

Title:

What comes to your mind when you see Mx.? Stereotypes for transgenders among Indian managers.

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Abstract

Using stigma theory approach, we theorize that transgender people are discriminated because of the process from stigma to stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Furthermore, building our argument around stereotype content model (SCM), we proposed that stereotypes for transgender people will also follow the universal dimensions of social perception, i.e., warmth and competence. The findings of the survey were partially consistent with the SCM. We found these two overarching themes, but transgender identity can fit into either high warmth low competence dimension or low warmth low competence dimension, not just one dimension. The managers have biases against transgender people, but if they see them as high on warmth dimension, that may elicit pity and active help. Such behaviours are not seen in case of low warmth assumptions from the managers. We discuss the implications of the findings on employment discrimination against transgender people and also provide an inclusion strategy for organizations that are engaged in transgender inclusion.

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Introduction

*On the complaints of transgender people harassing the public, police officials conducted meeting with the transmen and transwomen recently and **advised them not to disturb public** (Subburaj, 2022).*

*“Alex, a Delhi-based trans woman shared an interview experience, “I have a degree in civil engineering but I am jobless. In the interviews, people see me inappropriately and **reject me only on the basis of being a transgender** (Bali, 2020).*

In the first example, police officials advised transgender people to not to disturb public. Does that mean transgender people disturb people? In the second example, Alex was not selected for the job just for being transgender. What is so unique about transgender identity that people are not willing to hire a transgender? These two were examples of stereotyping. Stereotyping is the cognitive component of attitude for a particular social group (Fiske, 1998). In this process, people make beliefs about a social group. Based on popular stereotypes, women are considered nicer and warm, while men are considered more independent and competent (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994). Stereotypes are the expectations about the concerned group, which can include physical appearances, behaviours, and abilities. These traits may vary based on the social group; they can be positive or negative, true or false. Social groups may agree or disagree with such stereotypes, but this phenomenon of stereotyping a social group is quite common. The present paper aims to understand the stereotypes associated with transgender people among employers. Studies on gender stereotypes had concerned majorly with the characteristics of men and women traits. The possible reason can be the familiar presence of men and women in organizations and society. However, organizations these days have started initiatives to include transgender people (“Tata Steel Onboard 18 More Transgender people,” 2022; “Naturals to train transgender people,” 2022; Thaver, 2023). Although the number of transgender people employed in organizations is much less than men and women employees, the phenomenon needs our attention.

The term “transgender” describes a person whose current gender identity is different from the gender or sex they were assigned at birth (APA, 2015). While cisgender is a term used for people whose sex they were assigned at birth is the same as their current gender identity (Robinson et al., 2017). Transgender identity is a stigmatized identity. This identity is conferred through the label of “transgender,” which agents of social control, like the government, officially sanction. The label of transgender produces several stereotypes. Such stereotypes elicit negative emotional reactions from cisgender people (the dominant group in society), which leads to discrimination against them. Because of the stigma associated with the social group, transgender people face discrimination in the workplace. Discrimination against transgender people in organizations is there in the hiring process itself. Ciprikis et al. (2020) found that transgender people are less likely than non-transgender people to be employed.

So, to understand the process from stigma to discrimination, we need to look into the stereotypes associated with transgender people. The study’s practical implications will be to inform managers that just following the stereotypes associated with a social group may lead to biases in the hiring process. Theoretically, the present study contributes to the stigma literature, which often neglects transgender identity (Garfinkel, 1967). Also, the study contributes to the literature on gender stereotypes which, like the stigma literature, ignores transgender identity.

In the present study findings, we tried to connect the stereotypes associated with transgender people and the two universal dimensions of social perception (warmth and competence) developed by Fiske et al. (2002b) in the SCM stereotype content model. In this way, we also extend the works of Fiske et al. (2002) and Cuddy et al. (2007) by including the transgender social group in their models of social perception.

For our study, we collected data from managers working in for-profit Indian organizations. Indian context can generate valuable insight and it is useful site to explore transgender identities because of their 300 years old history in India (Mount, 2020). National Human Rights Commission (2017) found that about 92% of transgender people in India are deprived of the right to participate in any form of economic activity. Discrimination happens even for qualified and skilled transgender persons (National Human Rights Commission, 2017). The reports highlight that discrimination against transgender population in India is alarming, which motivated to work in this particular context.

The remainder of the paper unfolds as follows. On the basis of the theoretical framework from the stigma theory and empirical studies on discrimination against transgender people across India and the world, we posit the explanation for discrimination against transgender people. Second, on the basis of stereotype content model and BIAS model, we posit the possibility that stereotypes against transgender people will also follow the two universal dimension of social perception. Third, the results of our study are reported: (a) transgender social group fits under high warmth low competence dimension or low warmth low competence dimension; and (b) based on the SCM and BIAS model, the proposed affect and behaviours that will elicit among the managers would be pity and active help and passive harm, in case of high warmth low competence. The affect and behaviours elicited would be contempt and active/passive harm for low warmth low competence perceptions for transgender people. In the final section, we argued on what organizations are currently doing and what they need to do for transgender inclusion.

