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Framing Pakistani Hijras' Discursive Positioning on Gender, State and Society: Analyzing Transgender Language, Identity and Subjectivity

Présentée et soutenue publiquement par

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Dedicated to Kosar[1]

Suffering in silence

I wish, I could make time to reach you

I hope, the future will certainly bring us back to you

[1] Kosar is a character in Pakistani drama serial "Moorat" (2004). During the field work I got opportunity to see all of the characters in real life including Kosar. Kosar represents all these women who marry men like Baber (an effeminate men). The devastating marriages whose sole purpose is to get a slave like Kosar in the name of marriage. The Scholars have always been shedding light on Babar's character as helpless and deprived one, but when it comes to Kosar, Babar's character becomes irresponsible, cold, emotionless and cruel. Majority of them treat their wives and children as inanimate objects and use them only as a show piece in front of society to be seen as family men.

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Contents

Overview

The aim of the present research is to develop an understanding of the hijras and transgender issues. It investigates the hijras and transgender's language, identity and subjectivity

The present study aims to contribute to the creation of new positive and progressive forms of subjectivity. This study examines the self and Other relationship that is how Others see the subject/subjects. How this gaze of Others as "us versus them" contributes to the creation of a specific identity of an individual.

- How identity is constructed by Others through discourse, power and knowledge set up. The resultant identity is then institutionalized and becomes governable in a state. These institutions and categories in turn organizes population in governable ways and form the basis of a state.

- how the state manages to deal with the hijras, the study inspects the current status of hijras within the legal and experiential contexts in Pakistan.

- The influential theories of subject construction by Althusser, Lacan, and Foucault provide very effective models for the operation of colonial and postcolonial powers.

Human subjectivity is constructed by Ideology (Althusser), language (Lacan) and discourse (Foucault).

This study used a combination of methods to investigate the phenomenon under discussion.

- Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, Van dijk and Wodak)
- Theory driven methods
    1. Theory of subjectivity (Sartre, Lacan, Foucault)
    2. Positioning Theory (Bakhtin, Davies and Harré, van Langenhove and Bamberg)
- A corpus-based methodology
- Linguistics analysis of text

A number of research tools used along with ethnograph methods are as follows:

- Semi structured interviews
- News media (media discourse)
- Electronic media (narrative discourse)
- Textstat software (corpus analysis)

The question of identity is related to the self/other phenomena. The self-and-Other relationship is operating discursively in all cultural and intersubjective contexts. The account of hijras as subject

of discourse helps to understand the processes involved in the formation of hijras' identity and subjectivity. The self/ Other phenomenon is intricately linked to social categories of identity, the lived experiences of subjecthood and political subjectivity. It is the gaze of the Other that defines the subject. The study further elaborates the gaze of the Other and the phenomenon of "being seen by the Other" by analyzing the discourse of representation.

A deeper look at media discourse reveals how hijras are seen by Others. This gaze of Others through the medium of discourse defines hijras as subjects who experience the self-Other relationship at every moment of their daily lives.

The discussion of hijras' construction of self draws attention to the ontological and epistemological limits of discourses representing the hijra identity and community, and thereby seeks to expand the range of prospects for people to see their self and Others. This study aims to uncover the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of unequal power relations. The present study aims at fostering the development of the positive discourse of 'self and others' for producing positive subjects.

Executive Summery

Chapter 1: **Gender Identity and Transgender Issues Theoretical Perspectives** provides a detailed discussion on gender, definition of terms, and important theories regarding the gender and transgender phenomenon. Without encompassing all these interrelated theories it is very difficult and almost impossible to understand transgenderism. They are interrelated and associated with each other like a chain. The chapter started with a discussion on Gender and then builds a connection with the associated theories. The associated terminologies and theories include Gender categories, Gender identity, gender predisposition, cross-dressing, MTF'S, FTM'S, border wars, intersex. The chapter takes into account the theories related to gender i.e. essentialism, constructionism, queerness, feminist psychology and transgenderism. Transgenderism is an umbrella term that includes different types of gender variant people. On the other hand, queer theory denies the normal identity categories. Finally, the chapter presents a critical reappraisal of gender identity and transgender issues in the light of findings on hijras provided by the present study.

To sum up: All of these categories of transgender people including multi-gendered, androgynous, gender non-confirming, third-gender, and two-spirit people have not been sufficient to eliminate discrimination, which is the desired target of all of the non-binary gender system around the world. The previous studies have been attempting to bring change and recognition for the various gendered and sexual identities through discourse. The present research proposes to undo the labels, focus on the discourse of self rather on the discourse of Others. The previous theorists suggested that many people do not fit into these defined categories and therefore, all of these undefined people come under the umbrella term "transgender". The modern world requires developing the discourse of acceptability and privacy, not allowing the dominant Others to interfere with the private life of others; instead of producing recognition seekers, we need to empower people for self-government so that they can govern their life themselves. Therefore, the discourse of public awareness and acceptability, equal opportunities, and non- discrimination is required to bring positive change in society instead of segregating and inventing new labels.

The self-and-Other relationship is operating discursively in all cultural and intersubjective contexts. The question of identity is related to the self/other phenomena. How am I being seen by the Others? There is not a single Other, there is not a single me. I have a different identity in the

eyes of different individuals, I behave differently in different conditions. Different people have different opinions about me. I can never be single with any prescribed identity because I am changing all the time; it is not possible for me to wear a single identity. By labeling and categorizing gender-variant people are we trying to develop a homogeneous gaze and opinions for them? In short, the present study aims at fostering the development of the positive discourse of 'self and others' for producing positive subjects. (For detail see. Chapter 1, Section 1 C).

Chapter 2**. Hijras' Identity-Discourses Reconstructing Hijras as Transgender.** Chapter 2 gives a detailed description of Hijras while Transgender has already been discussed in Chapter 1. The theoretical and historical comparison of both phenomena under discussion enable us to understand the confusion surrounding hijras and transgender. This is one of the most puzzling cases for Asia, replete with questions like whether the Hijras are transgender or not? Is this part of the politics to reframe hijras as transgender? In order to find answer to this question CDA (critical discourse analysis) framework is employed to see the change in terminologies and meanings over a period that exposes the struggle over power and power relationships. Finally, it sheds light on Hijra's Life and Community by Analyzing Hijra's Narratives that provide lived experience and key concepts about a hijra's life, community.

Chapter 3: **Otherness Identity Politics-Hijras in Colonial and Postcolonial Context.** The chapter introduction provides hijras background in Mughal period, in British colonial period an in Post-colonial period. It elaborates the notion of otherness in identity politics, the connection between self and Other and the theory of subjectivity. This discussion leads to the point that intersubjective relations are mediated by knowledge, power and discourse. It discusses hijras in Pakistani background and provides all information regarding the legal status of hijras and trans individuals in Pakistan and the important amendments and new laws approved to improve the lives of Hijras. The impact of new laws approved and implemented by the state regarding hijras and trans individuals are also discussed.

Although it is difficult for both colonizers and colonized to go back to a time and place where they could find authentic uncontaminated identity before the experience of colonization, post-colonialism exposes the techniques, systems and subsystems used to construct the western and non-western, colonial and post-colonial identities. It tries to reveal the methods the colonizers used

to shape the indigenous identities in the name of morality, civilization, and modernity. Hence, it attempts to destabilize and deconstruct the colonization and colonial identities. Some subjectivity theorists suggest that although it is very difficult to elude the influence of those forces that produce them but it is not impossible to revoke them. For instance, the construction of eunuchs as Khawaja Saras and their social and political roles were defined and designed by the Mughal emperors which was later redesigned and reconstructed by British colonizers as hijra. The paradox is that the Khawaja Sara and hijra identities are very different and almost opposite of each other. The former with high status, elite class, administrative officers, loyal servants etc. and the latter with low status, lower class, jobless beggars etc. Presently, it seems to be under pressure to acquire a global, homogeneous identity as "transgender". The present study suggests that the discourse can play a great role in transforming hijras' identity and forming positive subjects.

Chapter 4: **Hijras as Subjects of Discourse.** This chapter is the continuation of the theory of subjectivity; it examines hijras' positions with respect to the discourse of Others (the media discourse) and their lived experiences of subjecthood (the discourse of self). The account of hijras as subject of discourse helps to understand the processes involved in the formation of hijras' identity and subjectivity. The self/ Other phenomenon is closely linked to social categories of identity, the lived experiences of subjecthood and political subjectivity. It is the gaze of the Other that defines the subject. Chapter 4 elaborates further on the gaze of the Other and the phenomenon of "being seen by the Other" by analyzing the discourse of representation. A deeper look at media discourse reveals how hijras are seen by Others. This gaze of Others through the medium of discourse defines hijras as subjects who experience the self-Other relationship at every moment of their daily lives. An individual's self-identity does not emerge through a consciousness working in solitude; instead, subjects are shaped at every moment by the way Others look at them. This perception of self-identity is aligned with Foucault's account of the way in which the subject is constituted through power relations. Hence self-expression is continuously shaped by discourse and power relations. Chapter 4 thus examines hijras as subjects of discourse in relation to Others. It attempts to explore hijras' self-construction by examining hijras' self-constructed discourse. The discussion of hijras' construction of self draws attention to the ontological and epistemological limits of discourses representing the hijra identity and community, and thereby seeks to expand the range of prospects for people to see their self and Others.

This chapter employs the Positioning Theory (Davies and Harré) to investigate hijras positioning with respect to media discourse (the discourse of Others) and self-discourse (the narrators personal discourse). According to positioning theory, the subjects are constituted through the discursive practices which offer them positions. Once the subject occupies a particular position within the discursive practice, he/she starts looking at the world from that position. For instance, the communicative event described by the hijra narrators (in section 4.B.2) position them as powerless subjects, who lack authority and assign them a weaker status. These social contexts and communicative events in everyday life position the small others and grand Others in sharp contrast. The more lacks the small others have, the more power and prestige the grand Others will have. In order to minimize the gap between *us versus them* and to achieve equality in the society, it is necessary to identify and fix the lack-of-having.

Chapter 5: **Hijras' Symbolic Performance of the Self: A Corpus Analysis.** The chapter presents an overview of Pakistani hijras 'self-enactment through feminine performance in the symbolic order. Regarding language practices, hijras adopt feminine body language as well as a feminine verbal and non-verbal speech style. A corpus-based methodology is used to analyze the lexico-grammatical features in hijras' speech corpora. It analyzes the inclusive and exclusive strategies and the linguistic markers hijras use to create borders between self and Others. The corpus analysis of hijras' language displays hijras' discursive performance of femininity-one of the fragments of self-construction. This study analyzes the speech characteristics of hijras and examines their lexical and grammatical choices. It examines the morphological code-switching between feminine and masculine speech styles because verbs, adjectives and postpositions are marked for gender in almost all regional Pakistani languages including Urdu. The combination of both masculine and feminine speech styles can be attributed to ambiguous gender and social ideologies. Overall, the sample data shows that hijras prefer the neutral and plural forms in all types of pronoun choices available to them in Urdu language (Chapter 5, Table 1). The statistical analysis (Chapter 5, Figure 5.1) reveals that Hijras prefer feminine gender marking for themselves; in all conditions respondents never preferred masculine gender marking for referring themselves. A notable point from the above discussion is that respondents never used the possessive pronouns for their parents or siblings but instead used them for their guru and for their fellow hijras.

The corpus analysis demonstrates hijras discursive performance of feminism in various ways. Although all human beings experience what Jacques Lacan has termed "lack-in-being" (see Chapter 4) the quest for "want-to-be" and lack-in-being is manifested in hijras more rigorously than in the rest of the Pakistani population. They try to fill the void in their being by performing gender linguistically. But there is no guarantee that what they are performing is closer to their true self. The self which they are exhibiting has come to them from various sources, through previous generations, through history and through the discourse of Others. Hijras have been struggling to adopt a gender-neutral position but failing in these attempts they resort to feminine one, instead of the masculine gender position. They prefer the neutral pronouns, if the neutral pronouns are not available, they prefer the feminine pronouns, and if both options are not available to them, they resort to masculine pronouns. This enactment of feminine style, language and clothing emerges in response to a strong desire to negate masculine gender identity. Keeping in view the above linguistic and corpus analysis, this study recommends the inclusion of gender-neutral pronouns in Urdu language.

Chapter 6: Hijras' Identity Negotiation via Hijra Farsi Code-Switching. This chapter suggests that hijras negotiate their identity via Hijra Farsi code switching. The chapter provides the linguistic analysis of Hijra Farsi and revolves round the argument that Hijra Farsi is not a language, but it is a case of code mixing. Previous research Awan, S., and Sheeraz M. (2011) suggests that Hijras in Pakistan speak a separate language 'Hijra Farsi', however, the present study suggests that it is not a language:

1. The data on Hijra Farsi language shows, Hijra Farsi is in fact not a language. These are an only limited number of vocabulary items, some code words that transindividuals use among themselves. They admitted themselves in their interviews that these are some code words that they share among themselves.

2. It does not have any structure. It cannot be analyzed at other linguistic levels like morphology, syntax, semantics, phonology, phonetics etc. so, we cannot say it is language.

3. However, Awan, S., and Sheeraz M. (2011) challenged the assertions of Hall (2005 pg.129) and Nagar 2008 pg. i) that it is merely a lexical code or code language, respectively. They proclaimed that Hijra Farsi is not merely a code or mixture but a language.

4. The claim that there exists a separate Hijra language is contradictory because it was not well researched, and this claim is not based on any solid grounds. If it exists, it needs to be analyzed in detail. The present study supports Hall (2005) and Nagar 2008).

This study suggests that Hijra Farsi lacks gender neutral pronouns. Therefore, it recommends the creation of gender-neutral pronouns and their inclusion in the natural language for eliminating linguistic discrimination and establishing gender fair language.

Chapter 7: **Conclusion: Towards Decolonizing Hijras.**

The present study suggests that an individual's identity can never be described by using an affixed set of group characteristics. The identity of a person is never stagnant and fixed at one position, rather it is always engaged in an unending process of development. Why is a person's unique sense of self perceived as a sense of having not this, not that but the other kind of sexualized body? The politics of recognition takes one element of identity to describe an individual. It sounds like following essentialism according to which identity is created by natural essence and a part stands for the whole. Opposite to this view is constructivism which creates, builds, and rebuilds identities. We need to follow a combinatorial and integrated approach instead of bending towards one single approach. Individuals are combination of both essential and constructive properties. The constructive properties are not distributed evenly, one lacks one kind of properties and the other lacks other kind of properties. Almost all human beings have to construct some missing properties.

This study asserts that the subjects should be identified by their profession rather than by their gender or sexuality. In the 21st century, the media and discourse have focused on gender and sexuality enormously, which has had drastic consequences. The narrative discourse must provide other subject positions for hijras and trans individuals by defocusing on gender and sexuality. The hijras and trans individuals should be represented as doctors, educators, actors, managers, and salespersons. The previous discourse and categories see them as gendered and sexualized bodies and only this aspect of their identity has always been presented in the foreground of every discourse narrative. This study suggests desexualizing these subjects discursively by modifying the gaze of self and Others.

CHAPTER 1

GENDER IDENTITY AND TRANSGENDER ISSUES THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Chapter 1 provides a discussion on gender, definition of terms, and relevant theories regarding the gender and "transgender phenomenon." In order to understand transgenderism and hijras, it is essential to have a look at all these interrelated theories. They are interrelated and associated with each other as in a chain. The chapter starts with a discussion on gender and then builds a connection with the associated theories. The associated terminologies and theories include gender behavior categories, gender identity, gender predisposition, cross-dressing, MTFs, FTMs and border wars, essentialism, and constructionism. It then explores the relation of gender to queerness and views the phenomenon through feminist psychology while further exploring its relation to intersex and finally reaching transgenderism. Transgenderism has absorbed all of the information and knowledge from its associated networks to become a broader category. Transgenderism is thus an umbrella term that contains various types of gender variant people.

1. A. Gender

Commonly, people use the term sex and gender interchangeably, they are different from each other in that "Sex" is related to biological differences for instance chromosomes, composition of hormones, internal and external sex organs. Gender denotes the social roles based on an individual's sex or personal identification. It is based on the internal awareness of an individual's

gender identity. APA[2] (Dictionary of Psychology, 2015) describes the difference between these two terms as: Sex refers to the biological facets and gender refers to the behavioral traits.

 Historically, Money introduced the difference between sex and gender. Before his work, gender was only implied to the grammatical categories simply (Muehlenhard and Peterson 1). The word gender became widespread and came into common usage in the 1970s when feminist theory accepted this concept and considered gender as a social construction (Haig 93).

1.A.1. Gender Behavior Categories

According to Bevan "culturally defined gender behavior categories are arbitrary and vary from time to time and culture to culture" (40). Gender behavior categories are a set of gender behaviors constructed by cultures, not by biology. People are expected to observe the culturally assigned roles and categories. Bevan demonstrates it as:

> Gender behavior categories are a set of gender behaviors that are explicitly or implicitly determined by culture to organize, categorize, and stereotype people. Gender behavior categories involve behavioral tasks, roles, rules, and norms. People are expected to adhere to their culturally assigned category by culture, and some rules are typically codified by Governments. (Bevan 40).

The gender system varies culturally, historically and geographically. According to Bevan, the norms of gender categories differ culturally. The Majority of cultures have two gender categories; however, some cultures provide examples of more than two gender categories. Some historical North American Cultures even provide five gender behavior categories. They also provide the idea of a floating gender behavior category that allowed certain members to move freely among different gender categories. They were generally called as two spirited people. Bevan demonstrated these people as:

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[2] American Psychological Association

These people were revered for their wisdom and were frequently skilled in the tasks involved in more than one gender behavior category. One day they would have a feminine presentation and weave cloth; the next day, they wore masculine clothing to engage in warfare. Their wisdom is attributed to experiencing both gender behavior categories and learning about people in each category. Because of this wisdom, two spirits often occupied roles of a medicine man, shaman (Bevan 40).

The norms and rules of gender category are different in different cultures, they are somewhat arbitrary in many cases. The rules of gender behavior category are arbitrary in nature for instance the conflicting long hair versus the short hair rules of cavalier and Puritans:

Cavaliers, wore long, curly wigs, and ornate hats with ostrich plumes and other trimmings. Both men and women wore bright color clothing trimmed with lace, ruffles, fringes, embroidery, braiding. Puritans favored short hair for men and particularly objected to hair on the face. Many Puritan men wore a short hairstyle that led Cavaliers to nick name them as 'Roundheads'. They believed that long hair was meant exclusively for women and that men should not wear hairstyles or clothing that blurred gender differences which they believed were necessary for a stable and godly society (Sherrow 320).

Sometimes the rules of gender behavior category are violated to create some sort of androgynous effect. For instance, the male rock musicians are an example of such cases who wear long hair and feminine make up to reflect a genderlessness. WHO[3] describes gender roles as socially constructed standard roles considered appropriate for men and women, these conventional set of behaviors are acceptable for the society. Paoletti (1) poses a question "When did we start dressing girls in pink and boys in blue?" and provides the answer by showing advertising , social media blogs, catalogs, promoting color as mark of gender behavior. Which shows that gender roles are socially constructed. The pink color for girls and the blue color for boys, in fact shifted the attitude towards color as gender marker. Paoletti argued that before the First World War children mostly used to dress up in white cloths because it was interchangeable between children. The pink-blue gender coding was inconsistent, before the two World Wars, girls used to dress up in blue color and boys to dress up in pink color. However, during the World Wars the manufacturers encouraged the

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[3] WHO: The World Health Organization

"pink for girls" rule because they wanted to increase the consumption of children's clothing. By the onset of World War II, there was an inaccurate stereotype about homosexuals, according to which all homosexuals displayed feminine behavior. In Nazi Germany pink triangle badges were used to identify homosexuals (for detail see. Plant, 2011). The stereotype continued to grow and still exists today. Homosexuals are represented wearing feminine attire by popular Media. Children start learning the rules of "gender behavior categories" form age two years onwards.

1. A.2 Gender Identity

Stoller in his work "A contribution in the story of gender identity" (1964) coined the term gender. It involves the verbal assertion of a feeling of harmony and connection with a specific gender category. Gender identity is a manifestation of a particular gender category to which individuals believe they belong to. Swaab and Garcia-Falgueras argue that there is no empirical evidence in support of the view that social environment can effect sexual and gender development of an individual after birth. They maintained that gender identity and sexual orientation are pre-programmed in one's brain before birth:

> The human fetal brain develops in the male direction because of the direct action of the testosterone hormone on the nerve cells and in the absence of this hormone it develops in the female direction. Sexual organs in the baby girl or the baby boy develop in the first two months of prenatal period whereas the sexual differentiation of the brain develops in the second half of the prenatal period. It means that in the case of ambiguous sex the degree of masculinization of the sexual organs may not reflect the degree of masculinization of the brain (Swaab and Falgueras 17).

However, contrary to Swaab and Garcia-Falgueras, APA Dictionary of Psychology (2015) states that there is substantial supporting evidence available now in favor of the opinion that both environmental and biological factors can influence the gender identity. APA defines gender identity as:

One's self identification as male or female. Although the dominant approach in psychology for many years had been to regard gender identity as residing in individuals, the important influence of societal structures, cultural expectations, and personal interactions in its development is now recognized as well. Significant evidence now exists to support the conceptualization of gender identity as influenced by both environmental and biological factors (APA, 2015).

1. A.3. Gender Identity Disorder

According to DMS-IV[4] "gender identity disorder is 'a sex-related pattern' in which people feel that they have been assigned wrong sex and gender at birth because it does not match their gender identity". It was complained tha this term carry stigma of discorder with it. In response to this complaint the label "gender identity disorder" is swapped by 'gender dysphoria' in DSM-IV in 2013. It states that "gender nonconformity is not the same thing as gender dysphoria as gender nonconformity is not itself a mental disorder".

1. A.4. Gender Predisposition

Gender predisposition means "that one has biological tendencies to perform certain gender behaviors and not others. When the behavior resulting from gender behavior predisposition and the assigned gender behavior category are incongruent and in conflict TSTG[5] may result. For it to be classified as TSTG, the individual must find and follow a congruent gender behavior category. Those who do not find a congruent gender behavior category sometimes identity as gender queer" Bevan 44) Majority of cultures with gender binary system recognize only two gender categories:

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[4] DSM-IV "The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, published by the American Psychiatric Association (1952) offers a common language and standard criteria for the classification of mental disorders".

[5] TSTG denotes transsexualism and transgenderism. TS often refer to 'those individuals who have undergone Sex reassignment surgery or headed for it'. While TG is an umbrella term which covers also those who do not opt for SRS or have an ambiguous gender identity. SRS is now also called "gender confirmation surgery".

Males are supposed to follow the codes of masculine gender category and females are supposed to follow the feminine gender category codes and behave accordingly. This convention is known as cisgender[6]. However cultures with several gender categories also exist; these cultures provide more than two alternative gender categories for children and adults. For instance, some aboriginal cultures (e.g., North American Native, Two Spirit) authorize people to move frequently from one gender category to another subject to the needs of individuals and a society membership requirements.

> In many indigenous American cultures two-spirit people had (have) specific spiritual roles and responsibilities within their community. They are often seen as Bridge makers between male and female, the spiritual and material, between indigenous American and non-indigenous Americans. The term two spirit encompasses the wide variety of social meanings that are attributed to sexuality and gender roles across indigenous Americans cultures (Wilson 305).

1. A.5. Gender, Sex and Cross Dressing

A cross-dresser is a person who wears clothes of the non-assigned gender behavior category. An individual who cross-dress in non-performing situations to express a transgender identity is considered as transgender/transsexual. Nowadays cross-dressing designates diverse kind of behaviors including drag queens and drag kings[7] cross-dressing by political protesters and male models who cross dress to sponsor female costumes and cosmetics and cross dressing by female models who cross-dress to sponsor male dresses. Although "drag" is about performance and "drag queens" and "drag kings" usually cross-dress to entertain people, "most drag queens are male homosexuals, many are male heterosexuals, and a few are natal females as well" (Bevan 42).

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[6] Cisgender is an individual whose gender identity matches with the sex assigned at birth. It is the opposite of the term transgender

[7] Drag queens and drag kings are roles performed by artists who cross-dress for theater performances.

Cross-dressing in early childhood is a significant sign of cross-gender identification. Boys use their mothers' dresses, cosmetics, jewelry, and high heel shoes. The previous research (Green 1976, Kennedy, 2008, Kennedy and Hellen, 2010) suggests that the prime time of cross-dressing is between ages 2 to 3. Children realizes about their dressing behavior before age 6. Green (1976) found that 96 % of boys in his study were cross-dressing by the age of 6. For many boys cross-dressing was an essential quality, e.g. they insisted on cross-dressing outside the home, and it was not restricted to play situations. They reported the case of a boy in preschool and kindergarten who used to crossdress extensively. The boy feels the need to sleep in female clothing and is disturbed at the unavailability of female clothing. Zucker and Bradley (1995) also described similar situations where some parents reported that after school time their son desperately want to wear feminine attire. Even the parents -who have a generally supporting or indeterminate attitude towards their sons' cross-gender identification- feel discomfort with the persistent display of cross-dressing of their children by school age. These type of parents usually attempt to set boundaries to the behavior of their child. Some boys, therefore, resort to secret tactics, such as creating costumes, using towels, or simply cross-dressing when they are alone and nobody is around them (Zucker and Bradley 15).

Zucker and Bradley point out about girls who cross-dress that they prefer masculine-style dresses. Sometimes this preference is not just because of discomfort; rather it can be the result of the 'distress about being a girl'. Such girls reject the stereotypical feminine dressing, when they are asked to wear feminine dress on special occasions, they have a great conflict with their mothers. Zucker and Bradley provided some other examples as follows:

> Many girls demand to have a very short haircut, which results in masculine appearance. As a result, a number of these girls are perceived as boys by others. For example, one four-year-old girl seen in our clinic was presumed by her kindergarten teacher to be a boy

because of her physical appearance. This girl was from an Asian country and did not yet speak English, and her Caucasian teacher was unable to infer her sex from her given name. The teacher presumed that the parents had simply erred in identifying her as a girl on the registration form. Despite parental assurance, the teacher was unconvinced. (Zucker and Bradley 16)

According to Kennedy and Hellen (2010) some transgender children know in their early childhood that something is wrong with them, but they could not figure it out until adulthood. These children are aware by age 3 or 4 that something is wrong with them but they are unable to relate it to TSTG. Many of them may not realize it as TSTG behavior until adulthood. Majority of them have problem in finding the words to describe their TSTG experience by the age of 15. However, during the past-half century the age of realization of TSTG behavior is reached to about none years old. The children who realize about TSTG and express themselves they certainly become aware of the fact that they will face rejection or bullying. They realize it at later stages that this difference is culturally unacceptable, therefore, the majority of children try to maintain secrecy.

The children who realize about their TSTG behavior they start maintaining secrecy in childhood. They are reserved and keep hiding their behavior and expression even in adulthood. The secrecy in adulthood may lead to adverse consequences (Kelly, 2002).

1. A.6. The Border Wars- Adjusting beyond the Gender Categories

Transgender males (MTF) are the individuals who change from male to female also known as trans women, and transgender females (FTM) are the individuals who change from female to male also known as trans men. The notions of FTM and MTF are not as simple as the definition suggests but rather a very complicated phenomenon. A deeper look shows that one may never completely shift to male or female and may not even wish to be either of them. Hale (Consuming the Living 321) describes it in an American context that Some *ftms* are profoundly uncomfortable

with all the already given gender categories, however they are forced to locate themselves within them in some situations (e.g., a California driver license must bear one of the two sex/ gender distinctions "F" or "M") they are supposed to locate themselves within them in some situation for some purposes. In some other situations, they are located within them against their wills. Halberstam, & Hale describe the complexities surrounding the phenomenon as:

> Even more alarming, there is little to no recognition of the fact that many transsexuals also live and die in those inhospitable territories in-between. It is true that many transsexuals do the transition in order to leave somewhere, to be somewhere else, and to put the geographies of ambiguity behind them. Many post-operative MTF's remain in-between, however, because they cannot pass as women. Many transsexuals who pass fully clothed have bodies that, naked, are totally ambiguous. Some transsexuals cannot afford all the surgeries necessary to complete sex reassignment (if there is such a thing) and wind up making their homes where they are. (Halberstam, and Hale, Butch/FTM Border 305)

However, some self-defined transsexuals have a stronger urge to be transgender or queer instead of becoming male or female. After all the surgeries many trans individuals neither accept their body nor feel like being exclusively male or female. Medical science report many incidents where patients reject the transplanted body parts. Many patients who have successful transplantation of donated organ may fail to accept it mentally. Such is the case with one patient who had lost his hand in an accident had somebody else's hand fixed to his arm, but he could not mentally accept this new hand. His mind was constantly telling him: this is not mine, it does not belong to me. Finally, he decided to live without it to get rid of this mental war (see. rejection of transplanted body parts). In the case of trans individuals, it is even more complex. As hale remarks, "There are limits on our bodies' plasticities (e.g., my body shape will never be acceptably male to me" (Hale, qtd. in Halberstam, Transgender Butch 305).

After the surgeries, if trans individuals get completely male or female looks, in the hope of getting some sort of acceptability or tolerance from society, will they be satisfied with their bodies and

feel themselves a male or female? Will they accept their bodies and accept themselves as who they are? Acceptability does not just come from the society; rather, accepting one's self is more problematic. When it becomes dual by fighting an inner war with one's self and an outer war with the whole world, it is indeed fatal and worse. The issue of acceptability and sense of belonging becomes even more complex when it comes to trans individuals.

For Prosser, transgender/ transsexual narratives reveal the fact that trans individuals have a feeling of bodily 'unbelonging. Prosser connects the concept of home to bodies and belonging: hence, they find this belonging in their bodies by finding a place to which they can relate to and can return to. This place is called home where one finally becomes peaceful with one's true gender and finds comfort of a home. Prosser demonstrates it as:

> Transsexual narratives are driven by a sense of feeling not at home in one's body, through a journey of surgical change, ultimately culminating in coming home to oneself (and one's body). (Prosser, No Place like Home 490)

Some researchers (Prosser) think that queer theory promises mobility, and full freedom for the subjects. Hence, the transsexual individual urges to find this promised home. Halberstam and Hale, however, disagree with the idea of home as a notion to fix transgender individuals in categories. Given the economic and linguistic resources, it is not clear how such an imaginary 'home' can be constructed. They describe the web of complexities surrounding the Borderlands:

> If the borderlands are "uninhabitable" for some transsexuals who imagine that home is just across the border, imagine what a challenge they present to those subjects who do not believe that such a home exists, either metaphorically or literally. Some bodies are never at home, some bodies cannot simply cross from point A to point B, and some bodies recognize and live with the inherent instability of identity. These distinctions do not map on to categories "transsexual" and "non-transsexual" in an easy one to one correspondence. (Halberstam and Hale, Butch/FTM Border 305-306)

Halberstam remarks about the conceptual confusion in Prosser's work and argues that the narrative structure of identity, home, and belonging might be important to many people. Prosser fails to draw sharp lines between transsexual, transgender and queer successfully.

> Sometimes transgender and transsexuals are synonymous for him, and he sets them in opposition to queer, which is presented as maintaining the same relationship between gender identity and body morphology as is enforced within the heteronormative culture. Sometimes transgender and queer are synonyms whose disruptive refigurations of desires and bodies are set in oppositions to (non-homosexual) transsexuality's surgical and hormonal recapitulation of the heteronormative embodiment; it is a tendency to straighten the alignment between body and identity. (Halberstam, Transgender Butch 291)

According to Halberstam, Prosser holds a prejudiced view that "butch lesbian masculine presentation is merely an unreal gender play instead of viewing the depth and reality present in the case of FTMs. Therefore, he could not differentiate between real lives that may or may not be described as queer (e.g., butch masculinities) and queer academic theory". In Halberstam's views, it is not justice to view butch as artificial and transsexual as real because it will deprive many butch individuals of gender and identity. Halberstam discussed "female masculinity" about "Butch/FTM border wars and the masculine continuum" as:

> There are huge and important differences between genetic females who specifically identify as men and genetic females who feel comfortable with female masculinity. There are real and physical differences between female born men who take hormones, have surgery, and live as men and female born butches who live some version of gender ambiguity. However, there are also many situations in which those differences are less clear than one might expect. There are many butches who pass as men and many transsexuals who present as gender ambiguous, as well as many bodies that cannot be classified as either transsexual or butch (Halberstam, Transgender Butch 301).

Tension between the "FTM identified" and "butch lesbian identified" individuals have been raising political disputes about masculinity.

