

“Nobody Looks at Our Hearts”: Transgender Dancers on Pakistani Screens

Rabail Faizan

Abstract

This paper examines the representation of trans women dancers on Pakistani screens. By undertaking a close analysis of the drama *Moorat* (dir. Kamran Qureshi, 2004), the short film *Darling* (dir. Saim Sadiq, 2020), the music video *Madam* (dir. Sana Jafri, 2017), and its extended version which includes interviews of trans women, *Madam – extended version (Speaking to the Khwaja Sira Community)* (dir. Patari, 2017), this paper will discuss the multi-dimensional role of dance in the lives of trans women dancers as depicted on-screen. It explores dance as an essential element of the transfeminine identity and seeks to explain the embeddedness of dance into the lives of trans women by engaging in historical analysis. It then elaborates on the use of dance as an instrument of exclusion; how it contributes to the marginalization of trans women and prohibits their entrance and movement within the private sphere of the home and the public space of the *mohalla* (‘neighborhood’). The essay also engages with literature on deviance, social inclusion, and the male gaze to understand how dance acts as a tool for the inclusion of trans women dancers in the “trans-home” where *guru-chela* (‘teacher-disciple’) relationships are constructed, and in the community of stage performers.

Keywords: Transgender Dancers, Transgender Cinema, Khwaja Sira, Gender in Cinema, Gender-based Violence, Discrimination against Transgender, trans women.

Introduction

The transgender community in Pakistan is a victim of social marginalization, discrimination, and ostracization. This is primarily because they do not conform to the gender binary, which disrupts the norms of morality in Pakistan wherein deviation from the gender binary is also considered to be religiously unacceptable (Khan 106). It was not until a Supreme Court ruling in 2009 that transgender persons were officially recognized as equal citizens of Pakistan, deeming them eligible for protection and financial assistance from the State (Zaman). However, despite this ruling, the transgender community continues to be pushed to the margins of society due to the social stigma attached to their gender identity. Their place in society is further worsened because of the unavailability of educational and occupational opportunities which are necessary for social and financial upward mobility.

This situation greatly restricts career opportunities for transgender individuals, compelling them into informal occupations, particularly in the sex work industry. Cut-off from other avenues of economic and social mobility, trans women in particular are forced into dancing, singing, or prostitution as a means of earning. However, on-screen depictions of trans women show how dance is particularly important for the identity formation of a transgender individual. By examining dance as a distinctive element of transfeminine identity, this paper considers dance as a paradoxical instrument of exclusion and inclusion within social spaces, relationships, and class boundaries.¹

This paper focuses on different forms of Pakistani screen texts and analyzes the drama, *Moorat* (dir. Kamran Qureshi, 2004), the short film *Darling* (dir. Saim Sadiq, 2020), and the music video *Madam* (dir. Sana Jafri, 2017) and its extended version *Madam – extended version (Speaking to the Khwaja Sira Community)* (dir. Patari, 2017) which includes interviews of trans women. To deconstruct the portrayal of trans women dancers on screens, this paper is divided into sections where each discusses a different meaning attached to dance. It incorporates a close analysis of the aforementioned screen texts to dissect similar ideologies and meanings associated with dance.

Firstly, the paper contextualizes the importance of dance as a possible instrument of identity formation for the trans woman by discussing its cultural history in South Asia. Here, a historical analysis is used to understand the socio-political standing of the female transgender dancers on screen. The paper then analyzes the plot, themes, characters, and symbolism associated with dance in the screen texts. Thirdly, it incorporates an analysis of mise-en-scène to deconstruct audio-visual elements such as the sound, costumes, props, and the placement of characters in particular settings to develop the argument concerning dance as an element of inclusion for trans women into what can be referred to as the trans-home,² as opposed to the nuclear household, where relationships among trans women residing in a home mirrored the conventional mother-daughter or sibling relationships.

The Art of Dance and the Trans Woman Identity

The trans woman on screen is often depicted in a specific manner; adorned in bright, shimmery clothing, with her makeup exaggerated, using overtly expressive hand gestures. These trans women are predominantly shown to be involved in sex work, suggested through their dance performances, or *mujra*, at private events. However, dance is a common means of earning a living because of the widespread discrimination against the trans community which limits the possibility of other sources of income. In this way, dance largely defines the social position of a

¹ The identity of the Pakistani transgender is evidently a sight of confusion within Pakistani media. The general understanding of the transgender or *khwaja sira* is of them belonging to the ‘Third Gender’. However, there do exist multiple identities within this broad spectrum which includes transgender and intersex characters. Due to censorship and lack of conversation around sexual identities of transgender women on screen, this research focuses primarily on working-class transgender women who are grouped together mainly because of their occupation as dancers and, the general way of ‘carrying’ themselves as transgender women particularly through the use of language, movement and the choice of dress.