Literature and theoretical background

From Stigma to Discrimination

Stigma is a discredited attribute like a “mark of shame” or “mark of oppression” or a status or a condition that is subject to devaluation (Goffman, 1963). Specifically, stigmatized people belong to a social category with negative attributes, beliefs, and stereotypes (Crocker & Major, 1989). Whether in the interpersonal aspects or economic outcomes, they will be in the worse of the situation in comparison to the other members of the society. A person belonging to a stigmatized group will be devalued by broader society or culture (Crocker & Major, 1989).

There are some necessary process components required for the stigmatization process to work. For stigmatization, there must be existing labelling differences, associations of individual differences with negative stereotypes, clear separation of “us” from “them,” and experiences of discrimination and status loss (Link & Phelan, 2001 c.f. Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). There are also some assumptions underlying these requirements. First, stigmatization depends on the control and ability to organize tangible and intangible resources (Scambler, 2009). Only those with the power and ability to stratify such resources can stigmatize a person or a group. Second, people can enact stigmatization only via social relations (Goffman, 1963). The third assumption is that stigmatization is shaped in a particular time and space, i.e., in a social context. Some highly stigmatized identities in one social context can become irrelevant in another social context. The fourth assumption is that all the process components of stigma are in continuity (Link & Phelan, 2001 c.f. Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). Although there will be differences in the frequency of responses from individuals, groups, organizations, or societies, the overall process will be the same, from labelling differences to the experiences of discrimination.

The first step in the stigmatization process is communicating stigma through labels. The labels are the officially sanctioned terms given to the social entities, people, groups, places, or organizations which agents of social control scramble (e.g., “person with a disability” by the medical professionals). Or the labels can be communicated by other people informally too (e.g., drug addict). Generally, after labelling, stereotypes are assigned to the stigmatized social entities. Then the stereotypes endorse the affect component, i.e., the prejudice, which further leads to negative behavioural reactions from the stigmatiser, i.e., discrimination (Fiske, 1998). In short, stigmatization is a process from labelling to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Prejudice is the affective manifestation of stereotypes, and discrimination is the behavioural manifestation of prejudice (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Studies on stigma have included the issues of bankruptcy, poverty, singlehood, infertility, abortion, sexual orientation (Herek, 2004), crime (Behrens, 2004), mental illness (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015), hearing loss (Wallhagen, 2010), tuberculosis (Baral et al., 2007), autism (Gray, 2002), phobias (Davidson, 2005), smoking (Greaves et al., 2010) and many more. In this paper, we look into the stigma of being a “transgender” person. However, the conceptualization of Goffman (1963) does not include transgender people as a part of stigmatized groups; the later works and developments by Garfinkel (1967) and Stoller (1968) involved transgender people under the stigma lexicon.

In our society, people are either born male or female and typically have parents who nurture them as boys (men) or girls (women). The biological essentialist viewpoint sees males and females as the only genders that are unchangeable biological imperatives. But several cultures recognize and identify transgender people. For example, in India, there is the Hijra community; in Indonesia, there is Waria; in Hawai'i, there is Mahu, etc. Natural science also acknowledges that other than XX (female) and XY (male) sex chromosomes, there are karyotypes that do not match with XX and XY.

Within the stigma literature in organizational studies, there is significantly less work on transgender identities (O'Shea, 2020). Even if the studies have looked into this identity, they looked at it under the umbrella of LGBTQ+ and specifically under the lexicon of sexual orientation (Rudin et al., 2014; Ozturk & Tatli, 2016 c.f. Honoree & Juban, 2020; Fletcher & Marvell, 2022 c.f. Goldberg & William, 2022). The problems of transgender are because of the social construction of sex and gender, while the issues of LGB are the issues of sexuality (Robinson et al., 2017). Although sexual orientation and gender identity can interact, they are different constructs and can cause separate issues (Beauregard et al., 2018). Gender is developed as a social construct to specify and enforce social roles; sexuality refers to a person's sexual preferences and identity, whereas biological sex is a social construction meant to define and reinforce social roles explicitly based on physiological traits (Robinson et al., 2017).

The issue of bathroom access is there for transgender people and not for lesbians, gays and bisexuals. Weinberg (2010) noted that several employees complain about sharing bathrooms with transitioning employees. A person is transitioning from male to female, who was using the male restroom before transition, will now be using the female toilet. If the female employees within the organization are not sensitized about this situation, they may feel uncomfortable and complain about it. Also, transitioning employees have to negotiate for insurance policies for gender-reassignment surgery and gender-specific uniforms. And generally, they don't have options to conceal their identity (Rudin et al., 2014) which makes them more vulnerable than lesbians, gays and bisexuals. The person who started transitioning has to face more issues like high stress that causes suicidal thoughts (Budge et al., 2010) and have to encounter different social psychological, and physiological concerns, which is not the case for gay, lesbian and bisexual counterparts (Beauregard et al., 2018). Moreover, the attitude of cisgender coworkers towards transgender is much more hostile than LGB individuals (Goldberg & William, 2022). Not just from the cisgender people, even the LGBTQ community sometimes stigmatize transgender employees by calling them "too queer" or "not queer enough" (Wang-Jones et al., 2018). Transgender people have to face a unique type of discrimination known as "transphobia." According to Hill (2002, pp. 119–120), "transphobia is a motivating force for negative reactions to transgender people that involve fear and disgust on the part of the observer and is frequently manifest in fear of personal acquaintances becoming transgender, or revulsion on learning one is transgender or meeting a transgender person." This transphobia associated with transgender people is different and more hostile than the homophobia related to the LGBTQ community (Fletcher & Marvell, 2022).