One of the borderland disputes is the tensions between lesbians and heterosexual women. Monique Witting argues that "lesbians are not women. Her argument is based on the observation

that lesbians are often accused of being not real women". She drives her assumption from the

principle "to be one; one has to be a real one" (Wittig, *The straight mind* 12). She views women

about man, for her "to be a woman is to be in a relationship with a man":

> To destroy "women" does not mean that we aim short of physical destruction, to destroy
> lesbianism simultaneously with the category of sex because lesbianism provides for the
> moment the only social form in which we can live freely. Lesbian is the only concept I
> know of which is beyond the category of sex (women and man) because the designated
> subject (lesbian) is not a woman, either economically, or politically, or ideologically. For
> what makes a woman is a specific social relation to a man, a relation that we have
> previously called servitude, a relation which implies personal and physical obligation as
> well as economic obligation ("forced residence", domestic corvee, conjugal duties,
> unlimited production of children, etc.) a relation which lesbians escape by refusing to
> become or to stay heterosexual. (Wittig, *The straight mind* 20)

Another argument she provides to support her view is that "lesbians are outside the oppressive

category of a woman which requires heterosexual relationships with males": As witting puts it in:

> Insofar as the virtuality "woman" becomes a reality for an individual only about an
> individual of the oppressing class- men- and particularly through marriage, lesbians,
> because they do not enter this category, are not '"women." Besides, it is not as "women"
> that lesbians are oppressed but rather in that they are not "women" (they are, of course, not
> "men" either). Moreover, it is not women (victims of heterosexuality) that lesbians love
> and desire but lesbians (individuals who are not the females of men). (Wittig, Paradigm
> 121).

However, Butler (Gender Trouble and Performative Acts) and Hale (Are Lesbians Women)

criticized witting for subsuming the sex category under the discourse of heterosexuality. They

disapproved the view that "to be a woman means to be in a binary relation with a man". Hale

argued that nuns escape marriage so by being nuns they are not women? Some lesbian's self-

presentation of gender is not distinguishable from those of heterosexual women. Moreover,

"Lesbians and nuns are also not entirely free from male control". Keeping in view Gayle Rubin's

"*the traffic in the women"*, Butler derived a conclusion that "sexual practice has the power to

destabilize gender". Normative sexuality reinforces and strengthens normative gender:

Briefly, one is a woman, according to this framework, to the extent that one functions as one within the dominant heterosexual frame and to call the frame into question is perhaps to lose something of one's sense of place in gender (Butler, Gender Trouble xi)

Hale (Are Lesbians Women) presented thirteen characteristics to be assessed to confirm the category woman. The category has both positive and negative examples. While there is a threat of falling outside the category, very small number of individuals fall outside the category overall. The characteristics enabled Hale to discuss and argue about the women and lesbian distinction. Hale disagreed with Wittig's point of view and argued that "some lesbians are women, others are not and for some, there is no fact of the matter" (115). While accounting for butch/*FTM*, woman/lesbian distinctions Hale suggests that "it would be better to analyze them as family resemblance concepts":

> Resemblances that some woman, to a greater or lesser degree, shares with some other woman. Just as I share some resemblances with some members of my biological family to greater or lesser degrees and fail to share some other resemblances that some of my biological family members share with others in my biological family. . . . . . .
>
> Hale argues that it should not be the case that all things should have only one resemblance to each other in a certain category. Some resemblances may be more important or more heavily weighted than others for category membership. Therefore, categories boundaries are fuzzy and consequently, borders between gender categories are zones of overlap, not sharp lines. It would be better to speak of a border zone, where the categories partially overlap with each other than to search for a fix the sharp boundary between the two (Hale, Consuming the Living 323).

According to Hale border zone dwellers might be the people who are trying to create a permanent place at border zones or they might be people who are searching for more solid and firm locations. However, their attempts to construct a way to live within their skins are hindered when other people constantly hold them from all sides.

> When an FTM community or lesbian community members (those with fixed and solid categorical locations) claims border zone dwellers as their own or try to merge them within their category, they make it even harder for them to live, thereby eliminating the border zone space for them. Border zone dwellers may think that the lack of a fixed space within these categories is barred by those who have a firm and solid location and this absence will

be used as grounds for forcing them into other frameworks. This way the border zones become less habitable for those who are trying to occupy nearly unspeakable spaces created by the overlapping of distinct categories. The deletion of the border zone dwellers' multiple complexities, inconsistencies, ambiguities, and border zone status hampers that subject's ability to build a self through which to live (Hale, Consuming the Living 319).

Hale uses the notion of 'world travel'- "a shift in self-constitutes a shift in the world" to expand the notion of border zone dweller. In Hale's view, those who are "marginalized by the society may occupy different worlds in which they might be constructed as different persons". They may "occupy dislocated locations and may fit in different categories like FTM, Man, gender queer, etc. attached to different cultural worlds". For Hale identification involves pressure as being identified members of a particular category as well as not identified with members of other categories. It must be operated independently as members of a category by a moral and political agency.

1. B. Transgender Theories

1. B.1. Essentialism, Constructionism and Feminist Psychology

[Aristotelian essentialism] is the doctrine that some of the attributes of a thing (Quite independently of the language in which the thing is referred to, if at all) may be essential to the thing and others accidental. E.g., a man, or talking animal, or featherless biped (for they are all the same things), is essentially rational and accidentally two legged and talkative, not merely qua man but qua itself. (W.V. Quine, 173-74 qtd. in Matthews, 1)

According to Aristotle some properties of things are essential and others are accidental. Cartwright demonstrates the essential and accidental properties of things as follows:

Essentialism as I shall understand it, is the doctrine that among the attributes of a thing some are essential, others merely accidental. Its essential attributes are those it has only contingently, those it might not have had. Some attributes are essential to everything whatever-the attribute of being self-identical, for example or perhaps the attribute of having some attribute or other (Cartwright, 1968).

Later on, Bohan (1993) explains the two alternative understandings of gender, i.e. the essentialists and the constructionists. Biever (1998) also discusses the perspectives of both the feminist and social constructionists and their influence on gender conceptualization and practice. Essentialists believe that "every entity has a fixed set of attributes that are necessary to its identity and function": all beings carry certain essential properties which cannot be dismissed and they gain other properties by chance which are non-essential and non-fixed without which the things or human beings can exist.

Blackburn illustrates the essential and accidential properties with an example of a man who may or may not be wearing a hat but occopy a space: "occopuying space is an essential property of a person but wearing a hat is an accidental one" (Blackburn, 157). Essentialism is based on Plato's theory of forms and idealism:

> Plato attempts to provide a way in which the forms of things are intelligible but with abstract shared features. Ordinary things gain their natures by either imitating forms (which then become thought of as transcendent and somehow independent of the sensible world) or participating in them (in which case they are immanent, present in things, and perhaps less mysterious). The train of thought is illustrated with both geometrical and ethical examples. The plate that the potter makes is not itself perfectly round, but perfect roundness is an ideal, it may not be found in the world, but it is something to which things approximate, and it plays a role in rendering intelligible the world in which they do so. Similarly, actual human institutions may only approximate to the ideal of justice, but the ideal or form provides an intelligible dimension of description and criticism ((Blackburn 178).

Essentialism explains that "there are essential differences between men and women" i.e. both are born with certain traits. According to essentialist feminist genders have an essential nature:

> Essentialism is used in feminine writing of the view that females (or males) have an essential nature (e.g. nurturing or caring versus being aggressive and selfish), as opposed to differing by a variety of accidental or contingent features brought about by social forces (Blackburn 157).

Feminist theorist Elizabeth states that "gender essentialism is the attribution of a fixed essence to a woman" (47). It is assumed that "women's essence is universal" which is identified with specifically fixed feminine characteristics and those characteristics that define a woman's essence "are shared by all women at all times" (Grosz, 47). Therefore essentialism limits the possibility of change, variation and thus of social acceptability.

The constructionists, on the other hand, maintain that our world is a product of continuous social construction. We construct realities, give them meaning, define them and label them through social interaction and communication. In other words, gender roles are constructed, defined and labeled by the human beings and the societies.

Butler (Performative acts) suggested that gender is not natural and presented the "theory of gender performativity" to elaborate the idea of 'gendered self'.

1. B.2. Butler's Performative Acts and Gender Constitution

Bulter employs "the phenomenological theory of acts" to create the "theory of gender performativity". It shows how "social agents construct social reality" through language, gesture, and signs. She explains that the traditional, naturalized concepts of gender are constructed and can be constructed differently. It does not deny "the material nature of the human body" rather distinguishes sex from gender. She quotes Beauvoir's claim- "one is not born, but, rather becomes a woman" (in Butler Performative acts 519) - to suggest that sex is an anatomical, biological aspect of the human body, while gender is related to identity that is acquired gradually through repetition, re-articulation, and sedimentation of specific corporeal acts. The body comes to bear cultural meaning to form gender, hence the essence of gender is unnatural; rather it is a flimsy unstable

identity established through the stylization of the body which constitutes the illusion of a 'gendered self' through body gestures, actions, and performances of various kinds (Butler 519).

Butler further explains the gendered self as "repetition of prior and subjectivating norms which cannot be thrown off at will". The practice of gendering occurs by compulsory and forcible practice of norms whose addressee may fail to approximate norms according to set expectations:

> Gender is an assignment, it is an assignment which is never quite carried out according to expectation, whose addressee never quite inhibits the ideal s/he is compelled to approximate. . . . . .
> Hence, gender performativity is not a matter of which gender one will be today. Performativity is a matter of repeating the norms by which one is constituted. It is not a radical construction of a gendered self rather a compulsory repetition of prior norms (Butler, Critically queer 22).

If gender is a constructed entity, it can be deconstructed as well. Later on, the "theories of gender intersections" took the first step towards the postmodern disintegration of concept and give way to queer theory.

1. B.3. From Gender to Queer

Gender theory was further transformed by postmodern deconstructionists. It interprets gender as socially constructed roles, produced by the power which can be disintegrated and de-structured. In order to allow free expression, it is necessary to disassemble structures by exposing powers and deconstructing each order, structure, organized into any hierarchical system. Derrida problematized the orthodox philosophies and research conventions by focusing on the decentralization of linguistic structures and binary concepts. He argued that metaphysics relies on centers for the construction of binary oppositions. For instance, good is an undisputed, independent concept and it comes before evil that is a secondary idea, it is the absence of good. Metaphysical succession is a kind of presence and absence play of binary opposites; it places the primary idea

at the center and exclude the other from the center as secondary and marginalized one (for detail see. Derrida 93)

Derrida suggests dismantling of hierarchies by acknowledging all other possibilities of thinking and existence equally recognizable. Here, is how Derrida emphasizes the decentralization and focus on the borderline, unimportant and marginalized concepts and structures and hierarchies:

> I do not "concentrate," in my reading (for instance, of the Reply), either exclusively or primarily on those points that appear to be the most "important," "central," "crucial." Rather, 1 deconcentrate, and it is the secondary, eccentric, lateral, marginal, parasitic, borderline cases which are "important" to me and are a source of many things, such as pleasure, but also in Sight into the general functioning of a textual system. And were there to be a center to this debate, we would have reached it already, in the form of this difference in styles of reading. But what is involved is more than a difference in style. (Derrida 44-45)

Judith Butler provided inspiring ways of rethinking gender which poses a challenge to conventional ideas of gender and identity. In her earlier work, Butler focused on "doing gender" (1990) while her new work revolves around the notion of "undoing gender" (Butler, 2004). Butler's work *Gender Trouble* has been often quoted as the texts used to develop "queer theory". In the preface she talks about breaking gender binaries and provokes the readers to think outside of the box in multiple unthinkable ways:

> Feminism ought to be careful not to idealize certain expressions of gender that, in turn, produce new forms of hierarchy and exclusion. In particular, I opposed those regimes of truth that stipulated that certain kinds of gendered expressions were found to be false or decorative, and others, true and original. The point was not to prescribe a new gendered way of life that might then serve as a model for readers of the text. Rather the aim of the text was to open up the field of possibility for gender without dictating which kind of possibilities ought to be realized. (Butler, *Gender Trouble* viii).

In short, the constructionist theorists distinguished sex from gender and suggested that gender is a constructed entity, while later deconstructionist theorists suggested that gender can be

deconstructed and de-structured in multiple ways by exploring it's relation to sex and sexual orientation. It gave rise to queer theory.

Queer Theory

Queer theory was introduced in 1990's influenced by Foucault's "discourse, knowledge and power" (See. Chapter 3, Section 3B.2) Lacan's "psychoanalytic models of decentered and unstable identity" (see. Chapter 4, 4B, 4C) and Derrida's "deconstruction of binary concepts and linguistic structures" (See. Chapter 1, Section 1.B.3). To queer means to relocate and displace the normal identity categories. Queer theory is built around the concepts gender and sexuality, which gave rise to the debate "whether sexual orientation is natural and essential to a person or is socially constructed" and can be changed. Queer theory investigates the norms of identity, disturbing our stereotypical concepts about the relations of sex, gender and sexuality. Queer theory denies sexual binarism and heterosexualism.

> Queer theory recognizes the impossibility of moving outside the current conceptions of sexuality. We cannot assert ourselves to be entirely outside heterosexuality, nor entirely inside, because each of these terms achieves its meaning in relation to the other. What we can do, queer theory suggests, is negotiate these limits. We can think about the how of these boundaries-not merely the fact that they exist, but also how they are created, regulated and contested. The emphasis on the production and management of heterosexuality and homosexuality characterizes the poststructuralist queer theory project (Namaste 224)

The deconstructionists focused on the subjects of *sexual identity* and *heteronormativity* as normalizing practices which allow institutions to license heterosexuality as normal and indispensable with in a society and excludes the individuals who are outside the norms circle. Sedgwick (1990) pursued to disrupt the fabricated binaries associated with sex, gender and sexuality. She put forward the concept of "the closet" that some people are open and vocal about their sexualities while others are reserved and silent. She argues that standard definitions based on

binary oppositions delimit freedom and understanding especially in the context of sexuality. She argues that the modern "crisis of definition" has affected marking of particular categories like homo/heterosexual, public/private, masculine/feminine, majority/minority etc. (for detail see. Sedgwick, 11).

Fuss (1991) also used the terminology of the closet in her work inside/out and asserts that one of the possible assumptions about non-heterosexuals is that they may not be located outside the closet rather they are inside the closet. She suggests that one may need to put oneself inside the dominant discourse to establish a non-normative sexual identity. As Namaste explains:

> One could declare oneself to be an "out" lesbian, gay or bisexual, but this affirmation was possibly only given two related assumptions: the centrality of heterosexuality and the existence of gays, bisexuals, and lesbians who were not out-that is, those who were "in the closet". What is noteworthy in this example is the impossibility of locating oneself "outside" the dominant discourse. An attempt to declare oneself to be out of the closet marks non-heterosexuals who are presumably inside. In effort to define a sexual identity outside the norm, one needs first to place oneself inside dominant definitions of sexuality. In fuss's words, these gestures represent "a transgression of the border which is necessary to constitute the border as such" (Fuss 1991 qtd. in Namaste 224).

In short, when one declares oneself to be out and visible one in turn declares the others who are not visible.

Queer theory has not simply replaced the older concepts of "lesbian and gay identities"; rather it exists along those identity categories, exploring new messy, flexible and multiple relations and further posing problems for inquiry. Queer theorists question the unitary "lesbian and gay" identities and the marginalization of "lesbian and gay" identities within the binary model of identity. Queer theory defies rigid definitional limits of sexual and gender relations by exploring multiple unstable and tangled behaviors people may have and are different from each other. Instead

of inventing new categories for sexuality and gender, queer theory challenges the norms and destabilizes the identity categories.

Queer theorists sought to deconstruct rigid social norms and taxonomies that fail to explain the lived individual experiences (different behaviors, attitudes and conditions). Queer theory provides a framework to explore the power distribution between sexually deviant, marginalized and oppressed group of people and those who are privileged through the imposition and implementation of standard social practices. Queer theory is used as an umbrella term for all sexually deviant and marginalized group of people. Jagose investigated queer theory's relation to feminist theory and stated that:

> However different their projects, feminist theory and queer theory together have a stake in both desiring and articulating the complexities of the traffic between gender and sexuality (Jagose 157).

Apart from the contentious, critical differences between the feminist and queer theory about gender and sexuality distinction both of them have been dealing with many similar kind of issues: discrimination, power distribution, inequality, stereotypes, and oppression.

1. B.4. Feminist Theory/Psychology

Feminist theory examines *social roles* performed by men and woman, their experiences and interests to uncover *gender inequality* produced by Power. Feminist theory investigates subjects like *discrimination*, *objectification*, *oppression*, *patriarchy*, *stereotyping* etc. It deals with topics like gender differences, gender inequality, and gender oppression exclusively. Feminist movements fight for the equal rights and opportunities for women. It assumes that *women's condition is a result of a social construct* created through the process of *gender differentiation, gender identity* formation. It explores *the relationships within and between genders*. Almost all

feminists' movements and feminist scholars challenge the socially constructed normative gender roles and fight for *gender equality*, but they adopted various approaches to achieve gender equality. Susan & Judith (1995) elaborates the mind and body dichotomy that men have been traditionally connected to mind/spirit almost over all periods of time, women have been deemed as body/matter. These distinguishing binaries established gender characteristics and categorizations, whereby women's bodies have been represented as an exchangeable object that men can exploit and transfer like commodities among themselves.

De Beauvoir gave a new dimension to feminism by asking the question "what is a woman?" In her essays she tries to dismantle "the male concept of woman" by pointing out that: women are defined always defined in relation to men, on the contrary men has never been defined and differentiated in relation to her. In her famous essay "Women Myth and Reality" she says that this myth is conceived and designed by men to restrain wemen in an oppressed state. For women, this is not a question of getting themselves approved as women, but of getting recognized as full human beings (Tandon, 10-11).

Tandon suggests that women must regain their status as subjects by escaping their defined role as others. Feminism provides a template for queer theory because transgender persons have also been seen as others. In many countries, there are categories on national identity cards: male, female, others/ male, female, third gender. They are defined and differentiated concerning men and women. For them, it is not a question of being labeled as gay, lesbian or trans, but to be recognized as human beings. As Butler puts it:

> Being outside the norm is in some sense being still defined in relation to it. To be not quite masculine or not quite feminine is still to be understood exclusively in terms of one's relationship to the quite masculine and quite feminine. (Butler, Undoing Gender 42)

De Beauvoir's renowned statement "One is not born but becomes a woman" applies not just to women but to all humans who are labeled as gay, lesbian and trans, who are discriminated and treated unequally.

According to feminist psychoanalytic theories (Kristeva 1982; Irigaray 1993, 2004; Ettinger 2006 Benjamin 1990; Finney 1991, Khanna 2003; Felman 1993) sex and gender are different notions. Gender is not a biological property of a person rather it is fabricated through the psychological growth of a person. These are the "childhood experiences" which makes a person assume to be feminine or masculine creating gender inequality which further produces social system dominated by males, influencing the psychosexual development of individuals within the society.

The standard "sex and gender" model defines sex as a physical body. An individual is born with a body while gender is defined as a socially acceptable appearances, behaviors and actions appropriate for males and females and what are improper, unacceptable for them in a given society. The contemporary "sex and gender" model extended the boundaries of "sex and gender" beliefs and elaborated it further that the sex of an individual is a "social construct" which is not as narrow as the male or female dichotomy defines it. The contemporary model include a wide spectrum of sexes and genders. It is also based on the idea that "sex and gender" are social constructs which are combination of both "nature and nurture" equally. According to the "Intersex Society of North America" (2008): Nature does not categorize human beings into fixed catagories of males, intersex and females in a clear cut way, rather these are the human beings who invented these categories. Therefore, sex is not a strict and fixed concept, it is not a biological paradigm rather it is a socially constructed phenomenon which is decided by the society whether a person is male, female or intersex.

Feminism claim to speak for all women, but they have been conscious about the limitations of gender as the *only variable* available for analysis. Therefore, they incorporated both the queer movement and intersectionality to develop links between networks of social relations and social identities.

1. B.5. Transfeminism

Transfeminism involves talking about the oppression of women including trans women. Many trans women, because they are women, observed that they are represented as "prostitutes" stereotypically just because they have been seen as "transgender women". For Koyama, transfeminism supports both "trans and non-trans women" alike; she persuades "non-trans women" to support the "trans women" in return (see. Koyama, The Transfeminist Manifesto 245). Transfeminism holds that nobody should be forced regarding their gender identity or expression, likewise nobody should be forced regarding their personal decisions to be licensed as a "real feminist" (See. Koyama, the Transfeminist Manifesto 247). Stryker and Bettcher defines transfeminism as: Transfeminism refers to the third wave of feminism that works for all women empowerment including transwomen (See. (Stryker and Bettcher, Introduction Trans/Feminisms 11).

Transfeminism includes issues like "violence against women, body image, health, and reproductive choice". Transfeminism is different from many other forms of feminism. Many trans feminists consider gender as multi-layered inherent social qualities. Trans men and women express themselves in either masculine or feminine way because it strongly impacts their position within patriarchy. Serrano (2007) argues that feminism and femininity are socially constructed ideals.

> [F]emininity and masculinity are merely social constructs (i.e., they do not occur naturally, but rather are inventions or artifacts of human culture). According to this social constructionist model, boys are socialized to become masculine and girls feminine; we

learn to produce these gender expressions via a combination of positive and negative reinforcement, and through imitation, practice, and performance. . . . represent ideals that all people are encouraged to meet (Serano 96).

Transfeminism struggles to be accepted by mainstream feminism. Opponents of transfeminism and transgenderism (Raymond 1980; Daly 1978; and Jeffreys 1997, 2014) and many others argue that the feminist movement must not take trans women issues and waste its time on them.

Daly and Raymond opposed transsexualism as an artificially created condition. Daly considers transsexualism as an invasion in female world and violation of Boundary. She refers to Shelley's novel 'Frankenstein" for displaying the idea of technological father and male mother miming as a boundary violation. Where the main character Dr. Frankenstein, a mad scientist try to construct his child artificially and ended up in creating a monster. Daly remarks that the Frankenstein phenomenon is still present with "lack of soul/spirit/life-loving principle" that try to invade and kill all spirits through their master male motherhood projects. The invasion/violation takes many forms and transsexualism is an example of one such form: firstly, "Transsexualism is an example of male surgical siring which invades the female world with subtitles" (Gyn/Ecology 71). Secondly, "Transsexualism is essentially a male problem is an attempt to change males into females, whereas in fact, no male can assume female chromosomes and life history/ experience. The perpetual need of the castrated males known as transsexuals for hormonal 'fixes' to maintain the femaleness is a sign of their contrived and artificial condition". (The Transsexual Empire qtd. in Daly, Gyn/Ecology 238). Jeffreys (*Gender Hurts* 8) agrees with Mary Daly and states that "the physical transformations created by hormones and surgery do not change the biological sex of the persons upon whom they are visited".

The open appearance of trans individuals in feminine spaces posed a challenge for the view that "all women are socially equal", though it assumes that trans women are women. While, some

scholars (Raymond and Daly and Jeffreys) tried to exclude trans people from feminism, Koyama (Whose Feminism) takes up the issue of the exclusion of trans women from "womyn-born-womyn"[8].She argues that this kind of policy will only be beneficial for rich women and is consequently both classist and racist. She contends that the elimination of trans women is unfair because it applies "differences in experience" to eliminate trans- women. Such a policy will be applicable only on the basis of a presumption that "feminist solidarity" prerequisites an inflexible, rigid rule of 'shared experience'.

Jeffreys argues that transgender women must be barred from places specified for women. She argues that transgenderism depends on the essentialist view of gender and it is opposite to the feminist view which perceive gender as a socially and politically constructed entity to support mail domination system. As Jeffreys writes:

> Transgenderism depends for its very existance on the idea that there is an 'essence' of gender, a psychology and pattern of behavior which is suited to person with particular bodies and identities. This is the opposite of the feminist view, which is that the idea of gender is the foundation of the political system of male domination. 'Gender in traditional patriarchal thinking, ascribes skirts, high heels and a love of unpaid demestic labour to those with female biology, and comfortable clothing, enterprise and initiative to those with male biology(Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 1-2).

> The gender in transgenderism is positive for the support and maintenance of the gender scaffolding that upholds the edifice of male domination. In this way transgenderism is hostile to the rights of all women. Gender functions as a sorting system for male domination, identifying the subordinates and the dominants. It also provides the bars of the cage that impression women in their daily lives. In the name of 'gender', girls and women grow up controlling their movements, taking up little space, being careful to show men and boys difference lest they be attacked for man hating or bra-burning bitches (Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 185).

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[8] A policy of "Michigan women music festival" that believes that believes sex change operations are illegal and should be barred in the United States.

In support of her view, Jeffreys made three points: First, women suffer because of their sex and the term gender is manipulated to put them into subordinate positions to man. Second, the medical system has artificially created transgenderism to make a profit through therapy, surgeries and hormone replacement. Third, transgenderism provides license to "male-bodied trans genders" (i.e. trans woman) to invade women places. It allows "female-bodied transgenders" (i.e. trans men) to escape misogyny. She argues that feminists must oppose transgenderism because "legal protections based on gender identity" is harmful for transgender people, their families, women, and feminism.

> Gender, in the form of transgenderism, hurts in many ways that do not just pertain to transgenders themselves. It hurts the wives, partners and family members of men, women who transgender, causing them acute distress and loss so severe that some researchers are prepared to call this post-traumatic stress disorder. It hurts, too, the feminist movement, and threatens the gains feminists have fought for in the creation of women-only services and spaces. The very few women-only spaces that still exist, such as the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, are subjected to campaigns of bullying and intimidation. . . . . .
>
> From a critical, feminist point of view, when transgender rights are inscribed into law and adopted by institutions, they instantiate ideas that are harmful to women's equality and give authority to outdates notions of essential differences between the sexes. Transgenderism is indeed transgressive, but of women's rights rather than an oppressive social system (Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 2).

In short, transgenderism received a lot of criticism from feminist writers because all types and forms of transgenderism because they all rely on the concept of gender that provides justification for women subordination.

1. B.6. Intersectionality

In the last two decades, Intersectionality is appeared as a discipline and research paradigm in response to identity-based politics. The term Intersectionality was introduced by "Kimberlé Crenshaw". After that, the term have been widely utilized at various forums. Consequently, the Human Rights Commission recognizes the importance of investigating "the intersection of

multiple forms of discrimination" including gender discrimination ((Resolution E/CN.4/2002/L.59 qtd. in Yuval-Davis 193).

Intersectionality theorists (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Brah and Phoenix 2004; Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006; Hancock, 2007; Nash, 2008, Davis, 2008; Shields, 2008; Cole 2009; Harris and Bartlow, 2015) seek to investigate various forms of oppression based on factors like class, gender, age, sex, race, nation, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc. Intersectionality describes numerous intersecting systems of power that shape our lives. This theory is valid and applicable for all humans; it offers a deeper insight in that "all women do not experience oppression in the same way" for instance, studies of black feminism show that black women face gender and racial oppression simultaneously. The same forces that are involved in oppressing women lives are also involved in oppressing people of color and other marginalized groups of society like transgender individuals. Structural oppression especially the economic one reveals the gender wage gap: Men > Women > Children> Trans. It shows how one group gets benefits and enjoys privilege over the other just because of gender or race etc. an intersectional view of this situation shows how certain groups are further penalized on the basis of age or color around the world.

1. B.7. Intersex and Transgender

According to the UN Fact sheet "Intersex is an umbrella term used to describe individuals who develop atypically with regard to some or all aspects of their biological sex (chromosomal, hormonal, gonadal or genital)". There are many types of intersex conditions, i.e. anatomical, enzyme-related or neurological. It may also involve gender identity issues but they are not "part of the intersex condition". As Diamond explains:

Most intersex conditions are not readily visible. They are often unknown to the individuals concerned. Those individuals aware of an intersex condition are usually altered to it by the genital ambiguity with which they are born. In contemporary medical literature individuals with intersex conditions are often described as having 'disorder of sex development' (DSD). This term is rejected by the largest international organization of intersexed persons as being demeaning and insulting. The difference of sex development has been suggested as a replacement term (Diamond 172).

An "intersex" person sometimes becomes a transgender person. That is why transgenderism also includes intersex persons.

Surgical modification of an intersex infant's genitalia, usually to achieve a less ambiguous usually female appearance remains common practice in many parts of the world. Such practices can lead to complication either with regard to adult sexual and reproductive function or if the individual later identifies in a gender other than the one to which surgery was intended to assign him or her. In the latter case, the intersex person also becomes, in effect, a transgender person (Greenfield qtd. in Winter, et al. 17).

In many countries, these surgeries are regarded as "unethical and there is a vigorous debate in the court of law and in the media whether such surgeries should be performed". However, some countries are adopting a more open medical approach where the "possible surgery is delayed until the child's gender identity is well established and the child develops the capacity of informed consent". As winter et al. puts it:

It might also be possible to assign the child a neutral sex category pending a determination that takes account of the child's own wishes. The Republic of Malta in early 2015 outlawed any sex reassignment treatments on minors that can be deferred until the person concerned can provide informed consent (Winter et al. 17)

There are a numerous views about what characteristics are intersex conditions and what are not "intersex conditions" based on the "definition of intersex". Contemporary intersex definitions focuses on a wide range of "sex characteristics" that differ from male or female bodies expectations.

1. B.8. Transgenderism

The term 'Transgender' covers a wide range of people whose "gender identity" does not reflect their sex consigned at birth. It consists of people who are neither male nor female e.g. gender queer, gender non-binary, gender fluid and agender. Other definitions also include third gender and cross-dressers as well irrespective of their gender identity.

Many trans individuals experience gender dysphoria but some of them pursue medical treatment e.g. psychotherapy, hormone therapy and SRS. TS often refer to "those individuals who have undergone Sex reassignment surgery or headed for it". While TG is an umbrella term which covers also those who do not opt for SRS or have an ambiguous gender identity. SRS is now also called "gender confirmation surgery". In recent years, SRS supportive evidence emerged from clinical/medical research. The clinical scholars (Cohen-Kettenis and Friedemann, 2003; Cohen-kettenis and Van Goozen, 1997; Devor, 2004; Spiegel, 2008; Seil, 2004; Zucker, 2006; Zucker & Bradley, 1995) conducted post-operative, follow-up studies and reported the success of SRS that shows the gender identity disorder disappear upon successful completion of transition.

In late 1990s, the term transsexualism was losing favor; the term transgenderism was used to refer to individuals who have been previously considered transsexuals and who wished to change their gender without surgery; it was also used to refer to "effeminate gay men and cross dressers". It was a very general term that counted in cross dressers and even those who have no gender at all.

Transgenderism has been a controversial phenomenon which gave rise to an unending debate because it has gruesome effects on both individuals and societies. However in the 21th century, extensive scholarly work is available on "transgenderism, its history, treatment, theory and practice". Majority of scholars see the phenomenon positively and consider transgender as an "essential category" of persons who need recognition and have been deprived of basic human rights. Some scholars claim that transgender is transgressive in its nature because it destabilizes the gender binnary and hence is a revolutionary process of social change. On the other hand, some scholars oppose the transgender phenomenon. Daly 1978, Morgan 1978, Raymond 1979, Jeffreys 2014 and other like-minded feminist scholars criticize transgenderism:

> Transgenderism depends for its very existance on the idea that there is an 'essence' of gender, a psychology and pattern of behavior which is suited to person with particular bodies and identities (Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 1).

> In the practice of transgenderism, traditional gender is seen to lose its sense of direction and end up in the minds and bodies of persons with inappropriate body parts that needed to be corrected. But without 'gender', transgenderism could not exist (Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 2).

> These transgender transgressors are often consciously engaged with re-producing their (sexed and gendered) bodies through a variety of body management practices such as clothing, hormones and surgery. However, whilst acknowledging to varying degrees an uneasy relationship with their culturally defined bodies, transgenderists also actively (dis)engage with those normalizing psychiatric and medical discourses that construct and produce the gender dysphoric body as a pathological one (Parlee; Whittle; Bornstein, qtd. in Finn and Dell 464).

Jeffreys conducted two interviews with persons who have de-transitioned. According to Jeffreys there is very little critical literature that exists about de-transitioning and dissatisfaction:

> There is very little critical literature about the process of transgendering from those who have gone through it, because the problem of transgender regret, in which men and women

speak and write about de-transitioning back to their original sex because of their profound dissatisfaction, has only recently been moving into public domain (Jeffreys, *Gender Hurts* 12).

Raymond's book "The Transsexual Empire" challenged the medical definition of transsexualism as a disease, a biological flow that needs to be cured by surgeons; by confirming to the subjective, outdated, and questionable feminine roles by passing as women. She provided an incisive critique of the practice of transgenderism:

> My main conclusion is that transsexualism is basically a social problem whose cause cannot be explained except in relation to the sex roles and identities that a patriarchal society generates (Raymond 79).

In fact, Daly built on Morgan's theme and Raymond being Daly's student elaborated her views which was later picked up by Jeffrey. Subsequently, she proceeded with the similar theme.

On the other hand, there are scholars like Halberstam 2005, Serrano 2007, and Stryker, 2006, 2008 who support the transgenderism. Stryker states in response to anti-transgenderism:

> We understand the current wave of anti-transgender rhetoric to be in reaction to recent gains for transgender human and civil rights, a concomitant rise in visibility for transgender issues, and the vague sense that public opinion is shifting, however haltingly or unevenly, toward greater support of trans lives (Stryker, *Transgender History* 5).