² The trans-home is being used here to illustrate the construction of ‘home’ for the trans women who have already been excluded from their original or birth homes.

Pakistani trans woman. It also thus becomes a part of the trans women's identity by being an avenue for self-exploration and a signifier of femininity within the trans woman (Sunardi 464).

In order to understand the dominance of dance as an occupation for the transgender community, it is essential to map it out historically; “when eunuchs were the mid-rung of power in the Mughal empire,” they were given a high status with immense prestige and privilege in the Mughal courts (Roychowdhury). In the courts, they were trusted servants who “wielded enormous power, respect, and some managed to amass large amounts of wealth” (Gul). However, with the advent of the Criminal Tribes Act by the British rulers in 1871, the seeds of stigmatization and discrimination against the transgender community were sown. Not only did wearing female clothing become a punishable offense for these individuals but so did dancing or acting in a feminine manner. Eventually, the Criminal Tribes Act led to the systematic socio-political degradation and exclusion of the transgender community, which pushed them towards alternate avenues of maintaining their livelihood, essentially through involvement in forms of sex work and dance.

There is an overarching similarity in the depictions of trans women dancers on-screen in the way that they refer to dance as a mode of self-exploration and portray it as a move towards reclaiming their sexuality. The drama series, *Moorat* presents the story of Babra, a young trans woman. Babra, formerly referred to as Babar, is initially shown to be a young boy whose interest in conventionally “girly” activities such as dance, makeup, and playing with dolls (“Breaking the Mould”) is demonstrated in multiple instances. Babar develops a deep bond with a neighbor, a trans woman named Reshma, who eventually becomes Babra’s inspiration and her primary caretaker. Babra’s inclination toward the transgender way of life is depicted through various elements, such as her use of effeminate body language, which is then also represented in her dance movements. This body language is expressed through Babra’s overuse of elaborate hand gestures, repetition of the words “*Haw Haye!*” (‘Oh, my Goodness!’) coupled with a swift placement of her hand over her mouth, and her way of either walking with her hands protruding on her waist or while swaying her whole body side to side.

The drama depicts how Babra’s interest in “*naach gaana*” (‘singing, dancing’) is complemented by her generally effeminate language as dance is not only an occupation of choice for her but also an essential element of her personality. Dance is significant enough for Babra to continue working as a dancer even to the utter dismay of her family. Babra is shown to inculcate dancing and singing into everyday activities and chores as well; even when she projects herself as a man by putting on masculine clothes, she continues to express elements of her transfeminine identity through dance, movement, and language. In one instance, Babra is shown to sweep the floor while dancing and singing simultaneously. When her mother sees this, she hurriedly interrupts her saying, “*Yeh larkon ka kaam nahi!*” (‘This is not a boy’s job!’), to which Babra replies, “*Mein kar rahi hoon na!*” (‘I am doing it!’ – using the feminine verb form). This is essential in determining how dance becomes an outlet for the expression of Babra’s gender identity as a trans woman. Even when she is forced to carry on with the careful portrayal of acting like a heterosexual male, Babra is shown to begin dancing every time she enters certain spaces. Reshma’s home, being one of these spaces, doubles as a “safe-haven” for the unfiltered expression of Babra’s identity as a trans woman dancer as it is there that she finds acceptance among other members of the transgender community.