Transgender identity is a stigmatized identity conferred through labels that agents of social control, (like the government) officially sanction. The label "transgender" produces several stereotypes. Studies have found some stereotypes about transgender people (Howanski et al., 2019; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014). They noted that transgender people are unattractive, smelly, abusive, violent, poor, lazy, and spiritual. Such negative stereotypes can elicit adverse emotional reactions from cis gender people (the dominant group in society), further leading to discrimination against them.

Discrimination of transgender people in organizations

The discrimination against transgender people is evident in the literature and government reports (Robinson et al., 2017; Thoroughgood et al., 2017). Studies have noted that both taste-based and statistical-based discrimination are there for trans identities (Borm et al., 2020), that includes microaggressions, misgendering, transphobia, issues of access to bathrooms, issues of transition (Robinson et al., 2017; Thoroughgood et al., 2017).

Ciprikis et al. (2020), based on secondary data in the US, found that transgender people are less likely than non-transgender people to be employed and more likely to receive fewer wages. Hughto et al. (2015) noted that transgender people experience individual, interpersonal, and structural stigma. The stigma surrounding this identity affects the labor market outcomes and career development among transgender employees (Ciprikis et al., 2020). For example, a person transitioned from male to female while working at an organization and now that person wants to switch. In the new organization there is a work-ex criteria for application. Now, if the person who was working as a man in previous company and now wants to apply as a women, has a necessary requirement to disclose their transgender identity. And even if that person does not disclose, for transgender identity the looks disclose the identity. Rudin et al. (2014) noted that trans identities are not necessarily concealable, unlike sexual orientation. Employees have little reasons to disclose if the physical features that signal the difference between the gender they identify with v/s the gender they were assigned at birth (Goldberg & William, 2022). So, if they do not even have options to disclose, there are more chances of stigmatization and discrimination. Due to the stigma associated with their perceived deviant identity, they experience prejudice and discrimination. Shukla (2021) mentioned the story of an Indian model Archie Singh, who is a transwoman and faced discrimination in the modeling industry. Archie mentioned, “when people see my pictures, they select me, and when I disclose my identity, they say, sorry, we need a female model.” Such instances reinforce our argument.

Stereotype nature and content to reinforce/suppress the discrimination:

Stereotyping helps people make sense of the world by categorizing them. Fiske et al. (2002b) defined two fundamental dimensions of social perception. These two dimensions are warmth and competence. The first doctrine of the stereotype content model (SCM) given by Fiske et al. (2002b) is that perceived competence and warmth are underlying and differentiate groups' stereotypes. Although they believe that specific stereotypes exist for particular groups (e.g., blacks are 'rhythmic'). Still, warmth and competence dimensions are the broad underlying themes for all social groups' stereotypes. Several reviews and empirical findings have shown that the competence and warmth dimension accounts for much of the variance in stereotypes for groups (Cuddy et al., 2008). These two dimensions can be called universal because they answer the essential question of thriving and surviving in the world, i.e., the question of intention and capability.

The first thing people do for social perception is anticipating other people's intentions towards them, i.e., warmth dimension. Warmth comprises the traits such as *sincerity, trustworthiness, kindness, morality, and friendliness*, which capture the other person's intent. The second dimension is "competence." Competence highlights the capability of the individual to follow their intentions and comprises *efficacy, confidence, intelligence, skills, and creativity*. The individuals categorize groups and people based on the perceived impact on the ingroup or self, which is visible in the intention and capability of the other person. Substantial empirical evidence supports these two dimensions for social groups across different cultures (Cuddy et al., 2008). In their review, Cuddy et al. (2008) noted distinct clusters of high and low warmth and competence stereotypes depending on the target groups (occupation, nationality, religion, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background). In the US, the outgroup members are seen as highly competent but not warm (e.g., Asians and Jews). Disabled people, the elderly, and homemakers are viewed as high on warmth but low on competence. Homeless people, poor people, and welfare recipients are considered low on both competence and warmth dimensions. Only the ingroup members are perceived as high on both warmth and competence. The stereotype content model proposes that the four combinations of warmth and competence (HWHC, HWLC, LWLC, and LWHC) elicit four unique emotional responses – admiration, pity, contempt, and envy.

Along with the dimensions of stereotypes (warmth and competence), there is strong evidence for the emotions and behaviours elicited from these two significant dimensions based on the BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007). The behaviour from intergroup affect and stereotypes (BIAS) map proposes the anticipated emotions and behaviours for different combinations of warmth and competence. Admiration will be elicited for high warmth and competence condition (e.g., ingroup members). Contempt will be aroused for low warmth and competence (e.g., homeless people). For high competence and low warmth condition (e.g., Asians), envy will be elicited. And for low competence and high warmth (e.g., older adults and people with disability), pity will be stimulated. Cuddy et al. (2007) proposed four different behavioural responses for the four combinations. Admired groups elicit active facilitation (i.e., help) and passive facilitation (i.e., obligatory association, convenient cooperation). Envied group prompts active harm (i.e., attack) and passive harm (i.e., neglecting and ignoring). Pitied group elicits both active helping and passive neglect. And the envied group elicits both active harm and passive neglect.

