Khwaja Sira in *Bol* **and** *Immaculate Conception* Minahill Khan

Abstract

This paper addresses the representation of various aspects of the life of *khwaja sira*²⁸ in Pakistani cinema. Gender discrimination is a global issue, and the khwaja sira community is one of the most discriminated and marginalized in Pakistan. They are abandoned by their families, ostracized by society, forced into sex work, begging, or singing and dancing to earn a living (Imtiaz, 2017). This paper analyses two films, *Bol/Speak* (dir. Shoaib Masoor, 2011), and *Immaculate Conception* (dir. Jamil Dehlavi, 1992), to understand how such depictions of khwaja sira both subvert as well as promote normative ideas of this gender category. The analysis is divided into three parts: narrative structure analysis, contextual analysis and mise-en-scène. This study engages with literature on cinema regarding gender issues and representation, and study contextualizes its analysis and findings within the context of the cinematic depiction of khwaja sira.

Keywords: Gender in Cinema, Transgender Cinema, Khwaja Sira, Gender in Pakistan, Gender-based Violence

Introduction

Khwaja sira in Pakistan experience lack of acceptance, face subjugation in society due to their non-conformity to the established traditional gender binary. They are continuously persecuted through marginalization and discrimination as they are pushed away by the society as outcasts. This stigma leads to further, sometimes extreme mental and physical harm. In an interview in Dawn a khwaja sira named Goshi recollected her memories while puffing on her cigarette, "My father was cruel to me. When I used to go outside there was a lot of hooting and name-calling and they called me '*khussra*' [often a derogatory term] openly. When my brothers heard this, they beat me and said I should stay at home." (Jalil). The prevailing discussion on human rights in Pakistan has identified some issues faced by the khwaja sira community but there are many problems that still need to be addressed. Sensationalized stories regarding khwaja sira roles, sexuality, and their discrete and self-contained traditions, rituals and culture also create barriers for them in society.

²⁸ The term *khwaja sira* is one of the terms used to refer to the third gender in Pakistan; many khwaja sira consider themselves transgender women and some consider themselves to belong to a separate gender category; the category can include both transgender and intersex individuals. Due to the diversity in the types of the gender nonconforming people it can cover, the term khwaja sira will be used throughout this paper in order to maintain consistency.

This also leads to the society not being able to understand and acknowledge their existence as part of the world. Although there has been a recent rise in gender activism and increased agitation for the rights of khwaja sira, the situation on the ground remains by and large extremely difficult for these people (Bhutta, Jain). Khwaja sira in Pakistan have a long-standing social system, which is based upon a guru-chela (master-disciple) relationship. Through this structure, the non-binary gendered people ritualistically create unions with one another by coming together to support each other against the injustices. A significant proportion of khwaja sira come from working class families, having received minimal or no proper education, and at times are forced to make a living through singing and dancing, begging, and sex work (N. Khan, 2018), further adding to their marginalization.

Methodology

This paper focuses on analysis of two films, *Bol* (dir. Shoaib Masoor, 2011), and *Immaculate Conception* (dir. Jamil Dehlavi, 1992), which is divided into three parts: narrative structure analysis, contextual analysis and mise-en-scène analysis. The focus is on analyzing the plot, character, dialogue, setting and symbolism used in the scenes regarding khwaja sira in the movie, the visual analysis would include looking into the mise-en-scène, to understand their connection to notions of khwaja sira and how they are depicted on screen. These elements were analyzed in reference to available literature, both scholarly and popular, on these films. The previous literature discussed deals with diverse aspects of the lives of khwaja sira in Pakistan which has helped describe and understand some of the social, political and religious perspectives on the khwaja sira community. Consequently, this has allowed for comparison and analysis of these views with the representation of the khwaja sira in the movies selected for this paper.

Regarding the narrative structure analysis, analysis of the story elements, including plot structure, character motivations, and theme, like the dramatic structure of literature (exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, resolution) have been done. This includes analysis of meanings behind signs and symbols, typically involving metaphors, analogies, and dialogues. As for the contextual analysis, analysis of the film has been done with reference to the broader contexts of their creation. What might the film say about the culture that created it? What were/are the social and political concerns of the time? For mise-en-scène analysis, the paper includes analysis of the arrangement of compositional elements in film—essentially, the analysis of audio-visual elements that most distinctly separate film analysis from literary analysis. It includes analysis of props and costumes, setting, lighting, music, color values, depth, placement of characters and such (UNC).

