identity occurs in a series of stages. It is not necessarily true that the direction is linear and positive. Often there is an unwillingness to accept that one is gay at the very start of this process. There would be tendencies to ward off



the same-sex feelings or attraction towards members of the same sex. There can be moments of experimentation and wonder *en route*. The final stage is one where there is gradual acceptance of the 'normalcy' of one's attraction to members of one's own sex – of one's homosexuality. At this point there emerges a positive sense of self, better adjustment and acceptance of one's gay (homosexual) identity and with this, the confidence to 'come out' as it were. The process is not always smooth sailing and there are likely to be moments of hesitation, questioning; "homosexual feelings may wave in and out from time to time, thus halting development."

**Jacobs and Tedford (1980)** observe when gay males have membership in gay groups, this results in developing positive self-esteem.

**Larsen, Reed and Hoffman (1980)** obtained data from 82 respondents to study the attitudes of heterosexuals towards homosexuals. There were observed differences on the bases of sex, academic specialization and attendance at church. In this study, females had a more favourable attitude to homosexuality than males. The study demonstrated a strong correlation between "peer attitudes, religiosity and authoritarianism" and attitude to homosexuality. The findings "confirm a predictable pattern of anti-homosexual attitudes rooted in a conservative and punitive outlook."

**MacCulloch (1980)** conducted clinical trials on 73 patients, 30 of whom were selected. He offers evidence of a biochemical cause of "primary homosexuality". The author implies that endorsement of the biological basis will positively alter attitudes "of the public and professions to homosexuals and to a different view of society by the homosexuals themselves".

**Greenberg and Bystryn (1982)** examine the historical impact of Christian intolerance of homosexuality from late antiquity right up to the Middle Ages. The study shows linkages between the rise of ascetic movements due to the

crises of the ancient Mediterranean world and Gregorian church reforms with intolerance.

The sexologist **Narayana Reddy (1982)** conducted a study mainly among men in Chennai which shows that 13 percent of men preferred having sex with men.

Another study conducted by **Reddy et al. (1983)** on a sample of 464 male college students in Chennai revealed that 11 percent of the subjects had experienced homosexuality.

**Rofes et al (1983)** in *Conversations with my class concerning gay issues* observes that when teachers speak in their classrooms about gay or lesbian issues, they play a role in breaking the silences that prevail. They emphasize the need for teachers to portray their lives verbally, as this would be a way of developing oral histories. This will go a long way in developing positive attitudes to gay issues.

**Cohn and Gallagher (1984)**. The role of public opinion and media, with regard to significant events that took place in the 1970s, had an effect on the rights of homosexuals in Maine. Against this backdrop, the authors conducted their investigation. These events were: the emergence of a homosexual student group at the local university coupled with a conference, gay rights as an agenda of the state's Democratic Party, decriminalization of homosexual activities and a subsequent student conference. Between all these events only the first stirred a hornet's nest. The study exhibits the role of media control in the emergence of issues that affect the public as well as the resolution of the same.

**Narayan (1984)** did a study of 300 male patients in an STI clinic in Lucknow in which he found that six patients admitted to having had their first sexual experience with men; four continued to have sex with men.

**Altman (1986)** traces the growth of gay studies. Reference is made to three significant landmarks: the pioneering works of the German physician, Magnus Hirschfeld - an outspoken advocate for sexual minorities during the war years; the role of psychologists and psychiatrists – whose works reflect how sexuality was controlled from the 19<sup>th</sup> century; and, the impact of the gay movement on academia which in turn led to “the legitimacy of homosexuality or the concept of gay/lesbian minority”. The author opines that gay studies should be “more than just apologetics for a social movement”. The challenges faced by the humanities discipline in the context of homosexuality revolve around “questions of identity, social construction, social regulation and the creation of community”. Thinkers from the social constructionist perspective differentiate between “homosexual practices and homosexual identity” – a view that was not “an observation first made by Foucault. In this respect, the author holds the view Foucault’s observation – was in fact far more influenced by the gay liberationist writings of the 1970s than is generally recognized”.

In *Homosexuality’s Brief Recovery: From Sickness to Health and Back Again*, **De Cecco (1987)** observes that sex roles change significantly and these tend to be “eclipsed by psychobiologists of homosexuality.” According to the author masculinity and femininity can “hardly be equivalent to biological femaleness and maleness”. They are “social metaphors”.

**Testa, Kinder and Ironson (1987)** studied 360 heterosexual subjects to test whether “heterosexual bias would emerge in the perception of loving relationships of gay males and lesbians”. The findings confirmed the hypothesis; gay and lesbian couples were perceived to be “less satisfied in their relationship” when compared to heterosexual couples. Not only this, but gay and lesbian couples were also perceived as being “less in love” when compared to heterosexual couples. The study was based solely on the perception of college students. “Uncovering same-sex relationship myths” held by heterosexuals could go a long way in the process of re-socializing society.

**Clift (1988)** investigates the attitudes of 80 first-year college students towards lesbian and gay men, and 'homosexuality and education'. He studies the effect of a taught unit on homosexuality and education, to examine its impact on the subjects. The study shows significant sex differences: women were more tolerant towards homosexuals in general when compared to men in the study. Those students who self-identified as exclusively heterosexual, but who had homosexual contact were more positive in their attitude. This, however, could not be said with regard to the males in the study, in reference to homosexuality and education.

**Stevenson (1988)** attempted to study the effect of courses on human sexuality and its impact on tolerance for homosexuality. The findings are that students who are exposed to human sexuality education have a positive inclination towards homosexuality and are also more tolerant of homosexual behaviour.

**Whitley, Jr. (1988)** in the study *Sex Differences in Heterosexuals' Attitudes toward Homosexuals: It Depends upon What You Ask* obtained data from first-year introductory psychology students (females n=124, males n= 88) who identified as exclusively heterosexual and whose ages were between 17 and 24 years. The results of this study resonated with Kite's (1984) suggestion that "people hold more negative attitudes toward homosexuals of their own sex, at least in regard to contact with homosexuals." However, there were no sex differences as regards items relating to "personal threat". "Fear of homosexual advances" was observed more among males than females in the sample.

**Newman (1989)** presents a basis for the inclusion of content related to lesbian and gay issues in the social work curriculum. The purpose of introducing such content was to help provide "accurate information about gay and lesbian issues" and to minimize prevalent "homophobic attitudes." Another purpose was

to provide skills for “effective social work practice” in dealing with future gay or lesbian clients.

**Rothblum and Cole (1989)** report that “homosexuals are psychologically identical to adult persons with a heterosexual identity.” They conclude that this is reflective of the fact that “homosexuality by itself” is not problematic.

**Britton (1990)** in *Homophobia and Homosociality: An Analysis of Boundary Maintenance* examines the effect of “general religious and social conservatism” and “homosociality” on homophobia. It was found that “institutional homophobia and homosociality” had a significant direct effect on homophobia. At least part of the homophobia of the traditional groups in society may relate to their support of all-male institutions in which homosexuality is seen to be taboo.

**Halperin (1990)** in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* discusses the debate surrounding constructivism and essentialism. His own position comes from a social constructivist perspective.

**Knauft (1990)** in *The Question of Ritualised Homosexuality among the Kiwai of South New Guinea* makes reference to Gilbert Herdt’s ethnographic review of institutionalized homosexuality in certain pre-colonial Melanesian societies. There were initiation ceremonies to endorse homosexual customs though these were “constrained by broad cultural rules and social roles”.

In a study of identical and fraternal twins with non-twin biological brothers and unrelated adopted brothers, **Bailey and Pillard (1991)** observe that sexual orientation develops as a result of the influence of genetic factors as well as the social environment.

**Quiros et al (1991)** in an international interview on *Nicaragua's Lesbian and Gay Movement* - a “product of 11 years of revolution” and a very short history as a movement, comments on the conservative society that they hail from. Within this scenario where society is “machista and intolerant”, there are no laws to protect minorities. It is a conformist society where ignorance and misunderstanding thrive. They see the only way to tackle the problem of gays and lesbians is through discussion and by disseminating information. This will help break myths and taboos and thus “break the silence”. Unlike some other places which had other movements like the feminist movement to draw strength from, Nicaragua has not had any such because even feminism is perceived as a western import and this is resisted by the local cultural ideas.

**Yingling (1991)** argues that cultural influence shapes attitudes that people develop towards homosexuality. All sexual identities and practices are a matter of being constructed by the culture of a given society at a given point in time. He seems to think that homosexuality is a “culturally grounded reading of how construction has changed across history”.

**Ahmed (1992)** and **Singh et al (1992)** studied truck drivers. The author found that 15 percent of the sample studied, reported having had at least one homosexual experience whereas 5 percent described themselves as bisexual.

**Parasuraman et al (1992)** interviewed 2,293 male patients at the Institute of Venerology, Chennai, during 1990-1992. Three percent of the patients, that is, 73 of them reportedly identified as homosexual. They engaged in sex work or worked as dancers to earn a living. A majority of the patients were young adults in the age range 21-30 years. While having unprotected anal sex or oral sex, they performed both, active and passive roles.

**Savara and Sridhar (1992)** report that a survey was conducted by the famous ‘*Debonair*’ magazine in 1991. It surveyed males from the upper and

middle economic strata. Among those men who were interviewed, 37 percent (n=1158) had a previous homosexual experience. Unmarried males who had had their first sexual experience with a man, constituted 12 percent. Whereas single unmarried males who reported having a homosexual experience stood at 8 percent of the sample.

**Dowsett (1993)**, an academic who works on issues concerned with homosexuality in general and the gay community in particular, seeks to explore the difference between straight and gay men. The study is situated in Australia where he observed the shift from closeted activism to a society where gay men lived outside “straight” society. Gay communities functioned like a political base from which they could challenge discourses about human sexuality particularly with regard to health and legal matters. Discussion on LGBT issues have increased several-fold; it has led to the “the recasting of sexuality as social production”. It was found that gay men, like any other, construct their relations with women and these relations are not an intrinsic quality of sexual preference. A concern of the gay movement has been the need for greater support.

**Greenberg and Bailey (1993)** argue on the side of caution “in attributing moral, legal and policy consequences to discoveries of biological factors to explain homosexuality”. They state that all human behaviour – homosexual or heterosexual - stems from biology, meaning, it is the result of neurophysiology. They warn that “homosexual conduct harms only those who take offence to it, and that offence is taken on irrational and often inhumane grounds”.

**Hamer et al (1993)** report having evidence from the field of endocrinology which suggest a biological basis for homosexuality to some extent. They found that a man whose brother is gay has a 13 percent chance of being gay, whereas one whose brother is not homosexual had a significantly lower chance of becoming one.

**Khalil (1993)** in *A note on the Study of Homosexuality in the Arab/Islamic Civilization* mentions how the local literature had representations of homosexuality and heterosexuality, and that it was the impact of westernization that brought homophobia to the Middle East. The author points out to the need for researchers to trace the sexual mores of the region from the past to the present value system, which is claimed to be the result of westernization.

**William Eskridge, Jr. (1993)** studied human cultures from the ancient Egyptian civilization to present day Asian cultures. His study revealed the presence of same-sex practices in many cultures.

**Basu (1994)** conducted a survey of males and females from Chennai, Kolkata and Mumbai. Among the males in the sample, 5 percent reported having had a homosexual experience at least once.

**Cullen, J. (1994)** explores homophobia among social work students in Ontario (n=173). The study investigated correlations “between levels of homophobia, demographics, course content” on lesbians and gays. The findings indicate low levels of homophobia in the sample; course content had very little on the subject of LGBT issues or awareness and respondents felt ill-equipped to deal with homosexual clients though they had much contact with gay and lesbian-identified individuals. The study reported anguish about the stigma attached to homosexuality, and its consequent oppression of lesbians and gays.

**Evans, L. R. (1994)** explores awareness among social work students (n=204) about working with lesbians and gays. The study sought to investigate if their social work education about LGBT issues had any impact on homophobia. The study clearly demonstrated the positive effect of such training enabling the students to deal with future lesbian or gay clients. It affirmed the need for the curriculum to continue to integrate issues about homosexuality.



**Gagnon et al (1994)** in a national survey (n=3000) obtained data about sexual orientation and same-sex behaviour among adult Americans. Of the adult males, 9% reported that they had sex with another male since puberty. It reported that nearly 50 percent of the males in the sample who had same-sex experiences previously continued to have such experiences after the age of eighteen.

In his study of the Brazilian gay liberation movement, **Green (1994)** observes the positive and direct impact of the gay movements in the wider international arena, on the Brazilian gay movement. The dynamic role of the working classes and students shattered the myth of an indomitable military. Homophobia and oppression have not gone away; they continue to pervade society. The result of authoritarian powers in Latin America has historically resulted in a reversal towards conservative religious and family values, akin to “post-1973 Chile, post-1976 Argentina and Brazil under military dictatorship.” Under such regimes, homosexuals become easy targets.

**Savara and Sridhar (1994)** surveyed five occupational groups in four towns located in Maharashtra. Among their respondents, penetrative sex with males was reported among 3 percent of the married respondents and the figure stood at 2.4 percent among the unmarried males in the study. Among these two groups, the unmarried males had had their homosexual experience at an earlier age (15 years) when compared to the married males in the sample (20 years). The findings suggest a correlation between economic status and homosexual experience.

**Allen and Demo (1995)** examined articles from journals related to family research, which were published from 1980-1993. Their aim was to explore the extent to which the journal includes gay and lesbian relations with regard to family literature. It was found to be underrepresented and problematic, and their diversity was ignored. They exhorted the need for research directions to improve knowledge of gay and lesbian families.

**Friedman (1995)** examines “Herek’s Theory that homophobic attitudes are best understood in the context of the social and psychological needs of the individual.” The study sought to ascertain attitudes towards homosexual persons among counsellors from Louisiana. The findings reveal the presence of homophobia among 42 percent of the sample. Clearly, this is a frightening thought as counsellors are meant to embrace diversity, including that of sexualities. The study implies a need for counsellors to clarify their own position on homosexuality, as this would have a bearing on their clientele and relations in their professional practice.

**Jenness (1995)** did an “empirical study of 32 gay/lesbian sponsored anti-violence projects in the United States”. The study demonstrated the unparalleled role of such communities in bringing attention to the challenges of anti-homosexual violence. Projects like these have enabled the understanding of violence meted out to gay and lesbian minorities. The analysis suggests that it has led to a spurt in social movement growth. Recognizing the interdependence of processes that lie beneath social problems, as well as the growth of social movements “makes it possible to apply the analysis of social problems” when engaged in the study of social movements.

**O’Neill (1995)** in *Canadian Social Work Education and Same-Sex Sexual Orientation* asserts that it is not a matter of conjecture that same-sex sexual orientation is under wraps; this is based on actual data. The findings beckon the need for practical ways of garnering change in social work education. This will help create a safe climate, for example, through the creation of policies and programmes within social work schools, for open discussion of issues pertaining to same-sex relationships.

**Roberts (1995)**, through discussion with gay men from Brazil, Jamaica, India and the UK, analyzes the evolution of gay identity and social movements in developing countries over the past 20 years. The author studies how gay identity

and the rise of social movement organizations emerged in response to the rise of the AIDS pandemic in many developing nations. The study seeks to find out whether homosexuality is more than a 'western pocket phenomenon'. The findings state that there has been an increase in a sense of community consciousness among gay males and lesbians. This, in turn, promoted safe sex practices and the organizations began getting the support of local groups and their governments respectively. In countries where civil rights are lacking, problems are faced by all people, gay or otherwise. The research ends with the hope that by the time of the Golden Jubilee of 'Stonewall', homosexuals "will be proud communities, globally, practising safe sex and with notable advances in civil rights across the globe".

**Balasubrahmanyam (1996)** in *Gay Rights in India* calls for support from all allies and "progressive groups" who fight for various civil rights in Indian society, in order that Section 377 may be repealed. He laments that even in "progressive circles" there is much ignorance on matters pertaining to homosexuality. According to the author, there might need to be a "far greater struggle" for the colonial section to be repealed, which then might enable more gays and lesbians to be liberated from the closet.

**Cason, G. L. (1996)** studied the *Effects of a psychosocial intervention on mental health service providers' attitudes towards lesbians and gay men*. The study included 595 mental health personnel who were provided intervention to dispel negative attitudes towards lesbian and gay persons as this would have an effect on their professional treatment of clients who identify as lesbian or gay. The study bared that the effect of the hour-long intervention did not create much impact. Their attitude scores were not linked to gender nor age but related to identification with a religious denomination, education, 'contact' with homosexual persons, ethnic identity and ideology.

**Cribben, J. (1996)** examined the “cognitive and affective attitudes” among 118 occupational therapists to determine its impact on their attitudes towards lesbians and gays. It was demonstrated that professionals who had friends from the lesbian and gay community had positive cognitive and affective attitudes towards sexual minorities. Factors such as membership of religious institutions and educational level were variables that affected only cognitive attitudes.

**Fisher, J. B. (1996)** conducted an experimental study with two groups of educators and counsellors to investigate whether an intensive 27-hour educational programme on GLB issues would help to reduce homophobia. The results were found to be positive. It was suggested that the school curriculum should be worked on to relate to community needs and to explore the effects of such changes over a period of time.

**Joseph (1996)** A study of New Delhi’s Tihar jail inmates reports the occurrence of the homosexual behaviour.

**Joseph (1996)** in *Gay and Lesbian Movements in India* suggests that the gay and lesbian movement provides not merely “alternate identities” but possibilities for the reconstruction of social reality. Despite its marginality, the gay and lesbian movement “rejects the monolith and the mass. It is a reminder that if forced conformity is to be challenged, it must be by representing human lives as multiple; selfhood as several; communities as voluntary and various.”

The **National AIDS Control Organisation** (NACO) did a study in 32 States and UTs in India in order to map ‘high-risk behaviour.’ It was observed that there are 2,859 MSM sites spread across India in a population of 148,327 MSM. The municipal corporation area in Mumbai had 39,905 MSM. “This was followed by Delhi (7,532), Tamil Nadu (6,560), Gujarat (5,966), Andhra Pradesh (5,082) and West Bengal (3,886).”

**Okin (1996)** observes that women and men have always been seen as “opposites” and urges the need to go beyond the dichotomy of “sexual differences as it contributes to anxiety about and stigmatization of homosexuality.” The author maintains that the reduction of social importance to gender is likely to reduce “hostility to homosexuality.”

**Sulfridge, R. M. (1996)** explored the impact of communication on the subject of homosexuality in a learning environment, to see if this would go a long way in reducing homophobic attitudes and beliefs. The study involved 145 university students. The findings indicate a link between “homophobic attitudes and class type”. Homophobia was found to have reduced as a result of panel discussions in the class on issues related to homosexuality.

**Tejpal (1996)** A study of married persons living in eight cities was carried out, in which it was reported that 16 percent of the respondents acknowledged having had at least one homosexual experience. “The prevalence of homosexuality was significantly higher and had a higher level of acceptance in Lucknow when compared to other metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai.”

**Pope (1997)** examines some of the claims that homosexuality can be explained by natural factors. The author goes on to explore how these become the bases for a variety of forms of “natural law ethics.” He argues for the need for an “informed account of whether or to what extent homosexual activity can contribute to integral human flourishing, rather than focusing on its status as “natural or “unnatural”.

**Purkayastha et al (1997)** A study of street children from Kolkata reveals that there are homosexual experiences between the young and older street children. It is reported that this intimacy ensures some kind of security from the older children, for the children who live off the streets.

**Yip (1997)** The descriptions provided by 60 gay men in partnerships and who identified as Christian was the basis for analyses. The study shed light on the basic strategies used by gay Christians to “manage the stigma of being a gay Christian”. Especially in the early stage, they experienced dissonance between their sexuality and their “internalized religious values” regarding homosexuality. However, they empowered themselves work towards educating the church; to attack “the stigma and the stigmatizer by dismissing their validity and credibility.” The experiences show how they have been empowered ideologically and this provided them with the impetus to defend themselves ‘to attack the attacker.’”

**Epprecht (1998)** in *The ‘Unsayings’ of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity* states that Zimbabwean society is in denial about the existence of homosexuality. It is also a society where masculinity is a dominant ideology, especially among the black community. He also reports that the local people believe that homosexuality is not indigenous; it is perceived to be a western import, as well as believed to be pushed by ‘the West’. The author emphasizes the need for researchers to study the silences that around masculinity.

**Kite and LaMar (1998)** steered a study (n=270) to explore “attitudes towards gays and lesbians would vary by component - condemnation/tolerance, morality, contact, and stereotypes, and by the sex of the person being rated.” It was found that males reported more negative attitudes toward homosexuals when compared to females. Also, attitudes towards lesbians were more favourable when compared to those towards gay men on all factors. Women’s rated gays and lesbians were similar with reference to the ‘contact’ scale.

**Nayyar and Rajashekhar (1998)** led a study of street children who participated in homosexual behaviour. The findings report that 73 percent of street children have homosexual experiences with those who are elder to them.

**Savin-Williams and Dube (1998)** in *Parental Reactions to their Child's Disclosure of a Gay/Lesbian Identity* report that parents seem to go through “a series of stages similar to those described by Kubler-Ross (1969): denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.”

**Smith (1998)** in her study *Social Movements and Equality-Seeking: The Case of Gay Liberation in Canada* identifies the 1970s as the period during which the fight for civil rights had a positive bearing on defining gay and lesbian politics. It brought the fact of their oppression into the public domain. Gay liberationists were in the process of building a political movement. The researcher observes how social movements can exploit the political opportunity structure, even if there are a certain disadvantages in doing so.

**Stanhope (1998)** recognizes that the gay rights movement is not one piece of monolithic perspective; however, in her view, the impact of determinism and religious thinking has brought limitations on the movement. She believes this position reinforces thinking in terms of binaries and excludes individuals who don't fit into the slots.

**Abraham and Kumar (1999)** studied 966 college students in Mumbai who belonged to the lower income group. The findings state and little less than one-fifth of the sample shared about having had homosexual experiences.

**Herek and John (1999)** did a survey of black and white heterosexuals (n= 1455) located in the US to ascertain differences of perception of heterosexuals towards lesbian and gay persons. The study demonstrated gender differences in the “cognitive organization” in the attitudes of heterosexual persons towards homosexuals.

**Rogers (1999)** in *Biblical Interpretation regarding Homosexuality in the Recent History of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)* demonstrates how

Presbyterian Christian church in America has been constantly revising their Faith declaration - to be a more liberal and inclusive church in accordance with the “spirit of Jesus”. The church exhorted its members to understand and interpret the Bible from a cultural perspective rather than following it in its literal sense. There is thus the possibility that such a dynamic church will be open to gay ordination.

**Willett (1999)** in *Proud and Employed: The Gay and Lesbian Movement and the Victorian Teachers’ Unions in the 1970s* studied how social movements exert influence on society – on its “complex relationship of structures” which are driven by its culture and social history. Reference is made to arenas – public, media, political which have their own purposes – its “own unique logic and processes”, its own set of ‘competitors, audiences and “gatekeepers”’. The effects of such interactions affect the results that may be successful, or not. The thrust of this article is to explore how the queer movement affects the labour movement over-all, and more specifically its effect on the Victorian teachers’ unions. Having overcome many hurdles from within the education sector, the teachers’ union has helped dispel “homophobic prejudice” to a large extent. This has led to a positive impact on “policy and practice”. The slogan ‘proud and employed’ became more real for all involved in the struggle.

**Ægisdóttir and Whitley (2000)** explored the attitudes of heterosexual persons (n=253) towards lesbians and gays with regard to hypotheses based on gender beliefs, social dominance and authoritarianism. All these three factors were significant among middle-income homes. Gender differences were related to the beliefs about gender that were held as well as the dominant group. The connection between the attitudes towards lesbians and gays and authoritarianism was found to be significant.

**Alderson (2000)** in *Beyond Coming Out: Experiences of Positive Gay Identity* through interviews with 16 gay men in the age range 16 to 61, focusses on self-esteem and development of a positive gay identity.



Within the American context, **Patterson (2000)** reviews different kinds of relationships – “same-gender, parent-child and other relationships”. It was observed that despite a decade marked by controversies surrounding LGBT relationships, gay and lesbian relationships are largely characterized by positive adjustment. The study reports that questions pertaining to individual differences among family relationships of lesbian and gay men are being addressed.

**Asthana and Oostrogels (2001)** in *The social construction of male 'homosexuality in India: implications for HIV transmission and prevention* conducted an ethnographic study of the MSM community in Madras. The report demonstrates the problem of using a western (North American and Western European) oriented understanding of homosexuality when making efforts to understand MSM behaviour in India. The authors highlight the challenges faced when planning for HIV prevention.

**Fetner (2001)** in *The Impact of Christian Anti-Gay Activism on Lesbian and Gay Movement Claims* explores the shifts in lesbian and gay activists' claim at two historical moments: prior to the beginning of Anti-Gay movements from Christian communities and their subsequent entry into politics in the US in 1977. The findings support the claim that new opportunities emerge as a result of opposing movements.

**Loftus (2001)** uses the General Social Survey data from 1973 to 1978 to examine how attitudes of Americans towards homosexuality have changed. The data obtained shows that Americans differentiate between “morality of homosexuality and civil liberties of homosexuals”. The study reports that since the 1990s there has been a positive change towards moral issues surrounding homosexuality and greater willingness to enhance civil liberties.

**Whitley (2001)** examined through two studies, how attitudes towards homosexuality may be coloured by the gender role system that is prevalent in

society. Notions of hyper-masculinity, modern sexism and conventional gender roles had a bearing on attitudes though not gender-role, in the first study. The second study demonstrated that the influence of sexism of all shades, hypermasculinity, and hyperfemininity impacted attitudes towards homosexual persons.

**Bernstein (2002)** in *Identities and Politics: Toward a Historical Understanding of the Lesbian and Gay Movement* demonstrates how the gay and lesbian movement highlights both political goals as well as cultural goals. The author argues that the political influences the cultural, and therefore they should not be seen as antagonistic. When dominant constructions of gender are challenged, this paves the way for new policies and laws. Dominant cultural patterns, practices and beliefs when confronted and have gone a long way towards shaking up dominant conceptions of gender.

**Croucher (2002)** study demonstrates the two-way positive impact between the gay liberation movement and the process of democratic transitioning in South Africa. It became the first country in the world to openly support gay and lesbian rights in its Constitution in 1996. From that time onwards, sodomy has been decriminalized by its courts and a host of other rights for homosexuals have been ordained.

**Gwadz et al (2002)** studied 140 GLB youth to find out about their experiences of gay-related stress at three assessment periods across twelve months. The sources of such stress included: issues of negative attitudes, emotional distress, symptoms of depression, and discomfort about homosexuality. The hypothesis of an association between stress and subsequent distress among GLB youth was demonstrated.

**Mudu (2002)** in *Repressive tolerance: The gay movement and the Vatican in Rome* examines the conflicts that emerged between the churches' agenda of

celebration of its Holy Jubilee Year and the plan for the World Gay Pride week in which over 200,000 gays marched through the streets of Rome's historical centre in Rome, in July 2000. The State was brought into this conflict of interests. Harassment of the gay community reflected the Conservatives' lack of openness to bring gay issues to the fore, in the public domain. Also, the image of the city for its touristic or political gains was significant. "The Jubilee highlighted the potential of the traditionally weak gay movement for defying practices that would change the city's future identity."

**Olson and Cadge (2002)** in a survey of 62 Protestant clergies across the US, tries to explore how clergy understands and articulates issues related to homosexuality in the midst of heated denominational debate within the church on the same. Most clergy tended to approach the matter in a "pragmatic rather than prophetic" manner.

**Bernstein (2003)** in *Nothing ventured, nothing gained? Conceptualizing social movement "success" in the Lesbian and Gay Movement* uses a multidimensional framework to examine the effects of the lesbian and gay movement. "Movements effects include political, mobilization and cultural outcomes." What motivates gay and lesbian activists are related to the factors that motivate them and their notions of what constitutes success. The article throws light on how activists make sense of and negotiate their external environment. This explains why some goals are assigned a higher priority compared to others.

**Brewer (2003)** tries to explore the phenomena of a surge in support of gay rights among the American public. This research examines predispositions such as egalitarianism, ideology, moral standards, attitudes towards lesbians and gays have a bearing on people's understanding and response to policy formation and support for gay rights. The study analyzed data from the National Election Studies between 1992 and 2000 which confirmed the increasingly favourable attitude towards rights of "gay rights policies".

**Burkhart (2003)** in *Collective and Individual identities: South Asian Gay Men in North America*, explores South Asian gay men's storylines of how they develop relations with their families and about their struggle "to build supportive gay, South Asian-identified communities".

**Ewing et al (2003)** conducted a study where one male and one female lecturer delivered either a strong or a weak lecture to students who either (a) believed that the lecturer was a gay man or a lesbian, or (b) did not receive information about the lecturer's sexual orientation. The objective was to ascertain the effect of "attributional ambiguities" on students' evaluation of teachers. It was found that there was no relationship between the lecture quality and the lecturer's known identity. However, lecture quality strongly influenced ratings of lecturers whose sexual orientation was undisclosed. Students who were aware of the sexual orientation of the teachers who gave strong lectures tended to give lower ratings to the lecturer. This was not found in the group that did not know about the lecturer's sexual identity. In the case of weak lectures, participants rated known gay and lesbian lecturers more positively than they did the others. The authors discussed the possibility that students might manipulate their ratings to avoid discriminating against homosexual lecturers.

**Hill et al (2004)** uses data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to find out if political orientation has any bearing on the relationship between how conservative Protestants think and their attitude to homosexuality. The findings demonstrate that conservative Protestants are more politically conservative and as a result, they are greater chances of them not accepting homosexuality.

**Steffens and Wagner (2004)** studied a sample of 2,000 self-identified heterosexual German men and women, in order to assess their attitudes towards GLB. They found that younger respondents held more favourable attitudes when compared to older persons; also, women held more positive attitudes towards lesbians and gays than men. Male respondents held more encouraging attitudes

toward lesbians than towards gay men, whereas women did not differentiate between both. It is pertinent to note that, the attitudes of women towards bisexuals were not as favourable as they were towards homosexual persons. Both, same-sex and male-female sexual attraction were substantially related with attitudes.