Halberstam provides a number of arguments to explain the transgender phenomenon. She explains the rationale behind the emergence of transgenderism. She also answers some of the questions like why transgenderism is even needed in presence of other categories such as lesbian, gay and bisexual. She explicates the circumstances where the term transgender and transsexual becomes unavoidable. For Halberstam, transsexual is not merely a "conservative medical term" denoting trans gender's transgressiveness; rather, both "transsexuality and transgenderism" change relatively according to the "hegemonic medical discourse". Halberstam puts it as:

You may find that a transgender male is a female born subject who has had no sex reassignment surgery, takes testosterone (with or without medical supervision) and lives as a man mostly but is recognized by his community as a transgendered man in particular. The term transgender in this context refuses the stability and the term transsexual may offer to some folks, and it embraces more hybrid possibilities and identification. (Halberstam, *In a Queer Time* 53).

Keeping in view the complexities of transgendered bodies, Halberstam remarks that "transgender bodies seem to be both illogical and illegible to many experts who try to read them". She points out the context where the application of the term "transgender" becomes inevitable:

In relation to a female born person who passes as male (with or without hormone) for most of his life, the term transgender registers the distinction between his cultivated masculinity and a male's biological masculinity, and it addresses the question of the transgender man's past history as female. For these subjects, of course we need a transgender history, a method for recording the presence of gender ambiguous subjects sensitive enough not to reduce them to either ' women all along' or failed men (Halberstam, *In a Queer Time* 48).

According to Halberstam in recent years the term transgender has been helpful in to identify subjects; however, the "inclusivity of its appeal" made it somewhat ambiguous for people to understand "what this term might mean and for whom". She further argues that because of this ambiguity, some scholars could not understand it and think of it as merely the new version of the older "gender conformists". Halberstam writes as:

Some theorists like Bernice Hausman have dismissed transgenderism as a form of false consciousness that circulates through the belief that genders can be voluntary and chosen, and she concludes in *Changing Sex* that " the new gender outlaws are just newer versions of the old gender conformists" (Hausman qtd. in Halberstam *In a Queer Time*. 49).

On the other hand, Halberstam argues that before we discard transgenderism because of its fuzziness, we should know how it works and to whom it describes and validates to be part of this category. We are hardly prompted to recognize the forms and characters that fit to be categorized as transgender. Halberstam continues thus:

Transgender proves to be an important term not to people who want to reside outside of categories altogether but to people who want to place themselves in the way of particular forms of recognition. Transgender may indeed be considered a term of rationality. It

describes not simply an identity but a relation between people, within a community or within intimate bonds (Halberstam, *In a Queer Time* 49)

According to Halberstam the term 'transgender' gained popularity in early 1990's because of the appearance of "cross identifying women" communities who could not conform with the "medical models of transsexuality". When the "female to male transsexuals" increased in number and became more noticeable in "urban queer communities", restructuring of categories followed inevitably. Young people started coming out in the 1990's who had no sufficient knowledge and information about how can these cross-identification experiences be interpreted. Halberstam argues as:

> If lesbian in this context becomes the term for women who experience themselves as female and desire other women, and if 'FTM transsexual' becomes the term for female born people who experience prolonged male-identification and think of themselves as male, then what happens to those female born people who think of themselves as masculine but not necessarily male and certainly not female? We do use the term 'butch' for this last category, but it cannot adequately bridge the categorical gap between the lesbian and transsexual (Halberstam, *In a Queer Time* 50).

In short, Halberstam demonstrated the requisite nature of the term transgenderism. She answered step by step all the possible questions by assessing the need and status of the transgenderism. She considered all possible instances of individuals who may not even appropriately match and fit into the any specialized categories designed for them e.g. Butch or lesbian. Therefore, Halberstam suggests that the effect of naming identification has never been clearer enough than in relation to the 'transgendered' experience. Halberstam finally sums up her discussion in support of transgenderism as:

> Transgender is, for the most part, a vernacular term developed within gender communities to account for the cross-identification experiences of people who may not accept all of the protocols and strictures of transsexuality. Such people understand cross-identification as a crucial part of their gendered self, but they may pick and choose among the options of body modification, social presentation, and legal recognition available to them. (Halberstam, *In a Queer Time* 53).

Although the phenomenon ' transgenderism' is surrounded by a lot of complexities, at the same time it attracts the attention of researchers, anthropologists, media, doctors, journalists and policy makers, all of them are devoted to make the subject transgender more clear than ever before. None of them would like to allocate the "transgender life" into a pejorative category. Therefore, we should be vigilant of exceedingly observable narratives packed with ambiguity, conflict, denial and tension.

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Transgender and Hijras

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There has been great debate about whether the term transgender, as outlined above, can be applied to Hijras or not. While some suggest that Hijras are not the same as transgenders others use the term transgender to address Hijras. Let us have a look at both terms. Transgender is an umbrella term which covers all ambiguous gender identities including eunuch, hermaphrodite, intersex, transsexuals (LGBT), trans individuals with or without SRS (sex reassignment surgery) and cross-dressers. In a broader sense, transgender covers anyone who do not confirm the stereotypical gender norms. It also covers all gender-variant and gender non- confirming people who do not fit into any category.

1.C. A Critical Reappraisal of Gender Identity and Transgender Issues

This sub-chapter aims to present a critical reappraisal of Gender Identity and Transgender issues in the light of findings on hijras provided by the present study and thereby to contribute to the intersections of gender and transgender. Transgender issues particularly, discrimination, rights, and recognition are the most challenging areas in public policy issues. The gender and sexuality spectrum including hijras, transgender, transsexuals and Queer is overflowing with labels. One thing all of these theories have in common is that they have been ultimately generating new

subdivisions, further categories, and ever-growing labels. All of these categories of transgender people including multi-gendered, androgynous, gender non-confirming, third-gender, and two-spirit people have not been sufficient to eliminate discrimination, which is the desired target of all of the non-binary gender system around the world. The present study, however, suggests the need for theorizing differently from queer, feminist, and transgender theories and develop new conceptual grounds for investigating transgender issues differently.

The previous studies have been attempting to bring change and recognition for the various gendered and sexual identities through discourse. Hence, the non-normative identities have been defined and placed at the center of dominant discourse for recognition, acceptance, and adoption. One of the reasons was to bring these people out who were hiding their self because of the non-acceptance and intolerance of the society towards them. No doubt these movements have been successful in bringing them out, made them vocal, and motivated them to display their self, but they have not been successful in blocking discrimination. The major reason provided by previous scholars (e.g. Butler as discussed above) was that these identities have been defined and designed in relation to the already existing dominant identities. For instance, the third gender people are non-gender binary individuals. So, they are defined in relation to the gender- binary individuals. The same applies to all of the non-normative identities. The present study agrees with the previous studies in that the discourse is the way to bring change but it does not agree with the labels because it seems like the more the labels the more the discrimination. The non-normative groups have been created based on differences, the groups or individuals are singled out from others for being different. The differences used for the formation of these groups strengthen the dominant Others (for detail see Chapter 3) because they are defined in relation to them. In the he modern world in which we are living today, people are learning not to interfere in others' lives, to accept the people

the way they are, and also to encourage people to be their self. Almost all of the motivational speeches and discourses are persuading the audience to adopt the principle "be yourself" to change or succeed in life, focus on yourself, not on Others. The present research proposes to undo the labels, focus on the discourse of self rather on the discourse of Others. The previous theorists suggested that many people do not fit into these defined categories and therefore, all of these undefined people come under the umbrella term "transgender" (discussed in sections 1A.6, 1.B.8). The present study suggests authorizing people to be what they are and not to put pressure on people to find and fit their self into predesigned labels and categories. The modern world requires developing the discourse of acceptability and privacy, not allowing the dominant Others to interfere with the private life of others; instead of producing recognition seekers, we need to empower people for self-government so that they can govern their life themselves.

The discourse analysis in Chapter Two shows that hijras are different from transgender individuals because hijras have a historical background going back to the Mughal Empire and a variety of denotational labels that transgender individuals in Western and other societies do not have. However, a deeper analysis shows that these differences do not lie in bodily variances but are historical, connotative, and cultural ones. Hence, the present study suggests that there is a need to focus on human rights and equal opportunities rather than dividing and demanding transgender rights, transsexual rights, and queer rights. An analysis of the hijras' self and lack-of-being (Chapter 4, Section 4.c.) shows that these are all human needs and the necessary things for the formation of a positive self that hijras lack. The love of parents, relatives, and their company is an essential ingredient for the formation of a positive self. The same is true for transgender individuals. These are the basic human rights: the state and human rights organizations must watch and ensure that these individuals stay with their families and siblings for their positive upbringing.

In today's Pakistan, people do not give their children to hijras but keep them within the family, which is a very positive sign. Therefore, the discourse of public awareness and acceptability, equal opportunities, and non- discrimination is required to bring positive change in society instead of segregating and inventing new labels.

The previous gender labels "males" and "females" are still troublesome. The stereotypical male attributes changed over time; in the modern world the majority of females have surpassed males in many respects. There are males with less manly characteristics and there are females who possess more manly characteristics. It sounds like a person is a combination of masculine and feminine characteristics simultaneously but does not fit into any single category. Based on my common observation, people are supposed to be either masculine or feminine, but I observed that a person in real life is for instance 50% masculine and 50% feminine, 75% masculine and 25% feminine, and the combination varies from one person to the next. However, the fixed definitions, categorization, and predominant stereotypes are prevalent in society and govern the society and individuals likewise. People are not satisfied with the male/female gender categorization, and the extension of further gender categories such as transgender, transsexual, and queer is perhaps a further addition to the trouble. The modern world needs to return to the concept of fuzziness and continuum instead of tailoring any categories and labels.

The major problem with Western scholars was that they had been searching for centers; however, the deconstructionist scholars from Derrida to Butler focused on the "decentered subject" and, as a result, queer theory emerged to defy rigid social norms and taxonomies, but it is itself a category for all sexually deviant and marginalized group of people. This category is still a stigmatized category for representing the non-heterosexuals and is defined in relation to the heterosexuals. All these categories try to capture the totality and singularity of a human body,

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human experience, and human existence which is not possible because the symbolic order (language) itself lacks to convey or represent social reality. The basic problem with all of these prescribed categories and labels is that the selective fragment of a subject posits conveying the reality or the truth of a human subject as a whole. Be it the queer theory, who embraces and accepts all possible truths and human experiences, but it turned the subjects into sexualized bodies. A fragment of them is defining and describing their whole existence. It is not possible to label all human experiences so they are lumped together under the umbrellas "transgender" or "queer." The postmodern philosophers and researchers need to move away from the labeling and categorizing human existence and human experiences. Lack of identity makes people struggle all their lives and they keep on moving from one identity to another identity till the end of their lives. It is not just the question of hijra identity or LGBT identity, transgender identity, and queer identity. Identities are fluid in nature, they keep on changing from time to time and vary from one individual to another individual.

The self-and-Other relationship is operating discursively in all cultural and intersubjective contexts. The question of identity is related to the self/other phenomena. How am I being seen by the Others? There is not a single Other, there is not a single me. I have a different identity in the eyes of different individuals, I behave differently in different conditions. Different people have different opinions about me. I can never be single with any prescribed identity because I am changing all the time; it is not possible for me to wear a single identity. By labeling and categorizing gender-variant people are we trying to develop a homogeneous gaze and opinions for them? It will be disadvantageous for them as well because like all human beings they are a combination of infinite faculties. These are not just the gender-variant people who seek acceptance and recognition; all human beings seek acceptance and recognition from Others. This struggle

keeps them moving and the void can never be filled. The subject's identity is confirmed and adjourned simultaneously. It is not possible to describe oneself in words, even a person himself or herself cannot represent their true self because of the lack in the symbolic order; this representation is not single with the real subject. As Žižek pointed out:

> In short by means of the Word, the subject finally finds itself, comes to itself: it is no longer a mere obscure longing for itself, since, in the word, the subject directly attains itself, posits itself as such. The price for it, however, is the irretrievable loss of the subject's self-identity: the verbal sign that stands for the subject, that is, in which the subject posits itself as self-identical, bears, the mark of an irreducible dissonance, it never fits the subject. (Žižek 43)

The present study suggests that the discourse on sexuality and the gender spectrum is playing with the minds of people, making it more complex for people to understand their self, as this discourse is putting words into the mouths of people. We need to produce a discourse of tolerance, acceptability, equality, and humanity. The discourse that aims at producing subjects who are non-judgmental and who respect others' privacy. The overflowing online transgender, transsexual, queer, gender-fluid discourse is making the youngsters confuse because they are provided with many readymade predesigned categories to choose from and the situation is like "a man in the hospital" who thinks of himself as a diseased person saddled with the various symptoms of many diseases and who can make wrong decisions depending on their age and because of the lack of awareness of the consequences of reclaiming such an identity. In short, the present study aims at fostering the development of the positive discourse of 'self and others' for producing positive subjects.

CHAPTER 2

HIJRAS' IDENTITY-DISCOURSES RECONSTRUCTING HIJRAS AS TRANSGENDER

Chapter 2 provides a comparison between hijras and transgender. It gives a detailed description of hijras while Transgender has already been discussed in Chapter 1. The theoretical and historical comparison of both phenomena under discussion will be helpful in understanding the confusion surrounding hijras and transgender. This is one of the most puzzling cases for Asia, replete with questions like whether the hijras are transgender or not? Is this part of the politics to reframe hijras as transgender? Is it important to understand hijras and resolve this puzzle or is it just one of the pettiest issues that needs not be resolved at all? Does it have any impact on the state, particularly Pakistan and Asian communities, in general, to be viewed with a macro lens? Is 'hijra' a negative, unwelcomed and undesirable word and can it be replaced with a modern terminology such as 'transgender'? Is there any harm in translating or interpreting hijras as transgender or not? Is there any difference between hijras and transgender to be understood at all? Does it matter to understand the difference between hijras and transgender? This chapter aims to answer this intricate web of questions in order to resolve the puzzle by viewing every detail under the macro lens. Chapter 2 provides a critical analysis of text and discourse and its impact in framing a certain ideology and identity.

Researchers from different disciplines have used the term discourse in various ways in the diverse academic cultures. Regarding textual linguistics, the terms text and discourse has been

distinguished in the German and central European context. However, in the countries where English is spoken, discourse refers to both the oral and verbal texts. In linguistics, text is defined as "A coherent stretch of language that may be regarded as an object of critical analysis". For Hasan and Halliday, a text is "any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length that does form a unified whole" (4). Lemke defines text as "the concrete realization of the abstract forms of knowledge" (qtd. in Wodak and Meyer 6). He demonstrates intertextuality as a process which binds the individuals into a sub-community:

> We are all constantly reading and listening to, writing and speaking, this text in the context of and against the background of other texts and other discourses. Discourses (i.e. types of discourses), particularly, are more characteristics of communities and subcommunities than of individuals. They provide us with a resource for making meaning that is equally as important as the grammar and lexicon of our language, though we use it in a rather different way. Each community and every subcommunity within it has its own system of intertextuality: its own set of important or valued texts, its own preferred discourse, and particularly its own habits of deciding which texts should be read in the context of which others, and why, and how. (Lemke 9)

Nonetheless, the discourse is viewed as "the structured forms of knowledge about social practices, which may be aligned to differing ideological positions whereas text refers to concrete oral utterances or written documents" (Wodak and Meyer 6). The discourse is a source for understanding not only people, their behavior, their ideologies, and their perspectives but it also can make people behave in certain ways, create new ideologies and construct certain perspectives. As Fairclough suggests:

> We often try to understand why people are speaking or writing as they do, and even identify less immediate social causes. Having said this, it is clear that some texts receive a great deal more interpretative work than others: some texts are very transparent, others more or less opaque to particular interpreters; interpretation is sometimes unproblematic and effectively automatic, but sometimes highly reflexive, involving a great deal of conscious thought about what is meant, or why something has been said or written as it has. (Fairclough, Analyzing Discourse 11)

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The texts and discourse have a great impact on society in terms of developing ideas and shaping perspectives through semantics and pragmatics. The interpretation of a text is a very complex domain. The texts with both implicit and explicit meaning may lead to different interpretations of a single phenomenon and can be manipulated by opinion makers. Fairclough describes the process of meaning-making and its effect on society as:

> The social effect of texts depends upon processes of meaning making-we might say that the social effects of texts are mediated by meaning making, or indeed that it is meanings that have social effects rather than texts as such. But one resource that is necessary for any account of meaning making is the capacity to analyze texts in order to clarify their contribution to processes of meaning making . . . . . . .Meaning-making depends upon not only what is explicit in a text but also what is implicit-what is assumed. . . . . . What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed. . . . . . The social effects of text depends upon processes of meaning-making- we might want to say that the social effects of texts are mediated by meaning-making. (Fairclough, Analyzing Discourse 11).

The present study explores the implicit and explicit assumptions, how they are ideologically shaped and their relationship to knowledge and power. The Critical discourse analysis is a methodology employed thus:

> To systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. (Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis: 132)

In the history of Discourse Analysis, three key researchers Fairclough, Van dijk, Wodak and others have made great contributions to the development of a somewhat different analytical frameworks for analyzing discourse.

Fairclough's *dialectal-relational approach* (DRA 2009) is a three-layer model of *social reality*. It connects micro-linguistic analysis (micro level) to analysis of social structure (macro level) via an intermediate analysis of social practice. His framework draws upon his belief that

there is a dialectal relationship between discourse (comprising language and semiotics e.g. visual images) and other components of social practices. CDA is predominantly interested in the radical changes occurring in the existing social life. It is concerned basically with how discourses work within these processes of change. It deals with the shifts in the relationships between semiotics and other social features contained by the social schemes of practices.

Van dijk's critical discourse studies (CDS, 2009) linked *the structure of discourse* (lexical choices, linguistic strategies) with *the structure of society* (the class, ethnic, gender and sexual categories) by cognitive model interface as an intermediate layer for *cognitive, social and political* analysis of both discourse and society at the macro and micro levels simultaneously:

> CDS is mainly interested in the role of discourse in the instantiation and reproduction of power and power abuse (dominance) and hence is particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between the local and the Global, between the structures of discourse and structures of society. We have seen that such links are not direct, but need a cognitive and an interactional interface: social representation, including attitudes and ideologies, are often mediated by mental models to show up discourses, such as discourse has social effects and functions only when it, in turn, contributes to the formation or confirmation of social attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk 82).

> It is this permanent bottom-up and top-down linkage of discourse and interaction with societal structures that form one of the most typical characteristics of CDS. Discourse analysis is thus at the same time, cognitive, social and political analysis, but focuses rather on the role discourses play, both locally and globally, in society and its structures (Van Dijk 83).

Wodak and Reisigl (2009, 87) developed a framework "discourse historical approach" (DHA) based on the systematic collection of sample texts on a topic over time to understand the interrelationship of discourse topics that exist within the political domain (e.g. the public pinion making discourse). Inter-textual relationships between texts, discourses or discourse topics are carefully recorded over time. This method allows for the analysis of topically related texts to evolve in a set of ideologies that reinforce one another over a period of time through various tests.

The inter-textual and discursive relationship between texts provides a methodology that explains how macro-structures of inequality persist over time across various situates and texts.

Although all of the CDA scholars have developed diverse frameworks, they share some common presumptions about their approaches. For example, their models theorize about the correlation between microstructures of language (text, discourse) and macrostructures of society (gender, ethnic and sexual categories), with a mediating middle layer (e.g. social practices, contextual models, or domains of action), and they also maintain that the micro-macro division is just an investigative analytical tool for the systematic analysis of discourses.

For text analysis, all of the CDA approaches and frameworks include information about the context. All of them are agreed on the mediating role of context models with somewhat different assumptions about the context:

> The relation between discourse and society is not direct, but needs to be mediated by so called context models. That is, social structures-organizations, groups, gender, race etc. are phenomenon that cannot be directly linked to the mental processes of discourse production and understanding, as was previously the case in traditional sociolinguistics (Van Dijk 73).

> Within the theoretical framework of the discourse-cognition-society triangle, context models mediate between discourse structures and social structures at all levels of analysis. This means that society is understood here as a complex configuration of situational structures at the local level (participants and their identities, roles and relationships engaging spatiotemporally and institutionally situated, goal-direction interaction), on the one hand and societal structures (organizations, groups, classes etc. and their properties e.g. power relations), on the other hand. This side of triangle also includes the cultural variation as well as their historical specificity and change. It is also on this side of the triangle that we locate the consequences of discursive injustice, for instance in the form of social inequality (Van Dijk 66).

> In other words, the context analysis focuses on setting (time, place), participants and their properties and relations, as well as on their goals, the knowledge presupposed by the participants, and the Ideology of the participants (Van Dijk 68).

CDA researchers attempted to upgrade the theories of social scientists by assimilating the theoretical and analytical resources (from semiotics, linguistics, and cognitive theories etc.).

The present research employs these common assumptions from all of the CDA frameworks by exploring 'hijras' from a historical context to a contemporary modern context, by systematically recording and analyzing the topically related discourses over time. It also provides an analysis of the *structure of discourse* (lexical choices, linguistic strategies) and the *structure of society* (the class, race, gender, ethnic and sexual categories). The discourse and society are analyzed at the social and political levels, and at the macro and micro levels simultaneously.

2. A. Are Hijras Transgender?

It is essential to include the definitions, descriptions, and interpretations of 'hijra' in its many manifestations across time and space to understand the phenomenon under discussion. Let us have a look at 'hijra' chronologically, starting from the seventeenth century to the twenty-first century. The colonial authorities, ethnographers and translators and official documents represented a group, "defined by their sexual and gender characteristics such as eunuchs, hermaphrodites and impotent men". For instance, Raymond in his book 'Nota Manus' depicted hijra as a hermaphrodite, impotent man, and eunuch who is feminine in a dress (Gannon 129). Around the same time, Jhon Gilchrist (1787-1790), interpreted the word "eunuch" as "khoju and heejra". In his dictionary,[9] he continued to translate eunuch as khoju, khwaju Sara, heejra (Gannon 130).

Thus, the word hijra was used to represent a "hermaphrodite eunuch" and zenana was associated with 'feminine eunuch.' Likewise, Solyvns (1810) describes hijras as "hermaphrodites who dance" (Gannon 132) and Henry Ebden (1855) uses all negative characteristics to describe the group of

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[9] Dictionary: "The Oriental Linguist, an Easy and Familiar Introduction to the Popular Language of Hindoostan" 1789 by Jhon Gilchrist.

eunuchs named hijras such as "sodomy, cross-dressing, bardic performances, sexual desire, and

the purchasing of children" (Gannon 142). Another reference to the "bardic nature of the hijra"

comes from Richard C. Temple (1855). As a folklorist and anthropologist, the author noted that

the Punjabi word for eunuch is khusre, and this class of eunuch is accustomed to singing at birth

events for receiving alms and money; he demonstrates that some eunuchs dance for alms and can

curse the householders if they do not receive alms (Gannon 148-149). Furthermore, Drew (1892)

observed that in Punjab, "the caste of hijra" also includes "khunsa, khusra, and Mukhannas"

(Gannon 150).

Gannon provides a detailed account of these constructions, representations, interpretations,

and manipulations under the colonial context.

> In 1870 CE, Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur, an Indian politician and a native informant to the
> British Colonial authorities, explained the distinction between khojay (khwajasara), Hijre
> and zenana in the following terms, khojay or 'khawja sarais' as he also calls them, act as
> custodians of the zenanas (Harem) of the Indian princes and noblemen; and as they are
> exclusively confined to their master's domicile, no opportunity is afforded them of
> outraging public decency by any immoralities. Per contra, those who are known as hijre
> earn a livelihood by dancing and singing in the public streets, an occupation which might
> be deemed excusable, did they not eke it out by giving themselves up to other abhorrent
> practices. Finally, zenanna are eunuchs not by castrations, but whose impotence is caused
> by some defect of birth, by accident or other natural causes. They mix and associate with
> those of the second class, i.e. with hijre and imitate and view with them in their obscene
> and disgusting depravity (Gannon 187).

The British divided the term eunuch into two categories and attributed positive features to knoja

while assigning negative characteristics to hijra. The distinction between eunuch as khoja and hijra

was a repetitive topic throughout the nineteenth century. Norman Chevers (1870) refers to "a group

of hermaphrodites gaining access to births and weddings and receiving money" (Gannon 142). As

Gannon puts it:

> At another point in his narrative, Chevers separates eunuchs in a different way: Khojas are
> the eunuchs in harems, who wear men's clothes and live a reproachless life, while hijeras

are the dancing sodomites who wear women's clothes. The Hijras also purchase slaves to make into eunuchs, often from groups such as Thuggees, since they cannot risk stealing the victims themselves. In this vein, he claims that: Men who are fond of dancing willingly get themselves made eunuchs. The parents never willingly permit or suffer them to be made eunuchs. They by their own desire, make themselves so, and no stolen boys, but purchased ones, are made eunuchs. (Gannon 142)

Eventually, in 1871, a law (ACT XXVII) was passed to regulate eunuchs. The descriptive key characteristics of eunuchs in this law were "sodomites, kidnappers of children, impotent men, and cross-dressers" (Gannon 145) All these terms "khojay, hijre, and zenana" were used interchangeably during the twentieth century (for detail see. Gannon 183).

The hijra emerged as a caste in the 1880s. Before the mid-1850s, various accounts described hijras as "sexual and gendered characteristics". They have been associated with sodomy, prostitution, efficacy, and impotence. Many representations of this group changed during the 1850s. They were described as persons who have a capricious rapport regarding the gendered dressing style. In the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century, they were depicted as wearing both masculine and feminine clothing. However, in the nineteenth century, this type of representation changed, and they were only dressed in feminine clothes. Moreover, various indigenous linguistic terminologies were used to define and describe them (Gannon 158-159).

In the twentieth century, postcolonial scholars represented hijras as "institutionalized homosexuals" (Carstairs 1957), as "a eunuch community" (Mukherjee 1980) and "transvestite eunuchs" (Jani and Rosenberg 1990). Carstairs (1957: 60) and Opler (1960: 506) agreed that hijras were castrated males, dance performers, demanding and collecting gifts at auspicious ceremonies like weddings and childbirths. But they debated on the point as to whether they were prostitutes or not. Opler aptly clarified the definition of hijras and explained how homosexuality is the reverse of the hijra conception.

> The word hijra does not have a Sanskrit root but is an Urdu term with the primary meaning of "hermaphrodite." It is also often translated as "eunuch" and has the force of impotent. In either case, it implies a physical defect impairing the sexual functions rather than homosexuality. It is known that hijras were much used in the women quarters at the courts of nobles during Muslim rule in India. It is very likely that the seclusion of women and the restraints upon their activity, which had such a strong development during this period did much to encourage the use of hijra. Thus it was probably the emphasis on male prerogatives than the disinclination to allow women of a good name to dance publicly, rather than any homosexual urge, that accounts for the Hijras. (Opler 507)

According to Shah (1961), Carstairs is wrong in considering all hijras as homosexual; there is some truth in this information about homosexuality; however, this is not institutionalized homosexuality (for detail see. Shah 1329). Nanda also endorsed Shah's view:

> "Part of the teasing of hijras derives from their often blatant and bawdy flirting with men and their aggressive caricature of feminine sexuality. Because many hijras are homosexuals, this decreases their respect in society and leaves them vulnerable to public mockery". (Nanda 9)

Nanda argues that hijras who are engaged in homosexual prostitution deviate from "the hijras' ideal as ritual performers who have renounced sexual desire and activity". But it is not justified to view it as institutionalized homosexuality:

> In spite of the undeniable fact that many hijras earn a living from homosexual prostitution, to view their social place as one of institutionalized homosexuality is to overlook the important cultural role the hijras play as ritual performers a position linked to their definition as an ambiguous gender category neither man nor woman. (Nanda 12)

Twentieth--century scholars admire the hijras for representing third sex/ third gender in non-western cultures. The hijras deviate from the binary perception of gender and do not conform to the heteronormative ideals. Hijras in many eastern cultures have an almost positive image and are regarded as honorable persons, unlike in western cultures, where people who deviate from the "heteronormative ideals" are seen as disordered or abnormal. For instance, South Asian (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) hijras are believed to possess special powers. Nanda puts it in these words:

The special powers that the hijras derive from their alternative gender role legitimate their function as ritual performers, and it is this role that forms the core of their self-definition and the basis of their positive, collective self-image. Only the hijras-those who are neither man nor woman-are given special powers by God to make their words-whether blessings or curses-come true (Nanda 12).

2. B. Discourses Constructing Transgenderism

In the south Asian context, fundamental questions regarding transgenderism is whether hijras can be categorized as transgender or they require a separate category. It is a very controversial and highly debatable issue. Discourse analysis in this social context can be employed to answer to these questions. According to Fairclough:

> Texts, language and communication should therefore always be considered in their social context, they both shape and are informed by wider processes within society. In this manner texts do not merely passively report upon the world, but they imbue it with meaning, fabricate it, shape perspectives and call the world into being. The broad term discourse can be employed, in these circumstances as it refers to the various ways in which communication between people is achieved. Discourse can be considered as an active relation to reality. (Fairclough, Discourse 41)

The word 'hijra' had been translated as eunuch[10] or hermaphrodite in English. In each case, impotence have been the focal point of the definition of hijra. Currently, Pakistani writers and print media, both online and off-line translate and interpret the word 'hijra' as transgender. Let us have a look at how they are defined and categorized by contemporary writers, researchers, interpreters, translators, and officials, etc.

> Though officially accepted and even recognized in the national identity cards, the transgender community in Pakistan suffers from serious stigma and discrimination. Often by their families, transgender people have very little access to the labor market and proper health care. Therefore transgender people end up living in very difficult conditions and are frequently subject to violence in many different ways (United Nation in Pakistan)[11].

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[10] Eunuch refers to an emasculated man.
[11] "United Nations in Pakistan Organizes Event on Transgender Rights". See Links

The above extract is from the United Nations official website. The word "transgender" is used to represent hijras, and the hijra community is referred to as a transgender community.

> The status of transgender in Pakistan is very low. They are deprived of their guarded rights. People use vituperative language and refer to them as Hijra'- a word equated with a coward. Why do we refute the fact that transgender people were the personal guards of most of the Mughal Emperors? (Wajiha Zafar,[12] February 19, 2019).

Apparently, in the above lines, the writer Wajiha Zafar avoided to use the word hijra, considering it a negative, unsuitable, and abusive word and used the word transgender as a possible positive and modern alternative word. She mentioned harassment, health care, victimization, and discrimination against hijras in her news article in *Daily Times*.

> Transgender (also referred to as khusra) reflects a group of people who enjoy the least amount of respect or rights in Pakistan. Due to the controversial nature and typical mindset of people, the subject of transgender rights in Pakistan is not even discussed in sophisticated circles. Most people do not even consider them as part of their community; massive rejections are often faced by transgender in almost all the parts of Pakistan (Mahwish Akhter February 29, 2016)[13].

> Consequently, most of these individuals have no other option, but to make their living by singing and dancing alongside the road or in private parties. Additionally, transgenders are usually not encouraged to live among regular mohalla's. They are bound to establish their own colonies outside of regular communities. (Mahwish Akhter February 29, 2016)

Mahvish Akhter in her article "transgender in Pakistan" published in "the News Pakistan" sheds light on the rights of hijras. Mahvish uses the word Transgender as an alternative to Khusra. Throughout the news article, she uses the word Transgender for hijras. It is very clear that the writer is viewing both transgender and khusra as referring to the same entity, i.e. hijra.

> We've seen them dancing at the weddings, draped in sequined depresses and flashy costume jewelry, and shooed them away when they've approached us for loose change on busy street corners. We've heard about them living on the fringes of society and being forced to make a living by begging, dancing, or sex work. We've even read stories of them

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[12] Wajiha Zafar (Feburary 19, 2019) "Transgender in Pakistan Challenges and Prospects". See Links
[13] Transgender in Pakista by Mahwish Akhter. See links

bleeding to death after being denied treatment at public hospitals. But few of us know much about the new civil rights movement that is stirring hopes for a better life among Pakistan's deeply marginalized transgender community (Hamza Ghaznavi, September 28, 2017)[14].

The above article titled "How Pakistan's Transgender Community Found Its Voice-The Milestone" is about the Protection of rights bill 2017[15]. The writer Hamza Ghaznavi provides a detail description of hijras and uses the word "transgender" to refer to hijras.

Come the colonial times, the gender ambiguous and intersex people of south Asia are labeled as the 'criminal class.' What follows is a period where the British systematically exclude queer people from mainstream society by imposing their gender-binarism on the indigenous culture, thus stigmatizing the queer communities of South Asia (Dawn, September 29, 2014)[16].