Humanizing through Stamping Gender Category

Gender categories are imposed at birth by allocating a gender to the child as a male or a female, based on the form of the child's genitalia. The stamp of sexual role appears to verify bodies as human; a newborn is humanized the instant the question of gender identity is answered. Using

Judith Butler's notion of heterosexual matrix that creates a "hegemonic discursive model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through stable gender that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality" (151). It is frequently supposed that gender initiates in biological sexual category and sexual desirability to the "opposite" gender is labelled as normal and satisfactory. At birth, a child's gender is assumed based on genitalia, while in adulthood gender identifications are interpreted from the individual's gender performance (Preves). As this sex and gender system creates an apparent natural dichotomy between males and females bodies thus it divides gender into two defined categories and discourages individuals from violating the established gender boundaries even if surgical and medical means are needed to acceptably align one's biological sexual category with one's gender (Messner 773, Alizai et al., 1215).

In *Bol* we see this in the initial part of the story, when a child (Saifi) is born intersex, the dialogues of the women who helps in the birth describes the child's gender ambiguity as a problem that can hopefully be fixed in the future with *hikmat* (Islamic medicine) and *Allah ki rehmat* (God's mercy). The father Hakeem Sahib's reaction upon finding about his child's gender is to weep in despair. He tries to persuade his wife to give up the child or perhaps kill it, but the audience is unsure as to what exactly is being suggested since that is not made explicit in the dialogues. Hakeem Sahib tries to convince his wife by warning her of the injustice, oppression and harassment that the child will face at the hands of society. However, the mother argues and contradicts her husband, saying that they will keep him in the house, not let him out, and tell everyone that *jinn* (demons) possess him, but nonetheless she cannot abandon her child. These scenes demonstrate how panic, shame and unhappiness is looming in the atmosphere on the birth of a khwaja sira, instead of their birth being celebrated, because of the mere fact that the child is not born into the traditional gender binary, the baby is perhaps not considered even human.

Afterwards, in a scene, the woman who had helped in childbirth brings a khwaja sira to take the child away, but Hakeem Sahib sends them away again. The khwaja sira threatens Hakeem Sahib that he will bring 500 naked khwaja sira in front of his house and that a curse by a naked khwaja sira can bring down havoc from the skies. The dialogues of khwaja sira are indicative of various cultural beliefs such as the notion that one should always beware the curse of a khwaja sira child is of no use to the parents/family, which is what the khwaja sira says to Hakeem Sahib when he gets furious on the offer of selling the child to the khwaja sira for money. The khwaja sira also talks about no one knowing the truth about the child's gender hence it being a perfect opportunity for the family to give the child away. What is most striking about this part of the movie is how the khwaja sira themself here affirms the dominant, discriminatory beliefs about their own kind, rather than opposing them.

Immaculate Conception opens with two female characters, Hannah (the story's protagonist) and Samira, visiting the shrine of a saint called Gulab Shah, which is headed by a khwaja sira, who is a guru, named Shehzada. The two women are welcomed into the shrine by the disciples who are fellow khwaja sira. The shrine is shown as a sacred place and this is further emphasized when Shehzada miraculously knows that Hannah and her husband are unable to have a child. Moreover, the feminine costumes and exaggerated makeup of the khwaja sira portrayed emphasize their

gender identity, which falls on the feminine side of the traditional gender binary as discussed by various scholars (Alizai, F. Khan, Bessa). Later in the film Hannah has a bizarre dream a night after their three-day visit to the shrine and she wakes up scared by the thought of her potential child turning out to be a khwaja sira, and wondering whether there would be any surgical or other process to make the child "normal." The film representing the khwaja sira as abnormal or perhaps inhuman, promoting the notion that if one is born that way it is a defect that is to be eradicated through surgery. Yet again, we see a sense of panic and misery with even the thought of a child turning out to be a khwaja sira. In another scene, the head guru, while talking to the couple about their baby's gender, is equally excited by thinking of what they could do to celebrate the birth of their baby if it is a girl or a boy. Then the guru says that if the baby is born a khwaja sira then God help him. This also demonstrates how if someone who is born out of the traditional sexual categories are not welcomed and their birth is mourned rather than celebrated.