**Boellstorff (2005)** demonstrates how several Indonesian men identify as both “gay” and “Muslim”. He seeks to understand the relationship between religion and sexuality through an ethnographic study of gay Muslims. Within a dominant culture that sees being gay and Muslim as unsustainable in the public sphere, the author explores how “gay Muslim subjectivity takes form in this incommensurability between religion and desire”.

According to **Kurdek (2005)** factors that predict relationship quality tend to be the same for gay, lesbian and heterosexual married couples. On the whole, the research shows no significant differences between a heterosexual couple and gay/lesbian couples.

**Negy and Eisenman (2005)** compared the affective and attitudinal reactions of African-American university students (n=70) and White students (n=140) towards GLB individuals. The results showed that initially, African-Americans scored higher on homophobia and homo-negativity. All respondents in the study demonstrated that gender and religiosity variables significantly anticipated homophobia and homo-negativity. The findings also revealed significant sex differences in the sample.

**Parekh (2005)** conducted a survey of gay males in Gujarat (n=150). The findings show that there was preference given to the external facial looks of men while selecting partners; parks were the most commonly used cruising sites and then only public toilets; all the respondents had homosexual experiences and only 35 percent had heterosexual experiences. Fifty percent of the sample were open about their relationships and had long-term gay relationships. Most gay males in

the sample preferred anal sex and fellatio to any other sexual behaviour. The study also positively correlated homosexual identity with psychological adjustment.

**Çirakoglu, Okan C. (2006)** conducted a study among 334 university students. The aim was to explore the factors that constituted the students' causal attributions for the labels - "gay", "lesbian" and "homosexual", significant differences based on labels, and if social contact with homosexual people influenced their attitudes. The maximum negative attitude was towards the label 'gay'. Those students who had previous contact with lesbians or gays held more positive attitudes toward homosexuality unlike those who did not. There were sex differences with reference to attitudes towards homosexuality.

**Dyke and Cress (2006)** in *Political Opportunities and Collective Identity in Ohio's Gay and Lesbian Movement, 1970-2000* examines how gender dynamics impact the struggles of the movement. Changes in the socio-political context influence the 'gendered collective identity' and 'gender composition' of the gay and lesbian rights movement over time. The study demonstrates how "high levels of opposition and mobilization of stigma" in effect egged the gay and lesbian community to overcome barriers and work collectively for their shared objectives. "Sexual identity becomes a salient organizing structure during the 1980s as threats from AIDS and anti-gay right prompted the breakdown of barriers between gay men and lesbian women." The gay and lesbian movements had to constantly deal with the increase in stigma generated by counter-movements. The research demonstrates, "when a group with a shared identity is targeted and demonized by an active and vocal opposition, that identity may become more salient and inspire collaboration across other group divisions".

**Engle, McFalls Jr., Gallagher III and Curtis (2006)** in *The Attitudes of American Sociologists toward Causal Theories of Male Homosexuality* makes an effort to understand how American sociologists perceive the origins of

homosexuality. The study finds that a large majority fit into what is referred to as the 'essentialist' position, rather than the 'constructionist' model. However "analysis of literature from 1988 onward indicates that a hybrid model is emerging" and this would include elements from both the essentialism and constructionism.

**Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera (2006)** examined attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in a sample of northern California residents of Mexican descent (n=616). The attitudes of males towards homosexual males were more negative than females' attitudes. Females expressed relatively more negative attitudes towards lesbians. On the whole, negative attitudes towards homosexual persons seemed to be correlated with those who came from more conservative backgrounds and those who were swayed by fundamentalist religious ideas. Also, in terms of age, they were older, not as educated, had more children, associated with conservative political parties and were less likely to have social contact with homosexual people. The findings demonstrate that the association between attitudes and the variables like education, number of children, personal contact were found more among those who identified with American than Mexican culture, and those who conversed mostly in English.

**Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter and Braun (2006)** examines changes in sexual identity through a longitudinal study of 156 GLB youth. Fifty-seven percent of the youth in the study, consistently self-identified as lesbian or gay, and they scored higher on aspects of the "identity integration process" when compared to youth who transitioned to gay or lesbian identity - who were previously bisexual. The hypothesis that females are more sexually fluid was rejected; the study showed that female youth in the sample were less likely to change their identities when compared to their male counterparts.

According to **Savin-Williams (2006)**, researchers usually define homosexuality in terms of "sexual romantic attraction or arousal, sexual

behaviour and sexual identity – three expressions of sexual orientation” to address the questions - “Who’s gay?” and its logical follow-up, “Does it matter?” However, according to the author, there is imperfect correlation between them and they are “inconsistently predictive of each other”, leading to variable conclusions as regards the number and nature of homosexual populations. Based on which component is used, the “prevalence rate of homosexuality in the general population ranges between 1 and 21 percent”. This has real-world consequences, for example, on policy, support for LGBT programmes, GSAs, and the inclusion of gay models in mass media.

**Kole (2007)** in *Globalizing queer? AIDS, homophobia and the politics of sexual identity in India* explores the debate around globalization and queer politics in a developing country with reference to India. The author holds that the “twin process of globalization and the AIDS epidemic” has increased mobilization among the queer communities in India.

**Sangvai (2007)** From the 1980s there have been changes in social movements which investigated the acknowledged notions of development and political participation in India. Even though their efforts revolve around human concerns, their “involvement and impact” reach out to the diverse populations for whose cause they exist.

Following the 2014 election, **Djupe and Neiheisel (2008)** surveyed church ministers in Columbus, Ohio to understand the extent and diversity of discussion on homosexuality. The study reported that the “quantity and diversity of clergy discussion” increased when their church communities lacked unity; also it was found that when their own views differed from that of their congregation on specific issues, they avoided discussion of the same.

**Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008)** “applied Weiner’s attribution theory of controllability to explain individual beliefs about the causes of homosexuality.”



The cause of homosexuality is perceived as either “controllable” or “uncontrollable”. When perceived as “controllable”, it implies that it is socially learnt behaviour; the individual can make a choice. When the cause is perceived to be uncontrollable, then biological basis is the ground for justification. The former results in a negative attitude towards homosexuals and leads to less support for LGBT policies. On the other hand, if people perceive the cause as uncontrollable, the effects are positive and there is greater support by way of policies. Their analysis from data that was obtained showed “positive feelings towards gays, support for gay civil rights, civil unions and same-sex marriage which were strongly determined by a genetic attribution for homosexuality.”

**Malcolm (2008)** examines whether married bisexual men experience increased psychological adjustment on leaving their heterosexual relationship to assume a gay identity. The findings of the study of 201 married men with same-sex sexual interests show that psychological adjustment was significantly correlated with “homosexual identity formation” (HIF). The findings suggest that when gay men who were hitherto in heterosexual relationships, take on a gay identity publicly, this has a positive impact on their psychological wellness.

**Vanita and Kidwai (2008)** in *Same-Sex Love in India: A Literary History* have put together “an encyclopedic collection of writings of love between women and love between men” who are biologically unrelated, from ancient times up to the modern, through references from Vyasa’s Mahabharata (Sanskrit), Vatsyayana’s Kamasutra (Sanskrit), Jagannath Das (Oriya), Amir Khusro (Persian and Hindi), Najmuddin Shah Mubarak’s ‘Abru’ (Urdu), Bankim Chandra Chatterjee’s Indira (Bengali), Bhupen Khakhar (Gujarati), Vijay Tendulkar’s Mitra’s Story (Marathi), Ambai’s ‘One Person and Another’ (Tamil) and lots more. The efforts of the authors are to show how same-sex love is “represented or expressed” even though it may not have been acted upon.

**Ellis (2009)** demonstrates that even when there is an ‘equality agenda’ in place in British universities, campus homophobia continues to make LGBT students feel unsafe to be open about their sexual orientation and gender identity. This leads to a feeling of vulnerability and marginalization. “Enhancing the campus climate is therefore of benefit to the whole university community: to ignore homophobia is to impoverish the quality of life for all who work, study and visit there.”

**Garcia-Aroyo (2009)** in *Whistling in the Dark: 21 Queer Interviews* shares the stories based on the real lives of gay men – their problems, coming out challenges, and the ways they negotiate their lives. The interviews shed light on the commonalities between the lives of gay men and yet, each has their own story to tell.

**National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) (2009)** has resolved to provide leadership in including LGBT issues while training teachers. The council also urged NCTE members to address the needs of LGBT students, children of LGBT families and also proposes the inclusion of LGBT at work.

**Weinberg (2009)** demonstrates how educators have a significant responsibility to prepare learners for the global community. The author emphasizes the key role played by language in the cognitive process. He opines that the manner in which language is used will facilitate self-acceptance among LGBT students. It can “model respect and fairness for others”.

**Adams (2010)** illustrates how eight “premises of sexuality, gay identity and the closet” contribute to the existence of a paradox. The significance of ‘coming out’ is due to the invisibility of one’s gay identity and hence the three are a related, “inescapable and ever-present process.” The author suggests ways by which homosexuals can devise means to negotiate the paradox through interaction.

**Renn (2010)** examines the existing LGBT and queer literature that is available in higher education. The author laments that “Queering theory was acceptable, queering the organization was not.” This was found to be true in educational research. The author expresses the need for education researchers who investigate non-LGBT topics “to use queer theory to examine institutional “policies, programmes and systems of knowledge that presume fixed categories”.

In her dissertation *LGBT Educator’s perceptions of School Climate*, **Wright (2010)** demonstrates how attitudes of administrators and district policies go a long way in contributing significantly to the construction of safe environments for LGBT teachers. The study is was done on 514 self-identified LGBT educators. The findings reported are: the experience of homophobia equally across all groups; LGBT educators experience job and personal safety differently; their area of residence has a bearing on their sense of perception of threats to job security was particularly observed in elementary schools; the number of years in teaching affected their sense of “job safety” and educators who were engaged in GSA work experience felt more secure at work.

**Cramer and Ford (2011)** obtained data from a national survey in 2010 and observed that LGBT staff and students members had no immunity from tireless “threats to their hard-won inclusion and acceptance”. In fact, even in institutions that were committed to LGBT issues and which had inclusive policies in place, “the fear or experience of customary and irrational prejudice” continues to pose problems for the LGBT community. They reported that many educational institutions had included “sexual orientation in their institutional non-discriminatory policies, even if most have not been as effective in getting gender identity and gender expression added.”

The central focus for **DePalma (2011)** in *The no outsiders project: In search of queer primary pedagogies* was to examine same-sex attraction in children’s books. Her aim was to tackle the issues of heteronormativity,

transphobia and homophobia. She got seven researchers from the UK to work with twenty-six primary school teachers for a period of two years. “The study project explored promises for change, by connecting practices and worldviews that do not always resolve precisely.”

**Gomillion and Giuliano (2011)** used surveys and in-depth interviews to investigate the impact of media on GLB identity. They reported that media, through its role models inspired them to attain self-realization, which in turn enabled them ‘coming out’ too. They suggested that “increasing the availability of GLB role models in the media may positively influence GLB identity.”

**Mucciaroni (2011)** in *The Study of LGBT Politics and Its Contributions to Political Science* observes the participation of LGBT persons and organizations in “electoral, legislative or judicial arenas” of government services. Gender and sex differences have a bearing on public policy formulations. The author acknowledges the benefit of studies in LGBT politics enabling a better grip on the understanding of “politics and power”.

**Wickens and Wedrick (2011)** in *Looking Forward: Increased Attention to LGBTQ Students and Families in Middle-Grade Classrooms* explore the use of suitable materials that can be used to expose middle school learners to LGBTQ issues. They focus on four specific novels which also relate to broader issues such as bullying, conflict within homes, the value of honesty and “being true to oneself with regard to specific issues of homosexuality and inclusion.”

**Cadge, Lyeroehr and Olson (2012)** in *Clergy and Controversial Family Issues: Divorce and Homosexuality as Case Studies* conducted in-depth interviews with priests, to explore views and actions on matters pertaining to divorce and homosexuality in two principal Christian sects in the United States, namely, the Roman Catholic and Episcopal. Both church traditions have official

positions on these issues but while the former does not support divorce and homosexuality, the latter does.

**Chua (2012)** conducted his study with reference to Singaporean society – a State that is known to have immense control over its citizens and which has put in place posed several constraints on civil and political liberties of its people. The fight for gay rights in Singapore has had to use “strategic adaptation” to avoid confrontation with the powers that be and also to safeguard against any backlash from the government. The actions for change on the part of activists are more covert in such a system. There appears to be an “interplay of legal restrictions and cultural expectations”, thus ending in some sort of a compromise. In Singapore when section 377A was repealed there was much discussion about the issue in the media as well as in parliament. The strategy used works as encouragement to continue with the same as it has yielded positive benefits. The control of the State is in no way reduced but it is not perceived as an “ideological dilemma”.

**Ganguli (2013)** shows how individuals’ personal experiences lead to their understanding of their own sexuality. The study found that there was lack of adequate knowledge about sexuality, fear about other forms of sexual pleasure, misconceptions about sexuality, unwillingness to be informed and a hegemonic attitude among the wider non-gay population. The study reported that a gay person’s acceptance of his sexuality was higher if he interacted more with like-minded persons from the in-group. The author felt that while socio-legal changes are necessary, more important is the need for the “breakdown of traditional gender role concept” in order to move towards the change that is desired.

In *Build a curriculum for everyone*, **McGarry (2013)** demonstrates the need to integrate LGBT issues into the school curriculum and the need to accommodate LGBT students as there can be positive consequences such as less absenteeism, more learning and identity development – as learners will feel more

connected in the process. A survey led by GLSEN in 2011, of over 8000 students reported of students “never having been taught anything positive about LGBT people, history or events”. The report mentions Emily Style (1996) who “introduced the idea of thinking about curriculum as a way to provide students with both windows to see the world and mirrors to see themselves”.

**Sigamoney and Epprecht (2013)** in *Meanings of Homosexuality, Same-Sex Sexuality, and Africanness in Two South African Townships: An Evidence-Based Approach for Rethinking Same-Sex Prejudice* reports of a study that they led in 2010, with over 1,000 residents of two South African townships, police personnel and high school learners. Their objective was to explore the ramifications of same-sex prejudice and how this may be related to “authentic” Africanness. Their study revealed evidence of same-sex prejudice as well as acceptance of homosexuality and of efforts to tackle the problem of same-sex prejudice in certain learned quarters.

**Supriya (2013)** studied gay men in Dharwad district (n=304) and found that about 80 percent of the respondents fell into the 15-35 age category. A majority of the respondents (76.3 percent) had not disclosed their gay identity and 37 percent were suicidal or experience violence. The study found sexual identity to be correlated with self-destructive behaviour, violence and psychological problems.

**Gowen & Wings-Yanez (2014)** in *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Questioning Youths' Perspectives of Inclusive School-Based Sexuality Education*. examines the content of sex education programmes provided by the school. The sample included 30 LGBTQ youth who shared their sex education experiences at school. They suggested the need to create a more inclusive environment - inclusive for LGBTQ students as well as others.

**Manjula (2014)** compares Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs) and gay males. In this study is located in four districts - Bangalore, Mysore, Bijapur and Belgaum and includes a sample of 400 CSWs and 400 gay males. It reported a lower level of depression, loneliness and aggression among gays as compared to CSWs. The study also found no significant difference with regard to the level of education, age and rural/urban identity with depression, loneliness and aggression in the sample.

**Ranade (2015)** studied the experiences of lesbian and gay persons in urban India with special reference to their growing up experiences. The study reported “gender transgression” at an early age. Many homosexuals reported having a “sense of difference” when growing up and this was seen by them as a “bad difference”. There was a differential impact in terms of sex differences. The study demonstrated the “compulsory nature of heterosexuality” and how various agencies like family, friends, schools, acted as “normativizing institutions”. The author suggests the need to have “critical conversations” about exclusion within social science disciplines.

**Stonefish and Lafreniere (2015)** in *Embracing Diversity: The Dual Role of Gay-Straight Alliances* acknowledge that “the social landscape has changed” as regards awareness, perception and acceptance of sexual lifestyles other than heterosexual. In spite of many legal landmarks, the complete inclusion of homosexuals is far from complete. Homosexuals continue to face negative consequences for being gay or lesbian. This study advocates the dual role of education and social activism of GSAs.

**Chonody et al (2016)** explore whether contact with GLB persons influence beliefs about the origin of homosexuality, in “Does Closeness to Someone Who Is Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual Influence Etiology Beliefs about Homosexuality?” Data were obtained from 851 persons across four American universities. The study reported no relation between contact and

closeness with GLB persons and aetiology, but there was an indirect relationship, based on anti-gay attitudes.

**National Association of School Psychologists (2016)** in *Building a Community of LGBTQ+ Allies to Improve School Climate* interviews Jennifer M. Cooper. She maintains that within hostile school environments in the United States, the role of school psychologists as leaders of “system-level change” can help create safer a school climate for LGBTQ+ students. Compared to previous surveys, in 2013 more schools reported having school staff who were supportive and they also had a GSA in their school. Despite this trend, in a study led by Kosciw, Greytak, Palmer & Boesen, 2014, 63 percent of LGBT youth described “feeling unsafe at school on account of their sexual orientation.” Cooper, Dollarhide, Radliff & Gibbs, 2014 suggest that school psychologists can actually utilize their position as mental health professionals to form multidisciplinary teams to “support the overall social-emotional well-being of all students and staff.”

**Ratnu (2016)** studied gay males (n=110) in Delhi and Mumbai. The study reports the significant impact of NGOs in fighting for the rights of sexual minorities and also to create awareness about the same in the wider society. The author also examined the views of common people (n=50) to ascertain their views on homosexuality. Gay men were found to live in constant fear and solitude especially during their formative years of childhood and adolescence; they experienced far more anxiety, had suicidal tendencies and experienced depression. The study also reported that they experienced intolerance about their sexuality from others, felt victimized and discriminated against. The study demonstrated the impact of excessive heterosexual images with lead several gay men to the point of self-hatred, which in turn caused them to attempt suicide or go into depression. Most of the men in the study were closeted due to social and cultural reasons.



**von Doussa et al (2016)** in *Building healthcare workers' confidence to work with same-sex parented families* led a qualitative study of same-sex parents and their children along with healthcare workers. The purpose of the study was to find out whether same-sex parents and their children have access to health care and to explore the barriers. The study reported that same-sex parents experienced anxiety when dealing with health workers who used inappropriate or non-inclusive language, in contrast to those who valued health workers who were open, honest and welcoming. Health workers reported their lack of effective strategies to deal with same-sex parents and children and lack of training opportunities.

**Estes (2017)** in *'If There's One Benefit, You're not Going to Get Pregnant': the Sexual Miseducation of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Individuals* addresses the need for an alternate type of sex education, whether it is given by family or school teachers. The author conducted 10 in-depth personal interviews with self-identified GLB youth between the ages 19-25 years. The study revealed that all the sex education they had received from either their families or school were heterosexual, with hardly any health and behaviour; also sex was projected as being something dangerous.

## **2.4 SUMMARY OF RELATED STUDIES**

Given below are significant themes and observations made by the researcher about the studies which have been reviewed:

- A large number of attitudinal studies report a less favourable attitude of heterosexual males towards homosexual men/gay males when compared to females in the respective samples.

- Several studies show that there is a significant correlation between the content of education and attitudes to LGBT people or homosexuality.
- A large number of the Indian studies revolve around merely reporting that homosexuality exists in a specific location – in an institution, on the streets or in big cities.
- Studies demonstrate that ‘contact’, self-acceptance and association with positive groups leads to better psychological adjustment and self-esteem among gay men.
- The impact of Christian values, perceived to be on the conservative end in ‘mainline’ churches tend to develop negative attitudes among some believers. Also, the church's official policy or teaching on homosexuality is conservative, or stoically silent.
- The role of teachers in the classroom is emphasized over and over, and how this usually has a positive effect on those exposed to or educated about LGBT issues. Merely having an inclusive ‘policy’, while important, does not magically make it an ‘inclusive’ school or a university with a climate where LGBT youth may feel less vulnerable.
- The need for professionals like – teachers, social workers, counsellors and mental health experts – to be educated about queer issues and trained with skills so that they can be better equipped to deal with LGBTQ+ students and clients is highlighted.
- Most of the studies clearly fall into the constructivist view of homosexuality, implying here that ideas about sex, gender, sexuality, identity and so forth are pushed by the agendas that societies pass on through socialization.
- The role of media in creating awareness is mentioned and the impact of significant role models in media.
- The educational studies highlight the role of education and training in creating awareness, sensitivity, inclusivity, breaking prejudices, myths and stereotypes and encouraging tolerance and acceptance, and integration of all people.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter deals with the Research Design used for this study. It explains the plan of the study in detail. It provides a description of the tools used for collecting information, the population and sample, the methodology of the study and the methods used for data analysis. These are linked to the aim and objectives of the study. The variables of the study are considered and hypotheses of the study.

#### 3.2 INTRODUCTION

Research is a systematic effort to explain phenomena or events through the conscious application of a scientific method. There are three types of research methods:

a) Historical Method:

It describes what has taken place. The process involves investigating, recording, analyzing, and interpreting an event that has already occurred. The understanding of a past event helps to understand the present moment, and also in making predictions about the future possibilities. The Historical Method is defined as “the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events.” (Borg, 1963, in Walliman:113)

b) Descriptive Method:

This method describes *what is*, meaning, it sheds light on the present. Comparisons and contrasts are made to discover relationships between variables. This method is used in order to obtain data of a current event and then to draw valid general conclusions on the basis of the obtained facts. This

method is frequently used for research in the social sciences and especially for field-based research.

c) Experimental Method:

The experimental method is one where the researcher is able to strategically control and manipulate variables. “The researcher would have to control the variables in the study and accordingly observe the cause and effect relation.” (Kerlinger, 1973:118)

### **3.3 METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY**

The researcher has used the *descriptive* method for this study and all the components that are typical of descriptive studies: survey, comparative, correlational and case study. The present study uses: survey - as a means to ascertain the attitude to gay sexuality; is directed towards the comparison of differences based on gender, educational level, religious identity, economic class, and chronological age; the study correlates responses related to items on the AGSS; and case studies - to obtain data from gay-identified men and NGOs/CBOs.

### **3.4 THE PROBLEM**

‘A study of the Gay Movement with reference to Mumbai.’

### **3.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY**

The study has been undertaken with the following broad aims:

- To study the Gay community in Mumbai and to understand its role in the built up of a movement for change in society.
- To ascertain the relationship between the Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS) and the following variables:

- a) *Education*, with regard to academic standard that has been completed,
- b) *Gender*,
- c) *Religious identity*, inclusive of absence of religious belief, the unwillingness to accept any specific belief
- d) *Economic class*, as determined by educational level and occupation, and
- e) *Age*, grouped into categories.

### 3.6 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

To achieve the above-mentioned aims, the following *specific* objectives have been formulated:

1. To ascertain the *educational level* differences in the AGS.
2. To ascertain the *gender* differences in the AGS.
3. To ascertain the *religious* differences in the AGS.
4. To ascertain the *economic class* differences in the AGS.
5. To ascertain the *marital status* differences in the AGS.
6. To ascertain the *reading habit* differences in the AGS.
7. To understand the *challenges* of Gay men.

### 3.7 HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

A hypothesis is “an assumption made tentatively to test its logical or empirical consequences”. (Sanders, 1990: 219) For the purpose of this study, the following **research hypotheses** were formulated on the bases of specific variables of the study.

1. There are significant educational differences in AGS among Jr. College and Undergraduate students.
2. There are significant educational differences in AGS among Graduates and Post Graduates.
3. There are significant educational differences in AGS among Undergraduate students and Graduates.

4. There are significant educational differences in AGS among Graduate and Professional students.
5. There are significant gender differences in AGS among Jr. College students.
6. There are significant gender differences in AGS among Undergraduate students.
7. There are significant gender differences in AGS among Post Graduates.
8. There are significant gender differences in AGS among Professional students.
9. There are significant gender differences in AGS among Hindus in the Total Sample.
10. There are significant differences in AGS among Hindus and Christians.
11. There are significant religious differences in AGS among Hindus and Muslims.
12. There are significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Zoroastrians.
13. There are significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Muslims.
14. There are significant religious differences in AGS among Believers and Non-believers.
15. There are significant economic class differences between professionals and teachers.
16. There are significant age differences in AGS between 'less than 18 years' age category and 18-21 age category.
17. There are significant age differences in the 18-21 age category and 22-45 age category.
18. There are significant age differences in 22-45 age category and 'above 46' age category.
19. There is a significant relationship between education and gay 'coming out' as a choice, in the Total Sample.
20. There is a significant relationship between education and view of the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample.

21. There is a significant relationship between education and view that gays as the cause of increase in AIDS patients, in the Total Sample.
22. There is a significant relationship between education and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
23. There is a significant relationship between education and view regarding harassment of gays, in the Total Sample.
24. There is a significant relationship between education and view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, among Graduates and Professionals.
25. There is a significant relationship between gender and attitude of friendliness towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
26. There is a significant relationship between gender and attitude of dislike towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
27. There is a significant relationship between gender and attitude of openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample.
28. There is a significant relationship between gender and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
29. There is a significant relationship between religion and attitude towards befriending a gay person, in the Total Sample.
30. There is a significant relationship between religion and attitude towards gay people as being human as any other, in the Total Sample.
31. There is a significant relationship between religion and favourable attitude towards legalizing same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
32. There is a significant relationship between religion and the view that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
33. There is a significant relationship between marital status and openness to understanding gay people, in the Total Sample.
34. There is a significant relationship between marital status and attitude towards same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
35. There is a significant relationship between marital status and view that gay people become child abusers, in the Total Sample.
36. There is a significant relationship between reading habit and view that queer literature promotes gay behaviour, in the Total Sample.

37. There is a significant relationship between age and attitude of friendliness towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
38. There is a significant relationship between age and willingness to befriend a gay person, in the Total Sample.
39. There is a significant relationship between age and dislike towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
40. There is a significant relationship between age and the view that Sex Education should include education about sexual identities, in the Total Sample.
41. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to have gay friends and moral judgment of gay sexuality, in the Total Sample.
42. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged, in the Total Sample.
43. There is a significant relationship between a negative view of gay men and the belief that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
44. There is a significant relationship between the view that gay film characters do not make people gay and the positive view that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample.
45. There is a significant relationship between willingness to have a friendly approach towards gay people and the view that gays should not be made fun of, in the Total Sample.
46. There is a significant relationship between the acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay people to choose their life mates, in the Total Sample.
47. There is a significant impact of Gay organizations on the Gay movement in Mumbai.
48. There is a significant relationship between the religious beliefs and the challenges faced by gay men.



### **3.8 POPULATION AND SAMPLE**

The term 'population' is made in reference to a group of persons who share one or more characteristics which intrigue the researcher. The population in the present study refers to residents of Mumbai: this includes the city of Greater Mumbai and its suburbs, Thane and Navi Mumbai. Although the population is finite, the 'sample' of individuals from the total population was selected based on the variables of the study. "A sample is any portion of a population as representative of that population." (Kerlinger, 1973:118) A sample was obtained from the population for the purpose of observation and analysis.

### **3.9 METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SAMPLING**

"The nature of the population and the information sought for the study determines the type of sampling." (Sanders, 1990: 219) There are different methods of sampling such as:

- i. Simple random sampling
- ii. Systematic random sampling
- iii. Stratified random sampling
- iv. Area or Cluster sampling
- v. Purposive sampling or Convenience sampling
- vi. Incidental sampling
- vii. Snowball sampling

For the general survey, the present study explores the relationship between variables of the study such as educational level, faculty, gender, and religious identity, economic class and age, and the AGS among residents in the Mumbai region.

In the present study, data were obtained as follows:

- (a) For the general survey *stratified random sampling* was used in order to increase precision and representation and this was easily available.

- (b) In order to obtain data from gay-identified males, the technique of *snowball sampling* was used, as gay men are not easily identifiable and there is no known readily available list of gay men in the city.
- (c) The technique of *purposive sampling* helped to obtain data from NGOs, based on the researcher's past experience with them and based on the suggestions and responses obtained from gay men, during their interviews with the researcher.

The classification of the sample for the **survey**, based on *gender* is given in Table 3.1, and the distribution based on *residence* in the city is given in Table 3.2 below.

### 3.10 THE SAMPLE – ITS SIZE AND NATURE

The sample consisted of residents from Mumbai, Navi Mumbai and Thane. The **Total Sample** consisted of 1,157 persons.

The description of the Total Sample on the basis of gender is given in the following table.

Table 3.1  
**Description of Sample (Main Study) by Gender**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Male	517	44.68
Female	640	55.32
Total	1157	100.00

Table 3.2

**Description of Sample (Main Study) by Residence**

<b>Region in Mumbai</b>	<b>Size</b>	<b>%</b>
Mumbai	853	73.73
Navi Mumbai	106	9.16
Thane	198	17.11
Total	1157	100.00

**3.11 INSTRUMENTATION**

When conducting research there are several tools that researchers can employ for the purpose of obtaining data. Each tool has its advantages and limitations. It is imperative for a researcher to select appropriate tools that best suit the purposes of the study. Different types of research tools are as follows: Questionnaire, Opinionnaire, Attitude Scale, Observation Schedule, Interview Schedule, Rating Scales and Inventory.

**3.12 TOOLS USED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY**

The opinionnaire cum questionnaire has been found to be the tool to be the most appropriate to measure the Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS). The following instruments were developed by the researcher for the purpose of this study:

- a) **Opinionnaire**, based on a 5-point 'Likert scale', to measure the Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS) in the general population. It was

clubbed with a Questionnaire to obtain data on socio-economic variables of the research.