Although Fiske et al. (2002b) and Cuddy et al. (2007) covered almost every social group (elderly, mentally disabled, disabled, housewives, Christians, Irish, middle class, Americans, Black professionals, poor, welfare recipients, Turks, feminists, Arabs, Whites, British, Jews, Asians, Rich), they missed the transgender identity in their analysis. Also, few significant studies highlight transgender stereotypes (Howanski et al., 2019; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014 for exceptions). Even if they mentioned some stereotypes of transmen and transwomen, they did not define or consider making the connections between those stereotypes with the universal dimensions of warmth and competence. So, the first objective is to understand the stereotypes of transgender people. Cuddy et al. (in press) tested two universal dimensions across 17 nations including three Asian nations (Hong Kong, Japan and South Korea). They did not test them in the Indian context.

Indian context can generate valuable insights for the (SCM) stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) and the BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007), especially for transgender individuals and groups. Several references to third-gender people in Indian mythology suggest the acceptance

of queer community (Doniger, 1980 cf. Bahadur & Kumar, 2016). In the ancient Indian texts, there is a mention of ‘Tritiya Prakriti’ (neuter/the third form). In the medieval period and the royal courts of Islamic rulers, there are several mentioning of transgender people. The queer people were seen as quite powerful among Indian royalty (Reddy, 2005 c.f. Bahadur & Kumar, 2016). The Urdu texts refer to the term “Hijras” (a transgender community that is excluded from the mainstream). The rise of the British empire in the Indian subcontinent led to the decline of the transgender community (Chatterjee, 1999). British believed that the queer community was mentally retarded, and they punished them inhumanely by introducing the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Based on this law, British Police could arrest the queer community without a warrant and sentence them to imprisonment for two years. Although the law was modified in independent India, the legacy of the binary gender tradition promoted by the British empire remained pervasive (Agrawal, 1997 c.f., Bahadur & Kumar, 2016). The transgender community still lacks the respect they once had in ancient India. Such a history of transgender people is one reason that makes the Indian context worthy of understanding this community. Mount (2020), in their review on Indian transwomen, mentioned similar thoughts on why India is an important site to explore transgender identity. The idea of transgender identity in India differs from the westernized notion of transgender (Narendran et al., 2018) because of their 300 years old history and unique challenges (Mount, 2020). They are economically disempowered and socially marginalized groups in India, which leaves them with no other option but to solicit money on roads, trains and weddings or to do sex work (Mount, 2020). People have common experiences of observing transgender people asking for money on roads and weddings (Puri, 2015). Reddy (2015) in their ethnographic work noted that transgender people in India are doing sex work from last thirty years. Most transgender people in India are excluded from the mainstream employment, housing, and education and they live in poverty (Elischberger et al., 2018).

Based on 2011 census of India, the population of transgender people is estimated to be around 4,90,000. A study by National Human Rights Commission (2017) found that about 92% of transgender people are deprived of the right to participate in any form of economic activity. Discrimination exists even for qualified and skilled transgender people (Singh, 2021). Several stories, news articles and examples in journal publications clearly highlight the need to look into the discrimination against transgender people in India (Bali, 2020; Shukla 2021; National Human Rights Commission, 2017, Varshney, 2022). Several private companies refuse to hire even qualified and skilled transgender people (Karunanithi, 2015). Such phenomena of continuous discrimination in hiring transgender people are worthy of understanding in the Indian context. And to look at it from the lens of stigma, we need to know the stereotypes associated with this identity among Indian managers. By understanding the stereotypes of transgender people among Indian managers, we will get the root cause of the discrimination issues.

Methodology

The present study aims to understand the stereotypes associated with transgender people among Indian managers. To fulfil this objective, we studied the typical stereotypes of transgender people among managers.

Participants:

A total of 169 managers participated in the study. These managers came for executive education program organized by one of the leading business schools in India. The sample was diverse across levels (lower management, middle management, and top management), gender, and age. Our sample consisted of 57.5 % males, 40% females and 2.5% who preferred not to disclose their gender. The average age was 38.7 (SD = 7.75) and the average work experience was 7.65 years (SD = 10.19).

Procedure:

During a small group session, we requested the participants to complete a survey. The survey contained an open-ended question and some demographic questions. The question was, “what five things come to your mind when you see a “social group”?” In the note, we mentioned that “things” can be words/images/sentences/associations/experiences/contexts. We asked the same question for three social groups – transgender people, blind person and person serving in the military forces. See appendix for the sample questionnaire. We administered six versions of the questionnaire by randomizing all three identities to counterbalance the effect of order of social groups. For example, if participant A gets the version in which question 1 is about transgender identity, question 2 is about blind person and question three is about person serving in military; then participant B will get the version in which question 1 is about blind person, question 2 is about transgender and question three is about person serving in military. In way $3 \times 2 = 6$ versions of the questionnaire were administered. It was not mandatory to write five things. From the sample of 169, we found a total of 527 data points. Participants were debriefed after collecting the survey sheets.