The Art of Secrecy and Identity Politics

Historically in the South Asia the khwaja sira has held sacred status in both Hindu and Muslim traditions. Hindu khwaja sira (known in India as kinnar) trace their roots back to the celebrated epics of Ramayana and the Mahabharata while Muslim khwaja sira trace their lineages to eunuchs of the imperial courts of Muslim rulers. They occupied respected posts as authoritative officers, bureaucrats, political counsellors, courtesans, fighters, and protectors of the harem. With the arrival of British and the collapse of the Muslim rule, the khwaja sira were dismissed from their positions of privilege and forced to find other means of survival (Alizai et al., 1215). It would be surprising for many people today to realize that khwaja sira held such respectable positions and were such prominent figures in the society in the past. However, khwaja sira lost their high status after British colonialism overtook the subcontinent. The imperial administrators took numerous actions against them for 'moral' and political motives. The British, upon learning that the khwaja sira had the legal right to request and gather donations, created ways to curtail their gatherings and criminalize their practices. They included khwaja sira as a category in the Criminal Tribes Act of1871, causing the society to condemn them as wicked, disreputable and worthless. This further led to them being marginalized as their human rights were gradually taken away from them (Preston, Nanda). These intolerant rulings and biased and negative attitudes towards the khwaja sira are apparent even today in South Asia as a remainder of the colonial history (Alizai et al. pp.1216).

Mary Bernstein's review on identity politics suggests that the Khwaja Sira's identity politics equally destabilized and assisted the Khwaja Sira movement. The movement helped them have temporary interaction with opponents, allowing them to resolve differences, gain influences, divert destructive attention, and signify themselves in a positive manner. This aided them in increasing their safety in a forced sociocultural situation. However, they did not encourage acceptance and recognition of the variety of sexual categories. In its place, these temporary, "band-aid solutions" concealed more than exposed leaving the society confused about who they really were. This doubt further hindered the state's endeavors to naturalize them, hence the politics led to no lasting stigma reduction. Mary Bernstein states that even as they assisted temporary meanings, khwaja sira "identity politics constitute[d] narrow legal/political activism that fail[ed] to address cultural sources of oppression" (Bernstein 56-57, F. Khan 5). Faris Khan cites Georg Simmel's work *The Secret and the Secret Society* (1950) stating that secrecy indicates a separated people, troubled with the social clashes and the suppression of the ones who retain concealment. Conversely, as secrets hold the risk of detection, the khwaja sira kept them by using a range of strategies. Over the period, they had established the "art of secrecy" by whose help they hid information and stay away from discrimination. He further suggests:

"Foucault emphasises how power and social control are increasingly exercised not through physical force but through "the production of conforming subjects and docile bodies". Likewise, Bourdieu indicates that hierarchies are reproduced within social systems, often without much conscious recognition or resistance from dominated subjects. Joining together the insights of Goffman, Foucault and Bourdieu, it becomes possible to understand stigma and stigmatization not merely as isolated phenomenon, or expressions of individual attitudes or of cultural values, but as central to the constitution of the social order." (9)

In *Bol*, the narrator of the film is the oldest of the seven daughters named Zainab, who narrates the life of Saifi growing up. She describes the hurdles, attitudes and difficulties he faced in the different phases of his life and by the people around him, especially his father. The fact that his world was limited to the four walls of his home, especially the room on the roof that was depicted as his safe haven, was a way to maintain secrecy, tying in with Faris Khan above argument. The house, and a room on the roof separate from the house, symbolize how secluded Saifi is, hidden by his father and the society at large.

In the opening of one scene, we see a young twelve- or thirteen-year-old Saifi who secretly puts on his sister's *dupatta*²⁹ and poses effeminately in front of a mirror in his room, the only place where he can be himself. Later, Saifi is caught, beaten and scolded by two of his sisters for dressing up as a female with feminine clothes and makeup. He then confesses his confusion over defining himself, his gender, his desires and his love for her sister's love interest, the neighbor boy Mustafa. This is an example of how gender ambiguous people have to locate themselves withing gender binaries, which in the case of Saifi would normatively be male, or else he will face problems, as emphasized by Alizai. Furthermore, Saifi has to hide his true feelings over aspects of his sexuality because even his sisters, with whom he has a very close relationship, would not understand his feelings and would try to force him to "act like a man," further fueling the identity crisis Saifi has to face every day.