- b) **In-depth Interview Schedule cum Interview Guide** with question items covering multiple dimensions. The tool had fixed-response (Close) questions as well as several open-ended questions. The tool was a semi-structured interview, so it functioned like an Interview Guide too; respondents could freely speak, at length, with regard to any dimension of the tool.
- c) **Interview Guide** for NGOs and CBOs working for the Gay community in Mumbai. These were a set of areas of enquiry, to explore the factors that went into the emergence and growth of the organization.

### **3.13 PREPARATION OF TOOL**

#### **For the Survey:**

The researcher developed an *opinionnaire cum questionnaire* known as the ‘**Attitude to Gay Sexuality Scale**’ (AGSS) to measure the **Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS)**. The items in the tool (*see Appendix B and C*) were based on the researcher’s relationships, encounters, experiences, interactions with sexual minorities; also conceptual literature (in print and online) available on the concerned subject. The constructed tool included the following dimensions:

- a) ***Degree of acceptability***: This refers to the extent to which people are willing to understand, accept or include gay men as people, as well as in their social network.
- b) ***Activities***: The focus here is with regard to ‘spaces’ that gay men have or which they create for themselves; their outlets; their means of bringing related issues through various media to the wider public.
- c) ***Sense of judgement***: Gay men constitute a sexual minority. Due to various factors such as ignorance, irrational fears, moral background, and religious beliefs there is often a tendency to perceive gay men through coloured lenses; their behaviour tends to get judged by others.
- d) ***Sensitivity***: Issues pertaining to gay identity, gay sexuality have been at the receiving end of wide and bitter criticism; gay males are also often subjected to acts of violence and hatred, condemnation and ridicule. The aspect of sensitivity to gay sexuality is deemed relevant.
- e) ***Legal aspects***: Laws have their own role to play. In India, Section 377 of the IPC has had significant impact on the gay community and on the attitudes of heterosexual population towards gay men.

As a **quantitative** tool, the AGSS was subjected to various checks before the Pilot run, after which it was used for the purpose of the study. The tool was available to respondents in English and Hindi. It was translated by a professional, from English into the Hindi Language and written in ‘*Devanagari*’ script, in order to obtain responses from people who are comfortable responding in Hindi.

### **3.13.1 VALIDITY**

It is essential for a research tool to measure what is intended to be measured. If this happens, the tool can be regarded as valid. Validity has to be with respect to its content, construct, criteria, and concurrent validity.

### **3.13.2 CONTENT VALIDITY**

In the present study, the content validity of the AGSS has been ascertained. The prepared tool was given to seven experts/professionals from the humanities (Economics, Hindi, Social Work, Sociology and Philosophy) to ascertain the relevance of the items of the AGSS, so as to ensure the content validity of the AGSS. All the items were agreed to be relevant by the experts. However, suggestions for specificity or clarity of items were duly considered. The list of experts consulted is given in **Appendix A**.

### **3.13.3 PILOT STUDY**

A pilot study was conducted to determine the item validity and reliability of the tool measuring Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS).

### **3.13.4 ITEM ANALYSIS**

In the present study, an item analysis was conducted to determine the discrimination index of each item. For this purpose, a sample of 49 persons was taken from Mumbai, Navi Mumbai and Thane.

Table 3.3

**Size of sample (PILOT STUDY)**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Male	24	49.98
Female	25	51.02
Total	49	100.00

After administering the tool, the responses were quantified. According to the total scores of each student, the forms were arranged in descending order. This was followed by taking the uppermost 27 % and the lowermost 27 % forms i.e. uppermost 33 and lowermost 33 forms. Scores of each item from the higher and lower groups were written down and the ‘t’ value was obtained. Those items with a ‘t’ value of 1.5 and above were regarded as satisfactory and retained.

**3.13.5 RELIABILITY**

Using the data from the same sample of 49 respondents, the reliability of each item was calculated, using Pearson’s Coefficient of Correlation to obtain the ‘r’ value of each item with the AGS scores. Those items with discrimination index of 0.20 or more were regarded as satisfactory and they were retained. The items with discrimination index less than 0.20 were discarded. Using Pearson’s ‘r’ correlation coefficient, the reliability was found for the tool AGSS. Reliability of the scale measuring AGS was high. Hence the scale was found to be internally consistent.

Table 3.4

**Number of Items in AGSS**

	<b>Number of items</b>
Initially prepared	44
Discarded	2
<b>Retained in the tool</b>	<b>42</b>

**3.13.6 EXPLANATION OF TOOLS**

The following table gives the explanation of the tool used to measure AGS.

Table 3.5

**Explanation of Tools**

<b>SCALE</b>	<b>No. of items</b>
<b>AGS</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>5 point scale</b>	

**3.13.7 SCORING**

**Attitude to Gay Sexuality Score**

The response categories in the AGS, are as follows:

- SA : Strongly Agree
- A : Agree
- NS ; Not Sure
- A : Disagree
- SD : Strongly Disagree



The respondents were instructed to read each statement carefully and circle the number that corresponded with how they felt about their attitude to gay sexuality.

The scoring pattern for *positive items* was:

SA : 5

A : 4

NS ; 3

A : 2

SD : 1

The scoring pattern for *negative items* was:

SA : 1

A : 2

NS ; 3

A : 4

SD : 5

The number of positively worded items in the AGSS was 20, and negatively worded items added up to 22; the total number of items in the AGSS was 42. The minimum possible AGS score was 42 and the maximum possible AGS score was 210. The higher the score, the more favourable the AGS and the lower the score, the more unfavourable the AGS.

### **3.14 STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES**

Statistics can be broadly divided into two main categories. Descriptive statistics describe subjects on one or more measures. Inferential statistics is concerned with finding out the extent to which a ‘sample’ represents the larger ‘population’.

Analysis of the data means a study of systematically organized material in order to discover inherent relationships and differences. The statistical techniques used, fall under two main categories - *differential* studies and *relationship* studies. The researcher decided to employ the following statistical techniques:

#### **3.14.1 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS:**

Descriptive statistics is used in order to study characteristics of a *specific* group. The generalizations too are with reference to the group that is studied. No conclusions can be extended beyond this group. For the present study, statistical measures used for descriptive analysis were as follows:

- i. *Percentage and Cumulative percentage*: to simply describe the variables used in the study and specific items in the AGSS.

#### **3.14.2 INFERENCE ANALYSIS:**

Inferential statistics uses “statistical techniques to study the nature of data and the relationships between various variables of the study.” (Henn et al, 2006: 205) The resultant generalizations can be extended to infer population characteristics. For the purpose of inferential analysis of the data in the present study, the following techniques have been used:

- i. *ANOVA*: This technique was used to find out differences between variables of the study with regard to the AGS score.

- ii. *Coefficient of correlation*: Pearson's 'r' Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation was used to find out relationships (associations) between variables of the study and the total AGS score. It was also used to ascertain associations between items in the AGSS.
- iii. *T-test*: Determining whether a difference is significant always involves discrediting a simple explanation. The test of the significance of the difference between two means is known as the t-test. It involves the computation of the ratio between experimental variance (the observed difference between two sample means) and error variance (the sampling error factor).

### **3.15 For the Case Study of Gay Men:**

The researcher developed an in-depth interview schedule cum Guide. The dimensions of the tool developed include the following:

1. Preliminary questions (age, education, occupation, geographical place of belonging, relationship status)
2. Religious identity (if any) and impact
3. Identity and Sexuality
4. Debates surrounding gay sexuality with Indian and Western culture
5. 'Coming out' – effect and reactions (if at all)
6. Gay behaviour
7. Growing up 'gay'
8. Gay rights as human rights
9. Issues pertaining to gay marriage and adoption
10. Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code and its impact
11. Child abuse and non-consensual sex
12. Issues pertaining to heterosexual marriage in the context of gay men

13. Educational experiences in school
14. Sex Education
15. Media Role (Impact) – Bollywood in particular, internet, YouTube,
16. Online connectivity and networking
17. Queer/LGBT Film festivals
18. Reading habits and Viewing habits
19. Problems/Challenges of being gay and as a gay man
20. Self-acceptance issues, abuse, vulnerability
21. Role of Law
22. Efforts for change
23. Gay movement
24. Social acceptance
25. Queer Azaadi March (Pride March)
26. Gay relationships – private circle, friends, professional, at work
27. Personal experiences of being gay
28. Personal involvement as ‘agent’ of change, if at all
29. Hopes and aspirations for the future

The tool was shown to experts (*see Appendix A*) for their feedback and modifications were made subsequently. The tool is found in **Appendix D** in this report.

### **3.16 For the Case Study of NGOs and CBOs:**

The researcher prepared an interview guide with the following dimensions:

1. Establishment
2. Thrust areas of the organization
3. Funding
4. Significant milestones
5. Challenges
6. Future Plans

The tool was shown to experts (*see Appendix A*) for their feedback and their suggestions were incorporated. The tool is found in **Appendix E** in this report.

The *Form of Consent* for Interviewees of gay-identified males in Mumbai as well as of office-bearers of CBOs is provided in **Appendix F**.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter deals with the analysis of data that has been obtained from three different kinds of *primary* sources. Hence, the chapter is divided into three parts as follows:

- **Part A** is an analysis of data obtained from the survey of the population in Mumbai (n=1157). The analysis of the survey employs *descriptive* and *inferential* methods of treating quantitative data.
- **Part B** is an analysis of in-depth interviews of self-identified gay men from Mumbai (n=19). For the in-depth interviews with gay men, each case is described and the themes that emerge from these are reported.
- **Part C** is an analysis of the cases of Mumbai-based NGOs (read, voluntary associations) working for and supporting LGBT rights in the city (n=2). The data analysis of the role and contributions of NGOs are also described.

Analysis of data implies a study of systematically organized material in order to discover inherent differences and relationships. The statistical techniques which have been used for the purpose of data analysis are also described.

## PART A: SURVEY OF GENERAL POPULATION

### 4.2 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF DATA

Descriptive analysis is used to describe the data that have been collected from a sample. It enables the researcher to use percentages to represent all the individual scores of subjects in the sample. Further, description of the data is necessary as the nature of the techniques to be applied for inferential analysis of the data depends on the characteristics of the data. Basically, inferential analysis involves descriptive statistics such as mean, standard deviation and variance to draw inferences from the data.

The major **independent variables** of the present study are as follows:

- a. Gender
- b. Age category
- c. Religious identity
- d. Education
- e. Language spoken at home
- f. Type of family
- g. Residence
- h. Occupation
- i. Reading Habit (Newspapers)
- j. Marital Status

The major **dependent variable** of the present study is as follows:

- a. Attitude towards Gay Sexuality (AGS).

The present study has used the following *descriptive* statistics: *Percentages and cumulative percentages* to describe the scores for each variable and question item in the AGSS.

## ATTITUDE TOWARDS GAY SEXUALITY

### [A] Descriptive Analysis of socio-economic variables

**Table 4.1**

**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Gender**

Gender	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	517	44.7	44.7
Female	640	55.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

The TS consisted of 640 females (55.3 percent) and 517 males (44.7 percent).

**Table 4.2**

**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample Age group**

Age group	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
< 18 years	212	18.3	18.3
18-21	402	34.7	53.1
22-45	412	35.6	88.7
> 45	131	11.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

The smallest group in terms of age category were those who were in the above 45 years category (n=131, 11.3 percent), and the largest subgroup was the 22-45 age category (n=412, 35.6 percent). The age category below 18 corresponds roughly with those who have completed Junior College, that is, those who have been to school; the age of 18 is significant as it officially marks the beginning of adulthood, at least in law. In terms of education, the age category 18-21 years would correspond approximately with those who have registered for Post-HSC Diploma or Degree programmes of study. The



22-45 age group would approximate the young adult's group, and the last category includes all persons from older adulthood to senior citizens.

**Table 4.3**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Religious identity**

Religious identity	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hindu	568	49.1	49.1
Muslim	116	10.0	59.1
Christian	283	24.5	83.6
Buddhist	14	1.2	84.8
Jain	45	3.9	88.7
Zoroastrian	44	3.8	92.5
Others	87	7.5	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

The distribution vaguely corresponds to the distribution of the population across major religions, in India. The largest group in the TS is the Hindu community (n=568, 49.1 percent) and the smallest is the representation of Buddhists in the sample of this study (n=14, 1.2 percent). Many respondents in the TS chose not to identify with any specific religion, and some also identified as agnostic or atheist. Those who belonged to these categories were counted under the 'other' category (n=87, 7.5 percent), which may be considered as those who do not believe or who probably question their beliefs.

**Table 4.4**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Education**

Education	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
High School	16	1.4	1.4
Junior College	172	14.9	16.2
UG	306	26.4	42.7
PG	180	15.6	58.3
Professional	261	22.6	80.8
Graduate	222	19.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

For the purpose of this study, High School students refer to those who have completed up to Standard X, and this happens to be the smallest segment in this study (n=16, 1.4 percent). The Junior College refers to students who have completed Standard XI or XII (n=172, 14.9 percent). UG or Undergraduate refers to students who are registered for various diploma/degree programmes (n=306, 26.4 percent). PG or Post Graduate refers typically to those who have completed a Masters' degree (n=180, 15.6 percent). Professional education in this study refers to students from Engineering, Mass Media, Management, Law, Social Work, Teaching degree, Chartered Accountancy, Film Making programmes (n=261, 22.6 percent). Graduate refers to those respondents who have obtained a First Degree in typically Arts, Commerce and Science streams (n=222, 19.2 percent)

**Table 4.5**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Home Language**

Home language	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
English	218	18.8	18.8
Hindi	274	23.7	42.5
Marathi	220	19.0	61.5
Gujarati	152	13.1	74.7
Urdu	38	3.3	78.0
Tamil	35	3.0	81.0
Konkani	44	3.8	84.8
Malayalam	98	8.5	93.3
Other	78	6.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

In this TS, the largest number of respondents came from homes where Hindi was the primary language of communication (n=274, 23.7 percent); this was followed by Marathi (n=220, 19 percent), then English (n=218, 18.8 percent); the category ‘other’ refers to all respondents belonging to miscellaneous other Indian languages that include, Punjabi, Bhojpuri, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Sindhi, Odiya, and Ao (n=78, 6.7 percent).

**Table 4.6**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Family Type**

Family type	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Joint	312	27.0	27.0
Nuclear	845	73.0	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

A large majority of the TS belonged to nuclear households, which is typical of modern-day Mumbai (n= 845, 73 percent) and joint families (n=312, 27.0 percent).

**Table 4.7**

**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Residence**

Residence	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Mumbai	853	73.7	73.7
Navi Mumbai	106	9.2	82.9
Thane	198	17.1	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

The largest group within the TS, based on residence in the city belong to the Greater Mumbai region – from Churchgate to Bhyander on the Western railway route, and from Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus to Mulund and Mankhurd on the Central Railway Mainline route (n=853, 73.7 percent), followed by residents from the satellite township of Navi Mumbai - stretching beyond Vashi towards Panvel (n=106, 9.2 percent) and those from Thane region (n=198, 17.1 percent).

**Table 4.8**

**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Occupation (indicative of economic class)**

Occupation	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Business	55	4.8	4.8
Professional	175	15.1	19.9
Student	648	56.0	75.9
Teacher	113	9.8	85.7
Service	114	9.9	95.5
Other	52	4.5	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

The largest group in the TS was the student population (n=648, 56 percent) which constitute the youngest community within the entire sample. This was followed by professionals like writers, editors, lawyers etc. (n=175,

15.1 percent). The smallest segment comprised persons who identified as unemployed, homemaker/housewife and retired folk (n=52, 4.5 percent).

**Table 4.9**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample**  
**With Reading Habit (Newspapers)**

Reading Habit	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	812	70.2	70.2
No	345	29.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

It is heartening to note that n=812, 70.2 percent of the TS reads newspapers whereas only 29.8 percent, that is n=345 reported that they did not read newspapers as a daily habit.

**Table 4.10**  
**Descriptive statistics of AGSS of Total Sample with Marital Status**

Marital status	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Married	285	24.6	24.6
Single	872	75.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

A large majority of the TS (n=872, 75.4 percent) were single (implying, respondents who could have been unmarried, single by choice, widowed, separated or divorced. Those who identified as married were 285 persons, that is, 24.6 percent of the TS.

**[B] Descriptive Analysis of Items in the AGSS**

**Table 4.11**  
**People should have a friendly approach towards gays.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	13	1.1	1.1
Disagree	17	1.5	2.6
Not Sure	64	5.5	8.1
Agree	423	36.6	44.7
Strongly Agree	640	55.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.11 shows 2.6 percent (n=30) is in disagreement with having a friendly approach towards gay men, 5.5 percent (n=64) of the TS is not sure, and 91.9 percent (n=1063) supported it.

**Table 4.12**  
**The decision to be open about one's day identity is a personal choice.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	10	.9	.9
Disagree	16	1.4	2.2
Not Sure	46	4.0	6.2
Agree	441	38.1	44.3
Strongly Agree	644	55.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.12 shows 2.2 percent (n=26) do not agree that being open about one's gay identity is a matter of personal choice. 93.8 percent of the TS (n=1085) believe that 'coming out' is a matter of individual choice. 46 respondents (4.0 percent of the TS) are not sure.

**Table 4.13**  
**Gay men should not be allowed to adopt children.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	69	6.0	6.0
Agree	83	7.2	13.1
Not Sure	183	15.8	29.0
Disagree	351	30.3	59.3
Strongly Disagree	471	40.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.13 indicates a very strong sense of support for adoption to be permitted for gay men (n=822, 71 percent). A minority in the sample (n=152, 13.2 percent) not support the gay adoption. The uncertain lot constituted 183 respondents (15.8 percent).

**Table 4.14**  
**I would not want to have a friend who is gay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	36	3.1	3.1
Agree	62	5.4	8.5
Not Sure	146	12.6	21.1
Disagree	329	28.4	49.5
Strongly Disagree	584	50.5	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.14 shows that a majority in the TS has no reservations about befriending a gay person (n=913, 78.9 percent), 146 respondents are uncertain (12.6 percent) and only 98 individuals (8.5 percent) would not want to have a gay friend.

**Table 4.15**  
**No gay men should be included in the Defense Services**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	18	1.6	1.6
Agree	65	5.6	7.2
Not Sure	138	11.9	19.1
Disagree	309	26.7	45.8
Strongly Disagree	627	54.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.15 shows that 936 respondents (80.9 percent) out of the TS support gay enrollment in the defence services, 138 persons are uncertain about this (11.9 percent), and those who are not in its favour constitute 7.2 percent (n=83) of the TS.

**Table 4.16**  
**There should be no gay characters in novels.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	17	1.5	1.5
Agree	37	3.2	4.7
Not Sure	70	6.1	10.7
Disagree	343	29.6	40.4
Strongly Disagree	690	59.6	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.16 shows that 1033 respondents (89.2 percent) of the TS disagreed that novels should not have gay characters in them. Those who were unsure of this made up 70 people (6.1 percent) and 54 people (4.7 percent) felt that gay characters should not be represented in novels.



**Table 4.17**  
**There should not be any discussion of gay sexuality.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	28	2.4	2.4
Agree	61	5.3	7.7
Not Sure	88	7.6	15.3
Disagree	372	32.2	47.5
Strongly Disagree	608	52.5	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.17 shows that 980 respondents (84.7 percent) from the TS were open to discussions about gay sexuality, whereas only 89 individuals (7.7 percent) would rather not. 88 individuals (7.6 percent) were uncertain about openly discussing gay sexuality.

**Table 4.18**  
**Gay/Queer Film Festivals only promote gay sexuality.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	34	2.9	2.9
Agree	103	8.9	11.8
Not Sure	504	43.6	55.4
Disagree	304	26.3	81.7
Strongly Disagree	212	18.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.18 shows that 137 persons (11.8 percent) of the TS agreed that gay films /queer films tended to promote gay sexuality. Those who did not think so made up 44.6 percent or 516 people. Here, quite an equal number – 43.6 percent (n=504) were not sure if queer films promoted gay sexuality.

**Table 4.19**  
**Organizations that work for gay rights play a positive role in society.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	21	1.8	1.8
Disagree	54	4.7	6.5
Not Sure	192	16.6	23.1
Agree	476	41.1	64.2
Strongly Agree	414	35.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.19 shows that 76.9 percent of the TS (n=890) agree that organizations working for the rights of gay men play a positive role in society. Only 75 respondents (6.5 percent) disagreed and 192 individuals (16.6 percent) were not sure.

**Table 4.20**  
**Gay men should be punished if caught in acts of same-sex behaviour.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	19	1.6	1.6
Agree	38	3.3	4.9
Not Sure	145	12.5	17.5
Disagree	351	30.3	47.8
Strongly Disagree	604	52.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.20 shows only 57 individuals (4.9 percent) out of the TS support punishment for gay men who are caught in acts of same-sex behaviour. 145 persons (12.5 percent) are uncertain if they should be punished. A large number (n=955, 82.5 percent) do not support this idea.

**Table 4.21**  
**People should be treated equally irrespective of their sexual orientation.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	14	1.2	1.2
Disagree	20	1.7	2.9
Not Sure	26	2.2	5.1
Agree	264	22.8	28.0
Strongly Agree	833	72.0	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.21 shows strong support for gender equality. 1097 respondents (94.8 percent) are in favour of equal treatment for all people irrespective of sexual orientation. Those who disagree and those are not sure constitute 60 individuals (5.1 percent).

**Table 4.22**  
**Gay males are as human as any other person.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	8	.6	.67
Disagree	11	1.0	1.6
Not Sure	25	2.2	3.8
Agree	218	18.8	22.6
Strongly Agree	895	77.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.22 reflect the overwhelming support of 1113 respondents (96.2 percent) in favour of seeing gay men as human as any other. A minority of 44 respondents (3.8 percent) included those who disagreed and those who were not sure.

**Table 4.23**  
**Gay sexuality is a mental sickness.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	38	3.3	3.3
Agree	64	5.5	8.8
Not Sure	146	12.6	21.4
Disagree	281	24.3	45.7
Strongly Disagree	628	54.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.23 shows that 909 respondents (78.6 percent) disagree that gay sexuality is a mental sickness. However, 21.4 percent (n=248) includes those who hold the view that gay sexuality is a mental sickness and those who are not sure about it.

**Table 4.24**  
**Sexual behaviour of gays should not be termed as ‘unnatural’.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	93	8.0	8.0
Disagree	114	9.9	17.9
Not Sure	176	15.2	33.1
Agree	313	27.1	60.2
Strongly Agree	461	39.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.24 shows that 774 respondents (66.9 percent) do not perceive gays sexual behaviour as being ‘unnatural’, whereas 207 respondents (17.9 percent) are in disagreement and 176 individuals (15.2 percent) are not sure.

**Table 4.25**  
**Gays are the cause of the increase in the number of AIDS patients.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	19	1.6	1.6
Agree	69	6.0	7.6
Not Sure	355	30.7	38.3
Disagree	311	26.9	65.2
Strongly Disagree	403	34.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.25 shows that 88 respondents (7.6 percent) in the TS attribute the AIDS problem to gay men. While 714 individuals (61.7 percent) do not think this is so. Quite a large number are undecided (n=355, 30.7 percent).

**Table 4.26**  
**I do not like gay persons.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	42	3.6	3.6
Agree	100	8.6	12.3
Not Sure	130	11.2	23.5
Disagree	337	29.1	52.6
Strongly Disagree	548	47.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.26 shows 142 respondents (12.3 percent) do not like men who are gay. 130 individuals (11.2 percent) are not sure if they do. Whereas 885 people (76.5 percent) do not express dislike for gay persons.

**Table 4.27**  
**Every individual must have a right to one's sexual expression.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	11	1.0	1.0
Disagree	20	1.7	2.7
Not Sure	48	4.1	6.8
Agree	356	30.8	37.6
Strongly Agree	722	62.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.27 shows huge support for the right of all people to sexual expression (n=1078, 93.2 percent). In the TS, 48 persons (4.1 percent) were not sure and only 31 individuals (2.7 percent) expressed disagreement.

**Table 4.28**  
**Gay males deserve to be looked down upon.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	20	1.7	1.7
Agree	58	5.0	6.7
Not Sure	125	10.8	17.5
Disagree	305	26.4	43.9
Strongly Disagree	649	56.1	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.28 shows that 954 respondents (82.5 percent) did not feel that gay males deserved to be looked down upon. 78 persons (6.7 percent) felt they deserved to be looked down upon and 125 people (10.8 percent) remained unsure of what they thought on this matter.

**Table 4.29**  
**A healthy understanding of gay people is necessary.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	5	.4	.4
Disagree	24	2.1	2.5
Not Sure	74	6.4	8.9
Agree	434	37.5	46.4
Strongly Agree	620	53.6	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.29 shows that 1054 persons (91.1 percent) were in favour of a better understanding of gay people. 74 individuals (6.4 percent) were not sure. Only 29 respondents (2.9 percent) did not agree.

**Table 4.30**  
**Sex Education should include education about sexual identities.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	21	1.8	1.8
Disagree	33	2.9	4.7
Not Sure	87	7.5	12.2
Agree	369	31.9	44.1
Strongly Agree	647	55.9	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.30 shows that 1016 participants (87.8 percent) in this study felt the need for Sex Education to include education about sexual identities. In the TS, 141 respondents (12.2 percent) were either in disagreement or uncertain.

**Table 4.31**  
**Gay behaviour is wrong.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	52	4.5	4.5
Agree	63	5.4	9.9
Not Sure	118	10.2	20.1
Disagree	355	30.7	50.8
Strongly Disagree	569	49.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.31 shows that a large number of respondents (n=924, 79.9 percent) not think gay behaviour is wrong. In the TS, 118 individuals (10.2 percent) are uncertain and 115 individuals (9.9 percent) were in agreement with the statement.

**Table 4.32**  
**Every person should have the right to love whom they want to love,  
including those who are gay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	11	1.0	1.0
Disagree	35	3.0	4.0
Not Sure	59	5.1	9.1
Agree	345	29.8	38.9
Strongly Agree	707	61.1	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.32 shows that 1052 respondents (90.9 percent) in the TS support the right to love another human being irrespective of one's gay identity. In the TS, 59 individuals (5.1 percent) were not sure, and 46 people (4 percent) disagreed with the statement.



**Table 4.33**  
**Books and journals on gay sexuality promote gay behaviour.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	37	3.2	3.2
Agree	169	14.6	17.8
Not Sure	410	35.4	53.2
Disagree	313	27.1	80.3
Strongly Disagree	228	19.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.33 shows that 35.4 percent of the TS (n=410) expressed their uncertainty about the possibility of gay literature (books and journals) promoting gay behaviour. 17.8 percent (n=206) agreed with the view whereas 541 participants (46.8 percent) in the study did not agree with the statement.

**Table 4.34**  
**Nobody should make fun of persons who are gay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	22	1.9	1.9
Disagree	19	1.6	3.5
Not Sure	35	3.0	6.5
Agree	350	30.3	36.8
Strongly Agree	731	63.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.34 shows that 93.5 percent (n=1081) of the TS agreed with the view that gay people should not be mocked. Only 6.5 percent (n=76) were either unsure or in disagreement.

**Table 4.35**  
**Gay males must not be called criminals**  
**on the basis of their sexual identity.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	47	4.1	4.1
Disagree	37	3.2	7.3
Not Sure	35	3.0	10.3
Agree	301	26.0	36.3
Strongly Agree	737	63.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.35 shows a large number, not in favour of labelling gay men as criminals on account of their gay identity (n=1038, 89.7 percent). Only 10.3 percent (n=119) of the TS disagreed or were unsure.

**Table 4.36**  
**Gay people deserve to be harassed.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	7	.6	.6
Agree	13	1.1	1.7
Not Sure	30	2.6	4.3
Disagree	272	23.5	27.8
Strongly Disagree	835	72.2	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.36 shows that a very large number of respondents in the study (n=1107, 95.7 percent) do not support the harassment of gay people. A small percent of 4.3 (n=50) in the TS thought otherwise.

**Table 4.37**  
**Those who blackmail or threaten gay males should be punished.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	19	1.6	1.6
Disagree	17	1.5	3.1
Not Sure	48	4.1	7.2
Agree	410	35.4	42.7
Strongly Agree	663	57.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.37 shows that 92.7 percent (n=1073) of the TS was in agreement that people who blackmail or threaten gay males should be punished. Only 7.2 percent (n=84) of the TS either disagreed or were not sure.

**Table 4.38**  
**Gay men should have the legal right to choose their life mates.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	10	.9	.9
Disagree	42	3.6	4.5
Not Sure	80	6.9	11.4
Agree	361	31.2	42.6
Strongly Agree	664	57.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.38 shows that 52 participants in the study (4.5 percent) did not hold the view that gay men should have the legal right to choose their life mates. Those who were not sure included 80 persons (6.9 percent). Those in favour constituted the majority (n=1025, 88.6 percent).

**Table 4.39**  
**Gay behaviour should be discouraged.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	46	4.0	4.0
Agree	70	6.1	10.1
Not Sure	210	18.2	28.2
Disagree	371	32.1	60.2
Strongly Disagree	460	39.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.39 shows that 831 respondents (71.9 percent) in the TS did not agree that gay behaviour needed to be discouraged. Those in favour of discouraging gay behaviour made up 116 individuals (10.1 percent). In the TS, 18.2 percent (n=210) were not sure about their stand on this matter.

**Table 4.40**  
**Same-sex behaviour in private, between two consenting (agreeable) adult males in private, should not be treated as a crime.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	38	3.3	3.3
Disagree	62	5.4	8.7
Not Sure	134	11.6	20.2
Agree	333	28.8	49.0
Strongly Agree	590	51.0	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.40 shows a tilt towards an agreement that same-sex behaviour in private, between two consenting adult males, should not be treated as a crime (n=923, 79.8 percent). 134 participants (11.6 percent) were not sure and 100 respondents (8.7 percent) were opposed to this view.

**Table 4.41**  
**Same-sex marriage should be legally permitted.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	508	43.9	43.9
Disagree	300	25.9	69.8
Not Sure	242	20.9	90.8
Agree	88	7.6	98.4
Strongly Agree	19	1.6	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.41 shows that the majority do not support legal provisions for same-sex marriage in the TS (n=808, 69.8 percent). A small percentage of the TS (1.6 percent, n=19) strongly supported same-sex marriage, and 7.6 percent (n=88) also in agreement. The ‘not sure’ category had 242 persons (20.9 percent).