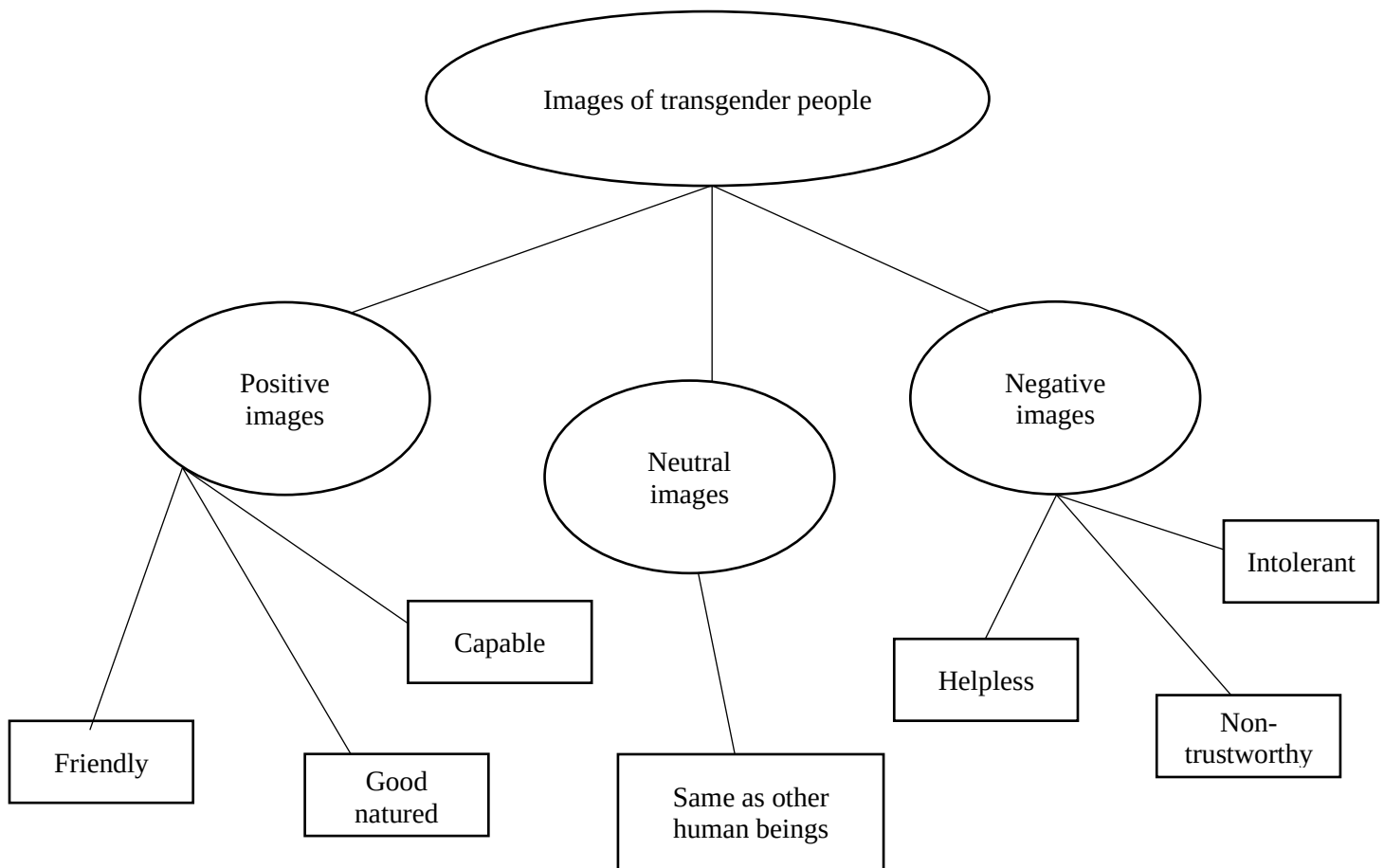
Findings

We analysed our data by “theoretical” thematic analysis following the process of Braun and Clarke (2006). In theoretical thematic analysis, the researcher drives the analysis based on the theoretical and analytical interest in the area. In the current research, our goal was to understand the stereotypes of transgender people, and we wanted to observe the relevance of SCM and BIAS model in the given data, thus, we followed theoretical thematic analysis approach rather than inductive thematic analysis. For generating themes, we followed the six-step process given by Braun and Clarke (2006)– familiarising with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing report.

We started the work first by transcribing the data, reading and re-reading. Noted down initial ideas. Those initial ideas became our codes. This process involved coding all the interesting data in a systematic fashion across the complete data set and then we collated all the data which was relevant to each code. In the table below, we have given one example of coding the interesting data.

Data extract	Coded for
They come on weddings and birth of a son child. They demanded lots of money without knowing the capacity of paying party. When demand not fulfills they abuse and torn off their clothes in front of gents and ladies. There are some faulty or duplicate "hijras" in our society. Some make candidates or people which are not "hijras" convert themselves to hijras for earning money.	1.) Contexts in which participants imagine transgender people. 2.) They demand money. 3.) There exist some fake transgender people.

In the next stage, we collated codes into the potential themes by gathering data relevant to each potential theme. Following the recommendation of Braun & Clarke (2006), we created a thematic map, highlighting the connection between various codes, codes and themes and one theme to another themes. The chart below, is one example of our thematic maps.