Similarly, the music video *Madam* depicts the story of two trans women dancers whose journey through a single day is illustrated over the course of the video. The trans women are shown to indulge in a makeover session as they change into flashy tight-fit clothing with elaborate and bright makeup, ready for their private dance performance at a wedding. They are also shown to be discriminated against through the humiliation and hindering of free movement that they face in particular spaces such as the *mohalla* ('neighborhood'). In one key scene, the trans women return to their home after a day of being actively disrespected and excluded from certain spaces. One of them brings out a picture of her family and sighs while she stares at it. It is not until the other trans woman notices this that she comes to her friend's side. After initially hugging her friend, the trans woman then takes the picture away and replaces it with a *ghungroo* ('musical anklet' worn by dancers when performing). This scene depicts the common story of trans women dancers who are forced to leave their families and friends behind in order to remain true to their trans identity, due to which they develop strong associations with dance. The replacement of the family picture with the anklet also reminds the audience of the kind of sacrifices trans women have to make to mark their place in Pakistani society. The extended version of the music video *Madam (Speaking to the transgender community)* shows the interviews of the trans women who starred in the original music video along with other trans women activists. In an interview, a trans rights activist reminisces on her relationship with dance in the following words, "Dance was not my hobby, it was my companion. When I was struggling to identify my gender, dance was the one thing that I resonated with." Hence, the importance of dance transcends its occupational or recreational status as it actively shapes the trans woman's identity.

The short film *Darling* also depicts similar instances where the transgender protagonist Alina goes for a dance audition for the female lead in a play at a Punjabi stage drama theater. The director of the dance sequence glances at Alina and explains how there might have been a misunderstanding while looking at her pictures, hinting at how he was unaware of Alina's identity as a trans woman. However, due to Alina's association to dance, she urges the director to give her a chance even though he claims that the theater is only reserved for "real girls". Even after negotiation and an elaborate audition, Alina's identity as a trans woman is marginalized as she is only granted the option to dance as a backup male dancer. However, Alina still accepts this due to her dedication to being a dancer and the need to earn a living.

Dance as an Element of Exclusion

Where dance is depicted as an element that holds symbolic value for the trans woman's identity, it also serves as an active agent for further marginalizing and stigmatizing transgender individuals at large. Paid dances at private parties and even the entire concept of private *mujra*(s) is regarded to stand against what is considered morally right in the Pakistani culture. Thereby, such activities are considered to be part of the informal and unregulated sex-work industry (Emmanuel et al. 29). Hence, trans women have been subjected to intense forms of discrimination and exclusion primarily because of their participation in the sex work industry. Even in their representations on screen, dance can be seen as a major reason for excluding trans women from the private and public sphere. This is largely because of the historical impact of colonial attempts to de-platform the transgender members of the Mughal Courts and the overall association of transgender with homosexuality, which constitutes them as transgressors of the norm (Pandey).

The transgender body evokes anxiety and reactionary responses because of its non-conformity to the norms that persist in society. In a focus group study conducted among primary school children by Shawn McGuffey, the concept of transgression in the face of dominant masculinity was mapped out. It revealed that members of the dominant hegemonic masculine group tend to minimize transgressions through “homosocial patrolling and stigmatizing anomalies” (McGuffey and Rich 618). Individuals who fail to be regarded as masculine in a heteronormative convention, are therefore actively excluded and marginalized from the main group. This study can be used to understand why the transgender body is so heavily policed. It does not conform to the gender binary thereby, taking up “enactments of androgynous gender or by crossing gender boundaries,” which leads to transgender people being ostracized and excluded from society due to this act of “deviance” (Gagné and Tewksbury 83). According to the functionalist perspective proposed by Durkheim, society is in need of social order and solidarity, which is why stress is laid upon the ideas of social cohesion and inclusion (Pope 362). Therefore, conformity to the dominant culture, which in this case will be regarded as either heteronormative masculinity or femininity, will differentiate a member of the society and a conformist from a deviant (Parent and Lewis 105). The transgender individual, due to their status as a deviant, will face discrimination in society.