**Table 4.42**  
**If I was a parent, I would not want my child  
to be studying in a class with a gay teacher.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	48	4.1	4.1
Agree	91	7.9	12.0
Not Sure	129	11.1	23.2
Disagree	346	29.9	53.1
Strongly Disagree	543	46.9	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.42 shows that 889 participants (76.8 percent) have no inhibitions about their child being taught by a gay-identified teacher. Those who were not in favour comprised 139 persons (12 percent) and respondents who were not sure, were 129 individuals (11.1 percent) in the TS.

**Table 4.43**  
**I would not want to share a room with a gay person.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	39	3.4	3.4
Agree	122	10.5	13.9
Not Sure	206	17.8	31.7
Disagree	327	28.3	60.0
Strongly Disagree	463	40.0	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.43 shows that 790 participants (68.3 percent) had no reservations about sharing a room with a gay person. In the TS, 17.8 percent (n=206) were not sure about this and 161 individuals (13.9 percent) were not inclined to want to share a room with a gay person.

**Table 4.44**  
**It would not bother me in case I was to have a boss who is gay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	54	4.7	4.7
Disagree	74	6.4	11.1
Not Sure	112	9.7	20.7
Agree	435	37.6	58.3
Strongly Agree	482	41.7	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.44 shows in the TS, 917 participants (79.3 percent) would have no qualms about working with a gay boss. However, 9.7 percent (n=112) were not sure, and 128 individuals (11.1 percent) were clear that they would not want to work with a boss who was gay-identified.

**Table 4.45**  
**All gay persons need professional help from counsellors.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	75	6.5	6.5
Agree	160	13.8	20.3
Not Sure	274	23.7	44.0
Disagree	343	29.6	73.6
Strongly Disagree	305	26.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.45 shows that a relatively small number of participants in the study (n=235, 20.3 percent) agreed that gay people needed professional help from counsellors. The majority (n=648, 56 percent) disagreed that gay people needed counselling. Almost a quarter of the TS was not sure about this (n=274, 23.7 percent).

**Table 4.46**  
**If gay marriage is permitted then children will have wrong role models.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	46	4.0	4.0
Agree	88	7.6	11.6
Not Sure	265	22.9	34.5
Disagree	324	28.0	62.5
Strongly Disagree	434	37.5	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.46 shows that 758 participants (65.5 percent) in the study disagreed that gay marriage could lead to children having wrong role models. A fairly large number were not sure (n=265, 22.9 percent), and 134 individuals (11.6 percent) held the view that gay parents would be wrong role models for their children.

**Table 4.47**  
**Gays usually become child abusers.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	18	1.6	1.6
Agree	53	4.6	6.2
Not Sure	288	24.9	31.0
Disagree	354	30.6	61.6
Strongly Disagree	444	38.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.47 shows that a majority (n=798, 69 percent) were in did not associate gay men with the problem of child abuse. A small number felt that they did become child abusers (n=71, 6.2 percent), but a reasonable number (n=288, 24.9 percent) were uncertain about this matter.

**Table 4.48**  
**Gay couples should be treated in the same way as heterosexual couples  
(that is, male-female couples)**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	25	2.2	2.2
Disagree	40	3.5	5.7
Not Sure	113	9.8	15.4
Agree	424	36.6	52.0
Strongly Agree	555	48.0	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.49 shows that 979 participants (84.6 percent) in the TS agreed that there should equal treatment for all couples, whether gay or heterosexual. 9.8 percent (n=113) of the TS was not sure whereas 5.7 percent (n=65) did not agree with the statement.



**Table 4.49**  
**A gay character in a film will not make people gay.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	20	1.7	1.7
Disagree	47	4.1	5.8
Not Sure	96	8.3	14.1
Agree	405	35.0	49.1
Strongly Agree	589	50.9	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.49 shows that a large majority (n= 994, 85.9 percent) of the TS supported the statement that a gay character in a film will make people gay. 8.3 percent (n=96) were not sure, and 5.8 percent (n=67) held the view that a gay character in a film could make people gay.

**Table 4.50**  
**Being ‘gay’ is a matter of personal choice (preference).**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	549	47.5	47.5
Agree	377	32.6	80.1
Not Sure	132	11.4	91.4
Disagree	60	5.2	96.6
Strongly Disagree	39	3.4	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.50 shows a large number of the TS agreeing that being gay is a matter of personal choice, meaning preference (n=926, 80.1 percent). 132 individuals (11.4 percent) were not sure whereas only 8.6 percent (n=99) were in disagreement.

**Table 4.51**  
**Gay sex is not a part of Indian culture.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	77	6.7	6.7
Disagree	206	17.8	24.5
Not Sure	347	30.0	54.5
Agree	246	21.3	75.7
Strongly Agree	281	24.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.51 shows that there is a small number of 77 participants (6.7 percent) who strongly disagree with the statement, 206 persons (17.8 percent) disagree, 347 individuals (30 percent) are not sure. In the TS, 527 participants (45.6 percent) were in agreement with the statement that gay sex was not a part of Indian culture.

**Table 4.52**  
**LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities.**

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	11	1.0	1.0
Disagree	27	2.3	3.3
Not Sure	162	14.0	17.3
Agree	462	39.9	57.2
Strongly Agree	495	42.8	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	

Table 4.52 shows an overwhelming response in favour of the view that LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities (n= 957, 82.7 percent). In the TS, 14 percent (n=162) was not sure and 3.3 percent (n=38) did not hold this view.

**Table 4.53**  
**Descriptive Statistics of AGS of Total Sample**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Total Score	1157	77	206	170.79	22.564
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)	1157	1.83	4.90	4.0665	.53723

Table 4.53 shows that in the TS (n=1157), the minimum AGS score was 77 and the maximum AGS score was 206, in a possible range that lay between 42 to 210, 42 being the lowest AGS score and 210, the highest possible score. The mean AGS score in the TS was 4.07.

### 4.3 INFERENCEAL ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of the present research is to ascertain whether there exist any relationships between *independent* variables such as education, gender, religious identity, economic class and age, and the Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS). To test this, hypotheses have been formulated and tested, which ultimately enables the researcher to achieve the aims of the research. The following techniques are used for the *inferential* analysis of the data:

1. ANOVA
2. Pearson's Coefficient of correlation ('r')
3. T-test

## **I GROUPS OF HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED**

For a systematic treatment, the **NULL HYPOTHESES** of the study have been grouped under the following heads:

### **A *DIFFERENTIAL STUDIES***

#### **A-1 Hypotheses related to Education:**

- i. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Jr. College and Undergraduate students.
- ii. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Graduates and Post Graduates.
- iii. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Undergraduate students and Graduates.
- iv. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Graduate and Professional students.

#### **A-2 Hypotheses related to Gender:**

- i. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Jr. College students.
- ii. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Undergraduate students.
- iii. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Post Graduates.
- iv. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Professional students.
- v. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Hindus in the Total Sample.

#### **A-3 Hypotheses related to Religion:**

- i. There are no significant differences in AGS among Hindus and Christians.
- ii. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Hindus and Muslims.

- iii. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Zoroastrians.
- iv. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Muslims
- v. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Believers and Non-believers

**A-4 Hypotheses related to Economic class:**

- i. There are no significant economic class differences between professionals and teachers.

**A-5 Hypotheses related to Age:**

- i. There are no significant age differences in AGS between ‘less than 18 years’ age category and 18-21 age category
- ii. There are no significant age differences in the 18-21 age category and 22-45 age category.
- iii. There are no significant age differences in 22-45 age category and ‘above 46’ age category.

**B *RELATIONSHIP STUDIES***

**B-1 Association with Education:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between education and gay ‘coming out’ as a choice, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between education and view of the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample.
- iii. There is no significant relationship between education and view that gays are the cause of the increase in the number of AIDS patients, in the Total Sample.
- iv. There is no significant relationship between education and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.

- v. There is no significant relationship between education and view regarding harassment of gays, in the Total Sample.
- vi. There is no significant relationship between education and view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, among Graduates and Professionals.

**B-2 Association with Gender:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of friendliness towards gay men, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of dislike towards gay men, in the Total Sample.
- iii. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample.
- iv. There is no significant relationship between gender and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.

**B-3 Association with Religion:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between religion and attitude of willingness to have a gay friend, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between religion and attitude towards gay men being human as any other, in the Total Sample.
- iii. There is no significant relationship between religion and a favourable attitude towards legalization of same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
- iv. There is no significant relationship between religion and the view that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.

**B-4 Association with Marital Status:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between marital status and openness to understanding gay men, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between marital status and attitude towards same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between marital status and view that gay men become child abusers, in the Total Sample.

**B-5 Association with Daily Reading Habit (Newspapers):**

- i. There is no significant relationship between daily reading habit and views that queer literature promotes gay behaviour, in the Total Sample.

**B-6 Association with Age:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between age and a friendly approach towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between age and willingness to befriend gay men, in the Total Sample.
- iii. There is no significant relationship between age and dislike towards gay men, in the Total Sample.
- iv. There is no significant relationship between age and view that Sex Education should include education about sexual identities, in the Total Sample.

**B-7 Miscellaneous associations:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between unwillingness to have gay friends and moral judgment of gay sexuality, in the Total Sample.
- ii. There is no significant relationship between willingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged, in the Total Sample.
- iii. There is no significant relationship between a negative view of gay men and the belief that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
- iv. There is no significant relationship between the view that gay film characters do not make people gay and the positive view that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample.

- v. There is no significant relationship between willingness to have a friendly approach towards gay people and the view that gay men should not be made fun of, in the Total Sample.
- vi. There is no significant relationship between the acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay men to choose their life mates, in the Total Sample.

## II TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

### Differential Studies

For the purpose of ascertaining the significant difference between AGS score and variables of the study – education, gender, religious identity, economic class, and age category, the following measure was used:

- **The t-test:** Determining whether a difference is significant always involves discrediting a simple explanation. The test of the significance of the difference between two means is known as the t-test. It involves the computation of the ratio between experimental variance (the observed difference between two sample means) and error variance (the sampling error factor).

#### A-1 Hypotheses related to Education:

- i. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Jr. College and Undergraduate students.

**Table 4.54**

T-test – Education with Jr. College and Undergraduate students

Independent Samples Test

(I) Education Category 1	(J) Education Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Jr College	UG	-.05182	.05090	.960



Since  $P=.960 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Jr. College and Undergraduate students in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- ii. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Graduates and Post Graduates.

**Table 4.55**

T-test – Education with Graduates and Post Graduates  
Independent Samples Test

(I) Education Category 1	(J) Education Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Graduates	PG	-.16119	.05358	.108

Since  $P=.108 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Graduates and Postgraduates in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Undergraduate students and Graduates.

**Table 4.56**

T-test – Education with Undergraduate students and Graduates  
Independent Samples Test

(I) Education Category 1	(J) Education Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
UG	Graduates	.13389	.04709	.153

Since  $P=.153 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Undergraduate students and Graduates in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iv. There are no significant educational differences in AGS among Graduates and Professional students.

**Table 4.57**

T-test – Education with Graduates and professional students  
Independent Samples Test

(I) Education Category 1	(J) Education Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Graduates	Professional students	-.01709	.04877	1.000

Since  $P=1.000 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Graduates and Professional students in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

**A-2 Hypotheses related to Gender:**

- i. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Jr. College students.

**Table 4.58**

T-test – Gender with Jr. College students  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-5.791	170	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between male and female Jr. College students in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- ii. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Undergraduate students.

**Table 4.59**  
T-Test– Gender with Undergraduate students  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-8.128	304	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between male and female Undergraduate students in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- iii. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Post Graduates.

**Table 4.60**  
T-Test– Gender with Post Graduates  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-3.467	178	.001

Since  $P=0.001 \leq 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between male and female Post Graduates in the sample (based on AGS score), at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- v. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Professional students.

**Table 4.61**  
T-Test– Gender with Professional Students  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-3.248	259	.001

Since  $P=0.001 \leq 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between male and female Professional students in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- v. There are no significant gender differences in AGS among Hindus in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.62**  
T-Test– Gender with Hindus in the Total Sample  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-8.505	566	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between males and females among Hindus in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

**A-3 Hypotheses related to Religion:**

- i. There are no significant differences in AGS among Hindus and Christians.

**Table 4.63**  
T-Test– Religion with Hindus and Christians  
Independent Samples Test

(I) Religion Category 1	(J) Religion Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Hindu	Christian	.10207	.04083	.396

Since  $P=.396 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Hindus and Christians in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- ii. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Hindus and Muslims.

**Table 4.64**  
T-Test– Religion with Hindus and Muslims  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Religion Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Religion Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Hindu	Muslim	.26205*	.05717	.002

Since  $P=.002 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Hindus and Muslims in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Zoroastrians.

**Table 4.65**  
T-Test– Religion with Christians and Zoroastrians  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Religion Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Religion Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Christian	Zoroastrian	-.19634	.09093	.588

Since  $P=.588 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Christians and Zoroastrians in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iv. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Christians and Muslims

**Table 4.66**  
T-Test– Religion with Christians and Muslims  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Religion Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Religion Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Christian	Muslim	.15998	.06186	.351

Since  $P=.351 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between Christians and Muslims in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- v. There are no significant religious differences in AGS among Believers and Non-believers.

**Table 4.67**  
T-Test – for Belief  
Independent Samples Test

Believers and Non-believers		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		-4.235	1155	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between Believers and Non-believers in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

**A-4 Hypotheses related to Economic class:**

- i. There are no significant economic class differences between professionals and teachers.

**Table 4.68**  
T-Test – Economic class with Professionals and Teachers  
Independent Samples Test

Economic Class		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
AGS Score (Range 1 to 5)		3.392	187.282	.001

Since  $P=0.001 \leq 0.001$ , there is a significant difference between Professionals and Teachers in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

**A-5 Hypotheses related to Age:**

- i. There are no significant age differences in AGS between ‘less than 18 years’ age category and 18-21 age category

**Table 4.69**  
T-Test– Age categories with ‘less than 18’ with ‘18-21’ years  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Age Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Age Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
< 18 years	18 - 21 years	.00189	.04540	1.000

Since  $P=1.000 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between ‘<18’ years and ‘18-21’ years age categories in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- ii. There are no significant age differences in the 18-21 age category and 22-45 age category.

**Table 4.70**  
T-Test– Age categories with ‘18-21’ with ‘22-45’ years  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Age Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Age Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
18 - 21 years	22 – 45 years	.10181	.03750	.062

Since  $P=.062 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between ‘18-21’ years and ‘22-45’ years age categories in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There are no significant age differences in '22-45' age category and 'above-45' age category.

**Table 4.71**  
T-Test– Age categories with '22-45' with 'above 45' years  
Independent Samples Test

<b>(I) Age Category 1</b>	<b>(J) Age Category 2</b>	<b>Mean difference</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
22 - 45 years	> 45 years	.03810	.05365	.918

Since  $P=.918 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant difference between '22-45' years and '>45' years age categories in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.



**Relationship Studies**

For the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the relationship between (a) the independent variable and the dependent variable, and (b) specific variables used in the AGSS, the following measures of inferential statistics were adopted:

- **ANOVA i.e. Analysis of Variance:** When more than two sets of measurements on the same variable, each under its own set of conditions are to be compared.
- **Co-efficient of correlation:** It is represented by ‘r’, for finding the relationship between two sets of scores. Product moment correlation technique has been employed. The significance of ‘r’ is determined in terms of the critical values of ‘r’ for the degrees of freedom.

**B-1 Association with Education:**

- There is no significant relationship between education and gay ‘coming out’ as a choice, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.72**

ANOVA – Education with ‘Coming out’ as being a personal choice

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
2. The decision to be open about one's gay identity is a personal choice.	Between Groups	4.224	5	.845	1.644	.145
	Within Groups	591.465	1151	.514		
	Total	595.689	1156			

Since  $P=.145 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and view that gay ‘coming out’ is a personal choice, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between education and view of the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.73**  
ANOVA – Education – Positive view of NGOs

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
9. Organizations that work for gay rights play a positive role in society.	Between Groups	15.976	5	3.195	3.704	.002
	Within Groups	992.776	1151	.863		
	Total	1008.752	1156			

Since  $P=.002 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and view regarding the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between education and the view that gays are the cause of the increase in AIDS patients, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.74**  
ANOVA – Education with perception of gays as the cause for the increase in AIDS patients

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
15. Gays are the cause of the increase in the number of AIDS patients.	Between Groups	12.401	5	2.480	2.432	.033
	Within Groups	1173.922	1151	1.020		
	Total	1186.323	1156			

Since  $P=.033 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and the view that gays are the cause of the increase in AIDS patients, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iv. There is no significant relationship between education and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.75**

ANOVA – Education with positive attitude towards LGBT films

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
42. LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities.	Between Groups	9.181	5	1.836	2.634	.022
	Within Groups	802.515	1151	.697		
	Total	811.696	1156			

Since  $P=.022 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and the view that LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- v. There is no significant relationship between education and view that gay people deserve to be harassed, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.76**  
ANOVA – Education with the view that gay people  
deserve to be harassed

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
26. Gay people deserve to be harassed.	Between Groups	3.359	5	.672	1.611	.154
	Within Groups	480.043	1151	.417		
	Total	483.402	1156			

Since  $P=.154 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and the view that gay people deserve to be harassed, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- vi. There is no significant relationship between education and view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, among Graduates and Professional students.

**Table 4.77**  
T-test – Education with the view that gay sexuality is a mental sickness,  
among Graduate and Professional students

(I) Education Category 1	(J) Education Category 2	Mean difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Graduates	Professional students	.093	.097	.970

Since  $P=.970 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between education and the view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, with reference to graduates and professional students, in the sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

**B-2 Association with Gender:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of friendly approach towards gays, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.78**

T-test - Gender with attitude of friendly approach towards gays

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
1. People should have a friendly approach towards gays.		-5.884	946.234	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between gender and attitude of friendliness towards gay men, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of dislike towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.79**

T-test - Gender with attitude of dislike towards gay persons

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
16. I do not like gay persons.		-10.793	901.493	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between gender and attitude of dislike towards gay men, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between gender and attitude of openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.80**  
T-test - Gender with attitude of openness to having a gay boss

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
34. It would not bother me in case I was to have a boss who is gay.		-4.978	1155	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between gender and attitude towards openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- iv. There is no significant relationship between gender and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.81**  
T-test - Gender and Attitude towards LGBT films

Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
42. LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities.		-8.117	1155	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between gender and positive attitude that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

**B-3 Association with Religion:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between religion and attitude towards befriending a gay person, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.82**  
ANOVA – Religion with attitude towards befriending a gay person

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
4. I would not want to have a friend who is gay.	Between Groups	23.796	6	3.966	3.674	.001
	Within Groups	1241.526	1150	1.080		
	Total	1265.322	1156			

Since  $P=0.001 \leq 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between religion and attitude regarding befriending a gay person in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between religion and attitude towards gay men as being human as any other, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.83**  
ANOVA – Religion with attitude towards gay men  
being human as any other

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
12. Gay males are as human as any other person.	Between Groups	4.393	6	.732	1.893	.079
	Within Groups	444.765	1150	.387		
	Total	449.158	1156			

Since  $P=.079 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between religion and the view that gay men are as human as any other in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between religion and attitude towards same-sex marriage being legally permitted, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.84**  
ANOVA – Religion with support for legalization of same-sex marriage

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
31. Same-sex marriage should be legally permitted.	Between Groups	8.647	6	1.441	1.312	.249
	Within Groups	1263.411	1150	1.099		
	Total	1272.059	1156			

Since  $P=.249 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between religion and the view that same-sex marriage should be legally permitted in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iv. There is no significant relationship between religion and the view that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.85**  
ANOVA – Religion with the view that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
41. Gay sex is not a part of Indian culture.	Between Groups	32.813	6	5.469	3.749	.001
	Within Groups	1677.718	1150	1.459		
	Total	1710.531	1156			

Since  $P=0.001 \leq 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between religion and the view that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.



**B-4 Association with Marital Status:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between marital status and openness to understanding gay men, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.86**

T-test – Marital status with attitude of openness to understanding gay men  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
19. A healthy understanding of gay people is necessary.		-4.369	404.503	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between marital status and the view that supports a healthy understanding of gay people in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS. This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between marital status and attitude towards same-sex marriage being legally permitted, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.87**

T-test – Marital status with supportive attitude to legalization of same-sex marriage  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
31. Same-sex marriage should be legally permitted.		6.790	429.968	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between marital status and the view that supports a healthy understanding of gay people in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS. This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between marital status and the view that gay men become child abusers, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.88**

T-test – Marital status with the view that gay men become child abusers  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
37. Gays usually become child abusers.		-4.003	1155	.000

Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , there is a significant relationship between marital status and the view that gays usually become child abusers in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

**B-5 Association with Reading Habit (Newspapers):**

- i. There is no significant relationship between daily reading habit and views that queer literature promotes gay behaviour, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.89**

T-test – Reading habit with the view that queer literature promotes gay behaviour  
Independent Samples Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
23. Books and journals on Gay Sexuality promote gay behaviour.		.242	710.493	.809

Since  $P=.809 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between Reading Habit and view that books and journals on Gay sexuality promote gay behaviour in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

**B-6 Association with Age:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between age and willingness to have a friendly approach towards gays in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.90**

ANOVA – Age and willingness to have a friendly approach towards gays, in the Total Sample

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1. People should have a friendly approach towards gays.	Between Groups	5.702	3	1.901	3.297	.020
	Within Groups	664.621	1153	.576		
	Total	670.323	1156			

Since  $P=.020 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between age and the willingness to have a friendly approach towards gays in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between age and willingness to befriend a gay person, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.91**

ANOVA – Age and willingness to befriend a gay person, in the Total Sample

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
4. I would not want to have a friend who is gay.	Between Groups	7.510	3	2.503	2.295	.076
	Within Groups	1257.812	1153	1.091		
	Total	1265.322	1156			

Since  $P=.076 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between age and the willingness to befriend a gay person in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between age and dislike of gay people, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.92**  
ANOVA – Age with dislike of gay people, in the Total Sample

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
16. I do not like gay persons.	Between Groups	3.380	3	1.127	.899	.441
	Within Groups	1445.305	1153	1.254		
	Total	1448.685	1156			

Since  $P=.441 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between age and dislike of gay persons in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

- iv. There is no significant relationship between age and Sex Education that is inclusive of sexual identities in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.93**  
ANOVA – Age with LGBT Sex Education that is inclusive of sexual identities in the Total Sample.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
20. Sex Education should include education about sexual identities.	Between Groups	9.348	3	3.116	4.059	.007
	Within Groups	885.098	1153	.768		
	Total	894.446	1156			

Since  $P=.007 > 0.001$ , there is a no significant relationship between age and the view that Sex Education should include education about sexual identities in the Total Sample (based on AGS score) at 1 percent LOS.

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is not rejected.

**B-7 Miscellaneous associations:**

- i. There is no significant relationship between unwillingness to have gay friends and moral judgment of gay sexuality, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.94**  
Correlation - Items 4 with 21

		21. Gay behaviour is wrong.
4. I would not want to have a friend who is gay.	Pearson Correlation	.497**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21, in the Total Sample.  $\text{Corr} = + 0.497$

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- ii. There is no significant relationship between unwillingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.95**  
Correlation - Items 7 with 29

		29. Gay behaviour should be discouraged.
7. There should not be any discussion of gay sexuality.	Pearson Correlation	.499**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21 in the Total Sample.  $\text{Corr} = + 0.499$ .

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- iii. There is no significant relationship between a negative view of gay men and the belief that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.96**  
Correlation - Items 18 with 41

		41. Gay sex is not a part of Indian culture.
18. Gay males deserve to be looked down upon.	Pearson Correlation	.268**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21 in the Total Sample.  $\text{Corr} = + 0.268$ .

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- vi. There is no significant relationship between the view that gay film characters do not make people gay and the positive view that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.97**  
Correlation - Items 39 with 42

		42. LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities.
39. A gay character in a film will not make people gay.	Pearson Correlation	.356**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21.  $\text{Corr} = + 0.356$ .

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- v. There is no significant relationship between willingness to have a friendly approach towards gay men and the view that gays should not be made fun of, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.98**  
Correlation - Items 1 with 24

		24. Nobody should make fun of persons who are gay.
1. People should have a friendly approach towards gays.	Pearson Correlation	.300**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21.  $\text{Corr} = + 0.300$ .

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.

- vii. There is no significant relationship between the acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay men to choose their life mates, in the Total Sample.

**Table 4.99**  
Correlation - Items 12 with 28

		28. Gay men should have the legal right to choose their life mates.
12. Gay males are as human as any other person.	Pearson Correlation	.355**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	1157

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Sig. (1-tailed) is P-value. Since  $P=0.000 < 0.001$ , There is a significant correlation between items 4 and 21.  $Corr = + 0.355$ .

This implies that the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected.



## **PART B: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH GAY MEN**

### **4.4 INTRODUCTION**

As stated in the introduction of this research report, the interviews conducted by the researcher, to obtain the life stories of gay-identified men in Mumbai are at the heart of this study. It is to place on record the ‘real’ lives of gay men – their life journeys, their challenges, hopes and aspirations as regards gay sexuality. The survey of what society thinks about gay men and their lives, their sexuality is useful to understand their point of view, which is what the researcher has already done.

Getting access to gay men was extremely difficult in the beginning, but the sheer good will of the gay community in Mumbai, friends, well-wishers and the NGO – Gay Bombay, the researcher was able to conduct 19 in-depth interviews. All interviewees were always asked if they were willing to participate in the study where their data was recorded on audio devices and some took the pains to provide their thoughts on the tool itself. They were at liberty to stop participating in the interview, though no interviewee did so.

The researcher tried to ensure that the setting where interviews were conducted was reasonably comfortable, though this was not always possible. Some interviews were held in a public garden due to lack of private space to share information, some were exchanged via WhatsApp video call, some were telephonic interviews; but the majority were face-to-face interactions.

All interviewees were assured of three things: non-disclosure of real names and personal contact information, total confidentiality of the information they would provide and the use of this data exclusively for the purpose of this academic study. The mean time taken for the conduct of the interview was 55 minutes. All the interviewees were very kind, courteous, and

generous; and many actually went out of their way to make the researcher comfortable! Every interview was an experience that excited the researcher to want to get more and more. While in few interviews the researcher felt limited by its structured elements, interviews were always encouraged to share beyond the boundaries of the question or area of enquiry.

In this report, interviewee names are undisclosed in keeping with the 'Form of Consent (*see* **Appendix F**). Interviewees will be identified by an alphabet, prefixed with 'Mr.'; this is only for the purpose of reference. The reports are not organized by the logic of real names, nor the date of interview.

#### **4.5 PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES (GAY-IDENTIFIED MEN)**

Given below are descriptions of each interviewee, who are self-identified gay males, living in Mumbai. Some live single lives, some are partnered, and some live with their family. The brief background of each interviewee provides a glimpse into the lives of gay men. This could very well be the situation of many other gay men 'out there'. For the researcher, the driving force behind this research is to place on record that gay men exist; they are visible; they are as human as any other.

[1]

Mr. A, age 29, is a post-graduate from Mumbai University. He identifies as 'atheist'. He works in administration and is a freelance writer. He identifies as openly gay but, not to each and every one. He still stays in a small rented space and exercises caution, as he can't afford to be thrown out of his place if his landlady gets wind of his sexual orientation. He mentioned about his biological mother (who was not unfamiliar with the notion of being gay, through her travel abroad), warning him to be careful about his life, "though she didn't approve of it." He hails from Uttar Pradesh and has been living in Mumbai ever since he came here to pursue his education. He has dated several men; most of these were through social networking sites such as Grinder and Planet Romeo.

[2]

Mr. B, age 31, is a film-maker, and interior designer by training. He identifies as Hindu and Maratha and hails from Maharashtra. During his early childhood, he lived in a *chawl*; he always knew that he was attracted to men, though did not understand it then. He is openly gay and says that he is fortunate that his workplace “almost everyone is gay” and the one person who wasn’t, has now become “gay-friendly.” “People refer to me as a ‘gay’ filmmaker.” He asserts, “I am a filmmaker.” He lives with his partner in a Muslim neighbourhood, which has never created any problems for them; on the contrary, he found his neighbourhood very supportive and caring. “They share food with me on special occasions. My effeminate gay friends visit me but no one has made it a problem.”

[3]

Mr. C, age 39, is a theatre personality and gives guest lectures on theatre. He identifies as “Hindu and Brahman.” He lives with his partner in a locality where he says everyone knows he is gay as he has the “Rainbow flag flying outside his home”. He is openly gay. In his growing-up years, he felt he was different up to the age of 28. He has written and directed a play, been part of panel discussions on news channels on TV; he has authored one book and has just released his second project – an audio book in Marathi. As a teacher, he “always remains vocal about blurring lines of sexuality”.

[4]

Mr. D, age 28, is a post-graduate in science. Though he hails from Gujarat, he has always lived in Mumbai city. He has been raised in a Jain household but “would go with ‘agnostic’ and ‘belief in spirituality’” He is part of the family business and is thus, self-employed. He is single (read, unmarried) and lives with his parents but wants to live independently. He came out to his father and then to his family - when his father questioned him about being an ally of a gay movement online, which he happened to come across.

[5]

Mr. E, age 32, is from Manipur, trained as an engineer and works in Mumbai. He was raised in a Hindu home but does not identify with any religion, today. He describes himself as agnostic. He says that his community “back home” is extremely conservative. He “felt very different around 17-18, shy kid, and not a typical boy”. When he was very young. It took him a long time to accept his sexuality as he “didn’t know how to feel”. “I first ‘came out’ to my best friend, whom I later realized, was also gay”. Later he mustered up the courage and first ‘came out’ to his mother, then to his father, sister, brother, friends and colleagues – in that order. He lives with his partner and his parents are now supportive of his relationship. “In fact, they ask me about him.”