In the next step, we reviewed the generated themes by checking whether they are working in relation to the extracted codes and the whole data set. After several revision, we divided our data based on the images of transgender people based on the warmth-competence lexicon, contexts of visibility, physical appearance and some miscellaneous dimensions. Now we will elaborate of each theme.

Visibility on roads, trains, weddings and child birth: Transgender people were seen in the contexts such as child birth ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, roads and trains, either begging or asking for money in return of dance performances. Key findings and representative quotes are summarized in Table 1. No respondent ever imagined transgender people in conventional work-contexts. 6% of our respondents have an image of transgender people dancing on birth and wedding of a son child. 8.5% have an image of transgender people, begging on roads and trains. 4.3% of the respondents expressed the concern for their movie representation.

Table 1

Stereotype for context	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Dancing on birth and wedding of a son child	“They come on weddings and birth of a son child...Dance at special occasions like “birth of baby” or wedding... Their arrival to homes post wedding/birth.”	10 (6)
Begging on roads and trains	“Asking for money at signals very politely. Very bad experience in trains asking for money when travelling in sleeper (not in AC coach). Roads, railways station asking for money... Begging on road... Green bangles on roads... Associated ill activities: mafia, extortion, begging...I am seeing most of them begging in traffic signals...”	14 (8.5)
Representation in movies	“Silly scenes shown in Hindi movies... Made fun of... Their appearance in movies...”	7 (4.26)

Transgender people are untidy and unkept: Respondents also have an image of physical appearance of transgender people. They are not seeing them as normal people. According 18% to our respondents, transgender people have unkempt look, they express nudity and they wear outrageous dresses. Also, when we have written “transgender people” in the survey questionnaire, the respondents are only imaging transgender women which is highlighted in the description that transgender people have masculine faces and they wear feminine dresses. Such findings give us evidence of ambiguity among people regarding the definition and knowledge of transgender people. Respondents may not be aware about trans men or gender non-binary people. The summarized findings of this theme are shown in the Table 2.

Table 2

Stereotypes for physical appearance	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Looks	Unkempt look (unfortunately not enough opportunities currently available for the community to groom/dress well. Smile on the face. Nudity. Sometimes they look vulgar too. Big bindi, saree and heavy make-up. Green bangles. Outrageously dressed. Man wearing a woman attire. Masculine faces and feminine dresses.	29 (17.68)

Low Warmth Low Competence:

Cuddy et al. (2008) defined competence and warmth as two dimensions of social perception and found evidence of their application across different social groups and across different cultural contexts. Thus, we tried to fit our data into the warmth-competence dimensions and we found supportive evidence for them. Table 3 summarised our findings.

39% of our respondents have an image of transgender people that highlights their low warmth. For example, our respondents believe that transgender people are not sincere, trustworthy and they are unfriendly and bad natured people. In comparison to this, 21.3% respondents see the transgender people high on warmth dimension. Similarly for the case of competence dimension, 18.9 % respondents see transgender people as low on competence dimension describing them with attributes like helpless and incapable. 14% respondents have an image of transgender people as capable people i.e., high on competence dimension. Overall, if we compare the findings, majority of our respondents see transgender people as low on both warmth and competence dimension.

Table 3

Stereotypes for warmth and competence dimensions	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Low warmth	Insincere: “Unacceptance in the society. Taking advantage of this situation and making money. There are some faulty or duplicate "hijras" in our society. Are they really Hijras or just pretending for money.” Non-trustworthy: “They may insult me. They want only money from you. Sometimes feel suspicious. A person who has no certainty.” Unfriendly: “Sometimes find hijra being rude. Not taken as friend/members with whom you want to associate with. Taken as external members. They harass people on roads and public places for money. They may insult me. They want only money from you.” Bad natured: “Too pushy and demanding. Angry when provoked. Harassing pedestrians for money. Aggressive on people. Money focused.” Intolerant: “Violent. Annoying other commuters. Dangerous, untidy, menace.”	64 (39)
Low competence	Helpless: Poverty. Begging money. Unhappy. Livelihood by seeking money. Incapable: Seeking money on streets. Too pushy and demanding. They have some sort of cash/consideration expectation from anyone. Why can't they have a normal life? Why they use their sexual orientation to do what they doing? They should be in normal stream of life? What they are is no excuse for anything wrong done by them on against them.	31 (18.9)
High warmth	Friendly: Very positive with their attitude and body language. They are open and free minded. They believe in groups. Kind. Seeking validation/acceptance. Affection. Desiring social interactions. Positive. They always feel happy.	35 (21.34)

	Good natured: Provides blessings on giving money. Their blessings are honest blessings. Sincere: Vocal and open to criticism. Honest.	
High competence	Capable: Enterprising, independent, strong personality. Leader at some local election and winning it. Strong minds, capable of much contribution. Hard working, creative, great persuaders/negotiators. 1st transgender doctor, lawyer, police. Confident: They have special strength and confidence. An open mindset that the society needs to accept. Intelligent: Strong minds, capable of much contribution. Sometime they look very smart. God given them extra one thing. Strong willed.	23 (14)

Miscellaneous images: There are some unique images that our respondents have, which can't be explained with warmth-competence dimensions. Specifically, 22% respondents imagine transgender people as demigods, who curse or give blessings to other people. Such findings, brings the Hindu mythological depiction of transgender people which is unique to South Asian context and which has mentioning in several past studies. Also, 7.3% respondents, see transgender people similar to any other human being, while around 5% respondents have an alienated image of transgender people. Such unique images can play a major role in hiring a transgender person. Table 4 summarised the miscellaneous stereotypes of transgender people.