The khawja-Siras who were royal court officials, and Hijras, who are feared because of their power to bless or curse, now became a marginalized section of society because the British, with their hegemonic colonial project, were unable to comprehend and appreciate the local queer cultures (Dawn, September 29, 2014).

They erased our queer narratives criminalized our gender minorities. Section 377 of Pakistan panel code that criminalizes homosexual conduct is a remnant of colonial times. Never was seen such a massive project of destruction of queer cultures in the name of civilizing (Dawn, September 29, 2014).

The above article titled "Being queer was not always a crime in Pakistan" by *Dawn News* shows that the writer is using the word "queer"[17] to refer to hijras or Khawja siras. The writer uses the word "queer cultures" to refer to hijra communities. In the same news article, the author is connecting homosexuality to queer cultures. In other words, he/she is attributing homosexuality to hijras.

It will also be the first time Pakistan's estimated 500,000 "eunuchs" are eligible to seek office, after the Supreme Court in 2011 ordered the government to issue them with identity cards and to register them as voters. In Pakistan, the word "eunuch" is also used to refer to hermaphrodites, transsexuals, transvestites, and homosexuals in addition to castrated men.

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[14] Hamza Ghaznavi : "How Pakistan's Transgender Community Found Its Voice-The Milestone"
[15] Protection of rights Bill 2017 for transgender persons. See links
[16] "Being queer was not always a crime in Pakistan". Dawn. See Links
[17] For detail on Queer theory see chapter 1

"Those classified as eunuch are traditionally paid to help celebrate the birth of a son, or to dance at weddings" (Dawn, February 25, 2013)[18].

The above article "The Pakistani transgender candidate to run for office" published in the *Dawn News* shows that the writer is using the word "transgender" in the heading and eunuch in the body of the article to refer to hijras. The writer is defining the "eunuch" as an umbrella term for hermaphrodites, transsexuals, transvestites and homosexuals, etc.

> Lal, 28, is one of a handful of candidates from Pakistan's transgender community standing in national and provincial elections on Saturday. Known as "hijra" a catch-all term for transsexuals, hermaphrodites, and transvestites but usually indicating someone born male identifying as a woman, they have faced discrimination and ridicule for centuries. Living apart, they have traditionally earned a living as dancers, circus performers, sex workers, and beggars (Jason Burke, 9 May 2013).

Jason Burke's [19] (9 May 2013) "Pakistan's once-ridiculed transgender community fight elections for the first time,"[20] published in the "Guardian", casts the news that "hijras can vote and run for seats in polls following the Supreme Court's decision to recognize them as third gender". He also defines hijras in his news article as an umbrella term used for transsexuals, hermaphrodites, and transvestites and also adds that it usually refers to someone born male identifying as women. The author uses the word transgender in the whole article to refer to hijras.

> Pakistan's minority community of transgender men are known in the Urdu language as "hijras" and estimated number around 500,000. Many Pakistanis refer to the members generally as "eunuch" (Frud Bezhan and Ahmad Shah Azami, 2013)[21].

> Five hijra candidates will take part in the May 11 vote. The election commission of Pakistan said that, unlike women and religious and ethnic minorities, "the hijras had not reserved

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[18] "The Pakistani transgender candidate to run for office". Dawn. See Links

[19] Jason Burke : https://www.theguardian.com/profile/jasonburke

[20] "Pakistan's once-ridiculed transgender community fight elections for first time". See Links

[21] "Pakistan's 'Third gender' contests First Elections". See Links

seats in the provincial and national assemblies. Transgender candidates will have to contest general seats" (Frud Bezhan and Ahmad shah Azami, 2013).

In the above extracts, the writers use 'third gender' in the heading of the article "Pakistan's 'Third Gender' Contests First elections." The authors are using transgender and hijra alternatively in the body of the article. They are also suggesting that transgender men are the alternative translation of "hijras" known as eunuchs.

> Due to the non-availability of data on the number of eunuchs in Punjab, the Social Welfare Department and the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) will start a joint venture from January 25 to register all eunuch in Punjab and bring them in the electoral rolls (Muzaffar Ali, January 23, 2012)[22].

> In Pakistan, eunuchs have been ostracized and forced to live in segregated ghettos as their families feel embarrassed in introducing them in public. A majority of the eunuchs leave their homes to hide the identity of their families. Serving all blood relations, they declare their gurus as their guardians. Supreme Court (SC) Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry had directed the concerned departments to make feasibility plans to protect the rights of the eunuchs (Muzaffar Ali, January 23, 2012).

> Talking to Pakistan today, She-Male Association of Pakistan President Almas Boby said that at present, she had no record of the number of eunuchs in Pakistan. Almas Boby said that she would be present at the office of the provincial election commissioner on January 25, where she would present all the records she had about eunuchs (Muzaffar Ali, January 23, 2012).

The above extracts from the news article named "searching for eunuchs" shows the consistent use of the word 'eunuch' to refer to hijras throughout the article.

The last extract is reporting a short interview with the hijra Activist Almas Boby, where again the author used the word eunuch while reporting the interview.

> "Pakistan's Supreme Court Says eunuchs must be allowed to identify themselves as a distinct gender to ensure their rights. The eunuchs known as 'hijras' in Pakistan are men" castrated at an early age for medical or social reasons. The court said they should be issued

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[22] "Searching for eunuchs". See Links

with national identity cards showing their distinct gender (BBC News, (23 December 2009)[23].

The word 'eunuch' is referring to hijras throughout the "BBC news" article "Pakistani eunuchs to have distinct gender". Hijras are described as eunuchs, castrated men- a definition in line with the colonial definitions of hijras.

A closer look at the news articles from 2009 to 2019 will reveal very clearly that the term 'eunuch' has been replaced with the modern term 'transgender' in the last ten years right in front of our eyes. The above extracts show the rapid decline in the use of the term 'eunuch' and the rise in the use of term transgender. It seems like the term 'eunuch' will be no longer in use in the short run. It is not just simply the change of a word; the very definition of hijra is also being changed abruptly. Observing the change in terminology, meanings, and definitions diachronically, we can see the change from the Mughal period to the contemporary era-from khawaja Sara to hijra, from hijra to eunuch, from eunuch to transgender. The last jump from eunuch to transgender happened very recently and rapidly in the last ten years.

A comparison of Supreme Court Orders 2009, 2011 regarding National identity cards and the protection of rights bill 2018 clearly show a shift in the terminology from eunuch to transgender.

> In the meanwhile, Attorney General shall also prepare some proposals on the basis of which the federal and provincial Governments can conveniently recognize the status of **eunuchs** to be the respectable citizens and to protect their rights of inheritance in moveable and immoveable properties left by their parents/elders and their legal obligations to provide maintenance to them on account of disability due to which they are not being treated at par with other citizens of the country Supreme Court Order 2009)[24].

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[23] "Pakistani eunuchs to have distinct gender". See Links
[24] "Supreme Court order 2009". See Links

The petitioner in person states that Chairman and deputy Chairman of Nadra in compliance with directions of this court have shown significant progress to resolve the issue of recording percentage and sex of the eunuchs and deliberations in this behalf are under consideration. A report has also been received from NADRA. We do appreciate for making efforts to resolve the problems of **eunuchs** about their identity (Supreme Court order dated 22-03-2011)[25].

The above quotation is an extract from the Supreme Court order dated 22-03-2011. Following the constitution, petition no. 43 of 2009 the Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary directs NADRA to provide national identity cards to eunuchs. Throughout the order, the word 'eunuch' has been used to denote hijras very consistently.

The Government of Pakistan has recently passed "Transgender Persons Protection of Rights Act" in May 2018[26] to protect "rights, relief, and rehabilitation of transgender persons and other related matters". The definition of transgender persons given by this Act is consistent with the definition[27] provided by WHO. As per the Act, a transgender person can have any of the following characteristics:

1- Intersex, with a mixture of male and female genital features or congenital ambiguities, or
2- Eunuch assigned male at birth, but undergoes genital excision or castration, or
3- A transgender man, transgender woman, Khawaja sira, or any person whose gender identity or gender expression differs from social norms and cultural expectations based on the sex they were assigned at times of their birth.

According to this definition, "any person who identifies emotionally or psychologically with the sex other than one's biological sex at birth, irrespective of any later biological change, would be classified as a transgender person". In my views, the definition provided by the act is very apt in

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[25]"Supreme Court Order 2011 Following Constitution Petition No. 43 of 2009". See Links
[26] "Supreme Court Transgender Persons Protection of Rights Act in May 2018". See Links
[27] WHO "definition of transgender: Transgender is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and expression does not confirm to the norms and expectations traditionally associated with the sex assigned to them at birth; it includes people who are transsexual, transgender or otherwise considered gender non-confirming".

that all transgender persons are not hijras and all hijras are not transgender individuals. Hijras belong to a community whose members may or may not be trans-individuals, but it is a community of individuals who share the same beliefs, follow a set of common traditions, customs and adopt the same mannerisms. The Act recognizes the rights of Intersex, eunuch, transgender man and transgender woman who may not be part of the hijras' community but exists in the mainstream society. Therefore, the Act is not denying the existence of transgender persons in Pakistani society.

Some scholars suggest that the Western intellectuals are attempting to redefine and reinterpret the ancient third- gender identities in such a way that they may assimilate with the western notions of sexual orientation. Schmidt (2001) argues that the West is attempting to construe the "fa'afafine" culture (third gender in Samoan) by connecting it with sexual orientation instead of gender. She contends that this is altering the "fa'afafine" identity by making them look same as homosexuals. One of her respondents says that foreign writers misinterpret them and young faafafine adopt western concepts from movies. Schmidt demonstrates how Western media is influencing the faafafine character:

> For Fa'afafine the feminine labor role within the family is no longer so significant as a gender marker, and many of the young urban faafafine construct a gendered identity that is more reliant on sexualized western signifiers such as clothing and make-up. One of my informants stated that before western contact, faafafine were simply feminine boys, but exposure to western movies taught them (and presumably women as well) that clothing, make-up, and appearance, in general, could be used as more definitive signifiers of gender. Thus both name and clothing become signifiers of hyper-feminine, highly sexualized western gender constructs (Schmidt 14).

According to Towle and Morgan, while giving third-gender accounts, ethnographers simplify their descriptions for different reasons, they ignore the incomprehensible or superfluous dimensions and routinely simplify the ill-suited images. They quote examples of the third gender from diverse societies, from any point in history and from Ancient Greece to sixteenth-century England to

contemporary North America (Towle and Morgan 484). Hence, they modify these accounts for conveying it to diverse population.

Nanda claimed that hijras use the 'alternative gender roles' to create a third-gender image. Nanda asserted this in order to establish the necessity of discarding western gender dichotomy in favor of gender diversity.

> Western culture is characterized generally by its propensity for dichotomies- body-mind, male-female, homosexual-heterosexual, and so forth. In cultures where the world is not divided so rigidly into binary oppositions, and where the world view can include overlapping and contradictory categories, the view of gender will also be more flexible. Under such conditions, alternative gender roles will be more likely to exist (Nanda 149)

It is very difficult to give an accurate and vivid definition of hijra because of the hitches in articulating the "cultural definition of hijra role" and the variety of "individually lived social roles", gender identities, sexual orientations and life histories of hijras. Connotatively, hijras are supposed to be emasculated men. The problem is aggravated when it comes to knowing whether they are born hermaphrodite or have undergone self-emasculation artificially/ medically, and still, many do not undergo emasculation at all. Moreover, there is a very insignificant number of people who are born as hermaphrodites from a medical point of view. Therefore, it is mostly assumed that "the majority of hijras are made artificially rather than born that way". That is the reason people look at them with disdain. All these people who are born hijras, made hijras or fake hijras are called hijras. There are people from the lower middle and lower class who live double lives—they adopt both male and female roles simultaneously— some of them adopt this double life under the compelling desire to live as a woman while others adopt this to earn money. Today, a wide range of the public view them as lower-class fake hijras who are neither born hermaphrodites nor impotent but normal men who are fake hijras. In spite of the disdain, even today people give them

alms and try not to take their curse. The hijras manipulate this special power myth and are seen everywhere on roads demanding alms.

In the present study, the majority of the hijras admitted this fact during the interviews (discussed in last part of chapter 2) that nowadays, people do not hand over their children to hijras. Instead, they either hide them or keep them at their own homes. It was a practice long ago, when people held this view that the birth of a eunuch, intersex or transgender baby is shame and stigma to their family and they used to get rid of the baby by giving over the baby to hijras. Because of public awareness on this issue, people no longer give their babies away to hijras.

A closer look at the definition and history of hijras and western transgender theories (for details see chapter 1) show that hijras are not equal to trans genders. Transgenderism is a very recent modern concept in highly structured Western societies. Popular Asian cultures have been extremely resistant to change and akin Western sex/gender systems. The acceptance of gender variation among different cultures and societies varies concerning culture, tradition, and religion.

The possibility of misinterpreting people's lives and cultures or romanticizing the unfamiliar concepts by portraying them in a certain suitable way to fit certain ideologies and framework cannot be ignored and need much more attention today as it ever did before. There is no doubt that social media has a great influence in popularizing Western theories, ideologies or politics; again, this is Western discourse, which is posing challenge and risk to cultural diversity and gender variance around the world. Social media is acting as a medium through which Western discourse and ideologies are being disseminated very fast to nonwestern cultures, and a young Asian generation is idealizing these very recent modern concepts and terminologies knowingly or unknowingly.

It does not mean that I deny that there are no gender variant or transgender people in Pakistan. There was a lesser number of transgender people in Pakistan. But in the last 10-15 years, this population started emerging and growing very rapidly. Popular writers and scholars picked up these Western terminologies hastily without having enough knowledge, understanding of, and sensitivity to, the issue. There are many reasons for adopting and disseminating these terminologies; lack of knowledge is not the only factor responsible for this disarray and confusion. Colonialism is a gruesome factor which has great influence in shaping our culture and our lives. The postcolonial generation is still living under the shadow of colonial history, culture, and thinking which gets transferred from one generation to the next generation in an unending continuum.

The colonial ethnographers, anthropologists, and officials translated the word hijras as eunuchs or hermaphrodites or transvestites, which were equally problematic for emphasizing the sexual or "deviant aspects of hijra identities". Using hijra and "transvestite/hermaphrodite" interchangeably implies "a biological male wearing women's clothes". It is an act that defines hijras in non-western countries like India, Bangladesh, Nepal, etc. the same way as it does to the transvestite/hermaphrodite in western countries. The word transgender has gained popularity very recently in the last 10-12 years, and the word gender also became widespread and came into common usage in the 1970s (See. Chapter 1). The majority of Pakistani scholars, writers, and ethnographers are using the word transgender and hijra interchangeably. Presumably, they are not adopting it deliberately; rather, they are simply translating the word hijra as transgender. Many of them do not even know that hijra and transgender are not equivalent to each other. As Towle and Morgan suggest, popular authors simplify the incomprehensible concepts that come from distinct

societies. The approach of "unproblematic equivalence" between "Western and Asian terminologies and identities" emerges from a belief that:

> Translating other cultures is essentially a matter of matching written sentences in two languages, such that the second set of sentences becomes the real meaning of the first (Talal, 155).

Talal admires Lienhardt's for using the word translation to refer not to "linguistic matter" but to "modes of thought" embeded in such matters.

> The problem of describing to others how members of a remote tribe think then begins to appear largely as one of translation, of making the coherence primitive though in the languages it really lives in, as clear as our own (Godfrey Lienhardt 97).

Fairclough describes how commonsensical assumptions, practices and discourse originate from the dominant class and function ideologically.

> A more significant factor is ideology. Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations. Practices which appear to be universal and commonsensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class or the dominant bloc, and to have become naturalized. Where types of practice and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain unequal power relations, I shall say they are functioning ideologically (Fairclough, Language and Power 33).

According to Fairclough the relationship language and society is not an external rather an internal one. Language is a part of society therefore, "linguistic phenomena are social phenomena and social phenomena are in part linguistic phenomena". He explains the disputes about the meaning of certain words and their relation to politics and society as:

> Social phenomenon [sic] are linguistic on the other hand, in the sense that the language activity which goes on in social contexts (as all language activity does) is not merely reflection or expression of social processes and practices, it is a part of those processes and practices. For example, disputes about the meaning of political expressions are a constant and familiar aspect of politics, people sometimes, explicitly argue about the meaning of words like democracy, nationalization, imperialism, socialism, liberalism or terrorism. More often, they use the words in more or less pointedly different and incompatible ways, examples are easy to find in exchanges between leaders of political parties, or between, say the soviet Union and the United states of America. Such disputes are sometimes seen as

merely preliminaries to or outgrowths from the real processes and practices of politics. Politics partly consists in the disputes and struggles which occur in language and over language (Fairclough, Language and Power 23).

In Asian countries, people take language and linguistics for granted. They interpret and translate languages and terminologies very carelessly. They hardly think about the impact of mishandling languages and terminologies on their society and culture. The majority of them have no idea of the sensitivity of the issue in certain contexts like sex, gender, and sexuality. It has a dynamic role in determining "the structure of a society" and building a nation-state. In socio-psychological paradigms discourse is interconnected with society, especially in terms of how discourse helps in structuring the society. The discourse has been manipulated long ago by the West as a medium for promoting certain ideologies to govern non-Western nations during the colonial era. There is a deep and strong relationship between discourse, knowledge, power, dominance, and governance.

> Discourse refers to ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which are inherent in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the nature of the body, unconscious and conscious mind, and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (Weedon 108).

> Power is a dynamic of control and lack of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents. Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects (Weedon 113).

Fairclough in his book "Language and Power*"* describes "the connections between language use and unequal relations of power". He says he has two principal goals for writing this book:

> The first is more theoretical to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power. The second is more practical: to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation (Fairclough, Language and Power 1).

According to Fairclough change is possible through raising consciousness among people in order to resist the exploitative social relationships.

Although I shall be painting a somewhat depressing picture of language being increasingly caught up in domination and oppression, this will I hope be offset by my faith in the capacity of human beings to change what human beings have created. Resistance and change are not only possible but continuously happening. But the effectiveness of resistance and the realization of change depend on people developing a critical consciousness of domination and its modalities, rather than just experiencing them. The more practical objective of this book is therefore to make a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language (Fairclough, Language and Power 4).

3. C. Discussion

There has been considerable confusion in literature whether the term transgender can be applied to hijras or not. While some suggest that hijras are not the same as transgender; others use the term transgender to address hijras. Transgender is "an umbrella term which covers all ambiguous gender identities" including eunuch, hermaphrodite, intersex, transsexuals (LGBT), trans-individuals with or without SRS (Sex reassignment surgery), cross-dressers, etc. In a broader sense, "transgender encompasses anyone whose identity and behavior falls outside the stereotypical gender norms". It also includes all other gender-variant and gender non-conforming people who do not fit into any category.

hijras, on the other hand, are "biological males who reject their masculine identity to identify either as women, not men or in between man and woman or neither man nor woman". The irregularity of the "male genitalia" is central to the definition of hijras. In general, hijras are "born male, only a few with an intersex variation". While in these definitions, the trans men and other gendered females are almost invisible, the word hijra is an Urdu word "derived from the Arabic root Hjr" meaning to break with, renounce, leave, immigrate, in a sense "leaving one's tribe". Hijras are the individuals who either leave their homes or are forced to leave home and join the hijra community led by an elder "guru" and becomes the *cheela* (disciple) by an induction

process called "Nirvana" (castration). The majority of people in the hijra community are cross-dressers and a minimal number of hijras opt for castration. They are the most visible group of gender-variant people. Therefore, there are many misconceptions about the issue and lack of research material about the difference between hijras and transgender people. The following are some confusing points for the Asian population.

-Hijras are the same as trans genders

-Hijras are the only gender-variant and transgender population in South Asia/ Pakistan

-There are no transgender or LGBT people in Pakistan/ South Asia

-Transgender or LGBT are European terms and theories that cannot be applied to Asia; the case of Asia is different because hijras are not the same as transgender people.

In short, hijras are individuals who live with the hijra community and adopt hijra culture. However, transgender and gender-variant individuals exist in Asian societies but are invisible because of unacceptability and great stigmatization. The majority of these individuals do not adopt hijra mannerisms (body language), do not take any hormones and live a normal life like all other individuals of society. They hide their identity, and it is tough to recognize them. Among these gender-variant individuals, there are gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual and transgender individuals. One of the greatest misconceptions is that all gender-variant individuals are infertile. In Asian countries, mostly they are all perceived as "impotent" persons. An impotent person is one who is not capable of producing children. If a person has children, then how come he is transgender?

Although the majority of Pakistani scholars and writers utilize the historical and culturally specific concepts about hijras, they fail to fully realize the potential hijras pose to their understanding of sex, gender, and sexuality. Chapter 1 with theoretical knowledge on transgender and chapter 2 with discourse analysis and discussion on hijras enabled us to understand the

difference between hijras and transgender. The following table provides a comparison between hijras and transgender.

	Transgender	Hijra
Definition	The transgender person is identified by gender/sexual orientation but not as a member of a community.	By definition 'hijra' is an impotent person/intersex who is identified as hijra by becoming a member of a hijra community but not because of gender or sexual orientation. There are many impotent men who are not hijras because they do not belong to the hijra community. Hence known as impotent men simply but not hijras. So, the membership of hijra community is a prerequisite for gaining hijra identity.
Includes	-Cross dressers -"People who do not identify with any gender"; non-binary; -People who may or may not undergo SRS but "who believe that they were born in a wrong body" -People who believe they do not fit into the usual expectations of gender appearance and behavior e.g. heteronormative expectations, dress codes, feminine and masculine behavior codes etc. -Intersex persons	Hijras are typically "males who have physiologically feminine gender identity" and wear women's clothing. They believe that they are neither males nor females. They are beyond the male and female demarcation.
Applies to	Any sexual orientation, Bisexual, homosexual, pansexual, heterosexual, polysexual, asexual, and both the male and female genders	Mostly males who are either impotent or intersex but who are members of the hijra community.

		Those people who are impotent or intersex but are not member of the hijra community are not hijras.
Discrimination	Transgender people who undergo SRS or any transition are likely to face discrimination or rejection from family, friends and colleagues.	They face discrimination but they are respected for some religious, cultural and historical beliefs any myths associated with them.
Sexual relations	They can have sexual relations with any person they desire, ranging from gay to lesbian to bisexual to homosexual etc. Some of them work as sex workers for their survival	They may have sexual relation with other hijras of their community or with males known as girya. Many of them work as sex workers for survival (those individuals who deviate from the definition of the hijra ideal). A true hijra is an impotent, infertile person with no sexual urge, which qualifies as hijra for possessing the power to bless or curse.
Conceiving and family	These are people for whom conceiving depends on the sexual orientation of a couple. It can be a natural or medical one. They may have adopted children.	Hijras cannot conceive or give birth, they have been adopting children of their own kind who are rejected by their families. They consider other hijra members of their household as mother, sister or sister's sister, mothers's mother etc. they live like a family where the guru is the head of the family and has status of parents.
Legalization	Transformation of gender is legal in many countries but still many countries do not allow SRS or gender transformation.	There are no laws for the legalization of hijra community, however many South Asian countries have officially recognized hijras as third gender.

Table 1: shows comparison of transgender and hijras

The comparison of hijras and transgender in Table 1 shows that hijras have a distinct identity and ideally by definition, they are different from transgender people.

The definition of transgender is based on sexual orientation, while the description of hijras is based on impotence and infertility. These are the people who are neither male nor female. They are outside the gender dichotomy. They are the people who are supposed to have no sexual urge. That is the very reason why they were respected and believed to possess the power to bless or curse. It is based on an ancient belief deeply rooted in human society for an extended period according to which people who control or suppress their sexuality are very pious and are close to God. So, God listens to the prayers of these holy people. People respect them because of this belief. Even in Christianity nuns are respected for not marrying and leaving the world. In South Asian cultures, gender is nonbinary, and one can cross between male and female. It is perceived as a middle point between the spirit and the material world. That is the reason why in the many interviews I carried out, the interviewee used to call the common public as *dunia dar* meaning worldly people; it means they think of themselves as those people who have renounced the world and firmly believe that "they have the power to bless or curse".

As already argued, "Western culture is characterized generally by its propensity for dichotomies- body-mind, male-female, homosexual-heterosexual, and so forth. In cultures where the world is not divided so rigidly into binary oppositions, and where the world view can include overlapping and contradictory categories, the view of gender will also be more flexible. Under such conditions, alternative gender roles will be more likely to exist". (Nanda 149)

In South Asian cultures, hijras are seen in some positive light enjoying respect and dignity as well. On the contrary, people who do not fit gender dichotomy are often perceived as abnormal, disordered or ill-formed. However, these notions conflict with the practical observations of hijras

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working as prostitutes. The status of hijras degraded/deteriorated very rapidly in the last 25 years; before that women used to bring them inside their house, giving alms to them and having a little chitchat with them. They also used to get *badhaai* (money and gifts) on childbirth and dance on marriage ceremonies. But the more they deviated from the hijra ideal, the more they lost trust. Now people do not call them on newborn celebrations. The women do not welcome them in their homes, considering them as males who disguise as hijras. People do not hand over their intersex, impotent or effeminate baby to hijras any longer because they do not trust them as more and more of them think that majority of hijras are fake and are involved in wrong, anti-religious activities like prostitution.

Therefore, it can be safely concluded that transgender and hijras are very different notions. Hijras are those people who join the hijra community and adopt their mannerisms and the rules and regulations of their lifestyle. So, all impotent people are not hijras. The people who do not join live like ordinary people in society. There are impotent men and impotent women in society but are not labeled or addressed as hijras. Therefore, joining the hijra community is a pre-requisite for becoming a hijra. Whether true or fake, one cannot be a hijra unless one joins the hijra community and becomes cheela (disciple) of a guru (mother, mentor, and teacher) and live in a home with his fellow cheelas (disciples). It does not mean that trans individuals do not exist in Pakistani society. The fact is that all transgender persons are not hijras and all hijras are not transgender persons; likewise, all impotent people are not hijras, and all hijras are not impotent.

CHAPTER 3

OTHERNESS IDENTITY POLITICS-HIJRAS IN A COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXT

Hijras challenge the social and biological determinants of gender and sexual identity based on the normative societal perceptions in Pakistan. They are capable of crossing the borders of gender, religion, and the nation. The crossing of borders not only defies the established notions of gender and sexual identities but also challenges the very concepts of the nation, the state as well as political and social citizenship. Sex, gender, and sexuality are deeply embedded in history and shaped by culture. This gendered ideology can be traced throughout history. Everyday life experience is shaped by these gendered perceptions. The chapter examines gender through the prism of history, culture, media and discourse. It seeks to understand the influence of colonization on forming our belief system and ideologies through discourse.

The regression and transition of hijras' identity can be traced back from the Mughal era to the colonial and post-colonial periods within the context of gender, state and society. It examines how hijras' subjectivity is achieved within the framework of an Empire or a state through power and knowledge. This chapter specifically examines the self and Other relationship, that is, how Others see the subject/subjects; how this gaze of Others as "us versus them" contributes to the creation of a specific identity of an individual. An identity that is constructed by the Others through the discourse, power and knowledge set-up. The resultant identity is then institutionalized and becomes governable in the state. These institutions and categories in turn organize population in governable ways and form the basis of a state. In order to see how the state manages to deal with

the hijras, the chapter examines the current status of hijras within the legal and experiential contexts in Pakistan. The present study aims to contribute to the creation of new positive and progressive forms of subjectivity.

In a South Asian context, researchers mostly traced the historical record of hijras derived from Indian texts (Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain traditions). Thapar divided it into "four chronological periods: ancient, classical, medieval, and contemporary" (19). The historical record of Mughal courts in the medieval period shows that Khwaja Saras (non-hijra eunuchs) were employed as servants, security personnel (guards) and served as security staff of 'Harems' where women (wives, female relatives) of royal family members lived. Male servants were not allowed to enter Harems. Many Khawaja Saras[28] had played a very influential role in the Government. Many of them served as advisors to the royal family members, ministers, and high government officials because they had unrestricted access to the king's private chamber (for detail, see[29]). Lal provides a detailed description of eunuchs placed as harem guards during Akbar's era[30]:

> The innermost section of the harem was guarded by 'sober and active women" the most trustworthy of them placed about the apartments of Akbar. Outside the enclosure stood the eunuchs; at some distance from them, the Rajputs; and beyond them, the porters of the gates. Eunuchs were placed at the boundary between women and men, royal women on one side, Rajput soldiers on the other, all in designated spaces, each group with their own specific function and responsibilities. The eunuchs' placement echoed the well-established institutions of other harems (women- eunuchs-non eunuchs). However their particular location and the rituals of protection that they were expected to perform were of particular significance, for in accomplishing this task they called forth the protection of the "Divine", veiling and secluding..... something holy" (Lal 98).

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[28] Khawaja Sara: the hijras address themselves as Khawaja Saras. For them the name Khawaja Sara is respectable, they consider the word Hijra as an abusive word.

[29] Peirce (1993), Sharma (2009), Mukherjee (2001), Lal (2017).

[30] Akbar was the third Mughal emperor, who reigned from 1556 to 1605 in India.

During the Mughal period, Khawaja Saras were not discriminated based on sex. According to Lal, eunuchs acted as both the servants and officers of the empire during Akbar's regime. There was no high or low kind of ranking based on caste among eunuchs. Mughal eunuchs could assume different job roles and responsibilities without any discrimination. As Lal describes:

> Eunuchs were the "servants" of the empire. Complicated gradation of ranks and their accompanying notions of honor were fundamental to the behavior and demeanor of those employed by Akbar. Service in a court context was an intricate and complex undertaking. There was no fixed demarcations of tasks, no caste divisions, whereby particular errands, jobs and responsibilities were confined to some and denied to others. A water-carrier could (and did) write a memoir, a foster nurse could serve as a diplomat and a swordsman could be a story teller, however strict the codes of conduct that they were expected to follow. Thus, many eunuchs in the service of the sacred harem, close to the sacred person of the emperor and the Mughal women, were both "servants" and "officers" of the empire. Their function (or office) was not strictly or narrowly defined. Therefore, Mughal eunuchs could embody every different role and also accumulate different offices (Lal 100).

Lal also described the incidents when eunuchs sacrificed their lives to protect the emperor, empress, or the sacred person of their empress from the period of Mughal emperor Jahangir (1626). The event of Jahangir's imprisonment, where the empress Nur-jahan approaches to free the emperor shows the loyalty of her eunuchs (Jawahir and Nadim) who got killed while guarding the empress. Eunuchs not only guarded the royal members and offered loyalty but also served as messengers during battles to send critical remainders (Lal 101-102).

It is necessary to understand the framework of the Mughal Empire just before its decline with the last emperor Bahadur shah ending in 1857 because the decline of eunuchs\Khawaja Saras is deeply connected with the decline of the Mughal Empire. In the early eighteenth century, the governor of the province of Awadh[31] turned it into an autonomous state under Mughal sovereignty.

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[31] Awadh: A province of the Mughal Empire.

In this framework Awadh acted as a Mughal successor state and Nawaabs[32] acted as the first ministers to the Mughal sovereign. The early Nawaabs used to have a network of chela or disciples named Khawaja Saras to institute their power. The British East India Company (1613) which established its office in India during Jahangir's period started intervening in Awadh administration by the 1770s. In order to depreciate Nawaabs involvement in administration the company uprooted the eunuchs' administrative networks on which the Nawaabs were dependent and in turn they also destroyed the structures of patronage on which eunuchs were dependent and vice versa. Consequently, Nawaabs' involvement in administration was very weak by nineteenth century. As Hinchy puts it:

> Meanwhile, Khwaja Sara were still prominent in the Awadh court and acted as officials in the truncated Awadh administration and military. In the late 1840s the Company resolved to annex Awadh when the opportunity arose. To justify annexation, Company officials compiled a case for the maladministration of the Awadh state in which eunuchs featured prominently as mere "menial" servants who were apparently unacceptable and "corrupt" officials. The eventual British annexation of Awadh in 1856 resulted in the complete dismantling of the structures of patronage upon which eunuchs had depended (Hinchy 150).

Here, the question arises as to why eunuchs were placed in conspicuous administrative positions during the Mughal period and in the Awadh court. Although Eunuch's prominent social and political role in the Mughal Empire is often attributed to their androgynous gender and inability to reproduce, for Hinchy these explanations are not satisfactory. She pointed out a number of other factors involved for the appointment of eunuchs in important positions, such as master-slave proximity, networks of adopted kin and disciples, and adherence to hegemonic codes of masculinity:

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[32] Nawaabs are rulers of Awadh, known as Nawaab-Wazir.

Khawaja Sara in Awadh sought to extend their political influence and entrench their control over multiple administrative posts by forming large networks of adopted kin, disciples and dependents which included other slaves as well as non-slaves. Indeed by the mid nineteenth century, networks of kin and disciples were central to khwaja Sara's attempts to challenge company interventions into Awadh. In this context, eunuchs' social role cannot be explained solely in terms of kinlessness (Hinchy 150).