[6]

Mr. F, age 39, is a music professional in the city and a commerce graduate. He is openly gay, and ‘came out’ first as an atheist, and then as gay - to his parents whom he describes as being “very religious and conservative Roman Catholic”. “It took a decade for them to accept that I was homosexual.” He knew he was different, but different because he felt he was “intelligent and talented”. He prefers to use the word ‘homosexual’ as he feels it has “too many cultural implications”. He likes a bit of ‘femininity’ in men. He was attracted to women, but suddenly that stopped and he became sexually attracted to men. Here he makes reference to ‘gender fluidity’. According to him, he has always felt that alphabets and numbers have genders and he firmly believes that this is “preprogrammed in my head”. He wants to be a songwriter – “not a gay or homosexual songwriter”, “but of course, my songs will talk about gay issues or themes”.

[7]

Mr. G, age 26, is a media professional, producer, writer and stand-up comedian. He trained as an engineer; was raised Roman Catholic, but says “I will go with atheist” identity. He realized that he was different at the age of 14

and found it “very difficult” to accept himself as being different at that age. He says that he researched the subject online to find out more and educate himself. He runs his own podcast channel through which he reaches out especially to many gay adolescents as “schools and colleges won’t cover as much, the way we do”. The podcasts help to “push the boundaries”.

[8]

Mr. H, age 24, has a degree in electronics. His religious identity is Kutchi Jain but he believes in spirituality and being a humanist. He never felt that he was different than other boys or men. He is open to “the whole world except to my family”. He feels, “my parents doubt me but they don’t know that I am gay”.

[9]

Mr. I, age 27, is an engineer and filmmaker by training. He is from West Bengal but lives in Mumbai and works as a filmmaker and fashion professional. He knew that he was different when in Middle school. He is Hindu and Brahmin. He has been an LGBT activist since 2008. He once attempted to end his life, just after he completed his first diploma. He came out to his parents in a state of drunken stupor. “It was tough...but my parents were very much supporting.” He has a “huge friends’ circle from the LGBT community”.

[10]

Mr. J age 32, is a professional dance educator, a journalist and filmmaker. He believes in God, but refrains from specifying any one religion. From the age of 13, he felt that he was different. “*Kuch alag hai.*” He shared about how he discovered, through a book on Kathak, that in the past, males who performed from the times of the Mughal *badshahs* (Kings) were gay. As a classical dancer, he feels it is possible to identify a gay person “through one’s eyes”. He is proud to be in the position that he is in, but aims high and feels it will give then him legitimacy to come out openly as a role model.

[11]

Mr. K, age 25, is a commerce graduate who works in a school. He is Gujarati and lives in Mumbai. At age 15 he says, “I was questioning. I could not see a story that I could relate to.” He has been an out and loud activist for the LGBT cause and has “never felt the need” to ‘come out’ to his parents. He shared about how he was taken great care of by his mother; he says, “In my whole school life, I sat on the first bench (in class). My mom picked me up (from school) up to (standard) 10th.” He shares, “I tried to kill myself and failed.” Thereafter, it was a QAM Pride March that transformed his life. He is the Founder and Chairperson of the “Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Society”. He has spoken over 500 times in public spaces – in villages and small towns, schools, colleges, on public transport, in regional languages, within a span of six months after the SC verdict re-criminalizing homosexuality. He was an advisor on an international Human Rights platform at the UN, for the South Asia and India region. The group ‘Saathi’ from the IIT Mumbai campus have made a short film on him.

[12]

Mr. L, age 34, is trained in health services and works as a professional in the city. He hails from Manipur, is born Hindu but “believes in all religions”. He is a severe victim of child sexual abuse. He says, “That’s why I went into isolation... insecurity and loneliness.” He says that as early as Standard I, “I realized I am attracted to men...could not tell my parents as I was afraid of being beaten up and boycotted.” He finally opened up to his parents when they were considering marriage for him. This caused a lot of problems for him at his native place. He chose to leave home and is still not accepted by his family. He feels sad about this. He says, “I am struggling with it.” He loves art, spirituality and cooking. “I have no real support group...I have come a long way.” He finds great solace in art and ‘spirituality’; he also sees a professional counsellor from time to time.

[13]

Mr. M, age 36, is a commerce graduate, from Gujarat but lives in Mumbai. He *was* a strong believer of Hinduism but gave up his faith a few months ago and now identifies as an atheist. He recalls feeling that he was different at an early age of 5 or 6; and he felt “something was wrong” and wondered, “I am the only one....let me go to God’s house.” He found it very difficult to accept himself. “I am a shame to my family.” He did not want to “live this dual existence”. Before age 23 he says, “My straight uncle molested me”. “I attempted suicide at one point.” He goes on to say, “The 1980s and 1990s was a miserable time for me.” He was also sexually abused by a neighbour in the early 40’s age category when he was in Primary school. He is open “to all except mom and my brother’. He says, “I want legal rights, to legally stay with my partner...if legalized I can open up to my family, buy property and share a bank account with my partner”.

[14]

Mr. N, age 23, is a science post-graduate, He does not identify with any religion and chooses the label of agnostic and humanist. He felt that he was different from other boys of his age when he was 14-15 years old. He found it difficult to come to terms with himself. He has barely spoken to few people in his life about his sexual orientation and was raised in a Muslim household. He is grappling to live with his ‘gay identity’.

[15]

Mr. O, age 31 completed Standard XII and soon after that started working at a call centre. He identifies as Sanatan Dharm/Hindu. He felt different when he was “around 10-13 years old” and found it difficult to accept himself. “When I came to know that I was gay, I was very young, in school, and thought I’m the only one in this world who is like this ‘coz I knew men get married to a female, they love, have sex, kids. I was scared, worried, sad, that I was different that time.”

[16]

Mr. P, age 22 is an engineer by training but works as a journalist, and is from Maharashtra. He is Hindu by birth but does not follow any religion and identifies as 'humanist'. He feels most fortunate to have been raised in a "very liberal family" and he says "I never felt that I was different". He never had to 'come out' to his parents; in fact, he says that they only "officially confirmed that I was gay when my mom asked me when I was 14". "My mother also attended Kashish" (the Queer International Film Festival held every year in Mumbai, in the month of May). He states, "I was into self-harming for a year." He says, "I am strong because my mom supported me." He gives credit to his school as well. Recently, he produced a play called "Jeena" at the GB Talent show.

[17]

Mr. Q, age 25, is a Chartered Accountant. He comes from a small town in Madhya Pradesh but works in Mumbai. He is Hindu but feels more comfortable with the label humanist and believes in spirituality. He acknowledges that he "has a feeling of love for girls but *not sexual*." He says, "At age 2-3, I used to think that I was a girl." "I knew I was different." He stresses the important role of media in his life; it made him aware of many issues related to being 'gay' and also about 'sex'. He specifically spoke very favourably of the NGO – 'MINGLE'. At present, he says, "I am out to three people and I 'came out' by getting caught."

[18]

Mr. R, age 21, is a final year degree student in Mumbai. He identifies as Hindu and is from Maharashtra. "Until the seventh standard, I used to think I am a eunuch because I'm attracted to men." He swears by *Arhatic Yoga* and *Pranic* healing, as he feels "it has taught me to accept myself." It helped him develop good self-esteem and he says, "It has made things simple for me". He philosophizes that "everything has failures, nothing is perfect." He was



actively involved with 'Yaariya' - which is the active youth wing of The Humsafar Trust. He says, "I believe everyone is open to choices."

[19]

Mr. S, age 35, completed "HSC". He humorously describes himself an "outstanding Catholic". He was raised in a religious, joint family, as Roman Catholic. He is a grave victim of child abuse - from within his extended family. He grew up with plenty of conflicts "about being Catholic and Gay." He was in a family with its own share of problems (an alcoholic father); where he says, "I felt I was not getting a lot of attention." Finally, when he realized that his gayness could not go, he says, "I made a choice to go to 'hell' " He felt "different for a very long time", until he came out to his mother first, at age 30. When he told his father, the response he got was "You must have done something". He struggled between ages 14 and 21 years, and after that "was ok'. Much later he started a group "Color Positive" which works for animal rights, child rights, women's rights and LGBTIQ+ rights.

#### **4.6 THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF CASES OF GAY-IDENTIFIED MEN**

The researcher developed an in-depth Interview Schedule cum Interview Guide. The tools include the following *dimensions*:

1. Preliminary questions (age, education, occupation, geographical place of belonging, relationship status)
2. Religious identity (if any) and impact
3. Identity and Sexuality
4. Debates surrounding gay sexuality with Indian and Western culture
5. 'Coming out' – effect and reactions (if at all)
6. Gay behaviour

7. Growing up 'gay'
8. Gay rights as human rights
9. Issues pertaining to gay marriage and adoption
10. Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code – impact before and after
11. Child abuse and non-consensual sex
12. Issues pertaining to heterosexual marriage in the context of gay men
13. Educational experiences in school
14. Sex Education
15. Media Role (Impact) – Bollywood in particular, internet, YouTube,
16. Online connectivity and networking
17. Queer/LGBT Film festivals
18. Reading habits and Viewing habits
19. Problems/Challenges of being gay and as a gay man
20. Self-acceptance issues, abuse, vulnerability
21. Role of Law
22. Efforts for change
23. Social acceptance
24. Queer Azaadi March (Pride March)
25. Gay relationships – private circle, friends, professional, at work
26. Personal experiences of being gay
27. Personal involvement as agent of change, if at all
28. Hopes and aspirations for the future

The tool was shown to experts (*see Appendix A*) for their feedback and modifications were made subsequently.

### **For the Case Study of Gay Men:**

The researcher developed an in-depth Interview Schedule cum Guide. The thematic analysis of the in-depth interviews revolves around various dimensions given below. The researcher will summarize the main arguments or descriptions for each dimension, examine the main ideas and cite pertinent quotes from the interviews – to demonstrate the interviewees’ perspective on the matter concerned.

#### **Preliminary questions**

These included the following:

*(i) Age*

All interviewees belong to the age range 22 to 39 years. When classified according to age categories, the data is as follows:

**Table No. 4.100**

Table showing distribution of Interview Sample by Age category

<b>Age category</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
20 – 29	11	57.89
30 – 39	8	42.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.00</b>

A question that is frequently asked of gay men is, “When did you know that you were gay?” The fact is that young pre-pubescent boys do not know that they are “gay’ because they more often than not, do not know the label nor its meaning. However, most of the interviewees reported that they always knew that they were attracted to boys. Being gay cuts across all age categories. It is not a phase that one goes through into order to become heterosexual. It is not a phase that one grow’s out of either. Marriage too does not ‘cure’ gayness, as some people seem to think.

***(ii) Occupation***

A common stereotype is to think that gay men are always ‘creative’ people who work in creative professions. This is not necessarily true as gay men are found in every walk of life. The gay men who were interviewed for this study came from a variety of backgrounds and the gay people whom they have interacted with, or dated, or mated also came from a variety of occupational groups. Any person can be creative irrespective of one’s sexual orientation.

Among the 19 interviewees, the occupations represented were:

Filmmaker	:	3
Engineer	:	3
Musician	:	1
Theater artiste	:	1
Health professional	:	1
Administrator	:	1
Banker	:	1
Journalist	:	1
Business	:	1
Pharmacy student	:	1
Media professional	:	1
Teacher	:	2
Research student	:	1
Chartered Accountant	:	1

***(iii) Relationship status***

The question about ‘relationships’ was not consciously asked at the interview, as the researcher felt that this would be rather noseiy and presumptuous. On the basis of voluntarily revealed information, only 4 out of 19 respondents said that they were in a relationship, at the time of the interview.

It is true that in a society where men are expected to marry women, and continue the family legacy by producing children, gay men find themselves in very trying situations – of having to combat the pressure to get into heterosexual marriages. This is a huge challenge as many gay men in this study have testified. Not all gay men even come to terms with their own sexuality; the bigger challenge and risk of ‘coming out’ and the fear of being disowned by one’s own family prevents many gay men from asserting their sexual identity; their right to love another male then seems like a far cry.

***(iv) State or Union Territory***

The interviewees stated their State of origin as follows:

Maharashtra	:	10
Gujarat	:	2
Manipur	:	2
Goa/Rajasthan	:	1
Karnataka	:	1
Madhya Pradesh	:	1
Uttar Pradesh	:	1
West Bengal	:	1

Again, ‘gay’ people are not confined to urban centres of India. Gay people are found everywhere. They may not use the label ‘gay’; and same-sex behaviour is not limited to cities.

**Religious identity (if any)**

Religious identity for most people, is an ascribed status; thus, in the Indian context, gay men are born into homes which are most likely to have a religious identity. Religious injunctions imposed through strict interpretations of sacred literature make it difficult for gay men to sometimes come to terms with their sexual identity. Depending on which religion one follows, there can be feelings of guilt, shame and sinfulness associated with identifying as gay or

engaging in same-sex behaviour. Some of the interviewees continued to identify as religious (or spiritual) and some chose to be non-practising people of faith. A small section of the interviewees were clear that they did not believe in any God or religious beliefs; in fact, they described themselves as being atheist.

The interviewees identified their religious identity as follows:

**Table No. 4.101**

Table showing distribution of Interview sample by Religious belief

<b>Religious Identity</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Belief in God	9	47.37
Belief in Spiritualism	3	15.79
Non-belief in God	7	36.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.00</b>

### **Identity and Sexuality**

All humans like to have an identity. In fact we have multiple identities. It is who we are. The identities that we profess may relate to the physical self (sex), gender, caste, race, religion, class and so forth. Identifying the way one chooses to, can be a liberating experience. This is especially true when gay men are able to identify as gay, not just to themselves but to anyone, openly. If this is possible, then there is no need to live in fear, or in shame; to live as a ‘criminal’ or as a ‘mentally sick’ person – labels that gay men have carried for far too long. One’s gay sexuality is also something that is innate and felt by gay men, sooner or later. When some gay men have felt that they were ‘different’, it is what society has made them feel about themselves in a heteronormative world.

Of 19 interviewees who participated in this study, a majority (n=18) identified as “male and gay.” One interviewee preferred to describe himself as “homosexual” rather than “gay”. All the participants affirmed that being gay was natural; that they did not ‘choose to be gay’. However, a gay man can choose to be open about his being gay. Note that there is a difference here.

“When you identify yourself as gay, a perception is there that you are effeminate and sex hungry, and would love to sleep with anything that has a dick.... Being gay is natural. Is being heterosexual a preference or matter of choice? If not, then being gay is also not preference nor choice.” (C)

“Sexuality occurs naturally; one’s own conscious control. Cannot alter it.” (N)

“Sexuality is personal.” (P)

“People keep their sexuality hidden to follow the herd mentality. It’s about acceptance and more about [a] society which has programmed us. If you want to fit you do it ‘right’.” (S)

### **Gay sexuality vis-a-vis Indian and Western culture**

All interviewees (n=19) expressly stated that being gay and gay sexuality was a part of Indian culture since the ancient past. Many also cited references to the Mahabharata, Khajuraho temple sculpture depictions and the Kama Sutra. Some respondents stated that there was no need to see gay sexuality as being part of “Indian” or “Western” culture. They felt it was about people who are gay, and “this is biological and not cultural”.

The prejudice that people at large hold due to their ignorance on the subject is that, ‘gayness’ is a “western import”. This is untrue as gay people and same-sex relations have been around in Indian culture since times immemorial. Actually, it is the label ‘gay’ which is a “western import”. Thus, when the GOI held the position that Indian society was not ready to accept homosexuality, it would have been more accurate to state that “Section 377” was the real ‘western import’ and the culprit behind numerous crimes, extortions, misery, hatred and so on.

“There is a definite queer tradition in Indian culture. Homophobia is part of the British legacy.” (A)

“Indian culture does not believe in stricter gender roles, everything is fluid...We have many Gods, Goddesses, kings and priests who change their gender, take different gender role for the specific time period; this becomes the process of understanding, which leads towards the ultimate aim of life, i.e. moksh.” (C)

“Gay is not related to any culture, caste or creed. We are not racist who discriminates an individual gay lifestyle as Western or Indian. It is a beautiful form of love...Gay culture is beyond casteism....it is their private love affair and they are not tarnishing [the] image of [the] whole society.” (H)

“Although we do have the equivalent of homosexuals in ancient India, the term ‘gay’ with all its implications does seem to me, to be of Western origin.” (N)

“Being gay has nothing to do with any culture, religion, race.” (O)

### **‘Coming out’ – effect and reactions (if at all)**

‘Coming out’ or ‘coming out of the closet’ is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, the experience of ‘coming out’ frees gay men from the shackles of the closet. However, ‘coming out’ does not in any way imply ‘ready acceptance’ by ones’ family, relatives, friends, colleagues or society at large. ‘Coming out’ is deemed to be important as it is way of asserting who one is. It takes much courage to be able to ‘come out’ to one’s family – perhaps due to the fear of being unaccepted, unloved or rejected. It is not an easy process for one to even start considering ‘coming out’ unless one is brazen, bold and/or financially secure.

It is not compulsory to ‘come out’ but even in gay circles, there is a tendency to divide along the very same lines.

Why is ‘coming out’ made out to be a big deal? The possible explanation is that in an environment that only sees heterosexuality as ‘normal’, it becomes necessary to break the myth that gay men do not exist. Gay people need to ‘come out’ to help ‘normalize homosexuality’. This will



make homosexuality more visible. Just as today for example, heterosexuality is considered a given, perhaps there could be a day when it will not be necessary to squabble over whom one can love or not, or whom one can have sex with, or not.

In this study not all interviewees were ‘out’ gays. Out of the total sample (n=19), those who stated that they were ‘out’ are as follows:

**Table 4.102**

Table showing distribution of Interview sample with being ‘out as gay’

<b>‘Out’ gay</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Openly gay/homosexual	11	57.89
Open with some reservations	2	10.53
Not openly gay	6	31.58
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Among the 13 gay men who said they were openly gay, only 11 reported that they had come out to their family. Most gay men came out voluntarily to immediate family members and then to others. A few men were open at the workplace to colleagues with whom they worked. Only four working persons from those interviewed reported about their workplace having an LGBT policy in place, or an openness to developing one. Two persons reported getting harassed at the workplace by colleagues.

“Lots of work needs to be done. We need more numbers. Adults are for the longest time, dependent [on family]...what are you going to lose... be aware of that. Under the clause that you are financially independent, survive on your own.” (A)

“When working for the [gay] community it helps if you have ‘come out’” (B)

“[Coming out] is a personal choice. But they should. Living under imaginary fear is more dangerous than actually facing the issue. You know what their reaction is, and your next plan of action. I was never ‘in’ so I never ‘came out’; *jo hai wo hai.*” (C)

“I pre-empted this situation and came out to my parents. Coming out was a scary experience for me. [I was] around 17. I didn’t want to get married. I made myself mentally prepared – chose mom – dad has a bad temper – will throw me out of the house; I deleted all contacts on phone, pictures. My mother wept through the night, created a ruckus. My father got to know and said that it was wrong. They imagined me roaming the streets and searching for sex. But I was fighting for my rights. I told them, ‘as long as you are supporting me I don’t care about the rest of the world’. My emotional bond with my mother ruptured for one to two years. It hurt me. I had to do it for myself. They suggested I should see a good counsellor. After meeting the counsellor my parents were told ‘Your son has no problem. He wants to have a good life. You should allow him to do that.’ Then she spoke to my mom and father separately. Even after this, my mom asked me, ‘But at least can you try and marry a girl?’ Things have improved now. This year, I introduced my boyfriend to them.” (E)

“Dan Savage’s words had an impact on me. He says that it is very easy to come out when everybody else has. You can’t be a coward. This had a huge impact on me. I watched an impactful episode of ‘Queer as Folk’.” (F)

“I came out first to my best friend and he asked me, ‘Did anyone hurt you?’ At 23-ish I decided to tell my family. I told my mom in privacy, and she told the entire family! I told her, ‘I can’t change myself. If you want me to leave the house I will.’ (G)

“I don’t want to tell the whole world. Whom you want to open up is your choice.” (M)

“Why should I go and tell the world that I like having sex with men? This is something that should stay within four walls.” (O)

It is important to place on record that even getting gay men to talk to the researcher was not an easy task. There seems to be a level of discomfort or unwillingness to talk, or place on record about one’s journey as a gay male. Understandably, a large number of gay men are still in the closet; many get married and hope that their same-sex attraction will go away (but it does not). Some wait for the ‘right time’ to ‘come out’; still others wait eagerly for a favourable verdict from the courts of justice – the hope that gay sex will once again be decriminalized.

## **Gay behaviour**

Homosexuality is not only about *identifying* with same-sex attraction. It also includes *same-sex behaviour*. But how does a gay man behave? This is a question that begs the curiosity of many a heterosexual person. The largely held myth is that gay men are effeminate. This is wholly untrue as gay male behaviour just like heterosexual behaviour is found in a continuum within the binary of masculinity and femininity at each end of the spectrum. Then, there are gay men who do not identify with this binary either!

All the interviewees except one, were sure that it was not possible to definitively identify a 'gay man' from his external looks, mannerisms, dressing and behaviour. The use of the term 'gaydar' is commonly used and often jokingly too, in conversations among queer folk. Few respondents lamented that at Pride Marches, some gay men behave in ways which are not necessarily how they would behave in day-to-day life. However, the impression that the general public picks up, from such behaviours is that all gay men are loud and in your face, flamboyant.

“There are stereotypes created on stage or on screen for easy identification but in real life, it’s much more difficult, not everyone wears a pink tee-shirt, or puts make-up, also not every well-dressed man is gay. [With regard to external behaviour] “mostly yes, but you need to have a strong ‘gaydar’ and understand the way the person is behaving, so this remains confined mostly to gay people, for those who are outsiders it is not that easy” (C)

“Honestly, my gaydar triggered after joining fashion industry...One should understand the depth of LGBTQ community. A gay guy always won't be submissive or feminine or cross-dresser. Plenty of gays are there with masculine physique, [masculine] behaviour and they are dominating.” (I)

“Not all gays are feminine or super soft-spoken or dress weird.” (O)

## **Growing up 'gay'**

The challenges of growing up 'gay' are palpable through stories that gay men share about themselves, especially in 'coming out' videos. There is a

need to document more ‘coming out’ and ‘closet stories’ – as they will provide a wealth of data about the gay community.

Only 3 men in the sample expressed total confidence about *who* they were, and self-acceptance during their ‘growing up’ years. Most interviewees (n=16) in this study, expressed having problems of accepting their sexuality and their identity of being gay. Quite a few of the interviewees felt as if they were the only gay people. Not a single gay man who was interviewed believed that their gayness could be changed (through therapy).

“You can repress it but I don’t think it can be changed.” (A)

“It’s natural, it’s there with you, one may hide it, but it can’t be changed. There are enough men who are married and are leading [a] double life. They want to be with someone but never have the courage to stand for themselves, which leads to frustrations...[I was not aware of my sexuality] but I read a few stories about gay sexuality but mostly in a negative light.” (C)

“After finishing my engineering, I started following my passion that is photography. It was 2013. I was in love with a guy who approached me to make his portfolio. I told him about my feelings. He said that he is having some sort of feelings towards me. We were happily committed. But people used to know that he is my brother-type. After nine months of [an] intense relationship, live-in, we both were exhausted with complications. He was just using me and my skills to fulfil his dreams. I tried to kill myself. Went into coma stage. After fifteen days spending in ICU, I came back home and then broke the relationship and went on a trip of unknown span...all alone.” (I)

“When I was growing up, I grew with low self-esteem. Used to wear girls’ clothes; mother’s clothes. I was happy. Family and school could not relate to my behaviour. I liked cleaning and cooking. Parents were bit worried. I could not adjust; depressed, introvert, closet feelings and loneliness. Later my seniors abused me. Even at home my uncle verbally and sexually abused me. I could not even open up to mom and dad; afraid that they will throw me out. Even girls and teachers pointed out names. It was very pathetic. Narrow minded, stigma.” (K)

“I didn’t know the term ‘gay’. At 13 I was emotionally attached to boys. Before 23 I was molested by my uncle. In school, I would be afraid that I’d be attacked by macho men. I kept a low profile. I was very aloof.” (M)

“When I came to know that I was gay, I was very young, in school and thought I am the only one in this world who is like this. Coz I knew men get married to [a] female, they love, have sex, kids. [I] was scared, worried, sad, that I was different that time.” (V)

This interviewer has no need to ‘come out’ to his mother as she already knew. He jokingly asked his mother, “Where did I miss the drama? I expected you to cry.” (P)

“I didn’t even know ‘homo’ and ‘sexuality’ can be put together then. I was dumb. I was having sex with men, but I had no idea that it is gay sex.” (S)

### **Gay rights as Human Rights**

The Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity are based on the work of acknowledged experts drawn from several countries. These principles express the present human rights position which is recognized in several countries. They clearly indicate the recognition that human beings of any sexual orientation and gender identity are entitled to the full enjoyment of all human rights. Thus, every gay person too should be entitled to enjoy the right to privacy, participate in public affairs, contest elections, engage with policy formation for their own welfare, and so forth, “without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity”. (Narrain and Eldridge 2009: 25, 35) All respondents in this study agreed that gay rights are a very natural human right.

“There is plenty of discrimination in the world. It is unjust. I didn’t choose to be gay. Why should there be discrimination? In my own way, I fight for the cause.” (E)

“Right to privacy has passed a way for [Section] 377 to be repealed.” (G)

“Politicians give rights when you are a majority- if you are a voting bank. Unless we come out we will not become a voting bank. It’s a vicious circle.” (G)

“Yes, I do support rights of gay persons as I am a proud gay and also citizen of India. I am not doing any crime so why should I fear. I just

want to spread love and make people aware that gay people are not bad; they are the same as straight people.” (S)

“Right to live is a part of Right to live with dignity, recognized by the UN. It is a Fundamental Right; not a privilege.” (K)

“We are human beings, not criminals. If I find a partner, still we can’t be together...because of society. Everybody has the right to love. It does not matter who you love – black, white...” (L)

“We have rights for everything – religion, wearing *pagadi*, *burkha*, *tilak*. We are gay, and if we are 18+ and there is no force involved, what’s the problem? Am I hampering your religion?” (M)

“Everyone should have equal rights. There should be zero discrimination policy.” (P)

“I don’t like the label LGBT Rights. I use the term Equal Rights.” (P)

### **Issues pertaining to gay marriage and adoption**

Here there was no unanimous view on the subject of gay civil unions and marriage. There were *three* positions on this:

- (i) Marriage *should be permitted* by the law, for gay men, just like it exists for people in the heterosexual community.
- (ii) Marriage is a *long-term goal*. What is necessary are stepping stones leading up to the legalization of gay marriage. So, this group felt the need for gay ‘civil unions’ which enable partnering among gay couples.

“For sheer practical reasons. If you are hospitalized, your partner should have the right to sign the paperwork.” (A)

“If we reach this point then it should be marriage according to religious and constitutional rights, and then all other rights which follow.” (C)

“All this is bullshit. I want my legal right to marry. In India you can marry a cow or buffalo; no government sanction is asked for this!” (M)

(iii) Marriage is *unnecessary*: it is a ritual and gay people can live their lives without any marriage. A marriage certificate would not necessarily hold the couple together, just as it does not do the same for heterosexual couples, as separation and divorce rates indicate an upward trend. One respondent did not believe in monogamous marriages.

“I don’t feel the need for marriage. Won’t make a difference to me. People have sex outside marriage.” (B)

“I don’t agree with marriage culture. Marriage is nice but the world is changing. Marriage is not necessary nowadays. I don’t think there is a need.” (Q)

“Why would I want to get married? It is a decision to make, a choice to get married or not.” (S)

### **Gay Adoption**

A majority of interviewees felt that gay men like any other person, should have the right to adopt children. Gay men too may have the need to be a parent, in the same way as heterosexual single men. One respondent felt this was a serious matter as first, gay men would need to be more stable in their relationships as there is a child involved. He mentioned about how gay men tend to have so many partners in succession, so in such a situation adoption is not appropriate. The child would need to have a stable parent or parents. Adoption for gay men should be “subject to the same kind of background checks.” (A)

“We are still far away from this, right now scrapping of Section 377, educating gay men about themselves, making them more fearless; that is more important, adoption can be taken care of once basic rights are established.” (C)

“So many people want to have kids. In heterosexual couples they are allowed, do checks. Blacklisting is only for a gay couple. There is a need for law, only when legally married.” (M)

### **Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code – impact before and after**

All gay men who were interviewed were fully aware of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code. They were conscious of the High Court judgment of 2009 which decriminalized gay men in particular and also the Supreme Court verdict which overturned that HC judgement, thereby re-criminalizing gay sex, to put it very bluntly.

On this issue, there were four different views:

- Those who wanted the Section to be ‘read down’
- Those who wanted it repealed altogether
- Those who wanted it ‘read down’ and then later repealed
- Those who wanted it ‘read down’ so that consenting adult gay men could legitimately have physical intimacy in private, but the provision should be used for non-consenting adults and for those men who abuse children (read, non-adults)

“It prevents a lot of people from living their full lives. The law has a psychological effect on people. It should be legal, not illegal...The country which introduced it has itself removed it, so why are we hanging on to it...add consent to it, two or multiple consenting adults, if it can’t be repealed. The state has no right to interfere as long as it is not harming anyone.” (A)

“It should go, like *notebandi* in one *zhataka*, and then [a] fresh law can be made. It should go, there is no other way, it is colonial legacy, and it should be torn down, destroyed to the last bit. No more Victorian morality.” (C)

“Sex is so much more fun when it is illegal (in jest)...It should be struck; it affects heterosexual men and women too. Sex is not just for procreation. Sex for fun.” (F)

“Yes it should be repealed and each and every individual should get proper rights to love and live his life regardless of his sexual orientation. ...Why modify it as it is not a sin or crime. Modify means you are keeping it with few changes but loving someone is never a crime so there is no reason for putting terms and conditions to make it legal.” (H)

“It is unnecessary. It’s a burden. It is causing trauma to LGBT people. Wrong to say criminal.” (L)



“A third party (even State) cannot interfere in two consenting adult’s lives. The principle of autonomy. The secular nature of Indian Constitution.” (N)

“Removed. It’s a very stupid law. Why should someone’s personal sexual orientation be treated as a crime? There are more major crimes in today’s world. They should concentrate on that, and let the harmless people do what they like, want and need.” (O)

“This colonial law should be scrapped. Not modified.” (P)

Section 377 of the IPC has been the one area of concern for all those who participated in this study. It is a legal provision that has in many ways instilled fear in gay men; the fear of getting caught; the fear of getting ‘outed’; and even the fear of identifying as gay. The above quotations from interviewees are reflective of the concerns of gay males.