Table 4

Miscellaneous Stereotypes	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Demigods	Threatening people incase if you don't give money, results in so called "curse." Not part of the mainstream society, but they have strong group on their own. In their own group they maintain strict hierarchy. They provide blessings on giving birth. Sign of good luck for me. Special. Positive depiction in Hindu mythology. Have some power on their wishes. People feel that their blessings are god's blessings and can prove true. One can not hate them otherwise god will not pardon them. Traditionally they are seen in this role.	36 (21.95)

They are same	They have all qualities same as any other human being including good as well as not good ones. God creature like us. They are also human beings same as us. They should have equal rights in the society. I don't feel they are different from us anymore.	12 (7.3)
They are different	Person with different feeling. Person with different opinion and different mindset. Unique, different from me. Alienated	8 (4.87)

Implications and Future Scope of the Stereotype Findings

We found that Low Warmth (39.02%), Low Competence (18.9%), and High Warmth (21.34%) dimensions have more frequency than High Competence (14%) dimension. Also, 22% of participants perceive transgender people as demigods who give blessings and can curse them. If we classify transgender people into the four dimensions of Cuddy et al. (2008) i.e., high/low warmth/ high/low competence, then the two most suitable positions would be either Low Warmth Low Competence or High Warmth Low Competence. For further clarifying the classification, we analysed our data according to the prejudice (affect) and discrimination (behaviour) inferences.

There are implications of such findings on prejudice and discrimination of transgender people. Based on the findings of Cuddy et al. (2007), if a social group is high on warmth dimension and low on competence dimension, then the affect response by others will be Pity. In our data, we also found some evidence for such emotional response. 24.39% of participants responded that they feel pity when they see transgender people. For Low warmth low competence, the emotional response has to be contempt; in our sample, 4.26% responded that they will express contempt for transgender people. The surprising finding is for "fear" emotional response, 14.63% feel fear when they see transgender people. We think that the demigod image which people have of transgender people is the reason for fear reaction from 14.63% participants. The summary findings for possible affect elicited are shown in Table 5.

Following the BIAS model (Cuddy et al., 2007), there are propositions for affect responses from the people after fitting the group into the competence-warmth dimension. Admiration will be elicited for high warmth and competence condition (e.g., ingroup members). Contempt will be aroused for low warmth and competence (e.g., homeless people). For high competence and low warmth condition (e.g., Asians), envy will be elicited. And for low competence and high warmth (e.g., older adults and people with disability), pity will be stimulated. Our data

highlights the fit of transgender identity in both low warmth low competence and high warmth low competence conditions. In our findings, respondents mentioned their feelings for transgender people as – insecure, danger, fear, irritation, and discomfort. We propose that,

Proposition 1: If managers see transgender people as low on both competence and warmth dimension, then transgender people will be seen as homeless people and welfare recipients, and thus contempt will be elicited.

Respondents also mentioned the feeling of compassion, positivity, happiness, empathy, sympathy and pity. This contradiction in the affects elicited supports our assumption that for people who see transgender people as low on competence but high on warmth will show pity towards transgender people.

Proposition 2: If managers see transgender people as low on competence and high on warmth dimension, then transgender people will be seen like older people and people with disability, and thus pity will be elicited.

Table 5

Affects that elicit among the participants	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Pity	Feel pity when I encounter a person who is shemale (hijra) as there is no job offers for them. God was not kind to them in some or other way. Sad feelings – How is there life? Feel bad for them as they are sometime without their own family. I feel sorry for them and sincerely desire a good life to them. Sympathy. Empathy.	40 (14.39)
Fear	Some sort of fear. Fear from his/her bad words. Fear or feeling of staying away. Fear as they embarrass you in public. Feel a bit scared due to past experiences with some of them. Do not like much their actions.	24 (14.63)

The findings of stereotypes and affects have implications for possible behavioural responses by the respondents when they see transgender people. In our data, 50% of respondents mentioned that they will show indirect active facilitation for transgender people, only and 9.25% of respondents said they will give direct help to transgender people, i.e., direct active facilitation. The specific quotes are shown in Table 6.

Again, following the BIAS model (Cuddy et al., 2007), there are propositions for behavioural responses from the people after fitting the group into the competence-warmth dimension. Admired groups elicit active facilitation (i.e., help) and passive facilitation (i.e., obligatory association, convenient cooperation). Envied group prompts active harm (i.e., attack) and passive harm (i.e., neglecting and ignoring). Pitied group elicits both active helping and passive neglect. And the envied group elicits both active harm and passive neglect.