Hinchy continues thus:

Khwaja Sara in Awadh displayed aspects of dominant forms of elite masculinity in order to secure the loyalty of followers, suggesting that androgyny was not the only interpretation of eunuch gender in awadh (Hinchy 151)

It also suggests that Khawaja Saras belonged to the elites and their network was not only comprised of chela and disciples and slaves, but they also included non-slave and non-eunuch followers in their network to extend their control and political influence for performing multiple political and administrative tasks. The present research shows that although Khawaja Saras lost their position, and their identity was reconstructed as hijras they had such a strong network which could not be deconstructed and destroyed after passing many decades. Even today with whatever identity they lived at present or in future, they seem to be living within this strong system of networks which is comprised of eunuchs or non-eunuch disciples and followers equally with the only condition of joining their community and becoming a member of their network. They spread over the whole country and move from one region to another freely. Unlike the common public, they have links in every region where they can move freely and stay with their community. Whenever they have functions, they get together from all over the country and celebrate. As one interviewee confirmed:

Matlab jassay ap log ho, apki jan pechan hay dosray logon say, assay hamarray guru log jo hotay hain unki dosray khusraon kay sath jan pechan hoti hay. Pher woh aatay hain hamaray ghar pher unko koi chela pasaand aa jay tu woh pher mang latay hain. Passay day k woh lay jataay hain (Interview 10, Reema).

As you people are acquainted with each other, just like you, our gurus are acquainted with other gurus. When they visit our home and they like a disciple, they can get it by paying.

Hamaray jitney bhi guru hain na aik say barh k aik sub aatay hain hamaray function pa. Jassay shadi hoti hay na assay he hota hay fnction krtay hain, khushi manatay hain. Aik aik guru dance krta hay. Bohat bara function krtay hain bohat bara, woh jo saraa paysa kharch hota hay kuch guru krta hay (Interview 10, Reema).

All of our gurus come to attend the function. It is like a marriage ceremony, we celebrate. Every guru dances. It is a huge function.

The most compelling reason for keeping Khawaja Saras in prestigious positions seems to be the strong system of networks. Nobody would suspect easily where the source of power lies but the British colonizers not only reached at the root level but also eradicated it quite tactfully.

The tension between eunuchs and the East India Company ended with the British annexation of Awadh in 1856. As a result, Khawaja Saras lost their powerful position. As Hinchy stated:

As a result of annexation, Awadhi khwaja Sara lost their status as slave nobles, were marginalized by colonial bureaucratic culture and were effectively depoliticized, as their role was thereafter limited to domestic service (Hinchy 151).

In short, the prestigious positive status and construction of Khawaja Saras is attributed to Islam and the Muslim Mughal period while the negative reputation and construction of hijras is attributed to the British Raj.

An understanding of the 'theory of subjectivity" is necessary for understanding role of "otherness" in the construction of hijras Identity in both the colonial and post-colonial periods because theories of subjectivity are closely linked to the formation of identity.

3.A. 'Otherness' in Identity Politics

The term 'Other' was used by, among others, the French philosopher Sartre in his renowned work "*Being and Nothingness"* published in 1943. This work is basically an ontological analysis of

human existence. In order to create ideas of identity and self-awareness, Sartre used the term 'Other' to define the relationship between self and Other. Sartre observed that he has not only been practicing the cogito[33] but he also doubted the cogito which in principle establishes the existence of the self. Similarly, his resistance to solipsism[34] reveals the existence of the Other. As Sartre puts it:

> Actually I have always known that I existed, I have never ceased to practice the cogito. Similarly my resistance to solipsism- which is as lively as any I should offer to an attempt to doubt the cogito-proves that I have always known that the Other existed, that I have always had a total though implicit comprehension of this existence, that this "pre-ontological" comprehension comprises a surer and deeper understanding of the nature of the Other and the relation of his being to my being than all the theories which have been built around it (Sartre, Being and Nothingness 251).

Sartre uses the term 'Other' to define the relationship between self and Other. Sartre agrees with the classical theories in that every entity which refers to something gets proof of its own existence. But they were mistaken in perceiving this reference as a one-sided reference which refers only to a separate existence i.e. a consciousness. For Sartre, the self does not exist alone but is rather in a mutual relationship as "being-in-a pair-with-the-other." As Sartre maintains:

> The classical theories are right in considering that every perceived human organism refers to something and that this to which it refers is the foundation and guarantee of its probability. Their mistake lies in believing that this reference indicates a separate existence, a consciousness which would be behind its perceptible manifestations . . . .
> Whether or not this consciousness exists in a separate state, the face which I see does not refer to it; it is not this consciousness which is the truth of the probable object

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[33] Cogito is the principle that establishes the existence of a being from the fact of its thinking. In order to doubt one's existence one must exist. The term cogito is derived from the Latin phrase "cogito ergo sum" which means "I think therefore I am". The term was coined by Descartes (See. "Discourse on Methods and Meditations" 1968).

[34] Solipsism is "a philosophical idea that the self is all that is sure to exist, that knowledge of anything outside one's own mind is unsure. The argument is that the self is all that can be known to exist because the external world and other minds cannot be known and may not exist outside the mind".

which I perceive. In actual fact the reference to a twin upsurge in which the Other is presence for me is to a "being-in-a pair-with-the-other" . . . . .

In other words, the problem of others has generally been treated as if the primary relation by which the other is discovered is object-ness; that is if the Other were first revealed directly or indirectly to our perception. But since this perception by its very nature refers to something other than to itself and since it can refer neither to an infinite series of appearances of the same type-as in idealism the perception of the table or of the chair does-nor to an isolated entity located on principle outside my reach, its essence must be to refer to a primary relation between my consciousness and the other's. This relation, in which the Other must be given to me directly as a subject although in connection with me, is the fundamental relation, the very type of my being-for-others (Sartre, Being and Nothingness 253).

However, in current postcolonial theory, the definition of the term 'other' is derived from Freudian and post- Freudian analysis to formulate the "theory of subjectivity" (Sartre, 1943; Mansfield, 2000; Hall, 2004). French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan had a great impact on the development of "post-structuralist theory" and the "theory of subjectivity" particularly. Lacan's theory involves the distinction between 'Other and the other' which sounds a bit confusing at first, but this distinction is very helpful in understanding postcolonial theory. The other with a small 'o' denotes "the other" who resembles the self, the child discovers it when he/she looks into the mirror and becomes conscious of himself/herself as "a separate being". Lacan refers to this stage as "the mirror-stage."

I would say that it is the subjective possibility of the mirror projection of such a field into the field of the other that gives human space its originally 'geometrical' structure, a structure that I would be happy to call kaleidoscopic (Lacan, Ecrits 21).

This extraordinary confusion is sufficient indication that the notion of communication has to be treated cautiously. For my part, within the generalized notion of communication, I state what speech as speaking to the other is. It's making the other speak as such. We shall, if you like, write that other with a big O. And why with a big O? No doubt for a delusional reason, as is the case whenever one is obliged to provide signs that are supplementary to what language offers (Lacan, Book-II 37).

This distinction between the Other with a big O, that is, the Other in so far as it's not known, and the other with a small *o,* that is, the other who is me, the source of all knowledge, is

fundamental. It's in this gap, it's in the angle opened up between these two relations that the entire dialectic of delusion has to be situated. The question is this - firstly, is the subject talking to you? - Secondly, what is he talking about? (Lacan, Book-II 40).

Lacan further demonstrates the distinction between other/Other. According to Lacan the moment the subject speaks the grand Other is there. The other is unknown for the Other. For instance he exemplifies the Other (the master) and other (the slave) from the master-slave dialect (The Phenomenology of Mind). Where master doesn't recognize the slave because for master this recognition has no value. But for slave this recognition is valuable and he is yearning to be recognized. As Lacan maintains:

> The slave recognizes the master, and thus he has the possibility of being recognized by him. Over the centuries he will engage in the struggle to be effectively recognized . . . . . .
> It's not simply a matter of identification, and of scenery swinging over onto the side of die little other. From the moment the subject speaks, the Other, with a big O, is there. Without this there would be no problem of psychosis. Psychotics would be speaking machines. (Lacan, Book-II 40-41)

> Precisely what constitutes the foundational value of this speech is that what is aimed at in the message, as well as what is apparent in the feint, is that the other is there as absolute Other. Absolute, that is to say that he is recognized but that he isn't known. Similarly, what constitutes the feint is that ultimately you do not know whether it's a feint or not. It's essentially this unknown in the otherness of the Other that characterizes the speech relation at the level at which speech is spoken to the other (Lacan, Book-II 37)

In postcolonial theory the word "postcolonial" refers to the "colonized others" who are marginalized by the imperial discourse and identified as different from the center. The' Other' with the capital 'O' denotes the "great Other" in whose gaze the subject gains identity known as 'grand-autre' by Lacan. Thus the 'Other' may refer to the mother, to the father or to the unconscious itself:

> The other can refer to the mother whose separation from the subject locates her as the first focus of desire; it can refer to the father whose Otherness locates the subject in the symbolic order. It can refer to the unconscious itself because the unconscious is structured like a language that is separated from the language of the subject. Fundamentally, the Other is crucial to the subject because the subject exists in its gaze. Lacan says that 'all desire is the

metonym of the desire to be' because the first desire of the subject is the desire to exist in the gaze of the other (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, Post-Colonial Studies 155).

The gaze of the mother in the mirror phase is the initial process by which identity is achieved. This gaze corresponds to the 'gaze of the grand-autre' within which the identification, objectification and subjection of the subject are simultaneously enacted: the imperial gaze defines the identity of the subject, objectifies it within the identifying system of power relations and confirms its subalterneity and powerlessness (Ashcroft, Post-Colonial Studies 141).

According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin (2013), the grand 'Other' represents the imperial center, imperial discourse, or the empire itself. It offers the terminologies and expressions which the colonized subject uses to identify himself/herself as other and ultimately gains a dependent identity. The grand Other occupies an absolute position within the ideological framework in which the colonized subject understands the world. The subject internalizes his/her position relative to the Other.

In colonial discourse, the subjectivity of the colonized is continually located in the gaze of the imperial Other the 'grand-autre'. Subject may be interpellated by the ideology of the maternal and nurturing function of the colonizing power, concurring with descriptions such as 'mother England and home' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, Post-Colonial Studies 155-156).

The colonial discourse was usually produced by the voyagers and tourists, gentrified settlers, soldiers, western bureaucrats and officers etc. The colonial representatives used to write volumes of memoirs. This discourse created in the foreign language represented both the colonial subjects and the colonies. The colonial subject was the product of colonization and colonial discourse simultaneously. Through discourse the colonial powers created the 'other' to be colonized and in turn created its own identity as a dominant imperial 'Other' in contrast to the colonized one (See. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, Post-Colonial Studies 156).

Edward Said, one of the forefathers of post-colonial studies, described the binary social relationship between the East and the West in his renowned book *Orientalism* (1978). The West

divided the world into the Occident[35] and the Orient[36] intellectually. The East was perceived as

the 'other' by the colonial powers because it was dissimilar to their social and cultural norms in

every way. This difference between 'us and them' was manipulated to divide the East and West,

thus a dominant/subordinate relationship was established, both being the other towards each other.

This contrasting image helped Europe to define itself:

> The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea,
> personality, experience. Yet none of this orient is merely imaginative. The orient is an
> integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and
> represents that part culturally, and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with
> supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial
> bureaucracies and colonial style (Said, *Orientalism* 1-2).

Postcolonial scholars believed that colonizing powers developed the notion of the 'other' to govern

and manipulate the resources of the land through colonization in the name of civilizing mission.

Goldberg and Quayson (2002) describes how the Western binary system formed and shaped the

postcolonial identities:

> The interdisciplinary critical project of post-colonialism, which is inspired, in part, by a
> 'desire to speak to the Western paradigm of knowledge in the Voice of otherness, has
> sought to show that Western/metropolitan subjectivity has not been constituted in a self-
> contained box, but through this long, stretched and often violent process of colonial
> exchange tries to expose and destabilize the way in which Western and non-Western, and
> colonial and post-colonial, identities have been shaped by potent binaries-of 'civilization
> and savagery', 'modernity and tradition' and so on (Goldberg and Quayson xiii).

According to Said, Western powers, philosophers and social scientists had 'othered' the Orient

systematically i.e. politically, ideologically, sociologically, scientifically, imaginatively and

militarily One cannot understand this discipline without examining the orientalism as a discourse

by which imperial powers managed to produce the Orient (See. Said, *Orientalism* 97).

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[35] The Western countries particularly Europe and America
[36] The Eastern countries particularly East Asia

Said describes "the Orient" as a stage on which the difference between us and them and here and there, which was dramatized by the Orientalist scholarship which acted as a dramatist. Said underscores how the Orient was produced and shaped by Western powers through Western knowledge, institutions and scholarship.

> The Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. . . . The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe. An Orientalist is but the particular specialist in knowledge for which Europe at large is responsible, in the way that an audience is historically and culturally responsible for (and responsive to) dramas technically put together by the dramatist (Said, *Orientalism* 63).

Said marked the distinction between representation and reality by characterizing the oriental discourse. He exposes the scheme by which the orientalists provided the authentic picture of unauthentic representations.

> The orient as a representation in Europe is formed- or deformed- out of a more and more specific sensitivity towards a geographical region called 'the East'. Specialists in this region do their work on it, so to speak, because in time their profession as orientalists requires that they present their society with images of the Orient, knowledge about it, and insight into it. And to a very large extent the Orientalist provides his own society with representations of the Orient (a) that bear his distinctive imprint . . . . .Rather, 'knowledge' never raw, unmediated, or simply objective- is what the five attributes of Orientalist representation listed above distribute and redistribute (Said, Oriantalism 2003 ed. 273)

For instance, in his *Caste and Tribes of Southern India* (1909) Thurston used the phrase "Hindu eunuch" to describe hijras and provided information about hijras by reporting someone else's view to represent them.

> One well acquainted with the Hindu eunuchs of Madras stated that, when a boy is born with ill-developed genitalia his unnatural condition is a source of anxiety to his parents. As he grows up he feels shy, and is made fun of by his companions such boys run away from home and join the eunuchs. They are taught to sing and dance, and carry on abominable practices. They are employed by dancing-girls, to decoy paramours to them. For this purpose, they dress up as dancing girls, and go about the streets. At times of census, they return themselves as males engaged in singing and dancing (Thurston 292).

According to Marie-Louise Pratt in her 1985 article, the process of 'othering' ensues in almost all kinds of colonial discourse and narratives. She identifies the way the process of 'othering' occurs in the body of text and can be detected. She describes the method colonialist scholars used to create 'others' (see. Pratt 139).

For instance, British writer Rudyard Kipling has been criticized for his portrayals of Indian characters as racist and supporting the colonialist view that colonized people are incompetent to survive without the help of Europeans. Kipling's famous poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899) fanaticizes and appreciates British colonialism. Kipling admires the Western culture as superior, educated and cultured one, by presenting other cultures in contrast as inferior and incapable to govern and survive, thus legitimizing British colonialism. His *Jungle book* series have also been criticized for its prejudiced view of colonized people. Kipling's work has contributed to reinforcing colonial mentality by establishing the supremacy of white people[37]. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, these type of texts never form the base of an indigenous culture. They can never assimilate with the already existing culture in the colonized countries. For them, this is true for all the literary works whether produced by white men like Kipling or upper-class Indians. Ashcroft elaborates the non-native and native literary works in *Post-colonial Transformation (See.*Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 5).

This is true not just for the literary works produced during that era but also the accounts of travelers, diaries of administrators, soldiers or volumes of memoirs etc. Whether they were natives or non-natives- all of them were producing discourse under the influence of dominant culture.

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[37] For detail see Patrick 2005, 2007; Jawad and Faiza, 2011; Melissa 2016; Sharleen, 2014; *Jane 2001*.

The representation and misrepresentation of the Orient is not so simple. It is not simply that some foreign scholars, ethnographers, anthropologists or narrators misrepresented the Orient deliberately or un-deliberately and distorted the images of foreign lands and people. The purpose of these representations was manifold apart from legitimizing the colonial role simply. One such enterprise was the creation of certain ideologies and putting them into practice, as Said describes it:

> The representations of Orientalism in European culture amount to what we can call a discursive consistency, one that has not only history but material and institutional presence to show for itself. Such a consistency was a form of cultural praxis, a system of opportunities for making statements about the Orient. My whole point about this system is not that it is a misrepresentation of some oriental essence-in which I do not for a moment believe- but that it operates as representations usually do, for a purpose according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual and even economic setting. In other words, representations have purposes, they are effective much of the time, and they accomplish one or many tasks. Representations are formations, or as Roland Barthes has said of all the operations of language, they are deformations (Said, *Orientalism* 2003.ed 273).

Thomas Nicholas (1994) explains the complex nature of colonial cultures. Thomas endorses Said in that the purpose behind the creation of colonial cultures was not simply the creation of certain ideologies to mask or legitimize colonial oppression for political or economic gains. Colonial relationships are messier and display an intricate web of colonial relationships among themselves:

> Colonialism is not best understood primarily as a political or economic relationship that is legitimized or justified through ideologies of racism or progress. Rather, colonialism has always, equally importantly and deeply, been a cultural process; its discoveries and trespasses are imagined and energized through signs, metaphors and narratives; even what would seem its purist moments of profit and violence have been mediated and enframed by structures of meaning. (Thomas, 2)

Colonial discourses exercise authority by presenting the other peoples are unable to represent and govern themselves. They create imbalanced relationship between Western and other knowledge systems, by fabricating meaning and by misrepresenting others as 'others'. It is through this

process of knowledge construction that traits of difference were ascribed to foreign regions and peoples to create 'others.'

Within the unequal framework of empire colonial discourses create knowledge as well as the reality they describe, and represent. As Said puts it in *Orientalism* (1978):

> A text purporting to certain knowledge about something actual, and arising out of circumstances is not easily dismissed. Expertise is attributed to it. (Said, *Orientalism* 94)

In the Foucauldian scheme, knowledge is linked to power. Power originates from knowledge but it replicates knowledge conversely by reshaping it according to its own interests, plans and purposes. Power constructs its own domains to exert authority through knowledge. Foucault argues that knowledge and power are closely linked together but the propositions-power is knowledge and knowledge is power-are not identical in their relationship to each other.

> Now I have been trying to make visible the constant articulation I think there is of power on knowledge and knowledge on power. We should not be content to say that power has a need for such –and-such a discovery, such-and-such a form of knowledge, but we should add that the exercise of power itself creates . . . . constantly includes effects of power. (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 51-52)

> Thus, there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations. (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 22)

> Knowledge, power, and the self are the triple foundations of thought (Deleuze qtd. in Foucault, The Care of Self 124).

> To the very end, Sartre believed that knowledge was power and that truth, and that in effect ideas shape reality. (Kritzman qtd. in Foucault, Politics, Philosophy xiv)

For Foucault the social structure is synonymous with the micro-politics of power. It is the knowledge in power relationships which controls and governs the society. The world is created by language and the meaning of language is conditioned by social structures, cultures and discourses. We are not only controlled by discourses of truth but we are also created by it as well.

If I tell the truth about myself, as I am now doing, it is in part that I am constituted as a subject across a number of power relations which are exerted over me and which I exert over others . . . . I am not developing a theory of power. I am working on the history, at a given moment, of the way reflexivity of self upon self is established, and the discourse of truth that is linked to it. (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 39)

According to Foucault intersubjective relations are mediated through power relations, they not only control the subjects but also create the subjects as well. Subjectivity is achieved as a byproduct of discourse within the power/knowledge set-up. Said and Sharp believes that there is no ontological[38] self; it is either a selective identification with regions and cultures or the effects of discourse within the power/ knowledge set up that provides a sense of self hood:

A selective identification with regions and cultures not one's own wore down the obduracy of self and identity, which had been polarized into a community of embattled believers facing barbarian hordes (Said 120).

For Foucault, subjectivity is an epiphenomenon of discourse: there is no ontological self, but rather a sense of selfhood is an effect of discourse, and a location within networks of power/knowledge (Sharp 267).

Foucault precisely describes the settings under which the masses exist as subjects and what causes them to exist in that particular way they do. These are the effects of discourse which generates a certain mode of living where subjects are judged, condemned and classified (See. Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 93-94).

Post-structuralist theories of subjectivity are deeply associated with ideology and identity. Ideology, identity and subjectivity itself are considered to be 'constructed' through language and discourse. The important question in this regard is whether individuals can act autonomously or whether they behave in a certain way their identity has been constructed? In other words, their

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[38] Ontology is "the branch of metaphysics which deals with the nature of being. A set of concepts and categories in the subject area or domain that shows their properties and the relations between them".

actions are determined by their identity. The ability to perform an action is termed as "agency."

The term agency is particularly important in post-colonial theory because it refers to individuals'

ability to resist colonial powers. The influential theories of subject construction by Althusser,

Lacan, and Foucault provide very effective models for the operation of colonial powers.

> Human subjectivity is constructed by ideology (Althusser), Language (Lacan) or discourse (Foucault), the corollary is that any action performed by that subject must also be to some extent a consequence of those things (Ashcroft et al, *Post-Colonial Studies* 2013: 6).

Foucault does not follow the classical models to elicit the effects of power via ideology. He argues

that more subtle mechanisms and knowledge apparatus have been used to exercise power than

ideological constructs. Foucault employs the genealogical method to provide a more detailed

account of the subject than the previous theorists. This leads to a complicated view of subject

constructed by discursive power relations. Knowledge is manipulated via discourse to produce

identity and intersubjective relations. Foucault suggests the researchers to explicitly focus on

techniques and tactics of domination for analyzing power. Foucault proposes the following

recommendations for analysis of power:

> It is quite possible that the major mechanisms of power have been accompanied by ideological productions. There has for example, probably been an ideology of education, an ideology of monarchy, an ideology of parliamentary democracy etc.; but basically I do not believe that what has taken place can be said to be ideological. It is both much more and much less than ideology. It is the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge-methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures of investigations and research, apparatuses of control. All this means that power, when it is exercised through these subtle mechanisms, cannot but evolve, organize and put into circulation a knowledge, or rather apparatuses of knowledge which are not ideological constructs (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 102).

> the genealogy of knowledge need to be analyzed, not in terms of consciousness, modes of perceptions and forms of ideology, but in terms of tactics and strategies of power (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 77).

Foucault further elaborates the idea of power not to be mistaken as located in any body. Individuals must not be considered as the sites where power is exercised directly rather they are the vehicles of power. Power circulates in a chain like fashion and individuals serve as elements of its articulation. It is a network organized as a web where individuals not only experience the effects of power but they also exercise this power as well. We all have powers in our bodies but it doesn't mean that it is distributed evenly. In order to understand this distribution of power one must conduct an "ascending analysis of power" will expose how these instruments of power have been invented, exploited, colonized, altered and displaced etc. Foucault describes the mechanisms of power through which the individuals are constituted as:

> The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle. . . . .
> [N]ot only individuals circulate between its threads [of Power]; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (Foucault, *Power/knowledge* 98).

Foucault in his work "why study power? Question of the subject" (Foucault, The Subject 777) declares that his objective behind studying power is to analyze how human beings are converted into subjects. Foucault defines "three modes of objectification" through which individuals become subjects i.e. first is the fields of knowledge/inquiry. Second is the dividing practices, the subject is either divided from inside himself/herself or divided by the others. Third is the way a human being turns himself/herself into a subject. According to Foucault there are two types of subject. First one that is constructed and controlled by Others. The second one is that which is created by consciousness and self-knowledge. It is the power which categorizes the individuals and assigns them identity.

For Foucault, mechanisms of subjection cannot be investigated outside the circle of exploitation and domination. All forms of subjection are derived phenomena be it class struggles, identity struggles or ideological struggles, all of them are consequences of other social and economic processes (See. (Foucault, The Subject and Power 782).

A number of scholars in recent decades have used the term "Other' as an epistemological concept in social theory. Mountz argues that 'Othering' is a process manipulated by social scientists and philosophers to discriminate and exclude non-normative persons or groups outside the center and label them as 'others':

> The term 'other' serves as both a noun and a verb. By placing one's self at the center, the other always constitutes the outside, the person who is different. As a noun, therefore, the other is a person or group of people who are different from oneself. As a verb, other means to distinguish, label, categorize, name identity, place and exclude those who do not fit a societal norm. In geographic terms to other means to locate a person or group of persons outside the center, on the margins. 'Othering is the process that makes the other. 'Othering' is the work of persons who discriminate, and it has also been the work of social scientists and philosophers. The process of creating the 'other' wherein persons or groups are labelled as deviant or non-normative happens through the constant repetition of characteristics about a group of people who are distinguished (Mountz 328).

Some subjectivity theorists suggest that although it is very difficult to elude the influence of those forces that produce them but it is not impossible to revoke them[39]. For instance, the construction of eunuchs as Khawaja Saras and their social and political roles were defined and designed by the Mughal emperors which was later redesigned and reconstructed by British colonizers as hijra. The paradox is that the Khawaja Sara and hijra identities are very different and almost opposite of each other. The former with high status, elite class, administrative officers, loyal servants etc. and the

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[39] For more detail, see Ashcroft 1994; Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1952, 1994; Parry 1987, 1994; Fieldhouse 1981; Dirks 1992; Slemon 1994: Wolfe 1999; Sartre, 2003; Leonard 2005; Werbner and Stoller 2002.

latter with low status, lower class, jobless beggars etc. Presently, it seems to be under pressure to acquire a global, homogeneous identity as "transgender".

3.B. Hijras in a Colonial and Postcolonial Context

3. B.1. Hijras Identity in a Colonial Context

The idea of 'colonialism' was first used in the eighteenth century as a term of deprecation within the framework of empire, especially when debating the ethics of slavery. Since then, it has been theorized as Western power closely interconnected to the development of capitalism, modernity and euro-centrism. Colonialism is considered as:

> The chief variant and consequence of Imperialism: the tangible means by which disparate parts of the world became subordinated to the drives and dictates of a separate and distinct imperial Centre (metropole or mother country), and struggles over territory, resources, markets and national prestige became displaced overseas. (*Dictionary of Human Geography* 94).

Balandier contends that colonialism was characterized as the imposition of racial and cultural superiority of the so called first civilization on the second one by brutal exploitation. The first civilization had a powerful economy accompanied by a fast life running along machines. While the second one with lack of machines, weak economy and slower pace of life was considered backward and inferior by European colonial empires. The protagonists of colonialism justified their colonial rule as a civilizing mission. Balandier describes the colonial rule as:

> Domination of an alien minority, asserting racial and cultural superiority, over a materially inferior native majority, contact between a machine oriented civilization with Christian origins, a powerful economy and a rapid rhythm of life and a non-Christian civilization that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life; and the imposition of the first civilization upon the second (Balandier 1951: 75)

> A state centered system of power characterized by brute exploitation, astonishing cultural arrogance and racism, which reached its heyday in the early twentieth century, when European colonial empires spanned the globe (the British empire covering 20 percent of

the world's land surface), and colonial rule (then justified as a civilizing mission) seemed secure to its protagonists, in spite of widespread anti-colonial resistance (*The Dictionary of Human Geography* 94).

Before Partition, both Pakistan and India were part of Indian subcontinent. The territory was one of the colonies of the British Empire. It was not just the establishment of dominance and authority over other or alien people and territories for an extended period of time but also:

> [a] propensity to monopolize and dictate understanding of what counts as right, normal, true, and denigrate and quash other ways of knowing and living. Yet it is more than just a will to exercise dominant control, or a proprietary project that constructs the world as the west's bequest-although it is surely both of these things. Nor has it simply been a hierarchical and diffusionist process, solidified in a core-periphery relationship (*The Dictionary of Human Geography* 94).

As already discussed, eunuchs were depicted as ubiquitous and prestigious during the Mughal regime in the subcontinent. Colonial history, however, indicates that, with the onset of British rule, hijras lost their powerful positions. British rulers detained hijras as criminals, and they were subject to arrest. The Criminal Tribes Act (1871: 24) included a category named eunuch which was comprised of all male sex individuals who either admit themselves to be impotent or they appear to be impotent on medical inspection. The gender variant individuals were categorized according to their pre-supposed ethical standards and social status. The hijra and zenana[40] were considered as lower-class eunuchs while khojay[41] were considered as upper-class eunuchs to be exempted from criminalization.

According to Gannon in order to structure orientalism the colonial regime articulated an ideology to present a sharp contrast between the two perspectives and the hijra served to bridge the gap between the two ways of thinking.

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[40] Zenana were impotent men defined in terms of effeminacy.
[41] Khojay were the Khawaja Saras, a class of eunuch considered respectable in society.

Furthermore, these depictions were constitutive of the construction of the Hijra as eunuchs. This was achieved through what I call a semiotic reassignment: the positive qualities of the eunuch (trustworthiness, lack of sexual desire, respectable moral character and the wearing of men's clothing) were attached to the harem (i.e. non hijra) eunuchs, and characteristics that the British defines as negative (sodomites, beggars, and dancers, despised, immoral, wear women's clothes and are rude) were attached to the Hijra. Consequently, the Hijra came to be defined both in contrast and about the various themes of the non-hijra eunuchs (Gannon 162)

Gannon suggests that this reassignment functions to establish the worth of the oriental culture because without such a structure the architecture of empire is at a risk and would definitely collapse. Therefore, the construction of eunuchs played a substantial role in legitimizing and supporting the ideology of "oriental rule" which in turn manufactured the colonial nation-state:[42]

With this transformation, an invented heterosexual community was tacitly put forth in opposition to the one embodied by the cryptocrystalline orientalism; consequently, this discourse was used to justify a specific community against which one that was represented by certain immoralities could be contrasted. Such a community represented the one that the colonial nation-state was imagined to govern (Gannon 303)

Gannon argued that the hijras narratives produced by the colonial discourse are not simply representations of the status of a social group within a particular historical background. These intimidating accounts were purposefully constructed to pave way for establishing power and governance. The narratives were helpful in constructing the ideological framework by presenting sharp contrasts and contrasting images that looked like real ones and eventually formed the basis of an Empire. Gannon writes it as:

These descriptions allowed conceptual categories to emerge that construct the population in governable ways; the ideological framework that lies being such representations is duplicated. These reports, ostensibly being transmitted as valid forms of knowledge, then,

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[42] Nation state: "A state of which most of the citizens or subjects are united by factors which define a nation, such as language or common descent. The nation state is an idea in which cultural boundaries harmonize with the political ones". (Paleri, 2014).

produce Empire. Of course, through disciplinary regimes such as law, this knowledge moves beyond the hegemonic and into the sphere of coercive governance (Gannon 157)

Although it is difficult for both colonizers and colonized to go back to a time and place where they could find authentic uncontaminated identity before the experience of colonization, post-colonialism exposes the techniques, systems and subsystems used to construct the western and non-western, colonial and post-colonial identities. It tries to reveal the methods the colonizers used to shape the indigenous identities in the name of morality, civilization, and modernity. Hence, it attempts to destabilize and deconstruct the colonization and colonial identities.

3. B.2. Hijras Identity in a Postcolonial Context

The non-national states in Europe during the 18th century were comprised of the multiethnic empires- the Austrian Empire, the Kingdom of France, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire. The multiethnic empires were monarchies governed by Kings or Emperors. The population was composed of multi lingual and multi ethnic groups. The empire was controlled by a particular group with specific ethnic origin. They used their language as an official language for managing government and administrative purposes. In the 19th century, the nationalist movements had overthrown some of the states. After the First World War, Torpey argues, nation states emerged:

> At the same time, the number of states that understood themselves in national terms was increasing as a product of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires: the era witnessed the end of dynastic states in Europe and the elimination of the 'easygoing nations' of the past in favor of what Karl Polanyi called the 'crustacean type of nation, which crabbily distinguished between 'us' and 'them' (Torpey 151).

After 1945, the colonial period came to an end and a greater part of the world was divided into autonomous nation-states. The nation-states are smaller with less diverse population, hence they

have a more stable, uniform and centralized administrative system as compared to their imperial predecessors. They created such a state policy which can built a national culture by functioning uniformly throughout the state. The Nation state model assumes its population to be uniform, it comprises of a nation integrated by a mutually shared language and culture:

> [The] Language and cultural policy were sometimes negative, aimed at the suppression of non-national elements. Language prohibition was sometimes used to accelerate the adoption of national language and the decline of minority languages. In some cases these policies triggered bitter conflicts and further ethnic separation. But it worked, the cultural uniformity and homogeneity of the population increased (The Rise of Nation States)[43].

After the victory of the nation state in19[th]-century Europe:

> [R]egional identity was usually subordinate to national identity. In many cases the regional administration was subordinate to central (national government (The Rise of Nation States).

Keeping in view the above definitions, Pakistan is considered as a nation state because it gained independence from the British Raj on the ideological basis and became a separate nation instead of becoming part of the India. Although Pakistan is ethnically diverse and officially a Federation, the different ethnic groups in Pakistan are strongly united by their common Muslim identity, shared social and cultural values, common historical heritage, a national language (Urdu) and combined political and economic interests.