### **Child sexual abuse and non-consensual sex**

All the interviewees supported the need for provisions in the law to deal with abuse of children and non-consensual gay sex. There was a concern expressed by one respondent about the tendency to associate gay men with child sexual abuse (paedophiles). All the instances of child sexual abuse among the interviewees for this study reported having been abused by older boys or men, within the extended family and neighbourhood, most of whom were heterosexual men.

“Indianize it. There is a need to get rid of it [Section 377]. POSCO helps to deal with child molesters. Rape laws are enough; and they already include male rape” (K)

### **Issues pertaining to heterosexual marriage in the context of gay men**

Heterosexual marriage for gay men is not uncommon, in any society where heteronormativity rules. Gay men who have not ‘come out’ to their parents are often caught in a situation of having to deal with questions about and proposals for marriage when they reach a certain age.

Seventeen out of nineteen gay men who were interviewed were of the strong view that gay men should *not* get married to women (in a heterosexual marriage) and that they should not agree to do so either. They felt that getting married would hurt the female, as well as the male, in such a marriage. Two persons out of 19, felt it was okay to get married to a female if she was fully aware of her to-be-spouse's gay identity.

“If both partners know what they are getting into, if they are open to each other....there are open relationships.” (A)

“It's the one thing I didn't want to do because...when I was not 'out' to my parents then I didn't want to get married, but I was not sure how they would respond. I didn't really say that I'm gay...showed him a pic of my boyfriend, together in each other's arms. My father asked me if he was a friend. I replied that he was more than a friend and that is the reason why I don't want to get married. My father asked 'Are you sure about it? Then I am okay with it.'” (B)

“They do under family pressure. So many are gay. They don't come out as parents can boycott [them]. It causes pressure on girl's life; destroys girl's life. You are what you are. Even my parents tried to get me married.” (L)

“I feel, if they are gay, they shouldn't get married and experiment and spoil someone's life, and their own too.” (O)

### **Educational experiences in school**

Not all gay men are those who necessarily go to school. However among those who do enter school and remain there, school is often the beginning for many experiences, sometimes, even positive same-sex - emotional and sexual relations. School can also be the place which brings back negative memories of bullying, teasing, emotional torture, blackmailing, admonishing and so on.

In the present study all the interviewees had completed their school education and some went on to do further studies.

**Table 4.103**

Table showing the distribution of the Total Sample with Education completed.

<b>Educational level</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Standard XII (HSC)	2	10.52
Professional Diploma/Degree	8	42.11
Graduation	4	21.05
Post-Graduation	5	26.32
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The interviewees studied in urban areas and most of them in private schools, some in single-sex schools and others in co-educational institutions. An overwhelming majority of the gay men interviewed reported no ‘discussion’ on homosexuality or gay sexuality in school. For most, if at all there was anything remotely dealing with sex, it was with regard to human anatomy and biological aspects of reproduction. These topics were taught by them as a part of science; as a part of the syllabus and by the biology teacher. Six participants reported having been taught more than just the requirements of a ‘biology syllabus’; but they said that the ‘sessions’ did not refer to any discussion nor information dissemination on sexualities or gender issues. Many of the respondents (n = 11) had absolutely no clue about matters pertaining to sex, including masturbation; they became more acquainted with such, through some friends, and the internet, during their teens. Five respondents said that they were sexually active with other boys right from their school days. Many respondents did not know the term ‘gay’ while in school.

### **Sex Education**

Sex Education programmes, by whatever label, tend to focus only on heterosexuality and therefore heterosexual relationships and sexual behaviour between females and males. Such programmes are not offered by many schools. Six respondents reported having had “sex education” while in school.

In one case, it was conducted for girls and boys separately by a female adult. In another instance, it was led by a 'religious brother' (living under a 'vow' of celibacy), and in the third, it was conducted by a professional. But there were no references made to homosexuality.

Nearly all respondents felt that students in the age category of 13 to 18 years are far more informed about sexualities other than heterosexuality than when they were at those ages. They attributed this is to greater access to resources and a degree of openness that is visible in a city like Mumbai. Two participants felt that many youngsters had access but were also carried away by misinformation. Just over fifty percent of the participants (n=10) agreed that friends played a significant role in their lives, in their understanding about matters pertaining to gay sex, though two interviewees did mention that their friends generally spoke about heterosexual interests and female body parts.

"Definitely, students today are more fluid, experimentative...more accepting" (A)

"We had Sex Education in the ninth grade. It [homosexuality] was condemned." (G)

"The teacher skipped that part in the ninth grade. We were asked to do self-study and come with questions later." (P)

"Sex Education was skipped for boys; it was only for girls. A married aunty taught. [In Biology] the chapter was skipped in my class." (K)

"They did not mention anything about gays or homosexuality; only about how a child is produced, AIDS awareness and how to wear a condom. Girls and boys were taught separately... to over 200 students at a time." (M)

"For fifteen minutes in school. It was taught by the biology and language teacher." (F)

"Luckily I had people, to guide me. [The] school has been very kind to me." (R)

"Not a word on homosexuality." (L)

### **Experiences in School**

Five out of 19 gay men interviewed expressed that they engaged in homosexual experiences while they were in High School. When asked if their teachers came to know about homosexual behaviour among students in school, 80 percent responded in the negative.

“It didn’t matter at that time; it was just something that was...there was homoerotic behaviour in changing rooms, in boys’ toilets.” (A)

“I think it should be educating teachers and then through them, students – about different sexualities; the kind of school I was in, there were strict restrictions on even talking to opposite sex. We only started talking when we were in 9<sup>th</sup> grade. I don’t know the current situation.” (C)

“They were very professional about it. We wrote questions anonymously and dropped it in a box. They would answer it. It had a good effect. I didn’t feel shy.” (E)

“I used to know almost everything about sex in school days... Not from the school syllabus.” (I)

“Many seniors use to abuse me – physical, verbal, sexual. I used to cry. I couldn’t talk. If I would, I would be beaten up. They will take you in a negative way. It is a hypocrite society.” (L)

“I was teased for being effeminate. I used to sing in the choir. I got to hang out with the girls, to the envy of boys. I was held accountable for being nice. They were jealous. I hated cricket. I was always different and ‘held as abnormal’.” (S)

### **Role of Mainstream Films (Bollywood)**

Films play a dual role of informing and entertaining. While they entertain, the storylines are more often than not rooted in heterosexual behaviours. ‘Alternate films’ as they used to be called then revolved around issues which did not typically ‘fit the norm’. Today, in Mumbai there are opportunities to watch and relish LGBTQ films at film screenings organized by various groups, including Gay Bombay and HST, as well as the annual Kashish Festival.

The total sample was in agreement that the representation of gay men and gay sexuality in Bollywood was at best comical, where gay men were shown in typical roles, or they became laughing stocks, “they are given a peripheral character...caricatured”(S), or for the sake of humour. There was no serious representation of gay love or being gay, with all its challenges. The films most cited among the participants in this study were: *I am Onir*, *Aligarh*, *My brother Nikhil*, *Kapoor and Sons*. Some other films that dwelt on gay themes were: *Pink Mirror*, *Chameli*, *Pinku Patel ki tedhi medhi love story*, *Pankh*, *Chamatkar*. Almost everyone agreed that *Dostana* – even though it showed gay men in an unrealistic way, the film brought the discussion about homosexuality into the open, as it was ‘mainstream’ cinema that opened the eyes of society at large (read, film viewers), albeit in a stereotypical manner, but it did start many conversations – for and against. Many interviewees made reference to the web-serial “*Romil and Jugal*” in a positive light. It is a “take on *Romeo and Juliet*.”(A)

“The film industry is not alien to LGBT but they still tend to make films where the gay character is hidden, dark or secret. Why can’t the gay character be a normal person?” (E)

“It’s terrible the way they handle it. It bad enough to skip the viewing. Films don’t get it about gay relationships. It’s tender, loving,...there is warmth, intimacy.” (F)

“Showing a proper film on LGBTQ community needs years of deep research.” (I)

“I could not see a story I could relate to.” (K)

“Films should show something sensible; the trauma. Show about us \_ you can’t even tell someone, no support from family, society and the law. It should create awareness.” (M)

“Make films that shows homosexuality as being more than sex. People don’t know. Educate people.” (F)

### **Online connectivity and networking**

All the interviewees were connected to social networking sites such as Grindr, Planet Romeo, and other internet links like *Gay Bombay*, *Yariyaa*,

QAM, You Tube etc. The general feeling was that internet provided “safe spaces” for gay men to meet, socialize, share views, lend support, and ‘hook up’. Sites managed by groups such as GB and *Yariyaa* have strict policies about how the sites are not meant to be used for any explicit sexual purpose nor soliciting. Offensive posts are weeded out.

### **Queer/LGBT Film festivals**

All the interviewees were well aware of gay film screenings organized by The Humsafar Trust, GB and Kashish. Not all of them reported that they attended the Kashish festival. Those who did not attend said that they preferred viewing the films on the internet or at a regular theatre event. One interviewee reported a dislike for crowded places. All the participants in this study were positive about the queer film festival – *Kashish*, and smaller film screening events, but few were quick to criticize them for catering largely to the LGBT community. They expressed a bigger need for non-LGBT people to become sensitized to queer issues, for mindsets to change in society on the whole. Most interviewees gave support to film festivals, especially Kashish, more by attending them and creating awareness and publicity for the same. Two interviewees had performed at the Kashish festival, at the cultural event held on the last day of the festival. Two men volunteered and one person was on the Managing Committee. Several respondents reported feeling sad or upset that most love stories presented by media dwelt on heterosexual relationships.

The festival “expands your horizon and makes you feel normal, but even among gays, there is a hierarchy of masculinities...and a resistance to Kashish from the queer community.” (A)

“[At the Kashish festival] the media is so busy taking pictures and not concerned with content. Ninety-eight percent of the audience is from LGBT, it’s like a mini Pride March... everyone is so busy being gay.” (E)

“It’s very good. It’s not just for a gay audience. Fact that we do it here is a big plus. The films make you think; it broaden’s your horizon and makes you wonder.” (S)

### **Reading habits and Viewing habits**

Almost every interviewee said that he had watched gay films on the internet, YouTube, films, sex sites and porn sites. Only two respondents reported having watched gay films on DVD. With regard to reading about issues all respondents had internet access and reported reading on various internet sites and links. About six interviewees said that they would read articles in newspapers and two persons mentioned magazines as a means to read on gay matters. One interviewee reported that he used to read the following - Bombay Dost, Gaysi and Gaylaxi (Delhi).

“Online forums spread awareness. It is an LGBT closeted space that gay men usually become members of and access. There are repercussions: they end up dating and mating.” (R)

‘You search the internet to get good movies that you connect with as a gay man.’ (S)

### **Problems/Challenges of being gay and as a gay man**

Twelve interviewees (63.16 percent) felt that gay men faced problems because they were gay. Six subjects (31.58 percent) reported that they did not face any problem ‘because they were gay’, and one interviewee preferred not to comment on the matter.

### **Self-acceptance issues, abuse, vulnerability**

Twelve out of 19 participants (63.16 percent) of the gay men who were interviewed reported to have faced problems due to the fact that they were gay-identified.



**Table 4.104**

Table showing distribution of sample with problems faced by gay men\*

S. No.	Nature of problem faced	No.	%
A	Inability to accept one's own sexuality	7	36.8
B	Fear of being 'outed'	8	42.1
C	Being teased	8	42.1
D	Getting bullied	8	42.1
E	Discriminated against for being gay	6	31.5
F	Denied employment because of an 'openly' gay identity	4	21.0
G	Physical harassment	4	21.0
H	Physical abuse (non-sexual)	4	21.0
I	Sexual abuse (excluding rape)	4	21.0
J	Rape	2	10.5

\*interviewees could select more than one option; percentages are with reference to the Total Sample (n=19)

A large majority of interviewees in this study acknowledged that most gay men kept their sexual identity hidden. The reasons they invariably gave touched upon many of the following:

- “social pressure”
- Pressure to get married
- Social acceptance
- Fear of rejection
- Cowardice
- Fear of loneliness in ‘old age’
- “Family lineage”
- “Keeping money within (business family)”
- To beget children for the sake of parents

“the law, not being completely accepted, internalized shame; not seen as a legitimate way of being” (A)

“Societal rejection – nothing else, it tops everything; then job stability; family acceptance.” (F)

Most participants in this study felt the need for gay men to reveal their sexual identity, for the following reasons:

- Make them feel proud to be who they are
- To enhance their own self-esteem and self-worth
- Increased visibility of gay men in society will make people out there know that gay men exist

Some respondents felt that the decision to ‘come out’ could not be forced and that it varied from one gay man to another – to figure out if he needed to ‘come out’ and if so, ‘when’ and ‘to whom’. Some interviewees stated that gay men, in a homophobic society, should exercise caution in deciding whether or not to ‘come out’.

### **Role of Law**

All participants in the study supported the need for legal provisions to deal with crimes against gay persons and ‘hate’ crimes. They expressed the need for severe punishment as well. All participants supported the definition of ‘rape’ to include rape of males. Several gay men who were interviewed expressed their awareness about how evidence was essential to book a gay person under ‘Section 377’. However, they felt extremely vulnerable when ‘caught in the act’ by a stranger, policeman in civil clothes, gay hazzlers or extortionists. They expressed a sense of total helplessness.

With reference to IPC Section 377, it is this law that continues to reinforce the prejudice against gay men. This is a piece of colonial law that was brought to India and has remained here even when it has been changed in the country of origin.

“Laws don’t change people...education does.” (F)

“Change in law helps all. It benefits urban and rural areas. Gay people are there even in rural areas.” (Q)

### **Efforts for change**

All the interviewees were aware of the role of gay organizations in Mumbai. Each and every interviewee identified 'The Humsafar Trust' and 'Gay Bombay' as organizations that have worked for the gay community. This spoke volumes about these two associations' contributions to the gay community in Mumbai. Other associations mentioned were: The Naz Foundation (Delhi) and Sampathik Trust (Pune). The efforts for change are also in the online world; there are numerous groups and chat rooms which are a space for several gay men to engage and interact, at multiple levels. It is critiqued as being an impersonal space, but it is a forum nonetheless.

### **Social acceptance**

Most participants reported that society is not accepting of people who are gay, but they were all hopeful that it will accept gay persons in time, though this would not be an easy process. Two younger respondents felt that the change is already visible in a city like Mumbai and that society in Mumbai has already accepted this reality. All interviewees expressed that gay persons should have the right to live out their sexuality. Social acceptance can never be instant. It is a process that will continue to be. It is an utopian idea to imagine a world free of discrimination and inequality; however it is also a goal towards which one can strive. Acceptance begins with self-acceptance and self-realization. This can spread to the wider network called 'society'.

With regard to ways by which attitudinal change could come about, to be more accepting of gay persons, almost all respondents felt that this could be possible through the following measures:

- Through effective and inclusive Sex Education in schools
- By educating the masses through media
- Through the passing of laws that are sensitive to the needs and problems of gay persons
- Through the efforts of voluntary organizations that work for gay rights

- With more people ‘coming out’ and creating awareness about their existence and their sexuality.

Few respondents also expressed that informal means of educating heterosexual people would help to change mindsets. For one respondent, ‘coming out’ was the ‘key factor.

“the queer and financially stable don’t care; they live in their bubble. For them ‘India will never progress, so let me go out... to a gay paradise’ ” (A)

“With regard to social acceptance, a typical Indian way, there is always a place to accommodate everything.” (C)

“When people like Sean Penn, Neil Patrick Harris, Elton John...celebrities ‘come out’ – they become role models. They tell others that it’s okay. Acceptance is an uphill climb, it has to happen... Responsible behaviour is necessary.” (G)

“First change in the law; second, changing the media and their stories and third is acceptance of people at the level of politics and religion.” (K)

“If a celebrity supports...like Ellen DeGeneres, people will follow, as they have a fan following. People will listen to a great actor.” (E)

### **Queer Azaadi March (Pride March)**

All interviewees were aware of about LGBT Marches, Pride Marches and specifically mentioned the Queer Azaadi March (QAM). Seventeen out of 19 respondents felt that QAM’s Pride March helped to create awareness about sexual identities that were different from the ‘heterosexual’ identity. Some were critical of such marches, as they felt, it created or reinforced stereotypes about gay men – that they were effeminate, flamboyant or excessively colourful. Some criticised that what is ‘seen’ in the march is *not* who gay people really are; they looked at the pride march as a façade. All interviewees expressly stated that they supported gay rights in their own way. Some were part of organizing teams for the following events/groups: QAM, Kashish film festival, *Yaariya* (the youth wing of The Humsafar Trust), Color Positive.

“Personally, I don’t find any usefulness of Pride walk in India. Most of the time it scares general people and makes them more and more homophobic and transphobic.” (I)

“I have been to gay pride march so many times but now I stopped going. I feel it is pointless but that’s my view, I am not against those people who do. Me as a person, I’m more than my sexuality. I don’t want my sexuality to become my only identity.” (O)

### **Gay relationships – private circle, friends, professional, at work**

All the interviewees have friends who are gay and some who are openly gay. They have known friends who were gay or whom they thought were gay. None of them reported this to hinder their relationship with friends. On the contrary, some became even closer friends with those who confided with them about their gay sexuality. One respondent was clear in that he would not let his sexuality get ahead of him at his workplace. Another, reported about conflict between a colleague and himself, and how his boss – who was senior in position and age, came out strongly against gay gossip and slandering. The interviewee found the gay-friendly stance of his senior very encouraging; it boosted his morale and self-confidence. One participant reported about the negative and judgemental attitude among co-workers, their comments about his life as a single person and their comments/assumptions about his sexual functioning. He quit the job and decided never to work for anyone. Today, he freelances as a professional health worker.

“Everyone in my workplace is gay, including the contractor, carpenter, plumber and electrician.” (B)

“People are sick. Interested in personal information. I faced discrimination at work. How can they comment on my personal life? This is wrong. When the Manager did not support me, I left the job.” (L)

### **Personal experiences of being gay**

The study did not seek to find out in-depth information about the sexual experiences and levels of intimacy or sexual interests of the gay men in the sample. However, respondents who commented on some personal experiences reported having had homosexual experiences and all those who did, had their first experience before the age of 18. For few in the sample, they were victims of child sexual abuse and did not know that the experience was homosexual at that early stage in life. In fact, most of the interviewees did not know the term ‘gay’ or ‘homosexual’ until much later – mostly after the age of 13 or 14. These sexual experiences were voluntary for those who explored their sexuality, and they were involuntary in the case of the gay men who experienced sexual abuse before age 10. Some respondents had had their first sexual experience with a man much older than themselves, and this was especially true in the case of those who were sexually abused.

### **Personal involvement as agent of change, if at all**

Few interviewees have consciously participated in activities for the gay community or for gay rights, by participating in existing avenues at The Humsafar Trust, GB or Yaariya, Color Positive, Gaysi or online forums. For some, their comfort level of support was through blogs or posts in their own online spaces rather than through conscious and visible action. Some respondents would not participate in film screenings nor Pride marches. One interviewee shared his positive experience of holding podcasts on various issues. He felt that he was able to reach out to a lot of teenagers especially through his podcasts. He has interviewed celebrities - for discussions or panel discussions or an interview.

“I did few documentary and short films. I worked as a volunteer for an NGO, for an LGBT awareness programme. In 2018, I am going to launch a web-series on LGBTQ community relationship.” (I)

“For me, Color Positive is a means to ‘walk the pride.’ We did a play with people who were willing to help in any way – with their talent as actors, dancers, or even just cooking food. We have an online presence. It is a page I manage.” (S)

## **Hopes and aspirations for the future**

Gay men live in society, amidst numerous challenges as have been discussed or quoted above. Despite such odds, they continue to have hopes and aspirations. These hopes are a way to move towards the goal of happiness or a sense of fulfilment. It is a long struggle and a tough battle. Some of these hopes and aspirations are expressed below:

“[There should be] more responsible journalism, and counselling that is effective and inclusive - at the school level; Sex Education should be easily available and accessible; Magazines and TV shows dedicated to a certain audience; Indian films with queer relationships and better quality of output; Inclusive workspaces, with clauses in place, like at Godrej; Disney gay characters” (A)

“We (gay men) need to be responsible; not everything is about sex, ‘top’ and ‘bottom’. I would want all my gay friends to come out. It will help our community in troubled times. Within the LGBT [community] there is disparity, biphobia, judgement towards TG and androgynous people; we need to try and understand them. We need to keep an open mind, educate ourselves and have acceptance within the community” (E)

“I want to use a public platform for any cause. Issues of poverty affect me a lot. Do you realize that poor people can also be ‘gay’. It took a straight guy to tell me that – the intersectionality of these ideas.” (F)

“I wish Humsafar Trust can target all age categories - do something for small children. Loneliness can hit back. It affects personality, growing up with fear and low self-esteem. I know my struggle.” (L)

“Gay community chooses to work alone. Contact more organizations; form allies. We have to go out and approach NGOs which are supportive and helpful. Money talks, LGBT should sponsor an NGO.” (R)

**PART C**  
**Case Studies**  
**COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS**

#### **4.7 INTRODUCTION**

The researcher prepared an interview guide with the following dimensions:

- Establishment
- Thrust areas of the organization
- Funding
- Significant milestones
- Challenges
- Future Plans

#### **4.8 CASE STUDY 1: THE HUMSAFAR TRUST**

The Humsafar Trust was established in the year 1994. It is almost twenty-four years young. It is a formally, registered Trust; registered with the Charity Commissioner, as a non-profit organization.

This Trust operates as a Community Based Organization (CBO). Its origin goes back to the late 1980s when Mr. Ashok Row Kavi, the Founder Member of the Trust met another like-minded gay-identified person and together they decided to set up an organization for the mobilization of gay-identified males in the Mumbai city.

Way back then, there was one newsletter/magazine that was available for gay men – *Trikone* from San Francisco and another from San Jose. Mr.



Kavi, was an established journalist who had then, just returned from having attended an international conference. The conference was related to the HIV/AIDS epidemic which was becoming a global concern at that point in time.

Mr. Kavi was sufficiently motivated to reach out to gay-identified men in the city, who because of their sexual habits or behaviour had a great probability of contracting the HIV virus. Also, unlike heterosexual people who had support systems and a social structure that worked in their favour, gay-identified men did not get married, they may or may not have had partners or 'live-in' relationships. It was at this time, in 1989, that Mr. Kavi met the interviewee – Mr. X. They felt the need to “create a parallel support structure” and spent several hours talking about related matters but finally decided that they needed to do something concrete.

So, Mr. Kavi as a journalist and Mr. X as a graphic designer decided to start a magazine – ‘Bombay Dost’. Since they were in Mumbai (then, Bombay), and as they wanted to use a term that would go down well and be more easily acceptable – they did not want the magazine to have the words “Gay or Lesbian” – they decided to go with “the Indian term ‘*dost*’ (meaning, friend). The vision was also, that soon other places could have a “‘Delhi Dost’ or ‘Chennai Dost’” and so forth. Thus, ‘Bombay Dost’ was born in 1990. Mr Kavi was as an established journalist; he called for Press Conference and the ‘Bombay Dost’ magazine got launched. There was “an overwhelming response and huge exposure”.

As the magazine needed an office address to operate from, a small place was taken in Bandra, and an address stated. They asked mainstream media to print the access address. The closeted gay population wrote letters to acquire the magazine. Thus, the ‘business centre’ became a hotbed of buzzing activity: a place to store the magazine but also for gay men to come and collect their copy of the magazine, as most gay men could not easily receive a ‘gay’ magazine directly at their homes – for fear of its consequences on their lives, or getting ‘outed’.

The office operated as a ‘business centre’: which would collect letters and mail; a fax machine and a landline telephone number was also used. Mr. Kavi and Mr. X would work from their respective homes, to continue the work of reaching out to the gay population via Bombay Dost. The Bandra office soon became a centre where numerous calls “for counselling” were also attended to. A sense of “community” was beginning to emerge by this time. The news spread all around, “including the army and cantonment areas, across India”.

As it would have been difficult for gay men to even carry the magazine openly, they were even given out in “brown paper bags” – away from prying eyes. The subscriptions to Bombay Dost increased several-fold. Such was the level of secrecy that had to be maintained. “All this was in the pre-internet era.” Even today, the ‘need to be secretive’ has not disappeared; in several homes or at the workplace. Gay men often experience discomfort in carrying books or reading books on the on the subject of homosexuality or gay lives, in the open spaces.

The Bombay Dost magazine had a “Penpal” column which became extremely popular; it was a column to make friends. Gay men could provide a description of themselves – it became a “personalized ad of sorts”. The magazine would provide a ‘code’, and letters would be received at the Bandra office. The concerned persons would go and collect their unopened letters and establish contact with other gay men and this again was a way for gay men to affirm that they were not alone; this was the sense of the growth of the ‘invisible community’ right here in Mumbai.

The Bombay Dost as a magazine, however, “could not offer services” that Mr. Kavi and Mr. X would have liked to – services such as health advice, condom distribution and a safe space for gay-identified men to meet, discuss, share their thoughts, problems and so on.

When Mr. Kavi and Mr. X decided to form a group back then, they had spoken to many people, but most “were unwilling to put money [in] or [lend

their] name to” this project. “It was a scary situation” as there was always the fear of any political backlash, or the fear of getting arrested, or getting beaten up – but fortunately, nothing of the sort happened. A third member, Mr. Y also joined the team; a trio: and they then constituted the first Board Members of The Humsafar Trust. As mentioned at the outset, this was the first officially registered body working for the gay community in India. It was “registered as a male sexual health agency” in 1994.

Next on their minds was the need to get a larger space to operate from. At the same time, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the epidemic of HIV and AIDS was picking up and was becoming a concern. Efforts were made to get help from the government and the municipality, “For many months there was no news.” Finally, the municipality gave The Humsafar Trust one room in Vakola, Santacruz (East), Mumbai; this space was shared with another NGO; later, it expanded to include five rooms and a hall exclusively for HST - which is where it works from even today.

Its first conference entitled “Emerging Gay Identities in South Asia” was held in December 1994 and was attended by 70 persons; it focused on health.

As a registered body, HST could work for the gay community through organizing workshops, providing safe spaces to discuss a host of topics such as ‘coming out’, resisting heterosexual marriage, dealing with sexuality at work, condom use and distribution, social issues, books to read, filmmaking.

Several projects were started. These were funded by the Gates Foundation (in the US) and several others too. There are various intervention programmes as well. The HST has almost 200 employees and it operates across 19 States in India. They have three satellite office, a Delhi office being one – as it is close to the “power centre”.

HST “operates under four verticals”, namely, Health Care, Advocacy, Research and Capacity Building of other small CGOs and NGOs.

- (i) Under **health care**, there are 3 Targeted Interventions which are supported by NACO-MDACS “to reduce HIV/STI prevalence among MSM and TG/Hijra communities. The focus is on safer sex practices, access to government health care services and creating an “enabling environment”. The project has already reached over 7500 MSM and TG persons.
- (ii) With regard to **advocacy**, there are two target groups: those with “direct influence” such as medical personnel, police, lawyers, educational institutions, counsellors; and those who exert “indirect influence” – the local municipality, political parties, policymakers, and the media.
- (iii) **Research studies** are an on-going process. The HST website provides reports of its own work, annually as well as studies that have been conducted, and the results of which are published and easily accessible. The website has about 20 studies that are listed. The Bombay Dost magazine has already been referred to at the start.
- (iv) **Capacity building** is a role that has been acknowledged at the national and international level. HST provides technical support to several CBOs. They are located in several State and UTs across India. Some of their projects include Project GFATM, Project DIVA-MSA and Project CONNECT - which focus mainly on MSMs, TGs and Hijras.

Dissemination of knowledge is an important are of HST’s work. All research studies are published, collated and then the findings are disseminated to the concerned stakeholders and government officials (for example, from NACO) IEC, that is, Information, Education and Communication: for example, the Trust counsels parents of LGBT; trains school educators and non-teaching staff. Research is an important activity for HST as it helps in

“designing and guiding interventions pertaining to HIV and related risk behaviours of MSM”.

The *Bombay Dost* magazine is published once a year and there are plans to make this an online magazine. There are numerous events that are organized by the Trust. In fact, the hall is also used by other groups who need a place for dance or drama rehearsals.

At its Mumbai branch in Vakola, there is a Clinic, with free HIV Testing; a qualified medical doctor is available from Monday to Friday, from 12 noon to 8 p.m. Grassroots level people come; their issues are extremely unique. For example, if they have “anal sex and as a result have anal warts, they can’t go to the family doctor”. The clinic also provides “referral services at Sion Hospital, Cooper Hospital and other Government Hospitals”.

There is no government funding except for the space provided by the municipality, which is an agreement to give subsidized rent. HST “works with the government and learns to survive”. They have support from the Mumbai Police as well. In times when gay men have crises – extortion and blackmail, and if they are willing to lodge a complaint (read, FIR), “we help those who help themselves”. “The cops cooperate with us.”

“Twenty-five to thirty years of struggle, and the issues have remained the same for us,” says Mr. X. Initially “very few people were talking to the media, but today hundreds of people are willing to talk”. “They are not ashamed. Youngsters are coming out to their parents.” In the early Pride Marches, people wore masks and scarfs to avoid getting noticed or recognized. There were a few 100 people in the marches earlier, but today the numbers are 14,000 – 15,000 people at the annual Pride March.