In *Moorat*, Babra initially projects a façade of masculinity with the way she carries herself in front of her family. However, due to her innate association with her feminine side, Babra is shown to slip up on multiple occasions, revealing her identity as a trans woman. The primary reason that Babra attempts to establish a male identity is her fear of being excluded from the private sphere of her home and the public sphere of the mohalla. There are multiple instances when Babra’s family is shown to reassure each other about “Babar’s” sexuality. In a particular scene, her mother claims, “*Babar theek ho jayega, wo hijra thori hai kya!*” (‘Babar will be fine; it is not like he is a transgender person!’), which indicates the tension around the idea of being a transgender person. Babra is eventually forced into heterosocial conformity by marrying her cousin Kausar. The cultural concept of the family’s *izzat* (‘honor’) is used to persuade Babra into agreeing to the marriage as being a dancer and a transgender person is both considered to be culturally derogatory and unacceptable (Morcom 3). Babra is threatened to conform to her family’s wishes based on the chance that failure to do so could get her permanently excluded from her home as her mother declares, “*Chalay jao, hum sochain gay tum mar gaye*” (‘Leave, we will think you are dead’). However, when Babra shares the news of her upcoming marriage with her other trans women friends, she is informed that marriage will inhibit her ability to move forward with her career as a dancer. Knowing this, Babra thinks about stepping away from the idea of marriage entirely, but she ends up making the decision to communicate her profession to her wife, Kausar. Babra’s identity as a trans woman is finally brought into the open following her confession to Kausar, and after being recognized as the trans woman dancer from a recent wedding party attended by a relative. This brazen transgression of the gender binary is met with extreme anxiety and anger along with the end of her marriage to Kausar. She is pushed out of her family home as her brother states, “*Aag laga do is hijray ko!*” (‘Burn this transgender person’), and tells her, “*Tu hijron mein reh!*” (‘You go live among transgenders’). As a result, Babra’s deviance portrayed through her choice to be a trans woman dancer leads to her being excluded not only from her home but also from her attempt at maintaining a relationship with her wife Kausar.

Moreover, the ostracization of transgender individuals is also revealed through the depiction of their exclusion from the public sphere of the mohalla. Reshma, the elderly trans woman in

Moorat, is shown to be a *saheli* ('female friend') to those in her neighborhood; however, she is constantly reminded by the men in the neighborhood that she does not belong in the *izzatdaar* ('honorable') neighborhood because of her former occupation as a dancer. In another scene, Chamki, another trans woman, rushes to the police station in aid of her sister. Upon arrival, she is not taken seriously and is told to stop acting like a *hijra* ('transgender') and to seek some other form of "respectable employment" in order to be welcomed in such spaces. This makes Chamki break down into tears as she says, "*Allah miyan ko kaho, humein aisa kyun banaya, ismein humara kya kasoor hai?*" ('Ask Allah, why he made us this way? What is our fault?'). This depicts how transgender women dancers find themselves in a bind as on one hand they identify with dance an essential element of their identity but on the other hand, this occupation also leads to exclusion and ridicule.

Madam, as mentioned before, depicts how a picture of a trans woman's family is replaced with the *ghungroo* signifying how the trans woman had been excluded from her family due to her decision to become a transgender dancer. Moreover, there is also another instance where trans women are prevented from moving freely within the public sphere of the neighborhood until they pay the police officers a particular sum of money. In *Darling*, Alina is also shown to go through a similar experience as she claims, while taking off her makeup and adorning a masculine attire, that she has to look this way to go home and pray. Moreover, Alina is also not given a chance to dance as the female lead because of her identity as a trans woman and because the director claims that men only come to see "real girls" at the theater, thus constructing the theater to be a space reserved for only heteronormative women. Thereby, reinforcing how the transgender individual's deviance from the norm is met by punishment or exclusion in various forms.

Dance as an Instrument of Inclusion

Although dance does endorse exclusionary practices, it can also be seen as an enabling agent for the inclusion of transgender women into spaces where they are valued and praised based on their credibility as performers. This inclusion is enabled either through the construction of the trans-home through the *guru-chela* relationship between older and younger trans women or through the inclusion or appreciation of trans women dancers in spaces where they are valued as subjects of the male gaze.

The dominant discourse in Pakistan puts the transgender community on the margins of society where they are actively ignored and distanced. Yet, due to the human need for having social contact and to partake in collective behavior, the transgender community too seeks to establish an internal world of its own. The trans-home is constructed by older trans women to help younger trans women find shelter, acceptance, and financial support after being forced out of their homes. Hence, the matriarchal family dynamic of the *guru-chela* bond is formed as younger trans women are trained in the art of dance by their *gurus* ('older trans women as teachers'). Hence, this family dynamic enforces bonds of solidarity and amity forming the foundation of the trans community.

In *Moorat*, all the trans women are shown to live under one roof of the trans home where Reshma, Bijlee, Shola and Chamki take part in activities like dancing, singing, fixing each other's hair and putting on make-up. After Babra is removed from her family home, she is accepted and inducted into the trans-home without hesitation as Shola claims, "*Reshma, ab*

Babra kaheen nahi jayegi...ab Babra meray paas rahay gee” (‘Reshma, Babra will not go anywhere...Babra will stay with me’). Upon her entrance into the trans-home, Babra’s commitment to her identity and occupation as a dancer also increases. Moreover, due to Reshma’s devotion to Babra, she soon becomes *Amma* (‘Mother’) for Babra who also seeks advice and assistance from her as her guru.