According to John Torpey (4, 165) nowadays people are dependent on the states for the ownership of an identity; he offers a typology that involves three kind of documentation associated with the nationality. Gallaher et al. demonstrate Torpey's typology in the *Key-Concepts in Political Geography* as:

> First, international passports enable people not only to come and go from their own nation state, but also to enter the territories of the other nation-states as well. Second, internal passports regulate human migration within one nation-state, a form of regulation largely

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[43] See. Links

abandoned today as it is considered an antiquated practice associated with authoritarian regimes. Third in Torpey's general typology are the identity documents. In many countries, citizens can be called upon by government authorities (Police, court clerks etc.) to provide documents, such as a driver's license or other government issued document, to verify his or her identity and citizenship. (Gallaher et al. 289)

Hijras are also dependent on the states for their identity. Hijras have been struggling for their recognition and rights in every era of Pakistani history after independence (The legal status of hijras in Pakistan is discussed in detail in the next section, 3.C.). It shows very clearly that the legacies of colonialism persist even after independence. The critics of post-colonialism (McClintock, 1992; Jacobs, 1996) argue that colonial power relations exist after formal independence and the legacies of colonialism assert that the colonial period is not gone yet and cannot be considered as past. As Ania Loomba aptly puts it,

> It is more helpful to think of Post-colonialism not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism. (Loomba 16)

Cultural legacies of colonialism still exist in both contemporary India and Pakistan in the form of European culture and the English language that is still in practice and considered superior to indigenous cultures and languages. Pakistanis have a prejudiced view about their own culture and identity because they see it through the colonial biased gaze. People have internalized the British colonizers' raciest culture, abolishing indigenous culture and internalizing colonial ideologies.

In the early 1960s, after the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan (in 1947), hijra activities were inadmissible. The ban was lifted later on and with the enactment of section 377, the Supreme Court approved rights for Khawaja Saras in a series of rulings in 2009,

which include the provision of security, voting rights, inheritance, education, and job prospects and welfare programs for Khawaja Saras.

> Things are quite different now, however. In the days of Ayub Khan (during the early 1960s), hijra activities were banned. In response, Hijra from all the various communities got together and staged a sit-in in front of Ayub's house complaining to his mother about her son's decision and reminding her that they had sung a Lori (lullaby for infants) for Ayub when he was born. The ban was revoked. (Mujtaba 265)

Hijras showed their interest in Pakistani politics. Their involvement in politics have been reported by researchers from the 1970s to the 1990s. They tried to participate in elections and become part of Pakistani politics: Mujtaba mentions their participation in politics during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's and Benazir Bhutto's era:

> The next encounter with the state was during the Pakistan National assembly movement against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1977. Hijras participate in PNA protest march. Direct Hijra involvement in Pakistani Politics, however, began in the 1990 elections, when a hijra Muhammad Aslam, was put up as a candidate by the people of Abbottabad — coming as it did after the collapse of the Benazir Bhutto's government. The political message that seemed to come across as "The men have tried and failed, the women have tried and failed, maybe the Hijras will do the job better". (Mujtaba 265-266)

The FCO (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) letter (2008) shows that hijras were taken as transgender individuals or third gender individuals with a lack of further categorization like hermaphrodites, eunuchs, and transsexuals. It was considered a problem of language which lacked appropriate specific words for hermaphrodites, eunuchs, transsexuals. They were unable to understand that Khawaja Saras' gender identity is different from the European (Euro-American) transgender identity. The FCO letter reported the predicament of hijras in Pakistan as:

> Transgenders are called the third forms or hijras in the Urdu language. There are no apt words for hermaphrodites, transgenders, eunuchs, transsexuals, etc. They are all lumped together under the word Hijra. Most people ignore them; some revere them, give them alms and clothes; men generally ridicule them. The two biggest hurdles in their peaceful life are the sexual harassment from men, including thrashing in public and verbal abuse that they have to face from everyone. They learn to live on the periphery of society showing up to

beg and dance at weddings and the birth of children (wadhai/alms) in exchange for some money. Currently, they have no place or industry to work in because they are harassed everywhere they go. Education is an impossibility for them. (FCO letter, 6 Feb. 2008)[44]

According to the Human Rights Commission, of Pakistan (2011)[45] hijras are the most disadvantaged, stigmatized and marginalized group in Pakistan, enduring social, cultural, economic and political exclusion. The section below discusses the legal status of hijras in Pakistan to provide a detailed view of hijras' post-colonial identity and status. It shows that their identity is going to be reconstructed once again under the name "transgender," as the media is greatly involved in reshaping their identity.

3. C. Hijras in a Postcolonial Legal Context

3. C.1. The Legal Status of Hijras in Pakistan

The 1973 "Constitution of Pakistan" does not contain any clauses protecting hijras' and trans individuals' community rights. However, it encloses a very comprehensive description of essential Human rights, which ensures the rights of all citizens of Pakistan. The article 25 states that "all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law, and there shall be no discrimination based on sex" (article 25, equality of citizens: 15)[46]. However, before 2009, the State only issued ID cards to individuals listed as male or female. There was no category for the third gender and thus no recognition: There are two major parallel judicial systems in Pakistan: the "Constitution of Pakistan" and the "Federal Sharia law (religious law) of Islam".

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[44] See. Links
[45] See. Links
[46] See. Links

The Constitution of Pakistan recognizes only two sexes i.e. male or female. It does not speak about the status of the individuals who has undergone Sex Reassignment Surgery (SRS) or has changed their gender by other means such as hormone therapy. Nevertheless, Sharia law does not allow any such operations and strictly prohibits them. In the past, such individuals who have changed their gender by operations have been arrested by police and confronted the cases as accused persons in Pakistanis' courts. Foreign and Commonwealth Office reported such incidents in a letter (dated: 6 Feb. 2008: UK border and immigration agency)[47] regarding the laws on transgender persons in Pakistan. In Pakistan, identity is registered at age 18 and one's sex is recorded as it is given on the birth certificate. One cannot change one's sex or gender afterwards. Several complaints have been reported about obtaining new ID cards and travel documents. The above-mentioned FCO letter (2008) stated that in Pakistan transsexuals, that is individuals who have undergone SRS, complained that when they file their papers to change their sex on their ID card, the officials on duty mock them, abuse them and deny changing it. The officials demand operation records but the doctors refuse to provide sex-change certificates because these type of operations are illegal in Pakistan. NADRA (National Database and Registration Authority) does not have a clear rules, regulations and policies about such cases and they are treated as extraordinary cases (FCO letter 6 Feb 2008: Paragraph 11). In many cases, transsexuals were arrested by police and made to undergo mental torture. In such cases, they were not provided with any legal counsel and have to manage it on their own (FCO letter 6 Feb 2008: Paragraph 4).

However, in 2009, the Supreme Court of Pakistan passed the order[48] NADRA to include the third gender category on the CNIC (National Identity Card) form. In 2011 the Supreme Court[49]

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[47] FCO Letter 6 February 2008. See. Links
[48] Supreme Court Order, const. petition no. 43/2009. See. Links
[49] Supreme Court Order 2011 See. Links

allowed hijras to have identity cards, recognized them as third gender. However, the order was not implemented successfully by NADRA until 2012, while NADRA provides five self-selected gender options on registration forms.

1. Male (including those who are not open about their transgender status and identify as male)
2. Female (including those who are not open about their transgender status and identify themselves as female)
3. Male transgender/eunuchs
4. Female transgender/ eunuchs
5. Khasa-e-mushkil/ transgender/third gender

Nevertheless, there were some other kinds of difficulties on the way; the rules require them to register with their family of origin under their father's name. Even after having the right of registration as 'third gender,' they were reluctant to get ID cards because they were not willing to register themselves under their father's name. Rather, they preferred to register under the name of their guru (see. Judgment Sheet Lahore High Court, pg.5)[50]. In consequence of these proceedings NADRA devised a policy (dated 21/08/2017)[51] for issuance of CNIC to transgender people and eunuchs:

> In compliance of Lahore High court order in writ petition no. 31581/2016, following procedure for issuance of CNIC's, has been approved by the competent authority. (a) eunuch with known parents: cases may be dealt as per registration policy as it covers the processing of CNICs of eunuchs with known biological parentage. (b) Eunuchs with unknown parentage: As, a first step, already registered eunuchs whosoever are willing shall get themselves registered as "Guru" in NADRA database. Guru registration will be carried out at HQ Nadra through a module already being used for registration of orphanages (see. Judgment Sheet Lahore High Court, pg.6)[52].

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[50] Judgment Sheet Lahore High Court. See. Links
[51] Policy 21/08/2017. See. Links
[52] Judgment Sheet Lahore High Court. See. Links

On 14th November 2011, the Supreme Court ordered[53] the Election Commission of Pakistan to record information and numbers of the Khawaja Saras to register them as voters. Roughly estimated about 500,000 Khawaja Saras were expected to participate in the following year (2013)'s general elections and nominate their candidates for the Parliament. Nevertheless, only six hundred and eighty voters registered themselves as Khawaja Saras in the final electoral roll in 2013.

In 2013 the Supreme Court[54] of Pakistan ruled that "eunuchs" (hijras) have equal rights as all citizens of Pakistan according to the Constitution of Pakistan. The Court ordered the government to provide them with equal opportunities in all arenas of life, including Jobs, education, and inheritance. Following the Supreme Court's classification of the third gender, hijras attained the right to vote, and they contested their first election in 2013. During the same period, many of hijras got jobs in governmental departments.

3. C.2 Development in Hijras' status after Supreme Court Order 2009

This section provides the reader with an overview of the current status of hijras and the influence of Supreme Court's orders on their lives. It shows to what degree the government' policies and the court orders have been effective in improving the situation of hijras. The status of hijras has been improved after Supreme Court's order 2009 visibly, as these steps mentioned below will have great impact in reforming their identity. The question emerges here, are they going to evolve once again with a new identity as "transgender"? In this section the word transgender is used for hijras

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[53] Supreme Court Order 2011 See. Links
[54] Supreme Court order- 2013.Arts. 9, 23, 25A, 51(2) & 184(3) and Supreme Court order-2013SCMR 187 Arts. 9, 14, 24(1), 25 & 184(3). See. Links

because the news media uses the term "transgender" to represent hijras. Presumably the word "transgender|" is considered a by default translation of "hijra".

There is no official demographic record available on hijras living in Pakistan, but one of the advocacy groups Trans Action's estimation indicates that there are approximately five million hijras in Pakistan with one hundred and ninety million population. Waqar Ali a transgender individual filed a petition in November 2016 at the Lahore High Court; which argued that "Pakistan's hijra community had been marginalized and their fundamental rights should be recognized by including them in the sixth national census". In response of this petition the Court ordered the government, the NADRA and the interior ministry to assure the Court that the hijra community will be part of the 2017 census. (Waqar Mustafa, 9 January 2017)[55].

Pakistan is one of the first nine countries (Australia, New Zealand, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Germany, and Canada) who have recognized the third gender before USA. Nonetheless, USA passed a bill on October 15, 2017, that would create a "non-binary gender marker x" on identity cards, birth certificates and driver's license.

Pakistan issued its first "gender-neutral passport" to a transgender person named Farzana Jaan. The passport marks the gender as "x". The third gender represents individuals who recognize themselves as transgender, cross dresser, transvestite, transsexual and eunuchs. After receiving the passport, Jaan said that she is very happy to be recognized by the immigration and passports authority, they recognized that she too is a human being regardless of whatever gender she has. (Hassan Majeed MD[56], July 3, 2017)

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[55] See Links.
[56] See links.

Image 1: Pakistan issued its first "gender-neutral passport" to a transgender person Farzana Jaan. (Hassan Majeed MD, July 3, 2017)

3.D. Hijras in a Postcolonial Experiential Context

Arzu started her Job as a Peon at the Municipal Corporation of Peshawar five years ago. Now she is the General Secretary of the Trans-Action (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa[57]). She is the only transgender person working as a government employee in the KPK government. She is not satisfied with her job but struggling very hard to show people that they too can work. She quit singing and dancing but is still facing many financial challenges with a 15000 PKR[58] salary and 13000 to pay for the house rent; she is living almost hand to mouth with no savings. Arzu describes her predicament as:

> I cannot travel by local transport; men pick on me all the time, they call me a hijra and ask as to how the Supreme Court has even allowed us to work. I have not been promoted in five years. My salary remains stagnant, and my boss asks me not to dress up like a woman, but I need to show them that we can work too, even if it comes with this heavy a cost.

> (Momina Mindeel[59], September 4, 2016)

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[57] KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) is a Province in the north of Pakistan.
[58] PKR is Pakistani Currency , Pak rupees
[59] See links.

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Image 2: Arzu Serving as General Secretary of Trans Action KPK. The only transgender employee in KPK government (Momina Mindeel, September 4, 2016)

Kami Sid is Pakistan's first transgender model. She is also a transgender activist. When she did her first fashion shoot, many national and international media gave her coverage. She aims to make people understand that trans individuals can do anything or any job, just like others. Recently she has signed a short film *Rani* which aims to show the reality of a trans individual's life. She has also signed a drama *Dil-E-Nadan*. Talking about her upcoming drama, Kami says:

> It is an issue based drama, which will highlight the lack of acceptance of transgender in our society. Yes, there have been shows about this particular matter before, but those roles have always been played by men. For the first time, you'll see a real transgender portraying such a role. The aim is to make sure that trans individuals get acceptance, get work, just like everyone else and we are implementing that in real life- my casting is an example of just that (Sajeer Shaikh[60], October 18, 2017).

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[60] See links

Image 3: Kami Sid Pakistan's first transgender Model

3.D.1.   Free Education System for Trans individuals

Trans individuals have always been facing discrimination in Pakistan. However, AIOU (Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad, October 2, 2017) launched the Free Education System for trans individuals. Under the program, every trans individual in Pakistan will be eligible to get an education in any program from matric to the Ph.D. for free. The program aims to revive the forgotten rights of the transgender community and to return the long-lost self-respect and dignity by making them responsible citizens of the society. Sobia Khan is the first transgender women of KPK (Peshawar city) registered at AIOU. She will get higher education degree from AIOU. Sobia said that she loves singing and dancing and by profession, she is an entertainer, but she wants to leave this profession because of the conservative attitude of society. She wants to pursue higher education to secure a decent job. She said:

> I faced a lot of difficulties when getting an education in a boy's school and college. I had to give up education after the disgusting attitude of some boys towards me. I was delighted to know the free education program of AIOU. All my friends advised me to fulfill my

dreams of getting a higher education. After which I went to the AIOU's Hayatabad office and got admission forms. I will advise all my friends to get an education as our existing profession is very unpredictable. Respectable jobs will address our financial problems, and our families might accept us as well. I want to become a role model for other transgender people. But I fear if I fail to get a decent job, no transgender person will get an education. In such a scenario, they will quote my example (*Daily Times*[61], October 24, 2017).

She requested all higher education institutes to launch special programs for trans individuals. She demanded from the government to device further policies for providing respectable jobs to educated trans individuals.

3.D.2. Moving Towards a Trans-Friendly Pakistan

In Peshawar, Shakeela a transgender woman celebrated her birthday party (2017). The Pakistan transgender community joined the party to celebrate her middle-aged life; they gave her money along with other gifts to help her start a new business. The City administration commonly do not give permission for trans parties and such functions are often subject to police raid. On the contrary, this time, there was no ban, the police provided security for the occasion to protect them from the people who have adverse intents to mess up the event. Shakeela said that she was not sure that she would be able to celebrate this occasion because they have been convincing authorities for a long time to organize this event (Jibran Ahmad, 25 January 2017)[62].

The already mentioned leader of Trans Action Pakistan Farzana Jaan says, It is the first time in a decade that they managed to openly organize and experience such a function. Qamar Nadeem, a woman right's activist who helped Trans Action to be heard, says that a lot of NGO's have worked with the transgender community but mostly focused on HIV whereas Trans Action's

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[61] Daily times (October 24 2017). See links.
[62] See links.

priority is protection from violence, harassment, attacks, and extortion (Dawn[63], 20 February 2017).

Top 50 Pakistani religious clerics (religious decree 26 June 2016) issued "a fatwa declaring that transgender people have full marriage, inheritance and funeral rights under Islamic Sharia law". The fatwa stated that:

> a female born transgender person, having visible signs of being a male may marry a woman or a male born transgender with "visible signs of being a female," and vice versa. However, it ruled that a transgender person carrying visible signs of both genders and intersex cannot marry anyone". (Pakistan Today: Hamid Khan Wazer, June 29, 2016)[64].

However, the fatwa was unacceptable to members of the transgender community because they viewed marrying with people of their own community members as an "un-Islamic and sinful act". Many others were unhappy because it was not related to eunuchs. They argued that it is only about "zinkhay and khusri who already tie the knot". Zinkhay are males who adopt habits like transgender people (cross-dressers), and eunuchs do not accept them as members of their community. 'Khusri' are females who could not reproduce and live with their own families because most of them got divorced.

3.E. Discussion

Democracy requires the state to respect the fundamental rights of all citizens without any discrimination. The public institutions are accountable to the state and reflect the state policies regarding the particular cultures, cultural identities and cultural communities under governance. The Constitution of Pakistan (1973, article 25, equality of citizens: 15) reflects the politics of

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[63] Dawn, (20 February 2017). See links
[64] See links.

assimilation[65]. It does not contain any clauses protecting hijras' and trans individuals' community rights. However, it comprises a very comprehensive description of essential Human rights, which ensures to protect the rights of all citizens of Pakistan equally (for detail see. section 3.C). On the other hand, the "Transgender Persons Protection of Rights Act" (May 2018, see. Chapter 2) reflects the politics of recognition[66]. It is very difficult to decide what Pakistani individuals/citizens as a society have chosen is right or not and what they may need to choose in terms of assimilation or recognition for all of their public institutions or policies. A simple imitation of West may lead Pakistani citizens to blind acceptance of those visions and unfamiliarity may lead the nation towards a blind rejection of the phenomena under discussion. The politics of assimilation asserts the other into the same and the politics of recognition identifies the other as different and asserts the other into a separate category.

The recognition of otherness comes along with the fundamental rights just like the "protection of rights act in 2018" but at the expense of equal citizenship. Apparently, the politics of recognition seems promising to reduce inequalities. Nonetheless, a deeper look shows that it not only identifies the other but also creates boundaries to separate the same from the other. Recognition of otherness reinforces the innovative character of identities and its inclusion into the cultural, social and economic system of the state. These identities assert their difference by belonging to a specific group. But it also converts the differences into otherness which leads to discrimination. The boundaries of sameness and differences are then institutionalized as "us" versus "them." The discourse, media and politics contribute to the further elaboration of these gaps between "us" and "them".

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[65] Assimilation is "the process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of the society" (for detail discussion see. chapter 6).
[66] The politics of recognition seeks acknowledgement of diverse cultural identities. (for detail see. chapter 6)

The "Transgender Persons Protection of Rights Act (May 2018)" resulted in the demand for recognition and protection of equal rights. The politics of recognition may not be an appropriate approach for establishing a democratic society because it has raised many stakes. But the denial can be destructive to those who fail to get recognized. As Taylor puts it:

> What has come about with the modern age is not the need for recognition but the conditions in which the attempts to be recognized can fail. That is why the need is now acknowledged for the first time (Taylor 35).
>
> On the social plane, the understanding that identities are formed in open dialogue, unshaped by a predefined social script, has made the politics of recognition more central and stressful. It has, in fact, considerably raised the stakes. Equal recognition is not just the appropriate mode for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal can inflict damage on those who are denied it (Taylor 36).

The aim of the present study is to pave way for the new forms of subjectivity to liberate the individuals from the state-oriented individualized identity and self-consciousness derived from the discourses of power. As Foucault suggests that the milestone for future research is to promte new forms of subjectivity by rejecting the previous ones that have been imposed on them for centuries (Foucault, The Subject 785).

In the following Chapter (Chapter 4) this study inspects the modes of representation of hijra- oriented themes as they relate to the representation of otherness, as outlined in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 4

HIJRAS AS SUBJECTS OF DISCOURSE

It is the gaze of the Other that defines the subject. Chapter 4 elaborates further on the gaze of the Other and the phenomenon of "being seen by the Other" by analyzing the discourse of representation. A deeper look at media discourse reveals how hijras are seen by Others. This gaze of Others through the medium of discourse defines hijras as subjects who experience the self-Other relationship at every moment of their daily lives. An individual's self-identity does not emerge through a consciousness working in solitude; instead, subjects are shaped at every moment by the way Others look at them. This perception of self-identity is aligned with Foucault's account of the way in which the subject is constituted through power relations and, as a result, self-expression is continuously shaped by discourse and power relations. It may even be impossible to conceive of an "authentic" self in the twenty-first century when people are so thoroughly exposed to media and discourse. There is no doubt that intersubjective relations are mediated through discourse and shaped by power relations. As Foucault suggested, we are not only controlled by knowledge and power; we are also created by it (see Chapter 3, section 3.A).

Chapter 4 thus examines hijras as subjects of discourse in relation to Others. It attempts to explore hijras' self-construction by examining hijras' self-constructed discourse. The discussion of hijras' construction of self draws attention to the ontological and epistemological limits of discourses representing the hijra identity and community, and thereby seeks to expand the range of prospects for people to see their self and Others.

The self/ Other phenomenon is closely linked to social categories of identity, the lived experiences of subjecthood and political subjectivity. The theory of subjectivity and the role of the Self/Other distinction in the development of colonial and postcolonial identities has already been discussed in Chapter 3. The key figures associated with the Theory of Subjectivity are Sartre, Lacan, Foucault, Bulter, Zizek, Stavrakakis and many others. This chapter is the continuation of the theory of subjectivity; it examines hijras' positions with respect to the discourse of Others (the media discourse) and their lived experiences of subjecthood (the discourse of self). The account of hijras as subject of discourse helps to understand the processes involved in the formation of hijras' identity and subjectivity.

In post-structural theory, Lacan establishes the relationship between subject and discourse, in which the unconscious is the discourse of the Other. Human beings are structured by discourse and are identified by the symbolic system that discourse entails.

> [T]he spectacular demonstration of the formula that I am always giving you - *the unconscious is the discourse of the other.* (Lacan, Book-I 85)

> That is our starting point for listening to the person who speaks to us. And we only have to refer back to our definition of the discourse of the unconscious, which is that it is the discourse of the other, to understand how it authentically links up again with inter-subjectivity in the dialogue, that full realization of speech. (Lacan, Book-I 247)

He further explains that:

> [T]his is what I mean by my formula that the unconscious is *discours de l'Autre* (discourse of the Other), in which the *de* is to be understood in the sense of the Latin *de* (objective determination): *de Alio in oratione* (completed by: *tua res agitur*). But we must also add that man's desire is the *désir de l'Autre* (the desire of the Other) in which the *de* provides what grammarians call the "subjective determination", namely that it is *qua* Other that he desires (which is what provides the true compass of human passion). (Lacan, Écrits, Trans. Sheridan, 238)

> The unconscious . . . is the discourse of the Other, i.e. the unconscious consists of linguistic elements, phrases, expressions, commands, social and religious laws and conventions that are part of the culture at large as well as being part and parcel of every household. (Seminar xi 62)

Chisa explains the Lacanian dictum –"the unconscious is the discourse of The Other"—as follows:

> When the Other still refers to the (unconscious of the) Other individual subject, the formula means that the subject's unconscious is the product of the speech that individual subjects, including the subject in question, have addressed to him. The child's unconscious is formed by the speech of those who surround him as well as by his own. (Chisa 43-44)

Lacan defines the Other as "the locus in which is situated the signifying chain that governs which aspect(s) of the subject may become present" (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 22). He explains the dialogical relation between the subject and the Other as "the subject as such can only be known in the place or locus of the Other. There is no way to define a subject as self-consciousness" (Ibid 22).

Lacan seeks to understand the human subject as well as the constitution of the subject through discourse. Both Lacan and Foucault assume that intersubjective relations are mediated by discourse:

> Discourse is "the tie that binds" us to the intersubjective network and its symbolic mandate wherein one's cultural destiny is assumed in accordance with the desire of the Other. (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 161)

> The subject is produced within the language that awaits him or her and is inscribed in the locus of the Other. (Ibid 30).

The particular subject functions (e.g., subjugation) and discourse functions (e.g., ideology, knowledge, repetition, etc.) interact with each other to shape the self-components of the subject. It helps to clarify the particular nature of speech products. This model assumes that there is a dialogical relationship between subject and discourse because the subject works upon the discourse and the discourse works upon the subject. In order to understand the subject it is important to analyze how the subject reconstructs his/her past.

> What value does the subject's reconstructed past have? . . . the fact that the subject relives, comes to remember, in the intuitive sense of the word, the formative events of his [sic]

existence, is not in itself so very important. What matters is what he reconstructs of it. (Lacan book-I 13)

For Lacan, subject is a system which contains discourse. In analyzing the self-narratives, these "little details" which subject use in the process of reconstructing and rewriting his/her own history are very essential for understanding the subject:

> What the subject is conscious of at the moment - what am I going to say now? Of himself? no, not only of himself -of himself and of everything else, that is to say of the whole of his system[sic]. . . . . the restitution of the subject's wholeness appears in the guise of a restoration of the past. But the stress is always placed more on the side of reconstruction than on that of reliving . . . . The precise reliving - that the subject remembers something as truly belonging to him, as having truly been lived through, with which he communicates, and which he adopts . . . that is not what is essential. What is essential is reconstruction, the term he employs right up until the end. . . . when all is said and done, it is less a matter of remembering than of rewriting history. . . . *Rewriting history* - a formula which allows one to put in perspective the various directions that he gives apropos of little details in the narratives within analysis. (Lacan, Book-I 14)

According to Lacan the subject keeps the discourse about his/her past in a very systematic and organized way. The subject is not only able to sustain and remember these past events but s/he stores it in a way that implies the presence of a listener:

> [A]ll you need is to know how to read him, it's written down in black and white - by saying that it is only the perspective of history and of recognition that allows a definition of what counts for the subject. (Lacan, Book-I 35)

> [T]he subject sustains this historical discourse. He even sustains it in a particularly striking, dramatized manner, which implicates the presence, of the listener. (Ibid 37)

Post-structural theories imagine the subject as a site on which discourse acts but do not offer much detail on how the discourse is contained within the subject. Lacan's subject is unique in that the discourse is organized in a specific order within it: "a bundle of juxtaposed discourses which overlap, follow on from each other, forming a dimension, a layer, a dossier" (Lacan, Book-I 22). Thus, this system (the subject) is comprised of multilayered structures. It is obvious here

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that the subject interacts in a discourse community. Lacan describes the subject as a system that takes input from the outside discourse to formulate an inside discourse. The subjects control the specific discourse that may enter into the subject on the basis of their personal history, and, as a consequence, different subjects host different discursive material. Furthermore, subjects not only encounter the social Others but also process social interactions and work on them. The subjects organize the discourse in their own way:

> You'll see the extent to which he deliberately organizes his discourse in such a way that what he wants to say, which is not sayable - it is him who says this - can nonetheless be revealed. (Lacan, Book-I 245)

The subjects modify the discourse through processes such as desire, repression[67], symbolism and imagination. These modifications produce a specific style of discourse that in turn becomes the defining feature of a subject. The discourse characterizes the subject in that every subject produce a particular style of discourse. The subject is a kind of boundary where the different elements of discourse interact with each other. The subject interacts with the social others, receives the input but processes it and modifies it according to his/her desire and perceptions of the real and imaginary world; hence the subject controls the combination of discourses inside him/her. These processes of interactions and modifications of discourse makes him/her unique for performing the functions uniquely and producing unique output accordingly. Lacan describes how the discourse of the unconscious interacts with the outside discourse and processes it. The resulting discourse then contains the expressions from the inside discourse:

> The fundamental phenomenon revealed by analysis is this relation of one discourse to another, using it as a support . . . What is fundamentally at issue in transference, is how a

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[67] Repression: "repression in the true sense of the word - because repression is not repetition, repression is not negation - there is always interruption of discourse. The subject says that the word escapes him [sic] *[le mot lui manque],"* *(Lacan, Book-I 269).* "a repression is something other than a judgment which rejects and choos" Ibid 43).

discourse that is masked, the discourse of the unconscious, takes a hold of a discourse that is apparent. This discourse takes possession of these emptied-out, available elements, the *Tagesreste,* and of everything else in the preconscious order, which is made available by the smallest investment of this, the subject's fundamental need, which is to gain recognition. It is within this vacuum, within this hollow, with what thus becomes working materials, that the deep, secret discourse gains expression. (Lacan, Book-I 247)

Therefore, the discourse has ostensible effects in rearranging and reorganizing the self-components within the subject.

Lacan suggests that the subject may deal with the input discourse in two ways: First, the subject may keep this discourse separate from other discourses and treat it as negligible without disturbing other discourses contained in the self-system. This material will then have nothing to do with the composition of the self. The subject may remember it for a time or quickly forget it. In the latter case, it does not affect the subject because it is no longer available for processing Second, the subject may work on the discursive material, rearranging, and restructuring it. This type of discourse is not simply contained by the subject. It interacts with the subject components and shapes them in particular ways. In order to understand the relation between discourse and subject, firstly one needs to understand the discourse systems and the mechanisms that situate, position, constitute and contain the subject. Secondly, the self-system of the subject that interacts with the discourse. Lacan focuses on the relationship between the self, Other and language. Every communication involves a dialectal relationship that implies a subject to be understood. This involves a semantic relationship between the self and the Other. As Lacan explains:

It can be said that psychoanalytic action is developed in and through verbal communication, that is, in a dialectical grasp of meaning. It presupposes, therefore, a subject who manifests himself as such to the intention of another. . . .

Only a subject can understand a meaning; conversely, every phenomenon of meaning implies a subject. In analysis a subject offers himself as being capable of being understood, and indeed is capable of being understood: introspection and supposedly projective intuition do not constitute here. (Lacan, Écrits, Trans. Sheridan, 8)

Poststructuralist theory does not provide details on how the discourse is contained within the subject. The subject is considered as a text or a site with which the various components of discourse interact. Nonetheless, Lacan provides a detailed description of these mechanisms. The unconscious does not accept the practices of representation and subjectivity passively. The unconscious "as a concept negates a simple correspondence between the practices of representation and the subjectivity created out of representation" (Malone and Friedlander, 13). Since the systems of discourse are contained by a biological body, the self neither takes input passively like a machine nor processes it linearly as a machine does. However, the incongruities between different discourse subsystems may have significant effects on the subject. Incompatible discourses, for example, may generate conflict and suffering in the subject.

The subject may encounter this incompatible discourse in any form, it can be a TV show, a newspaper, a social media website or a blog. When the subjects express their "self" in their self-narratives, the conflict is manifested in their discourse. The slips, disruptions and repetitions speak as well and are worth reading. For instance, Lacan describes one of the situations in which the subject enters into a conflicting situation:

Indeed, a radio-talk is produced in accordance with a very specific modality of speech, since it is addressed to a mass of invisible listeners by an invisible speaker. It may be said that, in the imagination of the speaker, it isn't necessarily addressed to those who listen to it, but equally to everyone, the living and the dead. The subject there enters into a relationship of conflict - he might regret that his mother was not able to be a witness to his triumph, but perhaps, at the same time, in the speech which he gave, to his invisible listeners [sic], there was something that was intended for her. (Lacan, Book-I 31)

> In the discourse of analysis, the subject develops what is his truth, his integration, his history [sic]. But there are some holes in this history, (ibid 283)

> Well, the slips, the holes, the disputes, the repetitions of the subject also express, but here spontaneously, innocently, the manner in which his [sic] discourse is organized. And that is what we have to read . . . because the texts are worth the trouble of being brought together. (Ibid 245)

As subjects produce discourse about their suffering and share the conflicts they have experienced, the patterns of conflict reveal the formulation of the subjects. On rare occasions, subjects may not reflect existing social hierarchies and ideologies. These new discourses are helpful in identifying the subject in new structures. The subject acquires resistance with experience that is manifested in his discourse:

> I am not sure if this is the exact wording, but it is very striking. It makes manifest the materialization of resistance acquired in the course of experience, and precisely . . . in the subject's discourse. (Lacan, Book-I 22)

When the subject, containing a discourse, interacts with the social discourse or Other subjects, the self is constructed continuously through various performative and discursive practices in almost every intersubjective contexts. Therefore, subjects construct their identity discursively in daily conversation. Stavrakakis maintains that "the constitution of every identity can be attempted only through processes of identification with socially *available* discursive constructions" (Stavrakakis 36). Hence, the concept of identification is important for understanding Lacanian subjectivity because it refers to the processes through which subjectivity is constituted. Stavrakakis demonstrates the processes through which the personality of individual is constructed and specified: Identification refers to the 'psychological process whereby the subject assimilates . . . an attribute of the other. (Stavrakakis 30)

Section 4 .A. shows how the hijras' identity is constructed discursively. The way in which the Other people represent their role, their appearance, their attributes and their actions shape their

sense of self and others. Hearing people referring to them as hijras, Khawaja Saras and transgender individuals repeatedly condition and reinforce the sense of their self and their role in the society. On the other hand, if they hear themselves referred to as managers, waiters, teachers, tailors, designers, this will give them a different sense of self and their social role and their identity. Therefore, hearing, reading or watching the way the subject is referred to or represented by the others gives the subject the sense of who s/he is. This way the discourse constructs the identity of the subjects by defining them, attributing specific characteristics to them, representing them in fixed roles and thereby limits the possibilities of thinking their self in other possible ways.