There was an upsurge in the number of people “coming out’ after the 9<sup>th</sup> July 2009 judgement which decriminalized homosexuality. The SC verdict that undid the HC’s decision later was a setback. However, it was a landmark judgment in that the gay community “came back with a vengeance”.

The main challenges for HST are the health concern – HIV and AIDS. Also, “our existence and rights” are another. Then there are other challenges related to infrastructure, funding, sustenance, intervention and the fact that “many people are brazen, they continue to have sex without a condom and believe ‘it can’t happen to me’”.

HST is constantly ‘planning’ – activities, projects and research studies. “We are trying to strengthen our corpus.” Mr. X is very clear in stating that “NGOs survive on projects, its various components – the project head, hiring people, paying them, auditing. After the project is over, where will the people go? People are our best resources. We are always fire-fighting. The projects are paid for. But the infrastructure...water, electricity, furniture?”

The Trust reaches across the community but especially caters to a large number of people from the grassroots level as they have no access to space. “The Dancing Queens rehearse here for no charge. Social organizations, independent bodies, smaller CBOs and NGOs organize programmes – they have no money. We receive money and disburse it to them.” HST set up its own ‘Institutional Review Board’ in 2006.

Mr. X jokingly refers to their ‘youth’ wing, ‘Yaariya’ as being an entity where “if you are 28+ you get kicked out!” It’s an active group that HST supports. “Many youngsters ‘come out’ to their parents, and sometimes it may not always be the right thing to do. Parents seek guidance and are concerned about the safety of their children. The Trust reaches out to them as well.” The meeting ended with a positive word of (sought) advice on ‘coming out’ for the researcher and people like himself who were hitherto, closeted gay men. “Your empowerment comes from the more time you spend with like-minded people. When you exhale, you learn to live.”

#### **4.9 CASE STUDY 2: GAY BOMBAY**

Gay Bombay, GB, a community-based organization was formed in September 1998. Its origin goes back to the times when there were no spaces for gay men to meet at a social level. The scenario in the 1990s was one where gay men would be mostly partying or cruising or involved with hook-ups and sex. The website of GB describes the group as a “self-evolving informal group...coming together in good faith to create a safe space for men who are romantically and sexually attracted to men.” ([www.gaybombay.org](http://www.gaybombay.org)) The whole idea behind GB is: to enable the exchange of idea, to participate and help organize events – known as GB events, and to meet and interact in community spaces.

The thrust of GB when it was formed with community leaders like Mr. Umang Seth and Mr. Kesari was: providing “informal social support” in a “non-threatening space”. It began with few gay men meeting privately in somebody’s house and this number at the ‘home get-togethers’ has increased to nearly fifty persons. These meetings are held once a month, on a Sunday. They have become regular forums for gay men in Mumbai and Thane regions to discuss ‘coming out’ issues, other issues related to relationships, life, problems, health care, financial planning and so on, which can last up to 3 or 4 hours. It has been a forum for people to ‘come out’ in a safe space.

All the members of the ‘core’ team - of about 17 or 18 members, hold daytime jobs and are themselves gay activists, who identify as ‘gay’.

GB has been around for 19 years. Each year they organize about 40 events – which includes participation at QAM’s Pride March – which brings together several NGOs and CBOs on a common platform; GB parties which attract many gay men especially; GB meets and workshops related to a host of topics including health care, ‘coming out’; celebrity talks; shows and annual Friendship day picnic; and monthly film screenings. The GB Talent Show attracts a large audience and it showcases the energy and talent within the gay

community. GB has organized over 800 events for the LGBT community over the past fourteen years.

GB also acts as a facilitator: it provides support to 'Voices Against 377', legal support in matters related to extortion, medical support for those dealing with depression; they have a panel of medical personnel who can be contacted for skin-related problems. GB has also recently started dabbling in film production and theatre production.

GB has no funding support from any other body, nor the government. It follows the "self-sustaining model" to finance its activities and programmes. Contributions are voluntary and GB parties are its major source through which it is able to continue its activities and services. Challenges faced by GB are essentially the legal obstacle - Section 377, gay men getting pressured by family to get married to women, the language barrier and lack of access to the internet. Thus, there are web-based events and non-web-based programmes too.

The website of GB provides information about all the GB events, Reports of Events, Support and Advice such as its latest film "Baby Steps" (Written and directed by Joyeeta Chatterjee) which has been entered for the Filmfare Short Film Awards Category 2018. There are articles and videos, testimonials, Local and international news bits that provide support/advice about 'coming out', counselling, family issues, parents' corner and relationships.

The bottom line of Gay Bombay is its goal of providing social support through an informal means. "GB largely caters to gay men though we work in collaboration with lesbian and TG groups as well."



#### 4.10 TESTING OF HYPOTHESIS

Two research questions (hypotheses) with regard to gay-identified men and the NGOs working for gay rights are considered below:

*(i) There is a significant impact of Gay organization on the Gay movement in Mumbai.*

As regards the impact of gay organizations on the gay movement, research data based on in-depth interviews with gay-identified males reveal a strong correlation between the role of NGOs/CBOs and the movement for gay rights. In the Total Sample (n=19) of gay men, 100.00% shared positive views of the role of NGOs/CBOs – specifically mentioning The Humsafar Trust and Gay Bombay as significantly taking the gay movement forward. Also, the quantum of activity, events, research, advocacy and creation of safe spaces for gay men and other sexual minorities is evidence enough for the visibility of the gay movement surging forward, despite all odds - obstacles and challenges that prevail. Thus, the association of Gay ‘organization’ with Gay ‘movement’ is not rejected.

*(ii) There is a significant relationship between the religious beliefs and the challenges faced by gay men.*

Several gay-identified men in the Total Sample did not identify with any religion, which itself says much about the negative impact of religion. This is implied. Some of the subjects (interviewees) had religious beliefs at an early part in their lives, but either became agnostic or atheist; some were more comfortable with the label of ‘humanist’ or ‘spiritualist’ than a believer in any ‘religion’ per se. For a few participants, spirituality was their support which helped them get through the travails of living the ‘gay’ life when primary support systems such as family, failed them. For two interviewees, the official church teaching caused much conflict and trauma in their lives as ‘gay-identified’ males. The above confirms the association between religious beliefs and the challenges faced by gay men.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter summarizes the study undertaken by stating the problem, its methodology, theoretical framework, aims and objectives of the study, the hypotheses, research findings and discussion. It concludes with the limitations of the study and suggests areas that could be explored in the future.

#### 5.2 INTRODUCTION

A society that is saturated in heterosexism, homo-negativity and homophobia is more likely to be intolerant and non-accepting of men who identify as gay. In big cities like Mumbai one could expect a lot more people to be aware about ‘gay’ sexuality and perhaps also be more open to accepting gay sexuality, at least on the surface. It may be seen as something that is politically correct, or makes others feel that one is ‘forward thinking’. The ‘problem’ with accepting gay people may only confronts us when, for example, a child, student, co-worker, priest, teacher, parent, leader declares (read, “comes out”) that he is gay; or this may be discovered through the grapevine, or through tell-tale evidence that is lying around (such as a gay magazine, an internet link to a gay or gay porn site, gay-specific client information, and the like). The fact however remains: gay men are here and aren’t about to go away, nor become ‘straight’!

Today there is *far greater* visibility of gay men, especially in Mumbai, though gay persons may not necessarily shout from the rooftop, nor wear their sexuality on their sleeves. Homophobia or homo-negative attitudes and heterosexist influences cannot be wished away in an instant either. Thus, there emerges a need to change mindsets. The process of this change must begin with the individual, and through multiple interactions, through a variety of

media, awareness and sensitivity to gay people, gay identity, gay issues will spread.

Documentation is an important process which will help place on record facts and figures that can prove to be useful and supportive when battling prejudices. A scientific enquiry into the lives of gay men, and this study is one humble attempt, is yet another way of bringing the issue to the fore. Such a study would place on record, about the existence of and challenges that confront gay men.

Society in general harbours prejudices about gay men and their lives; these heterosexual biases penetrate religion, culture, media, role models, parents, language, comic strips, advertisements, games etc. These cumulative notions have an effect on the development and formation of a person's identity as well as the collective consciousness of what is 'acceptable' or not.

There are continual clashes with culture and ideology – that hit at everyone with alarming success. It is in within such an antagonistic environment that gay men negotiate their lives, their spaces, their loves and joys of living. The present study investigates the shades and colours of 'gay' men and their lives. It also considers the role that individuals and groups play (or 'perform') - as "agencies" for change; with its concomitant challenges, failures, successes and hope.

### **5.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The present research is an effort to discover the Gay Movement in Mumbai from the theoretical perspective of Anthony Giddens's 'Structuration Theory'. His theory asserts the role of 'agency' in the process of change. It highlights the fact that the social structure is created by humans and influenced by human actors. The social structure is a changeable entity. The actors have to perform their part: to initiate and demand change. The challenges are not insurmountable but they have to be and they are a continuous struggle for justice and greater gender equality for all.

The study explores the intertwined nature of social institutions - marriage, family, religion, education, polity and economy and the manner in which the 'non-monolith' gay movement interacts with these 'parts of the whole'. This multi-way impact occurs within a 'time and place', through the 'actors' who are 'us'. They include gay men, heterosexual persons, 'gay' organizations, all other organizations and numerous other associations and means - that may or may not be structured, may or may not be visible either - and yet, they continue to exert influence and impact lives.

#### **5.4 THE PROBLEM**

'A study of the Gay Movement with reference to Mumbai.'

#### **5.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY**

1. The two main aims of this study are as follows:
  - i. To study the Gay community in Mumbai, and
  - ii. To understand its role in the rise of a movement for social change.
2. To ascertain the relationship between the Attitude to Gay Sexuality (AGS) with the following *variables*:  
Education, Gender, Religious identity, Economic class, Marital status  
Age and Reading Habit

#### **5.6 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

To achieve the above-mentioned aims, the following *specific* objectives have been formulated:

1. To ascertain the *educational level* differences in the AGS.
2. To ascertain the *gender* differences in the AGS.
3. To ascertain the *religious* differences in the AGS.
4. To ascertain the *economic class* differences in the AGS.
5. To ascertain the *marital status* differences in the AGS.

6. To ascertain the *reading habit* differences in the AGS.
7. To understand the *challenges* of Gay males.

## 5.7 HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

For the purpose of this study, the following **research hypotheses** were formulated on the bases of *specific variables* of the study.

1. There are significant *educational* differences in AGS among Jr. College and Undergraduate students.
2. There are significant *educational* differences in AGS among Graduates and Post Graduates.
3. There are significant *educational* differences in AGS among Undergraduate students and Graduates.
4. There are significant *educational* differences in AGS among Graduate and Professional students.
5. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Jr. College students.
6. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Undergraduate students.
7. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Post Graduates.
8. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Professional students.
9. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Hindus in the Total Sample.
10. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Hindus and Christians.
11. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Hindus and Muslims.
12. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Christians and Zoroastrians.
13. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Christians and Muslims.

14. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Believers and Non-believers.
15. There are significant *economic class* differences between professionals and teachers.
16. There are significant *age* differences in AGS between 'less than 18 years' age category and '18-21' age category.
17. There are significant *age* differences in the '18-21' age category and '22-45' age category.
18. There are significant *age* differences in '22-45' age category and 'above 46' age category.
19. There is a significant relationship between *education* and gay 'coming out' as a choice, in the Total Sample.
20. There is a significant relationship between *education* and view of the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample.
21. There is a significant relationship between *education* and view that gays are the cause of the increase in AIDS patients, in the Total Sample.
22. There is a significant relationship between *education* and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
23. There is a significant relationship between *education* and view regarding harassment of gays, in the Total Sample.
24. There is a significant relationship between *education* and view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, among Graduates and Professionals.
25. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude of friendliness towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
26. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude of dislike towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
27. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude towards openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample.
28. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
29. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards befriending a gay person, in the Total Sample.

30. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards gay people as being human as any other, in the Total Sample.
31. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and favourable attitude towards legalizing same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
32. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards gay sex not being a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
33. There is a significant relationship between *marital status* and openness to understanding gay people, in the Total Sample.
34. There is a significant relationship between marital status and attitude towards same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
35. There is a significant relationship between *marital status* and view that gay people become child abusers, in the Total Sample.
36. There is a significant relationship between *reading habit* and views that queer literature promotes gay behaviour, in the Total Sample.
37. There is a significant relationship between *age* and attitude of friendliness towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
38. There is a significant relationship between *age* and willingness to befriend a gay person, in the Total Sample.
39. There is a significant relationship between *age* and dislike towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
40. There is a significant relationship between *age* and the view that Sex Education should include education about sexual identities, in the Total Sample.
41. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to have gay friends, and moral judgment of gay sexuality, in the Total Sample.
42. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged, in the Total Sample.
43. There is a significant relationship between a negative view of gay men and the belief that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
44. There is a significant relationship between the view that gay film characters do not make people gay and the positive view that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample.

45. There is a significant relationship between willingness to have a friendly approach towards gay people and the view that gays should not be made fun of, in the Total Sample.
46. There is a significant relationship between the acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay people to choose their life mates, in the Total Sample.
47. There is a significant impact of Gay organizations on the Gay movement in Mumbai.
48. There is a significant relationship between the religious beliefs and the challenges faced by gay men.

## 5.8 SAMPLING DESIGN

- i. Data is obtained for the **survey**, using *stratified random sampling*. It was used as it is a means of increasing precision and representation and was easily available.
- ii. For the purpose of obtaining data from **gay-identified males**, *snowball sampling* was used as gay men are not easily identifiable, nor is there any known, readily available lists of the 'gay' population.
- iii. To obtain data from **NGOs**, *purposive sampling* technique was used, based on the researcher's past experience with them and based on the suggestions and responses obtained from gay-identified men, during their interviews with the researcher.

## 5.9 INSTRUMENTATION

The present study employed the used of the following tools, all of which were prepared by the researcher:

- i. **Attitude to Gay Sexuality Scale (AGSS)** - to obtain data from the general population, to ascertain their attitude to gay sexuality (AGS).
- ii. **Semi-structured interview schedule cum Interview Guide** – to obtain data from gay-identified men.



- iii. **Interview Guide** – to obtain detailed information from associations (NGO/CBO) working for gay rights and related issues concerning gay men.

## 5.10 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

1. There are no significant *educational* differences in AGS among Jr. College and Undergraduate students.
2. There are no significant *educational* differences in AGS among Graduates and Post Graduates.
3. There are no significant *educational* differences in AGS among Undergraduate students and Graduates.
4. There are no significant *educational* differences in AGS among Graduate and Professional students.
5. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Jr. College students.
6. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Undergraduate students.
7. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Post Graduate students.
8. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Professional students.
9. There are significant *gender* differences in AGS among Hindus in the Total Sample.
10. There are no significant *religious* differences in AGS among Hindus and Christians.
11. There are no significant *religious* differences in AGS among Hindus and Muslims.
12. There are no significant *religious* differences in AGS among Christians and Zoroastrians.
13. There are no significant *religious* differences in AGS among Christians and Muslims.
14. There are significant *religious* differences in AGS among Believers and Non-believers.

15. There are significant *economic class* differences between professionals and teachers.
16. There are no significant *age* differences in AGS between 'less than 18 years' age category and 18-21 age category.
17. There are no significant *age* differences in the 18-21 age category and 22-45 age category.
18. There are no significant *age* differences in 22-45 age category and 'above 46' age category.
19. There is no significant relationship between *education* and gay 'coming out' as a choice, in the Total Sample.
20. There is no significant relationship between *education* and view of the positive role of NGOs working for gay rights, in the Total Sample.
21. There is no significant relationship between *education* and view that gay sexuality has led to an increase in the number of AIDS patients, in the Total Sample.
22. There is no significant relationship between *education* and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
23. There is no significant relationship between *education* and view regarding harassment of gays in the Total Sample.
24. There is no significant relationship between *education* and view regarding gay sexuality as a mental sickness, among Graduates and Professionals.
25. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude of friendliness towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
26. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude of dislike towards gay males, in the Total Sample.
27. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and attitude of openness to working with a gay boss, in the Total Sample.
28. There is a significant relationship between *gender* and positive attitude towards LGBT films, in the Total Sample.
29. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards befriending a gay person, in the Total Sample.
30. There is no significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards gay people as being human as any other, in the Total Sample.

31. There is no significant relationship between *religion* and favourable attitude towards legalizing same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
32. There is a significant relationship between *religion* and attitude towards gay sex not being a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
33. There is a significant relationship between *marital status* and openness to understanding gay people, in the Total Sample.
34. There is a significant relationship between marital status and attitude towards same-sex marriage, in the Total Sample.
35. There is a significant relationship between *marital status* and view that gay people become child abusers, in the Total Sample.
36. There is no significant relationship between *reading habit* and views that queer literature promotes gay behaviour, in the Total Sample.
37. There is no significant relationship between *age* and attitude of friendliness towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
38. There is no significant relationship between *age* and willingness to befriend a gay person, in the Total Sample.
39. There is no significant relationship between *age* and dislike towards gay persons, in the Total Sample.
40. There is no significant relationship between *age* and the view that Sex Education should include education about sexual identities, in the Total Sample.
41. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to have gay friends, and moral judgment of gay sexuality, in the Total Sample.
42. There is a significant relationship between unwillingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged, in the Total Sample.
43. There is a significant relationship between a negative view of gay men and the belief that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture, in the Total Sample.
44. There is a significant relationship between the view that gay film characters do not make people gay and the positive view that LGBT films create awareness about sexual minorities, in the Total Sample.

45. There is a significant relationship between willingness to have a friendly approach towards gay people and the view that gays should not be made fun of, in the Total Sample.
46. There is a significant relationship between the acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay people to choose their life mates, in the Total Sample.
47. There is a significant impact of Gay organizations on the Gay movement in Mumbai.
48. There is a significant relationship between the religious beliefs and the challenges faced by gay men.

### 5.11 DISCUSSION

The discussion below is with regard to various stated variables of the study. The context of discussion related to (i) the hypotheses formulated for the general survey, and (ii) in-depth interviews with gay-identified men in the study.

- With regard to **education**: There were no significant relationships with regard to mean AGS score and Jr. College and UG students, Graduates and PGs, UG students and Graduates, and graduates with Professional students. This could be attributed to the fact that the sample comprised urban students from Mumbai, who are exposed to LGBT issues. There have been many among the sample who reported reading daily newspapers, and several Mumbai papers and the media at large have been reporting about LGBT issues, pride march, Section 377 and its impact and so forth. So, there is the likelihood of greater awareness.

With regard to ‘teachers’ as a category, the study has shown that the mean AGS score of teachers is *not* as favourable when compared to professionals. This could well imply that students and non-students who are picking up their knowledge about gay matters/issues are obviously looking elsewhere – to friends, media reports (print, television, radio) and the internet (sites, blog, tweets,

YouTube, TEDx, etc.). Some studies reviewed have shown that the educational curriculum often lacks LGBT content.

- With regard to **gender**: Significant differences were found between gender and the following categories: Junior College students, UG students, Post Graduates, Professional students/graduates and among those who identified as Hindu in the Total Sample. There was a significant difference in the AGS score of females when compared to males. This corresponds to the literature which also reported that females have a more positive attitude towards gay sexuality and gay people. One could probably explain this as gay men are found to be less threatening to women, in a patriarchal society, which otherwise has a tendency to undermine female abilities or objectify women. Women as victims of discrimination probably also understand discrimination of gay men better than ‘cisgendered’ males.

There were significant relationships of gender with the attitude of friendliness towards gay males, dislike of gay men, openness to working with a gay boss and positive attitude towards LGBT films as creating awareness about sexualities in society.

- With regard to **religion**: There were no significant differences between the following pairs: Hindus and Christians, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Zoroastrians, and between Christians and Muslims. However, there were significant differences between those respondents who identified with a religion (read, believers) and those who did not (that is, non-believers, which also includes agnostics and atheists). It is possible that religious expectations and customary practices, colour people’s ideas about gay sexuality, gay men, and gay behaviours. Among the gay men who were interviewed only the gay-identified males who were ‘Christian’ reported conflict between church teachings and their sexual orientation.

The study showed a significant relationship between religious identity with (a) the willingness to befriend gay persons and (b)

perception that gay sex is not a part of Indian culture. Among the total sample of gay-identified men, all gay men were well aware of the fact that same-sex desire and same-sex love was a part of Indian culture from ancient times. Most interviewees in this study made explicit references to the Mahabharata, Kama Sutra and Khajuraho temple sculptures.

- With regard to **economic class**: The study examined the hypothesis of difference between two occupational groups, as being indicative of economic classes, namely, teachers and professionals; this includes filmmakers, advertising professionals, journalists, lawyers, engineers, doctors and media professionals. It found that the ‘professionals’ had a higher AGS score when compared to ‘teachers’. In the context of a learning environment, it is interesting to note here that in the literature reviewed, there were studies which reported the lack of awareness about LGBT issues within the curriculum and the need for an LGBT-inclusive curriculum.

Perhaps ‘teachers’ as a social category, who are seen, especially in Indian culture - as an extension of the family. They become role models for youth and tend to follow the conventions; conform to the ‘well-trod path’ - of no discussion of subjects or issues pertaining to sex, sexuality, queer issues. Interestingly, among the gay men who participated in the study, an overwhelming majority reported that teachers in school *did not* discuss matters about sex nor sexuality. In fact, the topic was done cursorily (if at all) and *all* participants reported that there was no mention of ‘homosexuality’ in any session – whether in the biology class or a “sex education” session.

- With regard to **age**: This study included age categories which corresponded roughly to significant stages of life – broadly the adolescent, early adulthood and late adulthood. There were found to be no significant relationship nor significant differences of age with any of the variables in the study nor with specific items in the AGSS. One

could attribute no difference in the context of age, due to the fact that the culture of Mumbai, through its agencies, expose its people to multiple sexualities and sexual identities.

- With regard to **marital status**: The study found a significant association between marital status and openness to understanding gay people, towards legalization of same-sex marriage and the view that gay people become child abusers. Unmarried persons had a more favourable attitude towards gay sexuality and gay issues.

Marriage and family have been bedrock institutions of society from times immemorial. Both operate within a heterosexist and patriarchal structure. Family persons tend to conform to social norms and tend to uphold the status quo. The myth that gay men become child abusers would clearly need to go away. Among the gay men who participated in this study, sexual abuse was reported to be acts committed by 'straight' men and 'heterosexual' men seeking other boys/men only for the purpose of sexual gratification. Also, a society where procreation is the norm, where begetting a male heir is cherished, same-sex marriages are seen as not fulfilling these expectations/obligations. This could be a possible explanation for an 'anti-marriage equality' position among respondents in the general survey.

- With regard to **daily reading habit (newspapers)**: A large majority in the sample studied, reported to be reading newspapers – mostly in the English medium, but there were some who read newspapers in regional languages. The present study shows no association between daily reading habit and their view that books and journals (queer literature) promote gay behaviour.

**Miscellaneous associations:** In the Total Sample (TS), there was found to be a significant association between each of the following:

- Unwillingness to make friends with a gay person and the view that gay sex is wrong.
- Unwillingness to discuss gay sexuality and the view that gay behaviour should be discouraged.
- A view that looks down upon gay men and the perception that gay sex is alien to Indian culture.
- The view that gay characters played in films do not make people 'gay' and the positive view that LGBT films help to create awareness about sexual minorities.
- Openness to having a friendly approach towards gay people and the belief that gays should not be made fun of.
- Acceptance of gay people and supporting the rights of gay men to choose their life mates.

**Pertinent observations include the following:**

- In the Total Sample (TS), 88.2 percent of respondents did not support the view that LGBT films promoted gay sexuality. This is an indicator that many respondents are aware that people don't become gay; it is *not* a choice.
- With regard to the statement that gay men are the cause of the increase in the number of AIDS patients, 61.7 percent disagree. Still, a little under 40 percent think otherwise.
- While there is a large majority who support same-sex *behaviour* among consenting adults in private (79.8 percent). Yet, the majority do *not* support same-sex *marriage* (69.8 percent are against, 11.6 percent are not sure).
- With regard to the view that gay people need professional counselling, only 56 percent of the TS did not think so; but 20.3 percent agreed that they needed counselling and 23.7 percent were not sure. This could be rooted in the false notion that 'gayness' can go away with therapy/counselling. Psychologists and psychiatrists today know fully



well that no one can change from being gay to straight or vice-versa. There is just no scientific evidence to support this claim.

- It is heartening to note that only a minuscule 5.87 percent of the TS think that people can become gay by merely watching a film that includes a gay character. This is purely a notion that is steeped in ignorance.
- It is a matter of concern that only 17.8 percent of the TS disagreed that gay sex was not a part of Indian culture, whereas 21.3 percent agreed, 24.3 percent strongly agreed and 30 percent reported 'not sure'. Ironically, all the gay men in the study were well aware of same-sex desire and same-sex love as being a part of Indian cultural heritage. Again, this view is a result of ignorance or the sheer unwillingness to become enlightened about sexual diversity inherent in Indian culture.
- Among the gay-identified men – the most significant concern was with regard to Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code as it criminalized gay men, hampered their lives, rendered them as an invisible category; denied them the right to live life fully and with dignity. It was a denial of their human right to love another human being.
- Most evident also was the sorry state of 'sex education' in schools and the attitude toward sex or discussion of relevant issues that plague the minds of hormonally raging adolescents. There is a need for Sex Education to include discussion of sex, sexualities, gender identities, homosexuality, heterosexuality and bisexuality. It would have to be open and 'inclusive' in order that people get a 'holistic' understanding rather than a highly doctored version with a 'different and non-inclusive agenda'.
- It was unanimously observed that mainstream movies and television serials *do not* represent the lives of gay men in a manner that is realistic; it is nearly always demeaning, flippant, and insensitively handled. This needs to change. Within the general population, there

were those who seemed to think that LGBT films promoted gay sexuality. Again, this is built on collective ignorance and lack of accurate data. Prejudices and biases are rampant and have to be dispelled. Being 'gay' is who one is. One cannot suddenly decide to become gay, or feel emotional and sexual attraction, or experience sexual arousal towards members of the same sex.

- Child sexual abuse of young boys came up several times and with severity in some cases too. Young boys do not 'become gay' due to child abuse; but definitely, the impact of early sexual abuse of young boys affects them in ways unimaginable. In the sample of gay-identified males in the present study, less than four subjects reported being sexually abused as a child. Also, those who were abused did not report that the abuse led them to become 'gay'.
- 'Coming Out' was *always* a matter that came up during the interviews. Clearly, 'coming out' is a means to live one's life with dignity. The inability to do so limits the freedom to live out one's sexuality, in the same manner, that people of 'heterosexual' orientation actually take for granted. Among various interviewees, the dominant view was that 'coming out' has to be a personal process and a personal decision.
- With regard to the general survey, it is very evident that people lack an understanding of what it means to be 'gay'. There is plenty of ignorance; myths about gay men, gay sex, and gay sexuality abound. Here, sending out correct information is the crying need.
- There is much confusion about 'choosing to be gay' in the general population that was surveyed. A false notion that gay men 'choose' to be 'gay' is on the minds of many. Every single gay man who was interviewed for this study *did not choose* his sexual identity. The literature reviewed reflects the same. Being gay is *not* a choice. The choice lies in the individual's realm only with regard to wanting to 'come out' or not. To be 'open' or not involves an element of choice, albeit, a difficult and traumatic one for some, and seemingly

impossible for many more. There is no conclusive evidence for the ‘gay gene’ but all evidence point to a genetic explanation for being gay.

As regards the **theoretical framework** within which this research is located, the research findings support the theory that the structure of society is dynamic and changing. Indeed changes to the structure are *not* easy and the struggle to bring about change - be it in polity or family, religion or education, marriage or family. Especially as regards gay rights, to bring about changes is like climbing a wall of glass. Also, Butler’s idea of gender as ‘performative’ and its influencing role is evident, as each gay person ends up ‘doing gender’ and in the process adding to the movement for change – indeed to the buildup of the gay movement. The active, dynamic and significant roles of the two main organizations, The Humsafar Trust and Gay Bombay have well-proven that the concerted efforts of the gay community and its allies will continue to go a long way to bring about changes in the structure of society, as it is us humans who constitute the structure. It would be unrealistic to expect immediate and total acceptance of the gay identity, gay behaviour, gay marriage, adoption for gay men and so forth. The dialectic will always be. Herein, lies the challenge to continuously engage and move forward.

## **5.12 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

- i. They do not adequately represent residents in the far-flung areas of Mumbai, namely, Navi Mumbai and Thane.
- ii. The English medium tool of AGSS was mostly used as most respondents were students and working professionals who preferred to respond in English, rather than in Hindi.
- iii. The in-depth interviewees, who were self-identified gay men belonged to the age range of 22 to 39 years.
- iv. The language limitation of the researcher is responsible for obtaining data mostly from people who were conversant with English.

### **5.13 SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

- i. A large majority of respondents were those who were comfortable responding to the research tool in the English language. It would be useful to know about the views of people from the vernacular languages.
- ii. In-depth interviews with gay men were also largely from those individuals who were more fluent in the English language. It would be useful data to understand the problems of gay men who belong to a language-category other than English.
- iii. A critical analysis of the content of Sex Education imparted in schools would be useful, in re-organizing the curriculum so as to include 'content' and create awareness among the general population.
- iv. The attitudes of teachers and parents towards sexual minorities or gay men, in particular, will provide insights to ascertain the prejudices that would prevail among parents and teachers.
- v. An analysis of popular films and TV serials, radio channels, newspapers and journals can help in understanding stereotypical representation of gay men in the media and popular culture.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **LIST OF EXPERTS**

- (i) Dr. Sushama Deo  
*Former Teacher*, Department of Philosophy  
Sophia Junior College  
Bhulabhai Desai Road  
Mumbai
- (ii) Dr. Vishal Jadhav  
Coordinator, Nehru Institute of Social Science  
Head, Department of Sociology  
Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth  
Pune
- (iii) Dr. Mary Venus Joseph  
Dean & Administrator  
Rajagiri College of Social Sciences  
Kalamassery, Kochi  
Kerala
- (iv) Dr. (Fr.) M. T. Joseph  
Department of Sociology  
University of Mumbai  
Vidyanagari, Santacruz  
Mumbai
- (v) Dr. Anjali Mhasekar  
Department of Economics  
The Wilson College  
Chowpatty Sea Face  
Mumbai
- (vi) Dr. Sumanika Sethi  
Head, Department of Hindi  
Sophia College for Women  
Bhulabhai Desai Road  
Mumbai
- (vii) Dr. Anagha Tendulkar  
Department of Sociology  
Sophia College for Women  
Bhulabhai Desai Road  
Mumbai

December 2016

Dear respondent,

This is 'A study of the Gay Movement with reference to Mumbai.' The term '*gay*' refers to males who are emotionally and sexually attracted to males. *Sexuality* refers to a person's sexual interests. The term 'gay movement' used for this study refers to the various efforts made towards securing gay rights, gay adoption, gay marriage and the challenges, problems, questions and arguments for/against the same.