To further map out the trans woman’s inclusion into spaces as performance artists, a deeper analysis of the idea of “male gaze” is warranted. Laura Mulvey’s notion of the male gaze explains the objectification of women on screen as they become “bearer of meaning and not the maker of meaning” (Sampson). Hence, they are not given control of any particular scene but are merely portrayed as objects for the voyeuristic heterosexual male gaze. This theory can be used to analyze the depiction of the trans woman’s body as a source of similar feelings of pleasure for the male gaze. In all depictions of trans women as dancers that this paper is analyzing, they are seen as the object of male attention and praise, as they take up center stage to engage in sexual dances for men. This focus on the male gaze can be illustrated through instances of close-up shots of the body of the dancing trans woman, along with shots of men keenly surrounding and observing the trans woman's body.

This can be seen in *Moorat* which depicts several instances where Babra and the other trans women receive attention and applause for their dances which satisfy the predominantly male audience. The trans women are invited to several events such as weddings and birthdays to “set the mood” as performers at festive occasions. In a particular instance, a host for a party says, “*Acha bhaye jaldi say rung jamao, mehmaan kab say baithay huay hain*” (‘Okay now hurry and set the mood, the guests have been sitting around waiting for so long’) thereby indicating how the inclusion of trans women dancers would add ‘color’ to the occasion. Moreover, several dancing shots depict the trans woman making eye contact with men in the audience or pulling them closer to the stage either by throwing a *dupatta* (‘scarf’) around them or by holding their hands. Moreover, there are also several shots of the trans women dancers being stared down by the audience, shown through close-up shots of the audience. On another instance, Reshma is evidently praised for the *lachak* (‘flexibility’) of her body that adds to the visual pleasure of her dance moves.

Furthermore, in *Madam*, the sisterhood between the two trans women is depicted as they protect, support and counsel each other throughout the day. They are shown to live together in a trans-home where they collectively indulge in activities such as shopping, putting on makeup, or even dancing together at events they are hired for. Several instances of the video portray zoomed-in shots of the trans woman’s hips and breasts while moving swiftly between a group of men. These shots are followed by images of men with their mouths and eyes wide open as symbolizers of lust for the trans woman’s body. In certain instances, the video even uses low-angle shots where the male audience is completely surrounding the trans women as they dance on the floor. Hence, the trans woman's body is evidently constructed as a sight of pleasure for the male gaze, which is emphasized further when the dances are showered with money during their performance.

Similar themes surrounding the male gaze are represented in *Darling* as Alina showcases her dance moves to the director of the stage show. Here, the dim-lit theater is transformed into a bright stage with backup dancers surrounding Alina as she moves her hips and breasts seductively with the spotlight enlightening her entire frame as her body moves with the beat. In certain shots, Alina is picked up by backup dancers as she leans forward towards the camera,

singing the lyrics “*Mere Dil da Palang Waja Marda*” (‘The bed of my heart makes noises’) while she is placed on the last step of the stairs with her legs wide open. Hence, Alina’s inclusion as a dancer is only enabled through her ability to become an object of applaud for the male gaze which is illustrated as the primary reason for stage shows; according to the director, “*munday sirf kuriyan vekhan anday nay*” (‘men only come to see girls’). Throughout the film, there are talks about a “white baby goat” as according to the former lead dancer of the stage show, the new lead dancer stole the baby goat. Through this the former lead dancer hints at how the new lead dancer’s place as the lead is related to her possession of the white baby goat. Although Alina is not included as a female dancer in the final dance sequence of the film, she is shown holding the white baby goat in the last shot. Metaphorically, the white baby goat symbolizes good luck, happiness, and a better future. Hence, the placement of the goat with Alina in the final shot can be understood as the inclination of a bright future for Alina as a dancer for stage shows.