Malone asserts the importance of understanding the connection between subjectivity and representation by comprehending the performative and discursive effects on the subjects. However, he also declares that subjectivity is fluid in nature. The subjects are reshaped by the discourse they receive. The subjects assimilate themselves with the discursive representations and identify themselves with these characters, roles and representations. They hold certain beliefs about their self and the possibilities of their existence. The self-perception, subjectivity, identity are not static and close possible tracks. They can be transformed and modified through performative and discursive effects. Hence, the representation and subjectivity are closely linked to each other. Malone puts it as:

> Subjectivity is a fluid nexus of performative and discursive effects, which circulate within every cultural and intersubjective context. Such assertions about representation and subjectivity dispense with individualistic notions of self, but a full comprehension of these effects still lies ahead of us. It is not enough to say that there is a relationship between representation and subjectivity. (Malone 5)

In order to understand the relationship between subjectivity and representation one needs to understand the gaze of the Other as a matter of "being-seen-by-the-Other" (Sartre, 1943). For Sartre, human beings are defined by their relation to their self and to the world. Individuals

experience the gaze of Others throughout their daily lives, which continuously shapes their identities. Neither the self nor the Other are solitary products of consciousness; both are defined by their relationship with each other:

> "Being-seen-by-the-other" is the truth of "seeing-the-other". Thus the notion of the Other cannot under any circumstances aim at a solitary, extra mundane consciousness which I cannot even think. The man is defined by his relation to the world and by his [sic] relation to myself. . . . The original relation of myself to the Other is not only an absent truth aimed at across the concrete presence of an object in my Universe; it is also a concrete, daily relation which at each instant I experience. At each instant the Other is looking at me. It is easy therefore for us to attempt with concrete examples to describe this fundamental connection which must form the basis of any theory concerning the Other. If the Other is in principle the one who looks at me, then we must be able to explain the meaning of the Other's look (Sartre, 257).

The next section reveals how the subject is discussed, positioned and constituted within the narrative discourse, which produces knowledge and power. Foucault describes the subject in two senses: First, the discourse produces the subjects who "personify the particular forms of knowledge" produced by the discourse. Secondly, the discourse produces a position for the subject from which the viewers or readers see the subject. Hall puts it as follows:

> First, the discourse itself produces 'subjects'-figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces . . . these figures are specific to specific discursive regimes and historical periods. But the discourse also produces a place for the subject (i.e. the reader or viewer, who is also 'subjected to discourse') from which its particular knowledge and meaning most makes sense . . . All discourses, then, construct subject-positions, from which alone they make sense. (Hall 80)

Section 4 A. offers an analysis of hijras as subjects of discourse by examining their representation in discourse in relation to Otherness. It shows how hijras are "seen-by-the-Others" and depicted in the narrative discourses produced by the Others. On the other hand, Section 4.B. presents an account of the "gaze-upon-self" by analyzing hijras' self-narrated discourse.

4 A. 'Otherness' in 'Us versus Them' Discourse

In the twenty-first century, which is bent on "inclusiveness," different type of identities continue to be constructed through discourse by generating an "us versus them" gaze. The "us versus them" gaze results in othering the dominated groups in the dyad (i.e., "them"). It widens the gap between us and them, creates discrimination, and produces social and political inequalities. An inclusion/exclusion strategy is used. The dominant groups ("us") are included and the non-dominant excluded. Thus, Jean-François Staszak (2008) defines the process of Otherness by using in-group and out-group terminologies for dominant and non-dominant groups, respectively. Staszak suggests that the process of othering involves the classification of "us" as in-groups and "them" as out-groups. The out-groups manipulate the "supposed differences" of the in-group in order to exclude and discriminate against them. The otherness, stigmatization, and discrimination are not natural; they are constructed through discourse. Staszak describes the way in which discourse uses difference to construct otherness (for detail see. Staszak, 2). The stereotypes attached to the out-groups are what assigns them their identity as opposite to that of the in-groups (See. (Staszak, 2008: 2). The us-groups are considered true, natural, normal, and acceptable by society, on the other hand them-groups are considered false, unnatural, abnormal, and unacceptable. People draw these differences largely from discourse.

Dramas—that is, narrative discourses—are the most pervasive form of media discourse in Pakistan. The main aim of the present study is to show how events, people, and social practices in these dramas are contextualized and presented through the visual discourses that encompasses the "us versus "them" phenomena. Media legitimize and naturalize social and ethnic inequality by presenting marginalized groups as inferior ones. Hijras, for instance, are never portrayed as well off or working in high-status professions. In the majority of dramas, their depiction follows a

conceptual structure with certain typical elements: low economic and social status, rejected by "respectable" society, living in slums, and merely "disguised" as women, that is, behaving like women as if they were engaged in a performance. These elements are incorporated in the media discourse for the personification and visualization of hijras in framing the social representation of hijras. Fleras describes how such a projection of binary oppositions affects marginalized people:

> Those outside the framework of a preferred demographic have been either ignored as irrelevant or stigmatized as inferior. Alternatively, they have been portrayed as troublesome constituents who posed a threat to society because of their problematic status. Media coverage of marginalized demographics has embraced a set of binary oppositions ("us" versus "them") that has compromised their status in society (Fleras 3).

Opinion makers guide peoples' thoughts in particular directions to enhance and sustain the division between "us" and "them." The gap produces power imbalance and inequality, which rewards some people and deprives the others through processes of discrimination. The main aim of this research is to explore the phenomenon of social discrimination more broadly by applying a critical interdisciplinary approach. For example, the characters discussed below, represented over three decades of Pakistani media history, are presented as a marginalized group living at the edge of society. Their presentation on screen offers a view of "us" versus "them". When we look at the screen, we see "our" society versus theirs.

In the 1990s television portrayals of hijras were entirely comic. For instance, in the serial *Janjal purs* (1996), the hijra characters were portrayed by cisgender actors, wearing feminine attire, usually living in a typical neighborhood (the oft repeated middle-class neighborhood portrayed in the dramas). In the early twenty-first century, the depiction of hijras took a more serious turn. The media began to showcase their troubles and miseries. In the television serial

Moorat (2004),[68] for example, the characters Reshma, Bijili, and Shola represent a typical Khawaja Sara household in a nondescript neighborhood. They are portrayed by cisgender artists and depict a guru-disciple relationship among street entertainers. Similarly, the characters Guru, Shabnam, and Katari in *Chandni,* 2016[69] are performed by cisgender actors and depict stereotypical hijra "types", as do the characters Shammo, Nurgis, Firdos, and Neelem in *Alif Allah aur Insan* (2017). However, Shammo breaks the mold and leaves street entertaining to become a hairdresser and beautician in later episodes. There is also a transition in Shammo's character from a traditional hijra look (feminine clothing, make-up, and long hair) to a modern trans look (men's clothing, no make-up, and short hair). All the hijra characters in these five serials perform only supporting roles and, with the exception of Shammo, are stereotypical hijra 'types'. All the characters mentioned above have been seen and observed during the data collection which I undertook in the course of 2016 (at Lahore and Islamabad). For instance, with the traditional hijra look Guru 1, Neelam Nargis, Ashi, Komal, Sanwali, Pari Panarwati (see Appendix for data images and interviews) completely resemble the dramatic characters (Reshma, Bijili, Shola, Shabnam, Katari, Nurgis, Firdos, and Neelem).

By contrast, characters such as Aslam (*Alif Allah aur Insan* 2017) had never been represented in the media before this serial. Aslam is a trans man who owns a salon and is not involved in the profession of singing and dancing. He does not wear any feminine dress, make-up, or long hair and has a masculine look. Moreover, he is a respectable beautician, not a street person. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are transgender people in Pakistani society who neither join the hijra community nor follow the stereotypical hijra profession of singing and dancing. Yet the

[68] See appendix for details of the TV serial *Moorat.*
[69] See appendix for details of the short film story *Chandni.*

media can only think of a beautician when a hijra character is not a singer or dancer. I have observed (2014 at Rawalpindi, 2016 at Lahore) characters like Aslam who were tailors by profession and not only wore masculine attire but also did not adopt any feminine body language. When I visited the house of Sanwali, Pari, and Parwati (at Lahore, 2017), they told me their tailor is also a trans person. He charges more money than other tailors, but the others cannot understand the fitting of their dresses. I have also seen a hijra in my sister's neighborhood (at Rawalpindi, 2015) who was a tailor with a masculine look. Such people have never been represented by the media. This is why average Pakistani citizens continue to have misconceptions about hijras and transgender Pakistanis.

For most viewers, hijras are like Reshma, Bijili, Shola, Shabnam, Katari, Nurgis, Firdos, and Neelem. Viewers share the assumption that all people of ambiguous gender (intersex, eunuchs, trans gender) become hijras and have the same feminine look as represented by the media. Morgan and Shanahan (2009) suggest that the visual media produce a stable, coherent, and consistent type of content that promotes specific ideologies. This is the why diverse publics come to share similar concepts of reality.

> Cultivation researchers approach television as a coherent system of messages produced for large and diverse populations and consumed in a relatively nonselective, almost ritualistic way by most viewers. Despite obvious surface level differences across genres and program types, deeper analysis often shows that surprisingly similar and complimentary images of society, consistent ideologies and stable accounts of the "facts" of life cut across many different types of programs. Exposure to the total pattern rather than to specific genres and programs is therefore what accounts for the historically distinct consequences of living with television: the cultivation of shared conceptions of reality among otherwise diverse publics (Morgan and Shanahan 36).

The continuous dissemination of similar stories and characters serves to define the world and legitimize a particular social order for viewers. Their conceptions are associated with the exposure to the media. The more that individuals are exposed to the media the more stereotypical their views

about society and social groups are likely to be. Today's generation, in particular, has been overexposed to the media because of the Internet and mobile devices. Born into this global symbolic world, they are less likely to exhibit an independent view of the world and reality than their predecessors.

In this way, the media's repeated stereotypical depictions of hijra characters are fixed in the minds of viewers. Although most would probably claim that they can distinguish authentic from non-authentic content, the reality is that the visual media have become the source for most of what we think we know about the world, whether we acknowledge this or not. We receive passively the media's "information" over such a long duration that we can hardly extricate the opinions that are not media-driven from our own, independent opinions. As Morgan and Shanahan argue,

> [T]he facts of the television world are evidently learned quite well, whether or not viewers profess a belief in what they see on television or claim to be able to distinguish between factual and fictional presentations. Indeed most of what we know, or think we know, is a mixture of all the stories and images we have absorbed. The labels of "factual" which may be highly selective and "fictional" which may be highly realistic are more questions of style than function within a total framework of knowledge.(Morgan and Shanahan 2002: 52)

The majority of hijras think that people will reject them if they try to adopt other professions, so they usually do not even try to do so. For instance, in *Murad* (2004)[70] the writer, on the one hand, tries to show the problems hijras have in earning a living respectably. But on the other hand, the audience absorbs these stories and images and develops the idea that these problems are inevitable. Just as children imitate elders, audiences passively take in the media content and apply it whenever and wherever needed.

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[70] See. Appendix for the short film story *Murad*

Saima, a Khawaja Sara, adopts an orphan kid named Murad, but the kid dislikes Saima's street dancing occupation. Meanwhile, Saima tries to present herself as male and work in other occupations, but people tease her everywhere. She then attempts to find a job as a woman but of no avail. Finally, she resorts to begging for survival. When Murad finds out, he becomes angry, but Saima sends him away to a hostel and starts dancing again to support Murad for his studies. The story is intended to depict a Khawaja Sara as a responsible mother, but the hijras who are watching this are also absorbing this content about themselves. Before they even experience what Saima did, they develop a concept that society will treat them as it did to Saima. Concepts acquired from media discourses provide convenient ways for people to orient themselves, thereby resulting in large-scale surrendering of the population to the ideology disseminated by the media. Subjects derive their class membership and group properties from these discourses. They surrender their conceptual abilities to these discourses and act according to the pre-defined ways depicted for them in these discourses.

Not surprisingly, therefore, many hijra interviewees reported a strong feeling that they are disqualified to perform non-stereotypical social roles. They have been "affixed" to the roles ascribed to them and their community by the media and see themselves as the media portray them. For instance, the excerpt below from interview Guru 1 shows that they think nobody will give them a job and if they do any job people will dislike their work. These sentiments have been expressed by most of the interviewees:

> Nokri kon dayta hai hamain, kr bh lain tu, government day day ya kahen aur bh day dain tu woh aik do din acha salook kren gay, kaam bura ho jay, achi na ho tu kahen gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh kia tu nay kr dia. Guzara bus mang kr hota hay.
>
> *Who gives us a job? If the government gives us a job or if we get a job anywhere else, they will treat us good just one or two days [a few day]. If the work went wrong, if it is not*

right, they will say you are better to be a Khawaja Sara. What have you done? [That's why] we survive by begging (Guru 1, interview 1).

Hijras think of themselves as unworldly people who break social boundaries and think of the others as worldly people. They are portrayed in the dramas in the similar way; they are represented as people who are unconventional and separate from the rest of the society. For instance, in the drama *Chandni* the character of Chandni is portrayed as a person who is spiritual and out of the mundane world. The majority of hijras use the word *dunia dar* (wordly people) for others because they follow worldly conventions and traditions. It indicates that they think of themselves as unworldly people who defy society's gender conventions.

Han krtay hain log baten, dunia waly, ghar waly na baher jeenay daytay hain na ghar jeenay daytay hain.

Yes the people talk (about us), worldly people, family neither allow us to live outside [the] home nor inside [the] home (Parwati, interview 7).

The television serial *Moorat* (2004) sounds like it is built on real stories. All of the characters look like real-life characters. It is the most unusual drama serial ever presented in the history of Pakistani media on the issues of hijras and transgender individuals. Before *Moorat* hijras were mostly seen only in supporting roles. The serial also discusses a very sensitive topic— the marriage of a hijra—in a very delicate manner.

When I watched this drama for the first time many years ago, I focused on the story of Babar, the protagonist around whom the whole story revolves. I did not pay much attention to the character of Kosar, and as I watched Kosar marry Babar, my first thought was that it was good that Kosar had got rid of her cruel stepmother. Now that I have observed many real-life cases like that of Kosar, I now understand better the sensitivity of the issue and the misconceptions about hijras

that surround it. Now I see that, with Babar, Kosar was living life as a machine, as an inanimate object without love and affection.

Babar is an effeminate boy who joined the hijra community because of his father's strictness and a stressful home environment. While some children like Babar join the hijra community, not all of them take refuge with hijras and adopt hijra mannerisms and culture. Whether these children join hijras or not, the information about their sexuality or gender behavior is always kept secret and is never disclosed to the girls who marry them. People are very mean and self-centered; they do not care that they are putting other lives into trouble and making other people miserable. Not all hijras or effeminate boys are infertile. Kosar has a baby girl, dissolves her marriage with Babar, and marries a second time with her aunt's son. In the last episode she asks her second husband if she should tell the world that Babar is the father of her daughter. A real-life case that resembles Babar's is that of Salma (Interview 18), whose parents mistreated her because of her feminine expression. She abandoned her education in middle school and joined the hijras at the age of 18, but her parents insisted on marriage and she eventually married her cousin. They were blessed with a baby, but Salma's wife died during childbirth. Salma then gave her son to her sister and did not marry again.

The media have never presented stories in which a character like Babar did not join the hijra community and stayed at home with his parents, wife, and children. In such cases, hijras' wives like Kosar who suffer in silence in such a relationship are deprived of love and affection and are treated as useless objects, as Kosar was, due to Babar's cold and irresponsible behavior. In such cases the woman is married in order to exploit her family financially and show off the world that her husband is a "real" man. At the very least she ends up as a servant-cum-slave for the husband's family.

I have observed five or six cases in which there is a reason behind this cold behavior. The gender-variant persons have no interest in women so they are totally indifferent toward their wives and children, but in Pakistani society, the solution to every problem is marriage, although in reality the reverse is the case. Marriage mostly just causes more problems, yet most parents retain the belief that when their son gets married and has children he will become "all right." I have observed cases where the sons have a family at home and still have joined the hijra community like Babar. Marriage or children could not change them.

Thus, it remains that the above-mentioned media discourses give a true picture of society based on real stories and real characters. However, the repeated projection of these images, characters, and discourses also reinforces the existing social hierarchies and role relationships and strengthens the norms these are based on. People do not think freely; they see almost everything through the lens of the media. As Giesler argues,

> [i]f social dramas are really all about the cementing of existing social structures, how are these structures ever going to evolve? I have built the alternative case that no social drama takes place outside of the discourses and practices that guide peoples' thoughts and actions in particular ideological directions (Giesler, 2008: 751).

Nevertheless, there has been a change in media portrayals of hijras and transgender issues since the Supreme Court orders (2009, 2017)[71]. A few unconventional projects and characters were introduced to break some stereotypes after 2009. For instance, the drama serial *Khuda mera bhi hai* (2016, 2017)[72] set out to change viewers' attitudes towards hijras and transgender people and broke with realism to do so. Maha gul (the mother of a trans child, Noor) informs Sania (the girl taking an interest in Noor) about Noor's sexuality. In real life, people hide this kind of information,

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[71] For detail, see Chapters 3 Section 3.C.1
[72] See. Appendix for the Tv serial story on *Khuda Mera Bhi Hai*.

as we saw in *Moorat* (2004), where Babar's parents conceal the truth about Babar and Kosar only comes to know about Babar's secret life (as a hijra) after marriage.

> Maha gul to Sania: Noor mera beta hay, Lakin beta tha nahi, beta bana. Paydaishi tor par na nor larka hay aur na he larki, aam lafzon main unko kia kaha jata hay yeh tu tum janti he ho ge....main maan thee na sabit krna chahati thee k wasy bachy bhi aagay ja sakty hain. Lakin jo rishta tum us say bnana chahti ho woh mumkin nahi hay beta, adhori rah jao ge. Usko maaf kr dena sania please.
>
> *Maha gul to Sania: Noor is my son, but he was not my son, he just became a son. By birth Noor is neither a boy nor a girl. In common words what they are called, you know that I am a mother who wanted to prove that these children [trans children] can also make progress [in life]. But the kind of relationship you want to make with him is not possible, you will be incomplete. Please forgive him Sania (episode 21).*

Hijras and transgender people are underrepresented in the media. In the past three decades only few television serials (*Moorat* 2004, *Khuda mera Bhi hai*, 2016-2017) and two short films (*Chandni* and *Murad*) featuring hijra or transgender characters were produced. The media should cover marginalized groups in society without creating binary oppositions of "us" versus "them," as the serial *Khuda mera bhi hay* tried to do. The media has the power to transform concepts, the social order, and ideologies. As Carpentier and De Cleen (2007) suggest that media are not simply representing society and social issues passively but they transform social phenomenon [sic] as well (Carpentier and De Cleen 274).

The next section (4.B.) analyzes the subject's self constructed discourse. It examines the subject's conception of self and experiences of lack-in-being by investigating hijras' self-formation and self-representation in self-constructed discourse. It shows how the subjects (hijras) see their self by inspecting the gaze-upon-self.

4. B. Positioning

The data were collected using semi structured individual interviews at two main cities of Pakistan-Lahore and Islamabad. The interviewer encouraged the participants to talk about their life and intervened wherever needed to keep them going. The excerpts from hijras' narrative discourse are analyzed using the positioning theory (Bakhtin, 1981; Davies and Harré, 1990, Harré and van Langenhove 1991, Harré and van Langenhove 1999, Bamberg, 1997; Harré, 2015). It helps to understand how hijras conceive of themselves and Other social actors in particular discursive events (See. Davies and Harré, Positioning 7-8).

The subjects are constituted through the discursive practices which offer them positions. Once the subject occupies a particular position within the discursive practice, he/she starts looking at the world from that position. Davies and Harré demonstrates how the subject is positioned within each discursive practice which in turn keeps on constructing the subject continuously (See. Davies and Harré, Positioning 5).

By telling their stories the narrators position themselves in a social context, with respect to the social actors within a particular event. Thus, in the event of storytelling, the narrators represent themselves as a particular type of character and they are involved in representing and constructing their selves simultaneously. Wortham demonstrates four types of positioning (See. Wortham, Urban Fathers Positioning 319).

According to Wortham autobiographical speech position the narrator interactionally; this interactional positioning is associated with self representation which in turn contribute in narrative self construction. Wortham puts it as follows:

> While telling their stories autobiographical narrators often *enact* a characteristic type of self, and through such performances they may in part become that type of self . . . . . the

self *represented* in an autobiographical narrative and the self *enacted* in the same narrative can interrelate so as partly to construct the self. (Wortham, Interactional Positioning 4)

4. B.1. Cross Gender Identification in Childhood

The childhood events in the narrated discourse show a strong connection between the past (childhood narrated characters) and the present selves (the narrators). The past events discussed below shows the recognizable social characters (parents, uncles, relatives, guru, and disciples) who reappear at different stages.

Many of the narrators joined the guru in early childhood when they were six to twelve years old.

> Choti si thee main itni si, jab main apray guru kolon aai si. (Neelam)
> *I was very small when I came to guru.*

> Chay saal saal (6-7 years old) ki thee jab guru kay pass aai thee. (Muhabbat)
> *I was six to seven years old when I came to [the] guru.*

Pari says she was eight years old when the guru came to know about her.

> Main 8 saal ki umar say guru kay sath hon. Ghar walon ko bachpan say pata thaa (Khawaja Sara hon) laken guru ko 8 saal ki ummar main pata chala tu woh lay k aai. (Pari)

> *When [I] became eight years old and [the] guru came to know that they are our Khawaja Sara, [the guru said] we came to take her, [my] family said no, [my] mother said no, then [my] father said take her. [My] family knew that [he/she] is from them. But they did not tell anybody.*

Mostly, hijras admit that their behavior has been different from early childhood. Komal admits that she was very fond of dancing and had no interest in her studies in childhood. Her parents tried to educate her, but she dropped out of school.

> Ghar main 8, 10 ssaal tak rahe. Ghar walon nay parhany ki koshish ki laken main nay parha he nahi, mujhy shok hota thaa nachnay ka, dance krnay ka. Bus yahi shok hota thaa, yahi krna hay. (komal)

> *I spent eight to ten years of my life with my family at home. They tried to educate me, but I did not study. I was very fond of dancing. I had only interest in dancing; I only wanted to do this.*

Most of the narratives show that the hijras' families were aware of their transgender identity in childhood and hid it from relatives.

Cross-dressing in early childhood is one of the significant signs of cross-gender identification. A number of studies (Green 1976, Kennedy, 2008, Kennedy and Hellen 2010) suggest that the typical time of cross-dressing is between ages two and three; Children realize about their gender before age six. Pari says that her family knew that she was a Khawaja Sara, but family members only used to say that she was "like a boy." However, she believed she was a girl because of her girlish behavior and body language.

> Main 8 saal ki umar say guru kay sath hon. Ghar walon ko bachpan say pata thaa (k Khawaja Sara hon) laken guru ko 8 saal ki ummar main pata chala tu woh lay k aai. Ghar waly boltay thay hamara larkon jesa hay. Main tu kahti hon main larki hon. Shuru say he meyraa chalna phirna sub larkion wala he hay. (Pari)
>
> *I have been with the guru since I was eight years old. My family knew since childhood [that I was a transgender] but [my] guru came to know when I was eight years old. [My] family used to say ours is like a boy. I say I am a girl. I had a girly walking style from the beginning.*

Pari's narrative shows that her parents could not accept her lack-in-being [73]and her yearning to be recognized as a girl. It is lack of acceptance by parents that makes many children run away and take refuge in hijra communities. If parents were more flexible, gender non-conforming children would not need to abandon their families. There are many stories like Pari's. For instance, Guru 2 says that her mother thinks of her as a son but she (Guruu 2) identifies herself as a girl:

> Meyree baat suno, hum jo bhi hain, maan k leay beta hota hay. Kuch bhi hay, agar ap chahay larkon waly kapray pehan lain, jab bhi maan k samnay aana hay tu unhon nay kahna hay yeh meyree beti hay. Kahen gae k nai kahen gee. Main larki hon. Yeh meyrey bachay hain na (pointing towards his disciples) inkay samnay bhi main koi istrah ki baat nahi kr

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[73] Lack and lack-in-being (Manque and manque-à-être) are Lacanian concepts around lack in the subjects which creates a desire in the subject to fill this lack, this void.

sakti kuin k yeh meyrey bachy hain. Maan tu kahti hay na k yeh meyraa beta hay, dunia tu yahi kahti hay na k yeh khusra hay. Maan k leay tu beta he hon na, maan nay tu beta he janum dia hay. (Guru 2)

Listen to me, whatever we are, for mother it is a son. Whatever it is, if you dress like boys, whenever you will come in front of your mother, she will say this is my daughter [giving an example to the interviewer]. She will say or not? I am a girl. These are my children [the guru pointing towards her disciples]. I cannot say things like this in front of them because they are my children. The mother says that this is my son, but the world says that he is a "khusra" (transindividual). For mother I am a son, she gave birth to a boy.

This excerpt from Guru 2 shows what French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan would call a lack-in-being[74] in his childhood. She considered herself a girl, but her mother considered her a son. This lack-in-being only makes her pursue what Lacan would call "want-to-be"[75] search more rigorously. Guru 2 used the word (world) for the Others and adds that the Others call them "khusra." It is not just the name *khusra*, which is considered taboo, but the gaze of the Others that makes her feel not only uncomfortable but also dissatisfied with her self. This is how the Others (the dominant groups of society) stigmatize hijras to make their self feel higher than the others (hijras, the non-dominant groups).

The guru adopts these children in childhood and nourishes them as a mother would. That is why they have such a strong sense of belonging, love, and attachment and such a strong bond with the guru.

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[74]In the Lacanian sense "lack" is always associated with desire. The desire emerges from the lack. There are many types of lack; Lacan also used "lack-of-having" (manque-à-avoir Lacan, book-I, 63) which creates demand. It is this lack which constitutes the subject because the subject keeps on struggling to achieve a unified sense of self, through language, imagination, and performance. The "lack-of-being" is also used in the sense of lack-of-identity, as, for Lacan, human-being is a lack of being. In this section, the "lack-of-being" is used in the sense of "lack of having," lacking-of-identity and the desire of want-to-be (see Endnote 9), because the subjects always desire to be identified with something and try to fill this void. Lack constitutes the subject. Identification is what makes the subjects feel comfortable with their own existence. So, the subject keeps on identifying the lacks and tries to fill them by various means.

[75] Lacan suggested "want-to-be" as the official translation of manque-à-être. (Baiou xxxiii) The researchers use both "lack-of-being" and "want-to-be."

Bachpan main guru nay itna payaar dia, mehsoos he nahi honay dia k meyrey peechay koi hay k nahi hay. Bachpan main tu lay aayee thay. (Pari)

Guru loved me so much in childhood. [She] did not made me feel that I have any family behind me. [They][76] *brought me in childhood.*

When baby hijras are disowned by their families, they are deprived of love and a sense of belonging, but it is difficult for human beings to live without these evidences of care. Thus, as Pari says, for them, their guru is everything. They think of her as a mother, father, sister, and brother to fill the gap.

Bus yahi sochtay hain k yeh jo guru kay cheelay hain woh bahen bhai hain. Jo guru hay woh papaa hay, mamaa hay, bus wohi sub kuch hay. (Pari)

[We] just think that these disciples of guru are our brothers and sisters. Guru is our father, mother, and everything. Guru loved me so much in my childhood.

These accounts testify to a deprivation of childhood and a longing for childhood memories, for time to be spent with parents and family and for being brought up as a normal child. Because, they have no other option but to think of Guru as mother or father and the *cheelas* as siblings; there is no alternate for blood relations. It is not possible for human beings to live without any relationships. In order to feel their self at home and express their emotions they create a family set up with all the family members in it comprised of the Guru and his disciples. This problem can be fixed by increasing public awareness, by persuading parents not to fill a child with so many lacks just for one perceived lack in the child. The media can play a crucial role in developing better and more positive subjects, as discussed in detail above.

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[76] "They" refers to the group of hijras in this excerpt.

In this respect there is already some kind of knowledge prevailing in the public for not handing over their children to anyone to be hurt in any way or misused. Many interviewees admitted that times have changed and that parents no longer give their children to hijras, therefore hiding them at home instead. Lack-in-being is troublesome for all human beings, but for hijras and trans individuals this Lacanian lack-in-self is much greater than the rest of the population. The desires, non-satisfaction, and yearning for "want-to-be," are also higher among hijras than in the rest of the population.

4. B.2 Parents and Relatives

The statements below show a longing for parents and blood relations. There is a lack-in-being for not having the love and companionship of parents and siblings. The *rishty dar* (relatives) in the discourse of Guru 1 are the Others who look down upon her. She is aware of her self and of Others and knows that it is the gaze of Others that makes her feel low. This is one of the reasons Guru 1 avoids using pronouns in her conversation.

> Rishty daron ko pata hota hay, pher woh mil kr apas main baten krty hain k yeh dakho yeh khwaja Sara hay. (Guru 1)
>
> *The relatives know (about us), then they chit chat (about us), see he/she is Khawaja Sara.*

The gaze of the Others not only affects hijras but also affects their parents and their family. In the majority of cases, relatives' behavior compels the parents to disown their child. The relatives' gaze is guided by the principle of "us versus them" (see Section 4.A). Komal says her parents and siblings treat her well but the relatives do not:

> Waledain ka rawayaa theek hay, behan bhaion ka bhi theek hay bus rishtay daron ka theek nahi hay. Is liay ghar chor dia, jati, aati hon, mamma, papaa bhi attay hain, behan bhi bhi aatay hain, saray milnay aatay hain muj say. Main bhi jati hon aur rishtay daron main main nahi jati. (Komal)

> *[My] parents treat me good and [my] siblings also treat me good but [my] relatives do not treat me good. That's why I left home. I go there; [my] parents also come to see me. [My] brothers and sisters also come; everybody comes to see me. I also go there. but I do not meet [my] relatives.*

Komal's words show that it is the relatives' negative attitude toward her that makes her feel her lack-in-being more deeply and that forced to leave her home. In many cases, these are the relatives who make people feel absurd, negative, wrong, and rejected for one perceived flaw. It is a common observation, not just in the case of hijras, that the Others enhance the gaps and lacks through their negative attitude and language. These are the Others who make hijras feel inadequate only to satisfy their own egos. The Others make themselves feel superior by declaring others inferior through language and through their gaze that looks down upon others.

The excerpt below from Neelam's interview shows that there is lack-in-being in her self because of a deprived childhood lacking in parental and sibling love. Note that she does not use any possessive markers with parents and siblings, giving the impression that she has disowned her family.

> Main choti si thee jab yahan aa gaye, mujhy rishtay daron ka pata he nahi. Maan baap fout ho gaey hain. Behan bhaion k sath main milti nahi. Bahen bhai pasand nahi krty. (Neelam)
>
> *I was very small when I came to guru. I do not know about [my] relatives. [My] parents have died. I do not meet my siblings. They do not consider me good.*

In most cases, the mothers resist handing over her baby to hijras. It is the father who takes this decision. Pari says that when the guru came to take her, her mother and family said no, but finally her father allowed the guru to take her. The family kept her hidden from relatives. Again, it is the gaze of Others (*rishty-dar*/relatives) that compelled the parents to keep the information or baby hidden, so that she would not be talked about negatively.

> jab 8 saal ki umar main hoi hon, guru ko pata chala hay yeh hamaray Khawaja Sara hain, hum issay lenay aaye hain. Ghar walon nay bola nai, mamaa nay bola nai, phir papaa nay bola lay jao. Ghar walon ko pata thaa yeh un main say he hay (Khawaja Sara) laken btatay

nai thay ksi ko. Uswakat bachpan thaa laken ab kartay hain (rishtay dar baten krty hain) (Pari)

I was eight years old. [My] family knew since childhood [that I was a transgender] but guru came to know when I was eight years old. [My] family used to say ours is like a boy. I say I am a girl. I have girly walking style from the beginning. When [I] became eight years old and guru came to know that they are our Khawaja Sara, [guru said] we came to take her, [but my] family said no, (my) mother said no. Then [my] father said take her. [My] family knew that [he/she] is from them. But they did not tell anybody. That time it was childhood, but now relatives talk [about being trans].

In the majority of cases these are the male family members who prohibit the child to visit the home and do not allow them to retain contact with the family. Pari says that she met her mother once or twice; her mother does not stop her from visiting the house but her brothers do not allow it. Pari's story shows that the male members of the family look on hijra children with a different gaze compared to the female members of the family.