The purpose of this study is to find out **YOUR PERSONAL VIEWS** regarding gay men, their sexuality, the gay movement and about your awareness on related matters. You are requested to share your honest and frank views, without any fear, with regard to the statements on this tool.

For each statement please circle the response that IS what you **ACTUALLY believe** and *not what you think* 'sounds right' or which is "politically correct" or which you feel others will expect.

**You are assured that all the information you provide will be kept strictly CONFIDENTIAL and used exclusively for the purpose of this study.** Should you want to know the outcome of this study (which will probably take about two years to complete), please email me at: ivanmjohn01@gmail.com.

***Ivan Mathew John***

*(Research Student, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune)*

- 
1. Sex : MALE / FEMALE / TRANSGENDER
  2. Age (completed) : ..... years
  3. Religious identity (if any): .....
  4. Education (completed): .....
  5. Language(s) spoken at home: .....
  6. Type of family : JOINT FAMILY / NUCLEAR FAMILY
  7. Residence area in Mumbai (e.g. Dongri, Ghatkopar): .....
  8. Occupation : .....
  9. Do you read newspapers? YES / NO  
If YES, which paper/s do you read most often?  
.....
  10. Marital Status : MARRIED / SINGLE



Please read each of the following statements and *circle **one*** of the given options.

- SA** : if you **STRONGLY AGREE** with the statement.  
**A** : if you **AGREE** with the statement.  
**NS** : if you are **NOT SURE** whether you Agree or Disagree  
**D** : if you **DISAGREE** with the statement.  
**SD** : if you **STRONGLY DISAGREE** with the statement.

1	People should have a friendly approach towards gays.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
2	The decision to be open about one's gay identity is a personal choice.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
3	Gay men should not be allowed to adopt children.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
4	I would not want to have a friend who is gay.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
5	No gay men should be included in the Defence Services.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
6	There should be no gay characters in novels.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
7	There should not be any discussion of gay sexuality.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
8	Gay/Queer Film Festivals only promote gay sexuality.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
9	Organizations that work for gay rights play a positive role in society.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
10	Gay men should be punished if caught in acts of same-sex behaviour.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
11	People should be treated equally irrespective of their sexual orientation.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
12	Gay males are as human as any other person.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
13	Gay sexuality is a mental sickness.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
14	Sexual behaviour of gays should not be termed as 'unnatural'.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
15	Gays are the cause of increase in the number of AIDS patients.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
16	I do not like gay persons.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
17	Every individual must have a right to one's sexual expression.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
18	Gay males deserve to be looked down upon.	SA	A	NS	D	SD

19	A healthy understanding of gay people is necessary.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
20	Sex Education should include education about sexual identities.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
21	Gay behaviour is wrong.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
22	Every person should have the right to love whom they want to love, including those who are gay,	SA	A	NS	D	SD
23	Books and journals on Gay Sexuality promote gay behaviour.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
24	Nobody should make fun of persons who are gay.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
25	Gay males must not be called criminals on the basis of their sexual identity.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
26	Gay people deserve to be harassed.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
27	Those who blackmail or threaten gay males should be punished.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
28	Gay men should have the legal right to choose their life mates.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
29	Gay behaviour should be discouraged.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
30	Same-sex behaviour in private, between two consenting (agreeable) adult males in private should not be treated as a crime.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
31	Same-sex marriage should be legally permitted.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
32	If I was a parent, I would not want my child to be studying in a class with a gay teacher.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
33	I would not want to share a room with a gay person.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
34	It would not bother me in case I were to have a boss who is gay.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
35	All gay persons need professional help from counsellors.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
36	If gay marriage is permitted then children will have wrong role models.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
37	Gays usually become child abusers.	SA	A	NS	D	SD

38	Gay couples should be treated in the same way as heterosexual couples (that is, male-female couples).	SA	A	NS	D	SD
39	A gay character in a film will not make people gay.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
40	Being 'gay' is a matter of personal choice (preference).	SA	A	NS	D	SD
41	Gay sex is not a part of Indian culture.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
42	LGBT films can create awareness about sexual minorities.	SA	A	NS	D	SD

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING TIME**  
**TO BE A PART OF THIS STUDY**

fi z mÜj nkrk

मुंबई के संदर्भ में समलैंगिक आंदोलन के विषय में यह एक समाजशास्त्रीय अध्ययन है। 'xš ; k l ayfxd का संबंध उन पुरुषों से है जो भावनात्मक एवं यौनिकता की दृष्टि से पुरुषों के प्रति आकर्षित होते हैं। ; k sudrk का संबंध व्यक्ति की यौनिक रुचियों से है। इस अध्ययन में 'समलैंगिक आंदोलन' शब्द का प्रयोग समलैंगिक अधिकारों के लिए किए गए प्रयासों, समलैंगिकों द्वारा गोद लेने, समलैंगिक-विवाह, तथा इससे जुड़ी चुनौतियों, समस्याओं, प्रश्नों और इनके पक्ष या विपक्ष में किए जानेवाले तर्कों के संबंध में किया गया है।

इस अध्ययन का उद्देश्य समलैंगिक-पुरुषों, उनकी यौनिकता, समलैंगिक आंदोलन और संबंधित विषयों पर आपकी जागरूकता के बारे में vki ds fut h fopkj को जानना है। आप से निवेदन है कि आप इस प्रश्नावली के कथनों के बारे में अपने ईमानदार एवं बेबाक विचार निर्भयता से साझा करें। हर कथन में कृपया उसी उत्तर को चुने जिसे vki l pep gh ekurs हैं, न कि वह जो आप सोचते हैं कि 'ठीक लगेगा', या 'राजनीतिक रूप से सही' होगा या 'कि जो आपको लगता है कि दूसरे आपसे अपेक्षा रखते हैं'।

ge vki dks vk okl u nrs gsf d vki t ks Hh t kudkj h nxs og i y h rjg xki ut j [kh t k xh vky bl dk iz kx doy bl v/ ; ; u grqgh glsk A

अगर आप इस अध्ययन के परिणामों को जानना चाहें तो (जिसे पूरा होने में लगभग दो वर्ष लगेंगे) मुझे इस पते पर इ-मेल करें –  
ivanmjohn01@gmail.com

इस अध्ययन में शामिल होने के लिए आपने समय निकाला, इस हेतु  
आपका धन्यवाद ।

आयवन मैथ्यू जॉन  
शोधार्थी, तिलक महाराष्ट्र विद्यापीठ, पुणे

- 1) लिंग : पुरुष / महिला / अन्य
- 2) आयु (सम्पूर्ण) .....
- 3) धार्मिक पहचान (अगर कोई है) .....
- 4) प्राप्त शिक्षा .....
- 5) घर में बोली जाने वाली भाषा / भाषाएँ .....
- 6) परिवार का रूप : संयुक्त परिवार / एकल परिवार
- 7) मुंबई में निवास स्थान (उदाहरण—डोंगरी, घाटकोपर) .....
- 8) व्यवसाय: .....
- 9) क्या आप अखबार पढ़ते हैं ? हाँ / नहीं  
अगर हाँ, तो अधिकतर कौन सा अखबार पढ़ते हैं ? .....
- 10) वैवाहिक स्थिति: विवाहित / अविवाहित

कृपया हर कथन पढ़ें और निम्नलिखित विकल्पों में से किसी एक के गिर्द वृत्त बनाएँ [ O  
इस तरह]

SA : अगर आप कथन से **ijh rjg l ger gA**

A : अगर आप कथन से **l ger gA**

NS : अगर आप **r; ughadj ikjsgA** आप सहमत हैं या असहमत ।

D : अगर आप कथन **lsvl ger gA**

SD : अगर आप कथन से **ijh rjg vl ger gA**

1	समलैंगिक के प्रति लोगों में दोस्ताना रवैया होना चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
2	अपनी समलैंगिक पहचान को खुले रूप से स्वीकार करना व्यक्ति का निजी चुनाव है।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
3	समलैंगिक पुरुषों को बच्चों को गोद लेने का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
4	मैं किसी समलैंगिक को मित्र नहीं बनाना चाहूँगा।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
5	सुरक्षा सेवाओं में समलैंगिक पुरुषों को शामिल नहीं किया जाना चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
6	उपन्यासों में समलैंगिक चरित्र(पात्र) होने ही नहीं चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
7	समलैंगिक यौनिकता के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं होनी चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
8	समलैंगिक या क्वीयर फिल्म—उत्सव केवल समलैंगिक यौनिकता (sexuality) को बढ़ावा देते हैं।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
9	वे संस्थाएँ जो समलैंगिक पुरुषों के अधिकारों के लिए काम करती हैं, समाज में सकारात्मक भूमिका निभाती हैं।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
10	समलैंगिक पुरुष अगर समलैंगिक यौन व्यवहार करते पकड़े जाएँ तो उन्हें सजा मिलनी चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
11	कैसी भी यौनिक—अभिरुचि होने के बावजूद लोगों के साथ समानता का व्यवहार होना चाहिए।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
12	समलैंगिक पुरुष भी किसी भी दूसरे मनुष्य की तरह मनुष्य ही होते हैं।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
13	समलैंगिक यौनिकता एक मानसिक रोग है।	SA	A	NS	D	SD

14	समलैंगिक पुरुषों के यौनिक व्यवहार को अस्वाभाविक या अप्राकृतिक नहीं कहना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
15	AIDS रोगियों की संख्या में वृद्धि का कारण समलैंगिक ही हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
16	मुझे समलैंगिक व्यक्ति पसन्द नहीं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
17	हर व्यक्ति को अपनी यौनिक अभिव्यक्ति का अधिकार होना ही चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
18	समलैंगिक पुरुष नीची नजर से देखे जाने के ही योग्य हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
19	समलैंगिक पुरुषों को स्वस्थ नजर से समझ पाना जरूरी है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
20	यौन-शिक्षा में भिन्न यौनिक पहचानों की शिक्षा भी शामिल होनी चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
21	समलैंगिक व्यवहार गलत है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
22	हर व्यक्ति को, जिसे भी वह चाहे प्रेम करने का अधिकार होना चाहिए, उन्हें भी जो कि समलैंगिक हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
23	समलैंगिक-यौनिकता पर पुस्तकें एवं पत्रिकाएँ समलैंगिक व्यवहार को बढ़ावा देती हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
24	किसी को भी समलैंगिक व्यक्तियों का मजाक नहीं उड़ाना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
25	समलैंगिक-पुरुषों को अपनी यौनिक पहचान के आधार पर अपराधी करार नहीं देना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
26	समलैंगिक पुरुष तंग किए जाने के ही योग्य हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
27	जो समलैंगिक पुरुषों को ब्लैक मेल करते हैं या धमकाते हैं, उन्हें दंडित किया जाना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD

28	समलैंगिक पुरुषों को अपने जीवन साथी चुनने का वैधानिक/कानूनी अधिकार होना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
29	समलैंगिक व्यवहार को हतोत्साहित करना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
30	अपने निजी एकांत में, दो बालिग पुरुषों के मध्य, आपसी सहमति से किए गए यौन व्यवहार को अपराध नहीं माना जाना चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
31	समलैंगिक विवाह को कानूनन मान्यता मिलनी चाहिए ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
32	अगर मैं छात्र या छात्रा के माता-पिता में से एक होंऊँ, तो अपने बच्चे को एक समलैंगिक अध्यापक की कक्षा में न भेजना चाहूँगा ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
33	मैं एक समलैंगिक पुरुष के साथ एक कमरे में न रहना चाहूँगा ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
34	मेरा उच्चाधिकारी यदि समलैंगिक हो तो मुझे इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
35	सभी समलैंगिक पुरुषों को मनोवैज्ञानिक परामर्श (काउन्सिलिंग) की जरूरत है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
36	अगर समलैंगिक-विवाह को मान्यता दी गई तो बच्चों के लिए एक गलत आदर्श स्थापित होगा ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
37	समलैंगिक-पुरुष अक्सर बच्चों के साथ 'गलत व्यवहार' करते हैं ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
38	समलैंगिक-जोड़ों के साथ वैसा ही सामाजिक व्यवहार होना चाहिए जैसा विषम लिंगी (heterosexual) जोड़ों के प्रति होता है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
39	किसी फिल्म में किसी समलैंगिक चरित्र के आने से लोग समलैंगिक नहीं बन जाएंगे ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
40	समलैंगिक होना एक निजी चुनाव की बात है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD



41	समलैंगिक-यौनिकता भारतीय-संस्कृति का हिस्सा नहीं है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD
42	यौन अल्पसंख्यकों (Sexual Minorities) के विषय में जानने के लिए समलैंगिक फिल्मों जागरूकता प्रदान कर सकती है ।	SA	A	NS	D	SD

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# INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date of interview: ..... Interview No: \_\_\_\_\_

Start Time of interview .....

End Time of Interview .....

1. Age (completed)
2. What is the highest level of education *you have successfully completed?* (i.e. passed; for example: Standard IV, ITI Diploma, Second Year BE, BA, MBBS, PhD, etc)  
.....
3. Which State/Union Territory do you *belong to?* (For example: Daman, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Puducherry etc)  
.....
4. Do you identify with any particular religion? **YES / NO**  
*If YES, → go to Qs. 4.1 below*  
*If NO, → go to Qs. 4.3 below*  
  
Name the religion you identify with:  
.....
- 4.1 Please name the particular sect/caste/sub-group that you belong to within your stated religious identity in 4. above, IF you belong to any specific sub-group.  
(For example: Lingayat, Roman Catholic, Sunni Muslim, etc)  
.....
- 4.2 If you do not identify with any religion, describe yourself in one (or more) of the following ways? (Please tick mark)  
A. \_\_\_ Agnostic (one who has questions about religion, God etc)  
B. \_\_\_ Atheist (one who does not believe in God)  
C. \_\_\_ belief in Spirituality (which you understand as being different than having  
a religious belief or belonging to a religion)  
D. \_\_\_ Humanist (you believe in understanding and helping people and are not  
concerned with matters of religious faith and belief systems)  
E. \_\_\_ OTHER (*Please specify below*)

**Specific dimensions of the study:**

**Dimension 1 – IDENTITY and SEXUALITY**

Is ‘being gay’ a matter of one’s choice? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Is openly identifying oneself as ‘gay’ a matter of *choice*? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

If a male identifies as ‘gay’, is this a matter of *sexual preference*? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Do you think the ‘gay’ identity is a part of “western culture”? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Do you hold the view that ‘being gay’ goes against “Indian culture”?

**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Are you aware about same-sex relations being a part of ‘Indian culture’?

**YES / NO**

Should ‘gay males’ openly speak about their ‘gay identity’? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

In your view, can an individual’s gay identity be changed? **YES / NO**  
If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Is it possible to identify a ‘gay ‘ person from the external *looks* of a person?

**YES / NO**

**Explanation:**

.....  
.....  
.....

Is it possible to identify a ‘gay ‘ person from the external *behaviour* of a person? **YES / NO**

**Explanation:**

.....  
.....  
.....

**WITH REGARD TO THE INTERVIEWEE HIMSELF:**

Do **you** identify as a male and gay? **YES / NO**

In this context did you feel that **YOU** were different that other boys/men?

**YES NO**

If YES, at what age did you realize that you were ‘different’ ?.....

Did you know the term 'gay' at the time of **your** realization? **YES / NO**

Was it difficult for you to accept yourself as being different/gay? **YES / NO**

Kindly explain:

**Explanation:**

.....  
.....  
.....

## **Dimension 2 - RIGHTS**

Should a 'gay' individual have the right to **love a person** of the same sex?

**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should 'gay males' be given legal rights for '**same-sex civil unions**' (i.e. not get married, but live as adult partners with legal rights)? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should 'gay males' be given legal rights to get **married in a court of law**?

**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should 'gay males' have the right to adopt a child, just as single females are permitted by Indian law? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Are **you** aware of Section 377 of the Indian penal Code? **YES / NO**

*(Explain this to the individual if he is not aware.)*

**Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) criminalizes ‘homosexual’ behavior. This means, homosexuals who engage in sexual behavior are considered as criminals if proven guilty in a court of law.**

In your view, should homosexuality be treated as a crime? **YES / NO**

Should homosexuality continue to be criminalized? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should Section 377 (IPC) be **repealed** (removed)? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should Section 377 (IPC) be **modified but not repealed**? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should Section 377 of the IPC ***decriminalize homosexual behavior between consenting adults?*** **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Should there be a **separate provision** in law to deal with **child molesters**?  
**YES / NO**

Should there be a **separate provision** in law to deal with **homosexual behavior** between *non-consenting* adults? **YES / NO**

Should males who identify as gay agree to get married to females? **YES / NO**  
If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

**(COMING OUT)** Should gay males tell their parents about their gay sexual identity? **YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Why do you think some 'gay males' get married? **YES / NO**  
If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

**Dimension 3 - EDUCATION EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL & SEX EDUCATION**

When you were between the ages of 13 to 18, were you a student in school?  
**YES / NO**

What kind of school were you studying in at this age?  
\_\_\_ Tribal school \_\_\_ Rural school \_\_\_ Urban school  
\_\_\_ Government \_\_\_ Government-aided \_\_\_ Private

Only Boys school  Coeducation school  
 School run by 'religious' Trust  
(Which religious group?.....)

**If YES, proceed:**

Did your school teach you about matters related to 'sex' during your school years? **YES / NO**

**If YES**, please answer the following questions:

**Who** among the following, *made you aware about matters pertaining to sex?*

- Science/Biology teacher(s)  Other School teaching staff  
 School medical staff (nurse/doctor)  Dormitory staff (or in-charge)  
 Religious priest  School Counsellor  
 Friends in school (peer group)  
 Any OTHER (Please specify).....

Which of the following aspects were covered in the "sex education" imparted to you by the school? (Tick one or more options)

- Biological anatomy of human beings  
 Biological aspects of Human Reproduction  
 Understanding about love and relationships between different sexes  
 Understanding about sexual relationships  
 Matters related to sexual behaviors (e.g. masturbation, orgasm, wet dreams)  
 Heterosexuality  Homosexuality  
 Any OTHER (Please specify).....

Would you say you were **aware** about 'gay sexuality' during the ages 13 – 18?  
**YES / NO**

Did your **friends** play an important role in your understanding about matters pertaining to sex? **YES / NO**

In your view, is there awareness today, about sexualities, *other than heterosexuality*, among adolescents (ages 13 -18) within the school system?  
**YES / NO**



**Would you be fine with sharing details of sexual experiences? YES / NO**

If YES, then proceed:

Were there instances when *you* engaged in homosexual behaviours in school?  
**YES / NO**

Were there instances of homosexual behavior *among boys* in your school?  
**YES / NO**

Did any school teacher *come to know about homosexual behavior* among students in school?  
**YES / NO / DON'T KNOW**

If YES, How were such situations *handled* by the school/teacher? **YES / NO**

Were there any of the following, for boys who were *caught engaging in same sex behavior*?

\_\_\_ Warning \_\_\_ Counselling \_\_\_ Intimating the parent/guardian

\_\_\_ Punishment \_\_\_ Humiliation of the student

\_\_\_ Any OTHER.....

Would you like to share any other information or experience about school and its impact on your sexuality and behavior in school, or on your life?

.....  
.....  
.....

#### **Dimension 4 - MEDIA ROLE / IMPACT**

Do most films, television serials and stories **relate to heterosexual relationships**? **YES / NO**

On the whole do films in India **talk about issues related to 'gay sexuality'**?  
**YES / NO**

Are you aware of any **Bollywood films that relate to homosexuality**?  
**YES / NO**

**If YES**, could you name any *three* Indian films relating to gay persons or themes, **that you have seen**:

(i) .....

(ii) .....

(iii).....

Do you think films on the whole, portray a *realistic understanding* of gay people and their lives? **YES / NO**

Do you think films tend to **portray the typical (stereotypical) images** about gay persons through films? **YES / NO**

Have you heard of '**LGBT**' / **Queer** / **Gay films**? **YES / NO**

Have you heard of the '**Kashish International Queer Festival**' held in Mumbai? **YES / NO**

Have you ever attended an LGBT or Queer film festival? **YES / NO**  
If NO, please give your reason/s below:

- Unaware of the festival
- Scared to go alone to such an event
- Not in the city when the festival takes place
- Any other:.....

Do you think such festivals can help to educate viewers about other sexualities? **YES / NO**

Would you support the screening of LGBT films at such Queer Film Festivals? **YES / NO**

If NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Have you supported any such festival in the past? **YES / NO**

If YES, In what way or manner have you supported queer film festivals?

Please explain:

- By attending the festival  Informing others  Financial support
- Using internet sources to create awareness
- as a part of the organizing team
- as a volunteer  as the event sponsor
- Any OTHER (Please specify).....

Have you ever seen gay films in any of the following spaces?

Internet  Youtube  DVDs  Sex sites  Porn sites  Film screenings

Do you read any of the following? \_\_\_ News papers \_\_\_Magazines \_\_\_Online sources

Do you read articles or stories related to **gay issues**? **YES / NO**

Does it ever upset you that most love stories involve heterosexual relationships? **YES / NO**

### **Dimension 5 - PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES**

Do you think gay males face problems *because they are gay*? **YES / NO / DO NOT KNOW**

Have you ever faced problems as a gay-identified person? **YES / NO**

If **YES**, what kinds of problems did you face? (tick one or more options)

- a. \_\_\_inability to accept your own sexuality
- b. \_\_\_fear of being ‘outed’ (others coming to know about a person’s gay identity against his will)
- c. \_\_\_being teased
- d. \_\_\_ getting bulleyed
- e. \_\_\_discriminated against for being gay
- f. \_\_\_denied employment because of your ‘openly’ gay identity
- g. \_\_\_physical harassment
- h. \_\_\_physical abuse (non sexual)
- i. \_\_\_sexual abuse (excluding rape)
- j. \_\_\_rape

Do you think most gay males **hide** their *sexual identity*? **YES / NO**

If YES, why do you think they keep their identity/sexuality hidden?  
Please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

In your view, should gay males reveal their sexual identity? **YES / NO**  
Please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Are you openly gay? **YES / NO**

If **YES**, could you tell me about **HOW** did this happened?

- Voluntarily came out
- Forced to come out
- caught and therefore came out
- reported by someone, and so was 'outed'

**Came out to:**

- mother     father     both parents     grand parents
- sister     brother     friend     aunt
- uncle     grand father     grand mother
- any other** .....

Are you employed at work **outside** the home? **YES / NO**

Are you openly gay at the work place? **YES / NO**

Have you ever faced any problems due to being gay, at your work place?

**YES / NO**

Have you been discriminated against at the work place, for being gay?

**YES / NO**

Do you feel harassed at the work place due to your being gay? **YES / NO**

Does your workplace support LGBT/Queer Rights openly? **YES / NO**

Should there be strict rules **prohibiting teasing** of gay persons in schools?

**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....

.....

.....

Should there be legal provisions to prevent 'crimes against gay persons'?

**YES / NO**

Should there be severe punishment for crimes committed against gay persons?

**YES / NO**

Can laws against 'hate crimes' help to control the problems faced by gay persons? **YES / NO**

Should the meaning of rape include the rape of males? **YES / NO**

## Dimension 6 - EFFORTS FOR CHANGE/MOVEMENT

Are you aware of efforts made by organizations for gay rights? **YES / NO**

Can you name some organizations that you may be familiar with, which work the rights of gay persons in society?

.....  
.....  
.....

Are you aware of the fact that the final decision regarding Section 377 of the IPC is pending in the Supreme Court? **YES / NO**

Do you think society accepts people who are gay? **YES / NO**

Do you think society will *easily* accept gay persons? **YES / NO**

Do you think society will gradually accept gay persons? **YES / NO**

Do you feel that gay persons should have the right to live out their sexuality?  
**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

How can the *attitude of society* be changed? (Please tick one or more options)

- a.  Through effective and inclusive Sex Education in schools
- b.  By educating the masses through media
- c.  Through informal means of educating people
- d.  Through the passing of laws that are sensitive to the needs and problems of gay persons
- e.  Through sensitization programmes conducted by various agencies
- f.  Through the efforts of voluntary organizations that are working for gay rights
- g.  By more gay people 'coming out' and creating awareness about their existence and their sexuality

Have you heard of the following?

- a. Gay Pride March **YES / NO**
- b. Pride Marches **YES / NO**
- c. Queer Azaadi March **YES / NO**

Do you think Gay/Pride/Queer marches out on the streets of Mumbai help to create awareness of sexual identities that are different from 'heterosexual' identity? **YES / NO**

Would you openly support the Rights of gay persons? **YES / NO**  
If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Have you so far, supported the struggle for the rights of gay persons?

**YES / NO**

If YES or NO, please give your reason/s below:

.....  
.....  
.....

Has any gay person *told you* that he is gay? **YES / NO**

If YES, did it affect your behavior towards that person? **YES / NO**

Have you ever *felt* that someone you knew was gay? **YES / NO**

If YES, did it affect your behavior towards that person? **YES / NO**

Do you have any openly gay male friend? **YES / NO**

Should gay males remain single and 'unmarried'? **YES / NO**

Should gay males have the right to have emotional relationships with persons of the same sex? **YES / NO**

Should gay males have the right to have physical and sexual relationships with persons of the same sex? **YES / NO**

Should gay males have the legal right to get married in a court of law?

**YES / NO**

**DIMENSION 7: PERSONAL EXPERIENCES**  
**\*contains very personal and sensitive questions \***

Have you ever had a homosexual experience? **YES / NO**

At what age did you have your first homosexual experience? .....

At that time, did you know it was a homosexual experience? **YES / NO**

Was that first experience voluntary? **YES / NO**

Was this first experience with a known person? **YES / NO**

What was the age/age category of the person with whom you had your first experience? .....

IS THERE **ANYTHING ELSE** YOU WOULD LIKE TO SHARE AS A GAY PERSON – A THOUGHT, AN EXPERIENCE, A PROBLEM, A WISH, A CHALLENGE....ANYTHING AT ALL?

**NAMES AND IDENTITIES WILL NOT BE REVEALED ON ANY ACCOUNT.**

**THE RECORDING OF THIS INTERVIEW WILL NOT BE SENT TO ANY OTHER PERSON OR ORGANIZATION.**

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE (AND I CAN NEVER THANK YOU ENOUGH )  
***YOUR WILLINGNESS*** TO BE A PART OF THIS ACADEMIC RESEARCH.

## Interview Guide for NGOs

Date of interview: ..... Interview No: \_\_\_\_\_

Start Time of interview .....

End Time of Interview .....

**1. NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION**

**2. ESTABLISHMENT YEAR**

**3. HOW DID IT COME TO BE?**

**4. WHO WERE THE PERSONS INVOLVED WITH ITS**

**FORMATION?**

**5. WERE THERE ANY PROBLEMS IN GETTING STARTED?**

*State/Explain*

**6. ANY SUPPORT FOR ORGANIZATION:**

**AT THE BEGINNING / LATER / NOW *Please explain***

**7. THRUST AREAS OF THE ASSOCIATION**

**A. GAY RIGHTS**

**B. COUNSELLING**

**C. HEALTH CARE**

**D. SAFE SEX**



**E. TESTING**

**F. OUTREACH**

**G. LEGAL ASPECTS**

**H. ADVOCACY**

**I. ACTIVITIES**

**J. SENSITIZING PROGRAMS**

**K. EVENTS**

**L. DOCUMENTATION**

**M. PUBLICATIONS**

**N. RESEARCH**

**O. ANY OTHER.....**

**8. FUNDING**

**9. SIGNIFICANT MILESTONES/LANDMARKS**

**10. CHALLENGES OF THE ORGANIZATION**

**11. FUTURE PLANS**

## FORM OF CONSENT (For Interviewees)

Title of the Study:

**A study of the Gay movement with reference to Mumbai.**

Investigated by: **(Mr.) Ivan Mathew John**

*For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Sociology, Nehru Institute of Social Science, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, Maharashtra*

Research Supervisor: **Dr. Vishal Jadhav PhD,**

**Head, Department of Sociology,**

**Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, Maharashtra**

### FORM OF CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH INTERVIEW

*(Please read each of the following and check the boxes IF you agree.)*

1	I voluntarily agree to participate in this study and to being interviewed for the purpose of the above mentioned research. There is no explicit or implicit coercion to participate in the study.	
2	I agree to the interview being audio recorded and transcribed, for the purpose of this study.	
3	I understand that my identity by name, will not be disclosed anywhere in the thesis or in any report related to this study. I have been assured of confidentiality and anonymity in this respect.	
4	I have the right not to respond to any question(s) that is/are asked in the course of the interview. I have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point of time during the actual interview.	
5	The data obtained from the interview shall be used <i>exclusively</i> for the purpose of this academic study, which is a part requirement for the completion of the PhD programme of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.	

Signature of **Participant (Interviewee)**: .....

Place:..... Date: .....

Signature of **Researcher (Interviewer)**: .....

Place:..... Date: .....

For more information contact: **MR. IVAN MATHEW JOHN**  
(Investigator/Researcher)

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