Conclusion

The inextricable association of dance to the transgender body is evident through representations of Pakistani trans women dancers on screen. While there are many nuances in these depictions of trans women dancers, a general pattern of discrimination, physical abuse, and ridicule is shown to surround their stories. This remains the case because of how transgender individuals are regarded as deviants based on their non-conformity to the gender binary. This act of defiance, therefore, becomes the reason behind the ostracization of transgender individuals by society. The screen texts under study depict the multi-faceted implication of dance; firstly, as an essential tool needed for the identity formation of the Pakistani trans woman. The paper has discussed multiple instances of trans women incorporating dance into their everyday lives and referring to it as an activity that helped them come to terms with their identity. However, dance then also becomes an element of exclusion for trans women as they are forced out of their homes, public spaces and opportunities if they choose their dancing careers. However, due to these shared experiences and losses, the screen texts show the transgender women find familial bonding among each other through the guru-chela relationship, which also centers on learning and teaching activities such as dance. Thereby, the same activity which excludes them from traditional societal setups includes them into communities of trans women. However, the importance of dance is further complicated as trans women’s dances are applauded in certain spaces such as private parties because they pander to the male gaze. Dance, which is essentially a part of the sex work industry of Pakistan, nevertheless continues to maintain a strong relationship with the transgender community due to the lack of occupational opportunities for transgender individuals in Pakistan.

Film Synopses

Moorat

Moorat is a Pakistani drama that depicts the life trajectory of a trans woman dancer. Babar is a young boy who enjoys playing with dolls, dancing and keeps away from his father and brother. He eventually forms a friendship with his neighbor Reshma, an elderly trans woman who was also a former dancer. As Babar grows up, he begins to work as a dancer with Reshma’s friends who are also a group of trans women dancers. Eventually, Babar is shown to transition into

Babra which was initially just his stage-identity. During this time, Babar's family also marries him off to his cousin Kausar in a desperate attempt to stop Babar from engaging with his transgender friends. However, Babar's inclination towards dance remains strong and he makes this clear to Kausar as well. Kausar's mother refuses to let her daughter remain married to a hijra and takes her away, this prompts Babar's family to force him out of their home. However, Kausar returns in an attempt to fix her marriage with Babar. Soon Babar hears about Reshma getting cancer and requiring financial help and leaves his home and dedicates himself to dancing and earning money. As Babar moves into Reshma's trans-home, he completes his transition to Babra and remains at Reshma's side till her death. After Reshma's death, Babra remains with her trans-family and continues her career as a dancer while Kausar moves on and marries her maternal cousin.

Madam

The music video depicts the story of a day in the life of two trans women dancers who are hired to dance at a wedding party. These trans women are shown to start their day by doing their makeovers and heading out. They are harassed on the streets and stared down by men of all ages as they make their way through a neighborhood where they are then stopped by policemen who refuse to let them pass through without taking money from them. Then they make their way to the market where they are angrily stared down by women at a jewelry stall. The video then shows how after a day of being harassed and ridiculed, the trans women return to their home to get ready to dance at a wedding party. There, both of them are shown to be the objects of the male gaze as they dance in the middle of a group of men who try to touch and harass the trans women multiple times. At the end, the trans women gather their notes and fix their outfits as they make their way out of the group of men and leave the party.

Madam – extended version (Speaking to The Khwaja Sira Community)

This is an extended version of the *Madam* music video, and it presents the interviews of four trans women who reveal their stories about coming to terms with their identity. Two of these trans women are the main dancers in *Madam's* music video whereas the other two are trans-rights activists. They share stories about their familial relations, their hobbies, their relationship with dance and the traumatic instances that they have had to go through.

Darling

Darling depicts the story of Alina who is an aspiring stage dancer. Alina wants to uplift her career as a dancer which is why she makes her way to the auditions for a stage show. Upon arrival, the director tells Alina that she is not who he had in mind and that stage shows are reserved for "real girls". Alina urges the director to give her one chance but even after doing an elaborate audition performance for him, she is told that the only role she can take up is that of the background male dancer. While she is evidently disappointed, Alina takes up the job due to her need to earn money and also because it gives her an opportunity to dance on stage. Alina is thus forced to change her attire and hide her hair and to dance as a man on stage.

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Filmography

Darling (dir. Saim Sadiq, 2020)

"#Madam Watch. Absorb, Reflect. Change. – by Jimmy Khan." *YouTube*, uploaded by Jimmy Khan Official, 15 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rVGxjOvf_8

"Madam - Jimmy Khan (Extended version) - Speaking to the Khwajasirah community." *Youtube*, uploaded by Patari Music, 20 July 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7-F1slXRxOs>

Moorat/Eunich's Wedding (dir. Kamran Qureshi, 2004)