In *Immaculate Conception*, there are various rituals, practices and roles performed by the khwaja sira in several different scenes. For example, they celebrate the birth of the child by dancing and singing. Hannah's dream depicts a khwaja sira passing a snake in through their nose and out through their mouth. There is also a scene where the khwaja sira bathe Hannah as part of a ritual for her to get pregnant. Similarly, the film depicts the practice of using an adolescent male to impregnate an unconscious woman, later telling her this is a miracle, which is what happens with Hannah. Later in the movie Kamal, who impregnates Hannah, tells her that this is a system where

²⁹ A scarf worn by women in South Asia to cover their head and chest, especially when they go out.

more males like him are used to do the same things. In another scene Hannah tries to enquire from Kamal as to why he stays with Shehzada (the khwaja sira guru) and how exactly does he help them around, to which he replies that the shrine has many secrets and then changes the topic. All of these examples cast a negative light on the secrecy of khwaja sira, whereas in reality they use secrecy and mystery as tools of safety, as discussed by Faris Khan (9).

What is Their Fate?

The stigmatization of gender non-conforming people has influenced their relationships with each other and with society. According to Goffman, in a society the views of the majority dictate to stigmatized persons exactly how to feel about and behave towards the ones who deviate from the standard norm. Goffman also suggests, "it is often the stigmatized person who internalizes the stigma with the most vigor, leading to feelings of shame, self-hate and self-derogation" (qtd. in F. Khan 12-13). As defamed persons, the people belonging to the khwaja sira community also may discriminate against one another based on the majority opinions they accept and endorse. Their inner identity politics tells us about the influence of low self-respect and internalized humiliation in the daily lives of khwaja sira. Bessa describes how films critically investigate aspects of philosophy, psychoanalysis, history, religion, and science. She writes:

"Recently there has been a growing desire to access and visualize the truth about ourselves in the reflections (cultural mirrors) that are all around us in multi-screens and other representational arts. In the theatre, even if the theme is Life as it is...the staging pact and the stage itself act as mediators. In cinema, the enjoyment and the effect of continuity of images create a degree of credibility and authenticity that erases the limit between the screen and the viewer. The illusion of reality reaches a high degree of perfection with an effect of enchantment. This aesthetics mimics the "natural" form, forging a sense of reality through customary gestures, feasible clothing and narratives, producing the effect of naturalness. There is a vast critical literature on classic cinema that shows its tendency to hide its own representational nature." (292)

The representation of khwaja sira in Pakistani cinema involves putting a particular slant on the way they are and how they live their lives and conditioning how the audience understands them. In *Immaculate Conception* they are shown as conniving, strange, and evil, whereas in *Bol*, their portrayal (if still problematic) works to elicit recognition, acceptance, and empathy from the audience.

In *Bol*, towards the climax of the film, Saifi starts working at a truck-painting workshop where his coworkers mistreat him. This further leads to the climactic moment in the narrative when he is gang raped and then found tied up and abandoned in a field by another khwaja sira, who then brings Saifi back to his home to his family. At this time, Saifi felt negatively towards his fellow gender nonconforming people due to the identity politics described by Faris Khan (5, 9, 12-13). He was in fear of ending up with a fate like them and facing stigma, discrimination, and persecution

at the hands of the society. The role and story of Saifi comes to an end when he is murdered by his father as a result of his rape. The purpose of this action was to put an end to all the misery that Saifi, Hakeem Sahib, and their family were going through just because a member of their family was born a khwaja sira. There are several scenes and dialogues in the film that try to inflict the concept that the fate of khwaja sira in Pakistan is eventually to dance, sing and do sex work in order to survive. In cinema khwaja sira are neither being shown as humans like everyone else nor are they permitted to have happy, 'normal' destinies.

Similarly, in Immaculate Conception, the eventual misery that guru Shehzada faces also occurs because the secret of how the khwaja sira of the shrine impregnate women are uncovered. He ends up being shot in the arm when he tries to circumcise the new-born baby by the police that Alistair brings with him. Additionally, when Kamal goes to meet Shehzada, and asks how the police have surrounded the shrine and are treating them unjustly, Shehzada replies: "What else do people like you and me have in this country apart from bullets, bats, jail and lashes..." Another unsettling portrayal of the khwaja sira is in a scene when Alistair and Samira visit a brothel where the eunuchs are indulged in sex work. While Samira interviews the two people, they answer her comfortably until she asks if their pictures to be taken to which they feel offended and make it a matter of dignity. However, as soon as Samira hands out a good sum of money they instantly get naked for the photoshoot. Additionally, there is a scene when Kamal and Hannah talk about foreigners visiting the shrine often, and Kamal says "Women, they come for blessings, and men, they sometimes come for other things," indicating the sex work that is occurring at the shrine. These scenes portray the level of despair they live in and their weak morality, since they are not accepted by the society and hence, they have to earn their living in ways where they have to sell their dignity. Both the films rely on stereotypical notions of the khwaja sira taking up certain jobs in order to survive in the world. It is shown that due to the discrimination, humiliation and harshness they face from the people around them, they develop a sense of hatred for themselves and people like them.