Table 6

Behaviours that elicit among the participants	Representative comments	Frequency, n (%)
Active Facilitation (Indirect)	Wanted the parents to educate, not to send away such children of them and bring them up with other children. Empowerment in progress, political, educational, acceptance. Need with opportunity. They should work as normal human now. They are human. All human have same right. There is no much effect economically if they are willing to earn. Now a days industries are more advance. What can I do to facilitate their growth.	16 (9.75)
Active Facilitation (Direct)	I should help them. Figuring out a way to support them. We need to give job for them to survive for the society and live as a normal person. Bring them to mainstream. I wish I could help them.	82 (50)
Passive harm	To maintain distance as much as possible. They are separate from the normal world or society. Difficult for co-workers to operate with them if they are given jobs in regular industries. They also do not want inclusion. Avoid, stay away. Be careful. Be caution. Steer away.	19 (11.58)

In our data, the behavioural responses belonged to two sets of categories. Respondents mentioned responses to avoid them and take care when they are in front of you. Respondents also mentioned to give opportunities to them, help them, and give them employment.

Proposition 3: If managers see transgender people as low on both competence and warmth dimension, then transgender people will be seen as homeless people and welfare recipients, and thus active harm will be elicited.

Proposition 4: If managers see transgender people as low on competence and high on warmth dimension, then transgender people will be seen like older people and people with disability, and thus active help and passive neglect will be elicited.

Several participants mentioned that transgender people have no job offers because they are socially depressed, segregated, fostered, trapped, neglected, confused, underrepresented, unlucky, and vulnerable. So, due to the presence of stigma, there is discrimination. So, based on the stigma theory, stereotypes are the middle components in the process from stigma to discrimination.

The study's findings highlight that the participants perceive transgender people as unique and different creatures. In the paper, we tried to fit the findings in the stereotype content and BIAS models. In the process, we found that either we could put transgender people into the high warmth low competence group or keep them in the low warmth low competence group. Further research is needed to prove the suitability of the transgender group in one of the mentioned conditions. However, if we stick to the low warmth, low competence dimension for transgender people, there is no hope for their inclusion among employers. Most managers imagine transgender people either on signal, trains or at weddings. That is to asking for money, highlighting signs of incompetence, and if the managers cannot even think of transgender people as warm, there is no reason to hire them. The proposed emotions that can be elicited would be contempt, and the likely behaviour will be active harm and hiring would surely not happen.

On the other hand, if managers perceive transgender people as high on the warmth dimension and low on the competence dimension, there are at least some hopes for their inclusion. It is okay if I know one person is warm but not competent, even if I am helping that person for their growth. The managers will give the opportunity to transgender people in the perception of being warm. The emotional response elicited would be a pity, and the expected behaviour from the managers would be help and support. Still the prediction is highly problematic as the managers are hiring transgender people out of pity but still such a finding gives us a minute of hope for including trans people in mainstream organizations.

In practice, several organizations in India are developing policies for transgender inclusion. Although we cannot neglect the importance and impact of organizational policies on an employer's hiring decision, in the present case, many employers' biases can impact the decision, even in the presence of organizational policies. For example, Lim et al. (2018) noted that job attributes like interdependence of tasks, interaction with external parties, supervisory responsibility, and hierarchical level of the job are the factors that positively impact the discrimination of gay men and lesbians in hiring.

Also, Hadjisolomou (2021), in their work on customer abuse, transphobia, and stigma for transgender people, noted that there are everyday experiences of microaggression by customers, such as misgendering, harassing, and mocking among transgender service employees. In such jobs, we suspect managers will discriminate even in the presence of organizational policies promoting trans inclusion. So, where are we lacking? Cisgender employees and managers need to be sensitized. Although studies have shown mixed results even for mandatory diversity training for supervisors and managers (Robinson et al., 2017), based on the present study findings, we believe that transgender- inclusive diversity training should be provided to managers.

Conclusion and Limitations

Our study highlights the reasons for exclusion of transgender people in organizations and also it highlights how it can be mitigated. It is counterintuitive that a social group fits into two different dimensions of social perception. Yet, our study shows that people can see a social group as both high and low on warmth dimension. Such finding creates possibility for testing the responses from the managers when they recruit transgender people in the organizations. Based on our propositions, managers will recruit transgender people if they see them as high on competence dimension. Such propositions can be tested by experimentally manipulating the warmth and competence dimensions. In the present study, the participants were asked to share their general image of transgender people, not in a specific workplace context. More precise findings can be observed if we specify a context for the participants. Only then would the findings be seen as useful insight for the hiring process for transgender people.

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Appendix

Hello,

You are invited to participate in a research study. The objective of this study is to “understand the images that come to people's minds when they see certain individuals.” It will take ten minutes to complete the following questions. Please write your answers in the given space. There are no right or wrong answers. Your responses will be kept confidential, and your honest responses are vital for the study. Please do not discuss your responses with anyone.

Question 1

What five things come to your mind when you see a Transgender?

“Things” can be words/images/sentences/associations/experiences/contexts.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Question 2

What five things come to your mind when you see a person who is serving/had served in the military and para-military forces?

“Things” can be words/images/sentences/associations/experiences/contexts.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Question 3 What five things come to your mind when you see an individual who is blind (i.e., total loss of vision)?

“Things” can be words/images/sentences/associations/experiences/contexts.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Information about you

Fill in your responses in the blank space provided:

Your age (in years):

Your full-time work experience (in years):

Your gender (tick one):

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Transgender
- ☐ I prefer not to say

Are/Have you or someone from your family is serving/have served in the military and para-military forces (tick one)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

At your workplace, you are part of the (tick one):

- ☐ Lower Management
- ☐ Middle Management
- ☐ Senior Management