Conclusion

People in this society are forced to align with the gender binary as either male or female. Violators of these norms, such as khwaja sira, face physical, psychological, social and political hurdles as they go through life. Those who do not conform are punished. Both films discussed in this paper involve punishment as a consequence of violating the gender binary. Additionally, as K.A.M. Bessa argues, the story, imagery and portrayal of gender nonconforming people is shown as "the discovery of the sense of self, viewed as something that was hidden within," especially in the case of *Bol* when Saifi is trying to discover himself as he grows older. This leads to an emphasis on commonality rather than difference among gender nonconforming people which promotes an visionary idea of an ideal community (Bessa), especially in *Immaculate Conception* (1992) with its depiction of the guru-chela system in the shrine where Gulab Shah takes responsibility of all his disciples and unites them against their oppressors. Pakistani cinema portrays aspects of the lives of khwaja sira in complex ways. In the case of *Bol* we see that since Saifi does not conform to the gender binary he is portrayed as someone not normal, someone who is not and cannot be

accepted by the society, and whose eventual fate is to die. In *Immaculate Conception*, we see the khwaja sira are given a very negative portrayal as abnormal and hence secluded and stigmatized by the society at large.

Film Synopses

Immaculate Conception

Immaculate Conception knits together the East and West to produce grounds for film and fiction. The story is about a western husband and wife who are unable to have a child. However, after visiting a shrine of a saint khwaja sira named Gulab Shah, in Karachi, Hannah, the Jewish-American spouse of the Karachi-based British representative to the WWF, becomes pregnant. Following this 'miraculous' event, she converts to Islam. After this, the movie's plot progresses through the realms of khwaja sira, Pakistani kitsch, politicians and generals whose connections and control spread out into the *galiyan* (lanes) of Pakistan. Simultaneously, Hannah and Alistair's marriage starts to fall apart as the film shows the pressures that the 'exotic' east places on their marriage. One of these pressures is Samira, the Harvard-educated photographer, who introduces the couple to the shrine and has a short-lived love affair with Alistair. However, the main rift between the couple is caused by khwaja sira, who help the couple bear a child by drugging them and using an adolescent boy to get Hannah pregnant during their night stay at the shrine. There are various bizarre ceremonies and rituals that are shown in the movie that seem to represent the practices and cultures of khwaja sira.

Bol/Speak

The second film in this analysis is *Bol*, which has a frame storyline that forms a small and revealing structural setting in the narrative, and then the rest of story is developed with numerous flashbacks. The latter is the main narrative that constitutes the greatest part of the movie. The characters in the main story line and the frame story line remain almost the same except the ones who die, that are Saifi and Hakeem Sahab. Bol is a story of a man who is a hakeem (a traditional medicine practitioner) living in Old Lahore who has 8 children, of whom seven are daughters and one is a khwaja sira. Hakeem Sahib is shown as an abusive, stubborn, old man who detests every person in his family and uses religion as a tool to control them. He is not fond of women generally, especially his daughters, nevertheless he loathes his son who is a khwaja sira, named Saifi, the most. He sent his daughters to school up till the fifth grade while Saifi was subjected to house arrest, only ever interacting with the neighbors. Later in the film, Saifi starts working with a truck art painter in the suburbs where he was exposed to the world's cruelty when his co-workers rape him and throw him in the fields to die. A person from khwaja sira community finds him and brings him back to his family. Later that night, Hakeem Sahib kills his own child because he fears that he would end up as a sex worker. Afterwards, the eldest daughter, Zainab, kills her father and is ultimately hanged for her act. While portraying the use of culture and religion as tools of control, the narrative also has a happy ending in which the family starts to live a prosperous, happy life by working together to break from the shackles of poverty and despair.

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Filmography

Bol (dir. Shoaib Mansoor, 2011)

Immaculate Conception (dir. Jamil Dehlavi, 1992)