The excerpt below also shows the lack of possessive markers in Pari's discourse. For instance, possessive markers are not used with the words *mama, papaa, sister,* or *bhayia* (brother). It shows she does not own her blood relations and also indicates the lack-in-being. Four social actors are represented in the excerpt below who have different attitude towards Pari:

kabi mamma papaa ko milnay nai jatay. Papaa fout ho gaye hain. Mamaa ko aik do dafaa mili hon. Ghar aanay say bhiya waghera roktay hain, mamaa nahi rokten. Sister bhi mil lati hay, bhayia nahi milnay daytay. (Pari)

[We] do not visit [our] parents. [My] Father is dead. [I] met mother once or twice. [My] brother forbade me to come home. [My] mother does not forbid meeting her.

A similar lack-in-being is observed in Muhabbat's story. Again, the lack of possessive markers reveals the lack in her self. She says that her brother and uncle do not allow her to meet her family, but her mother comes to see her when she calls her. The mother's gaze is different from any Other's gaze. She does not take into account any lack, for her love does not allow her to see the lacks-in-being in her child. She considers the well-being of her child above all and feels that nobody but

her can do so. Three recognizable social actors are positioned here associated with the alienated

being. The character of the mother is represented in contrast to the brother and uncle who occupy

different polarized positions with respect to Muhabat:

> Dil krta hay per milnay nae daytay. Guru bhi nae milnay deti, woh jonsay hain hamaray ghar walay bhi, hamaray mamoon aur bhai jo hain woh bh nae milnay daytay. Woh kahtay hain k assay kaam krtay ho. Jab aai thee tu mujhy bohat dukh lagta thaa. Woh hamshera aa jati hay, phone krti hon idher milnay aa jati hay. Aur koi bhi nahi aata. Bohat dukh lagta hay k Khawaja Sara hon. (Muhabat)

> *I want to meet [my] family but [we] are not allowed to see them. Guru does not allow us to see them and our family as well. Our brother and uncle [mother's brother], they do not allow us to meet. They say you do this [bad] kind of work. When I came here, I felt sadness and pain. [My] mother comes to see [me] when I call her. Nobody else comes. I am very sad and feel the pain that [I] am a transgender person.*

A similar lack is noticed in the discourse of Guru 2. She says that her brothers do not allow her to

visit home and see family members. She only meets her mother. Whenever she calls her mother,

her mother comes to see her. There is lack in her being and longing for her mother's love. This

lack in her self inspires her to adopt a mother's role for her disciples. The excerpt below shows the

lack of possessive markers again, which in turn shows that the narrator has made up her mind that

she has no relation or connection with her family.

> Ghar walon say nahi milti, sirf amma say milti hon. Amma ko tu kafi dafa mili hon, jab bhi phone krti hon woh aa jati hain. Udher main nahi jati. Bhai nahi munasib samajhty k yeh milnay aaye. (Guru 2)

> *[I] do not meet my family. I only meet my mother. I have met my mother many times. Whenever I call her she comes. I do not go there. [My] brothers do not consider it appropriate that [I] go there to meet [them].*

> Kabhi behan bhaion ko milnay ko dil krta hay tu roo roo k chup kr jaaty hain k una nay tay miln nai dena. Rishtay daron say milti he nahi. Sub ko pata hay meyrey ghar walon ko, rishtay daron ko k unka beta is trah ka hay. Amma nay kabi ksi say baat he nahi ki, amma kahti hain jo bhi hay meyraa beta hay. (Guru 2)

> *Whenever we want to meet our brothers and sisters, we weep a lot and then think they will not allow [us] to meet. I do not meet [my] relatives. Everybody knows my family, my relatives that their child is like this. [My] mother has never talked to anybody [about this]. She says, "Whatever he is, he is my son."*

The most noticeable point in all of these accounts is that the mother does not discriminate between her children on the basis of gender or sex. She loves her children equally and unconditionally.

Pari describes one incident to explain how hijras are cut off from society and their own families, who do not allow them to visit home and share any happiness or sadness. For her they are all Others who abandoned her:

> Roona tu aata hay, kabi kabhi bohat ziada rooti hon, jab ghar walon ki yaad aati hay. Yeh meyrey sath wali kay bhai ki shadi thee unhon nay shadi main nahi aanay dia. iskey bhai ki shadi thee, udher gayee thay, unho nay hamain aanay nahi dia, hum phir sara din door bath k dakhtay rahy, uskee shadi dakhi, door bath k yeh kush hoti rahe, main bhi kush hoti rahe. Woh shadi pa nach rahay thay, gaa rahay thay, dhool bajaa rahay thay. Yeh door door dakh k phir wapis aa gayee. Iskay papaa nay bola agar ghar aao ge tu hum apki tangain toor dain gay. Bus yahi sochtay hain k yeh jo guru kay cheelay hain woh bahen bhai hain. Jo guru hay woh papaa hay, mamaa hay, bus wohi sub kuch hay. (Pari)

> *Sometimes I feel like weeping and I weep a lot when I remember my family. [They] don't allow us to come in my friend's brothers' marriage [pointing to one of cheelas]. Her brother was getting married. We went there, [but] they did not allow us to come [to the ceremony]. We had been watching from far away and becoming happy. I also felt happiness. They were dancing, singing, and beating a drum for [the] marriage ceremony. [She] had been watching from far away and came back. Her father said, if you came home I will break your legs. [We] just think that these cheelas of guru are our brothers and sisters. Guru is our father, mother, and everything.*

The subjects are formed through a dialogical process by interacting with Other social actors. These interactions have discursive influences on the constitution of the subject such as what can or cannot be said and who can or cannot say it. In the above-mentioned excerpts the fathers, brothers and uncles are influencing the formation of subjective positions discursively by disallowing the subjects to visit the home or celebrate the marriage ceremony. The Subject has a dialogical position in the communication system: all languages and all thoughts are dialogical in nature becase anything anyone says is a response to a prior sayings or things. All communications

are relational and occur either in response to some prior things or in response to some anticipated things or sayings (See. Mnayer and Shcmidtela 7)

Consequently, Hijras' self-construction is that of alienated beings, deprived of home and happiness, living at the edge of society. The alienation can be clearly seen in the above excerpt from Pari. Hers is a deprived, abandoned, and lonely self. Whereas Other social actors have home, family, happiness, get-togethers, caring and sharing, Pari has none. Power relations are instituted in the narrated discourse where the Other social actors are authorized to occupy privileged social positions relative to those who are not legitimized and are consequently deprived ones. The communicative events described by Pari position her in a particular way and assign her a particular identity. She is positioned with respect to the Others: the brother and the uncle, who disrespected her and excluded her. In this sense, it is the communicative practice which constructs identity. If the Other social actors have welcomed her in the marriage ceremony, if they would have spoken to her politely and included her in their happiness, her identity would have been constructed the other way round.

Hijras try to fill these gaps and lacks-in-being by attributing each and every relation to their guru. In other words, they do have self-awareness and self-knowledge. They know some of the lacks in their selves, and they try to compensate with various strategies. The parents' absence is a very sensitive and complicated lack, and they fill the lack by thinking of the guru as both mother and father. This makes a great difference because they do not just think of the guru in the place of their parents but they perform this discursively as well. In their daily conversation they consistently use the word *mother* for their guru and always use respectful language such as honor forms when referring to the guru. They take care of the guru as they would their own parents, and the guru in return takes care of them as if they were her own children. Both sides fill the lack in their being by

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adopting these strategies transferred from one generation to another. The construction of an

alienated being and Others are noticeable in Parwati's discourse:

> Maan baap udher he rahtay han apnay shahr main. Main ghar nahi jaati, mujhy das, bara saal [11, 12 years] ho gaey hain main ghare nai jaati. Yaad aatay hain bohat [family] laken main ghar nahi jaa sakti, unhon nay mujhy ghar say nikal dia hay is liay. Han krtay hain log baten, dunia waly, ghar waly na baher jeenay daytay hain na ghar jeenay daytay hain. Ab kia kren hum log. (Parwati)

> *[My] parents live in their own city. I do not go home. It has been eleven or twelve years since I went home. I came to guru when I was eleven or twelve years old. [The] rest of my brothers and sisters are all educated, doing jobs. I remember them a lot, but I cannot go home because they have disowned me. The family, the people, the world talk [about us]. [We] are neither allownned to live inside [the] house or outside. What should we do?*

Parwati uses the words *log* (people), *dunia waly* (people of the world), and *ghar waly* (family

members) for the Others who neither allow her to live (survive) inside the house nor allow her to

live outside the house. The Others (the dominant groups) have power to restrict her (the non-

dominant groups) by stopping her from visiting the home or living with her family. This also

suggests that there are Others who qualify for staying at home, whereas Parwati is disqualified for

it. The above discourse positions Parwati with respect to the Other people and shows her weak

position as compared to Others. She needs approval of Others for her survival.

4. B.3 Rooh

Hijras believe that their souls are neither like those of men or women. The concept of "rooh" (the

spirit) is another strategy to overcome the Lacanian lack-in-being. The "real" hijras feel themselves

superior to "fake" hijras. Guru 1 describes the difference between real hijras and fake ones as

follows:

> Jo rooh hoti hay na woh asal rooh apko maloom ho jay ge. Jo asal rooh ho ge woh door say hamin pata chal jata hay. Uskee rooh ap jeson main nh mily ge. Na mardon main mily ge na aurton main mily ge. (Guru 1)

You can recognize the real spirit [Khawaja sara] from a distance [even if it is far]. You can't find that kind of spirit in common people like you. Neither can you find [the spirit] in males or in females.

Talking about fake hijras, Guru1 says that they can be recognized even from a distance. Even if fake hijras wear feminine clothes, they can be recognized as males in feminine disguise, not true hijras:

Jo paki rooh ho ge woh aurton waly kapry pehnay ge. Jo murd ho ga woh dooron pechna jay ga, us nay kapray bh pahnay hon, woh dooron pechna jay ga. (Guru1)

The one who is rooh (who has the trans individual spirit) will dress like [a] female and the one who is male will be recognized from far away. Even, if he dresses like [a] woman.

Feminine dress is not what makes a person Khawaja Sara. Guru 1 describes the characteristics of a real Khawaja Sara's spirit like this:

Jo rooh ho ge na asal woh dooron jati hum pechan letay hain. Paki rooh hoti hay woh. Ghar ka kaam kry ge. Ghar jharo, pocha kray ge. Handi rooti pakaay ge. Jesa marzi khana pakwa lain, assa khana pakaay ge k apki soch say bohat behtar ho ga. Phly lay aatay thay jab bacha payda hota thaa, ab nahi. (Guru 1)

If this is a real spirit [of Khawaja Sara] we recognize it from far away. It is a mature spirit [who] will do all household work, will do dusting [and] cleaning at home, and will prepare meals. Whatever kind of meal you ask for, [she] will cook better than your thinking.

Hijras say that their conversation is different from feminine conversation. Guru 1 explains that when a woman talks, she talks about women and feminine topics, but when hijras sit together, they talk about themselves. In other words, their conversational topics are different from those of males and females. For them, the males and females are the Others who do not belong. They consider themselves different for having a different spirit from Others:

Ghar main attay jaty hain. Woh tu kahty hain batho laken hamari jo rooah hay na asal jo rooh hay, woh urti hay. Jesy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh aurton jesi baten kry ge. Hum jab bathtay hain tu hum apni baten krty hain. (Guru1)

They ask [us] to stay [at home] but our spirit flies. Like in our society, if it is a female she will speak about females. When we sit together we talk about ourselves.

The above narratives show how the position of the subject changes in the discourse. Here, the real hijras, or those who consider themselves real hijras, take the place of the grand Other (the Lacanian *grand autre*[77]) and consider the others fake hijras. They think of themselves as neither male nor female but as beings who possess a different soul than either.

4. B.4 The Family Structure in Hijra Community System

Hijras take care of each other because the lack in their selves makes them care for others with similar lacks-in-being. The guru-disciples family structure is the strategy they have adopted to overcome their lacks-in-being. Although this system cannot fix the lack-in-self completely, it works to some extent. It is a self-constructed system that operates works on the principle that "something is better than nothing." There is no other support system to help them survive. The excerpts discussed below reveal Neelam, Ashi, Pari and Rekha are positioned with respect to the Guru and other disciples. This is the structure where they are accepted.

The guru-disciple system originated in the Indian subcontinent. As Guru 1 explains, it is an ancient ritual in which the elder hijras become guru in order to take care of the younger ones, who in turn assume the role of disciples in order to take care of the guru.

> Yeh tu Hindustan say lari chali aa rahe hay, (guru bannnay ki rewayet), aaj say nahe, phaly wakton main, jab Hindustan aur Pakistan bna thaa na, yeh bohat purani rasmain hain. Jab borha ho jaata hay, umar ziada ho jati hay, tu guru ban jata hay, aik dosray ko sanbhal laty hain. (Guru 1)

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[77]*grand autre:* The' Other' with the capital 'O' denotes the "great Other" in whose gaze the subject gains identity known as 'grand-autre' by Lacan. "This gaze corresponds to the 'gaze of the grand-autre' within which the identification, objectification and subjection of the subject are simultaneously enacted." In Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Studies* 141). For detail, see Chapter 3, section 3A.

The convention of becoming guru comes from Hindustan. These are very old rituals. When [she] becomes old [she] becomes a guru and [we] take care of each other.

The rules and regulations for making someone a guru were retained in Pakistan even after the division of the Indian subcontinent.

The guru is a skillful Khawaja Sara who teaches her disciples the important and necessary skills like of dance and make-up. Guru 2 explains some of the rules.

> Guru bannay k leay hamary kanoon qaiday hain kay kis trah bantay hain kis trah nahi. 125 rupay (125 rupees) yeh mujhy day gee na aik dafa a tu yeh meyraa chela hay. Jesay ksi ko ustad pakartay hain na kay yaar yeh main tumhary leay mithai lay kay aaya hon. Main nay apko ustad pakarna hay, yeh main nay hunar seekhna hay. Dance seekhna hay, ya functionon main jana hay tu make up ki, is chez ki baton ka aik soo tay picheys rupay yeh day ge. Yeh 125 ruppay ki baat jo chaal rahe hay na, yeh shuru say, hamary payda honay say phly ki chal rahe hay. (Guru 2)
>
> *When she gives me 125 rupees one time then she will become my disciple. Like you make somebody your teacher by giving him some sweet [and say to him] I want to make you my teacher. [You will say] I want to learn a skill, dance or party make-up. For these things she [the disciple] will pay 125 rupees. The rule of 125 rupees is from the beginning before our birth.*

The guru rents a house, and the disciples come to live with her. They make a family structure there and live together like a family:

> Apna ghar lay laty hain aik tu yeh chaly hamary pass aa jaty hain. Pher majboori tor pa guru maan baap ban jata hay aur apnay pass khan peena, uthna bathna, tu society ban jati hamari. Hamara apana aik khandan ban jata hay, jassy koi maan ban gaye, koi behan ban gaye, koi bhai ban gaye. Apna aik khandan bna laty hain.
>
> *We take a home and the disciples come to us. [They] had no choice, so guru becomes the father and mother, [and they] share meals and live with guru. Then it becomes a society. It becomes a family. Like someone becomes mother, someone becomes sister, someone becomes brother. [We] make our own family.*

As explained by Guru 1, hijras use this system to support each other. The younger disciples feel helpless without a guru:

Bara guru Jo meyraa tha woh fout ho gaya hay, Allah uno jantain which ghar deway. Bus hun meyraa hor koi sahara nae si. Main aeno apna guru bna lea. (Neelam)

My older guru has died. May God give [her a] place in heaven. Now, I had no support, [so] I made [her] my guru.

For the younger disciples, the guru is like both mother and father, the twin pillars of the house. The guru loves them and gives them moral support for survival:

Guru bnanay ka fida bohat hay, jesay hamary maan baap hoaty hain na, jesay hamara maan baap izat qadar krta hay na asy hamai guru izar qadar krti hay. Achy bury ki tameez guru daytee hay. Jeewain maan baap samjhatay hain asy hamary bary guru krtay hain. (Neelam)

It's very beneficial to have guru [to somebody]. Like we have mother and father and they love and respect us, same way guru treats us. Guru gives us knowledge of good and bad. Like parents, guru makes us understand things and advises us.

Neelam says that her former guru never created any problem for them, and her current guru is very nice to them:

Jo assi kamana hay na, asi apna kapra lera lena hay, aur guru ko tu kuch bh nhi detay hum log. Jo meyraa pahly guru fout hoa usko daytay thay. Aur isko nahi daytay. Nahi yeh bohat achi hay leti nahi, kahti hay main app khud kamati hon. Guru ko eid, shabrat daytay hain. Guru nay kabhi tang nahi kia (Neelam)

Whatever we earn we buy our own clothes and we give nothing to guru. My older guru who died we used to give him[78] money. And we don't give anything to (him/her, isko). She is very good she doesn't take money from us. She says "I myself earn." We give Eid Shabarat (gift money on festivals) to guru. Guru never creates any problem [for us].

Guru takes care of her disciples as parents would. Ashi says Guru only forbade them access to some of the things for their benefit:

Guru ki traf say koi pabandi nai hoti, bus guru yeh kahti hay k bacha time say time say baher jao, time say ghar aao. Ksi traf be fazool nahi jana. Jasay maan baap kahta hay bus wasy woh samjhati hay. Bus wasy woh samjhati hay aur pabandi ksi chez kin ahi hoti. Mobile nahi rakhnay dayti, guru say chori rakha hoa hay main nay. (Ashi)

The guru only asks to go out [of the house] on time and return back home on time [and] not go anywhere without purpose. She also advises us like parents. She advises us the same ways as parents but does not constrain [us] from anything. She does not allow [us] to keep mobiles. I have kept my mobile hidden from the guru.

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[78] Neelam used the masculine verb for her older guru but she used the feminine pronoun for her new guru.

The disciples attend dance programs, which the guru is responsible for and manages everything from arranging conveyance and bringing the disciples back home safely:

> Maan ki trah khyal rakhti hay. Hamain kahi program main jana ho, shadi pa, humain baqida gari krwa k deni hay, uskey bad hamain bhaj kay call krnay k leay mobile sath dayti hay. Jab program khatam ho tu call kr k dosri gari main wapis ghar aa jana. (Ashi)

> *She takes care of [us] like a mother. If we have to attend a program or a marriage ceremony, she manages the vehicle for us. After sending us, she gives us a mobile to call. [She says] when the program is finished call back for the* conveyance *to bring you back home.*

The guru takes care of the children so carefully that they develop a bond of love and commitment with the guru from their childhood:

> Bachpan main guru nay itna payaar dia, mehsoos he nahi honay dia k meyrey peechay koi hay k nahi hay. Bachpan main tu lay aayee thay. (Pari)

> *Guru loved me so much in the childhood. [She] did not make me feel that I have [left] any family behind. [They] give me in childhood.*

The disciples do not mind giving a portion of their earnings to the guru, even if the guru does not ask for it, because they know that the money is used for running the house.

> Kapray tu bas guru lay k deti hay, kabi lay deti hay kabi nahi. Rozana wasy day dati hon guru ko (money) apni khushi say laken woh mangti nahi. Ghar k kharchay hi hum log krtay hain isss main konsi bari baat hay. Guru tu bari hain, isliay ghar ka kharcha hum nay krna hota hay. (Parwati)

> *Guru buys us clothes. Sometimes she buys us clothes, sometimes not. [I] give money to guru willingly, but she never asks for money. We run our house with this money; it's not a big deal. Guru is the elder; that's the way we run the house.*

The guru-disciple system is a kind of system built on mutual cooperation among hijras.The disciples earn money and give some to the guru, who in turn buys the things the disciples need:

> Pher woh jo bara guru hota hay na woh ghar pa bathta hay jo chelay hotay hain woh kamaa k latay hain woh guru ko daytay hain. Jab hamaray ko zaroorat ho ksi chez kit u hum guru ko boltay hain woh lay k deta hay. Make up wagera woh guru lay k deta hay. (Rekha)

Then the elder guru sits at home and the disciples earn money and give to guru. When we need something we tell guru, and guru buys it for us. The guru buys make-up for [us].

When the older guru dies, the younger Khawaja Sara takes the place of the older guru:

Tu abi jitni meyree umaar hay na, main nay apnay guru ko kamaa k khilana hay. Jab woh meyraa guru fout ho gaya na tu phir main uski jagaa pa ho jaon ge. Pher main apnay pass chalaay rakhon ge assay. (Rekha)

Now that I am younger, I have to earn money to feed my guru. When my guru dies, I will take [her] place. Then I will keep disciples like this with me.

Section 4 B.2 describes the structure where the position of hijra subjects is a weak, negative and excluded one. This section shows that the hijra subjects gain respect and acceptance in the guru-disciple structure; it is ready to include them. Hence, they identify themselves with this family who embraces them the way they are. In this exclusion-inclusion process, communicative acts of other social actors and social relations allocate the subjects certain positions and assign them a particular identity. As discussed earlier (Chapter 3 section 3A.), the self does not exist alone; it is linked to the Other. Therefore, a person's identity is not independent; it is relational. Identity is constructed through the co-relational performative and discursive interaction of social relations.

Although the guru and the attendant disciple-family structure are a support system for hijras and necessary for their survival, it is the need of the hour to develop a new system for them, that is, a system that does not create so many lacks-in-being and does not deprive them of the love and affection of their parents. Times have changed. Child abuse is rampant and people are increasingly cautious about their children's protection. It is the need of the time to bring up these children more carefully in their own homes, with their own families.

There are two possible ways to bring the new system into existence: through the state, by devising and enforcing the necessary laws, (Chapter 3, Section 3.C.2, 3D) and through changes in the media and discourse. The state can pass a strict law to ban giving such children to hijras. As

already discussed (See Chapter four, Section 4 A), the media and discourse can play a greater role in changing perceptions and evolving the structures of society. The new system must be comprised of equal opportunities for all subjects without any discrimination. It should be institutionalized and installed at all levels of society and in all state institutions.

4.B.5 Girya

The male partner of a Khawaja Sara is known as a *girya*. This also involves a lack-in-being in the Lacanian sense in that giryas are a strategy to overcome the lack. Whereas the Others have a life partner to share the burdens of life, having a *girya* as a partner is an attempt to fill the void in hijras. Reema explains the term *girya* as follows:

> Pahli baat tu yeh k hum ksi say pyaar kartay nae, agar ho jay tu hamara jo bh kuch hay hum sub usko daytay hain. Hamaray main, jab hum pyar krtay hain tu Larki zaat jassay shadi krti hay mard kay sath, assay hamara aik dost hota hay "Girya" usko hum "Girya" boltay hain. Uskey sath dosti hoti hay hamari, aur ksi k sath nae hoti sirf aik he dost hota hay hamara. (Reema)

> *First of all, we do not love. But if we do, whatever we have we give him. Like a female gets married to a male, similarly, we have a friend, girya. We call him girya. We have a friendship with him. We do not make friends with anybody except one.*

However, she adds they do not want to have *giryas*. When they see fights between the girya and their guru, they do not wish to have any *girya* in their life:

> Hum nay abhi dosti rakhi nae hay. Hamara dil he nae krta. Hamaray jo baray guru hain na unho nay rakhay hoay thay "giryaay" abe hamari itni umaar bhi nae hay na k hum dost rakhen. Hum dakhtay hain na apnay guru ko aur uskey "giryay" ko tu hamra dil he nae krta, woh apass ma jhagertay hain, kabi koi baat kerty hain kabi koi. jassay aam log hotay hain mian aur bivi, hamaray dost bh assay hotay hain. (Reema)

> *We do not have any friendship [girya) because we do not want to have one. Our elder guru have friends [giryaay]. Now are not old enough to keep friends [relationships]. When we see our guru and his friends we do not want to have any friendships [relationships], they quarrell with each other on everything like husband and wife. Our friends are kind of partners.*

> *anybody except one. It means whatever he likes we bring to him and whatever we like he brings to us. We have no friendship; we have no interest in it. Our elder guru has a girya.*

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We are too young to have a girya. When we see our guru and his girya, we do not like it [because] they quarrel with each other over many things. It is like a husband and wife relationship.

The Khawaja Sara-girya relationship is like a husband-and-wife relationship. Most of the hijras consider themselves females who have a male partner, the girya. They also take a vow like a cisgender couple being married:

Hamaray sath kasaam le jati hay aur kasaam di jati hay. Phir hum dosti krtay hain, aik kay sath bus. Woh hamaraa jo guru hay woh hum ko bitha k aur usko bitha k pher hum baat krtay hain. Assi liay tu krtay hain kay rakhni hay tu paki paki dosti rakhen warna nae rakhen. (Reema)

We take a vow just with one person. Our guru sits with both of us to make sure if this is a relationship worthy of taking a vow or not.

When a girya and a hijra are tied in a relationship, they also celebrate it like a marriage ceremony.

The entire guru and hijras 'community attend this celebration:

Hamaray jitney bhi guru hain na aik say barh k aik sub aatay hain hamaray function pa. Jassay shadi hoti hay na assay he hota hay fnction krtay hain, khushi manatay hain. Aik aik guru dance krta hay. Bohat bara function krtay hain bohat bara, woh jo saraa paysa kharch hota hay kuch guru krta hay, kuch woh krta hay jiskay sath dosti krtay hain. Girya woh hum main say nae hota, woh aam admi hota hay. (Reema)

All of our gurus come to attend the function. It is like a marriage ceremony; we celebrate. Every guru dances. It is a huge function. Both the girya and the guru spend money on the function. Girya is not one of us. He is an ordinary male person.

The above discussion indicates that hijras also stick to norms. Although they tried to challenge the heteronormative system, they could not escape it. They are neither successful in transgression nor in crossing any boundaries. Because if they do not follow one kind of norms, rules and regulations, or social structure, they do follow another kind of norms, rules and regulations, or social structure. If they cross one circle, they are simply into another circle but not out of it. The latter one is not better than the first one. Many of them, who are not real hijras but who have adopted hijraism for whatever reason (be it transgression, profession or earning money) need to understand that this

system is worse (as the above analysis shows it has numerous drawbacks) than the first one they dropped. The majority of them realize this in old age and they can do nothing except repenting for entering into this system.

4. B.6 Begging, Blessing and Curse

Blessing and cursing powers in hijras are a strategy to overcome lack-in-being. This is the position where the subjects take the place of the grand Others [79] (see. Chapter 3, Section 3.A), for they feel that they are superior and higher than others because of possessing these special powers which the common public do not have.

Ung Loh describes the Indian mythologies related to hijras and analyzes the mythological narratives shared by some of the hijras. Though, not all of the hijras and public have knowledge about Indian myths or associated narratives about trans individuals, goddesses and spiritual powers but some of them use these historical narratives for the construction of their identity. According to Ung Loh these associations are an attempt to cope with stereotypes of modern times.

> By claiming association with significant individuals in history and mythology (Arjuna, Ambā/Śikhan. d.in, and Rāma) *hijras* make a claim regarding their nature and character, perhaps in an attempt to challenge some of the derogatory, contemporary stereotypes. The story of Rāma's blessing is employed to ameliorate some of the inequitable treatment they face in modern society, by alluding to rewards in the future. It also speaks to the devotion and loyalty of the community. By claiming this connection, *hijras* project an image of how they want themselves to be seen, as individuals who have existed throughout history, but who are also important within sacred history for their actions. (Ung Loh, 2014: 33)

They bless the newly born babies and newlywed couples; people do not want to get their curse. In Pakistan the sentiment behind these practices is somewhat different from what prevails in India. The public has no knowledge about Indian mythology or goddesses but the myth so that they

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[79] Lacan's Grand Other: The' Other' with the capital 'O' denotes the "great Other" in whose gaze the subject gains identity (for detail see chapter 3, Section 3.A.).

possess powers to bless or curse is associated with them. The majority of hijras in Pakistan associate themselves with the Mughals. However, all of these associations whether these are mythological connections with the goddesses or with the Mughals express the hijras' urge to be seen and treated respectfully.

Khawaja Saras are often seen begging on roads but they say they have no choice except begging and they hardly bear their expenses through begging. Here the subjects are the others who are begging for their survival and the Others who give them money consider them as poor beings:

> Mang kr apna kharcha he pora krty hain. Nokri kon dayta hain hamain, kr bh lain tu, government day day ya kahen aur bh day dain tu woh aik do din acha salook kren gay, kaam bura ho jay, achi na ho tu kahen gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh kia tu nay kr dia. Guzara bus mang kr hota hay. (Guru 1)

> (We) beg to incur/bear our expenses. Who gives us a job? If the Govt. gives us a job or if we get a job anywhere else, they will treat us good just one or two days (a few days). If the work went wrong, if it is not right (work), they will say you are better off being a Khawaja Sara. What have you done? We barely survive by begging.

Khawaja Saras have a feeling that God listens to them and they can invoke divine intervention, for this reason they are seen mostly giving prayers and good wishes during begging. Many people give them money because of these perceptions associated myths:

> Hun yeh dakho, hum sarak pa mang rahy hain na, koi acha kah jata hay koi bura kah jata hay, koi day jata hay, koi inkar kar jata hay, jab koi na day tu bura bhi lagta hay, jab koi day day tu acha bhi lagta hay. Koi asy jharak day tu dil main mail aati hay k hum bhi insan hotay kabi , hum bhe inki trah hotay, asy kasy is nay hamin jaharak dia. Koi jo acha salok krta hay usko hum achi duaen daytay hain. Woh Allah Pak sun bhi leta hay. (Guru 1)

> Look, we are begging on the road, some people say good, some people say bad (to us), some people give us money and some refuse to give (money). When people refuse we feel bad and when they give (money) we feel good. If someone snubs and scolds (us) we feel bad in heart and think/wish we had been human beings. (Wish) we had been like them. How he snubbed us. The one who treats us good, we pray well for him and the God listens (to us).

Khawaja Saras have the feeling that begging is not worthwhile and because of this the Others look down upon them:

> Yeh hamara jo kaam mangnay wala hay yeh hamain acha nahi lagta. Log hamain Mazak krty hain, acha nahi samajhtay. (komal)
>
> We do not like our work begging, people mock at us. They don't consider (us, it) good.

Wadhai is an old ritual being followed and transfered generaion to generation from the Indian subcontinent. A group of Khawaja Saras visit the home of newly born babies or newlywed couples to bless them. As explained earlier, the sentiment is different behind this practice in Pakistan than in India. Because in Pakistan the majority of population is Muslim so, they do not think of gods, goddesses and old Indian mythologies. They give them money thinking of them as deserving people whose prayers may get accepted being injured souls and to avoid their curse. The perception behind this is that God is closer to the injured souls and listens to them.

> Jab ghar main *wadhaai* lanay jaatay hain na tu aksar assay hota hay kay bachy ko nanga rakh k uskey upper asy passay lagaa k daytay hain. Nichay say jab kapray utartay hain tu unko pataa chal jata hay, larki ho tab pata chal jataa hay, larkaa ho tab pataa chal jata hay, Khawaja Sara ho tab pataa chal jata hay. Utha k lay aatay hain phir woh log.
>
> When we go at homes to take wadhaai then many times they touch the money to a necked baby and gives (us). When they undress the babies then (we) come to know that this is boy, girl or Khawaja Sara. Then (we) bring him/her.

Nowaday, this ritual is not much practiced. The majority of people do not hand over their children to Khawaja Saras; instead they hide them. Guru 1 admits this:

> Phly log chor jaaya krtay thay. Ab log chupa laty hain, ghar main he rakhty hain. (Guru1)
>
> People used to leave them in the past but now they hide them and keep them at home

4. B.7 Buying and Selling

The buying and selling indicates a lack-in-being, as begging does. Whereas the Others are treated humanely in the society, they are treated as inhuman objects and are bought and sold like commodities. This is another aspect of Khawaja Saras' life that makes it sound more like a business structure instead of a family structure. The hijras are brought up not only to earn money, to feed their Gurus but they are also purchased and sold like the commodities.

> Hamaraa jo guru hay unho nay hamaray ko khreeda hoa hay passon k sath. Mujhy abi do lakh (200,000 Rupees) ka khareeda hoa hay. (Rekha)
>
> Our guru has paid money to buy us. He guru has bought me in two lachs (200,000 rupees).

If a guru likes a Khawaja Sara, he/she can buy her and keep her to earn money and can sell him anytime if another guru likes her. It amounts to a type of trade:

> Jis hamaray guru nay hum ko palaa hay na woh nawaab shah main rahta hay, Sindh main. Hamaray guru nay hum ko bach dia (sold). Matlab jassay ap log ho, apki jan pechan hay dosray logon say, assay hamarray guru log jo hotay hain unki dosray khusraon kay sath jan pechan hoti hay. Pher woh aatay hain hamaray ghar pher unko koi chela pasaand aa jay tu woh pher mang latay hain. Passay day k woh lay jataay hain. Pher woh apnay pass lay ja k usko rakhtay hain. (Rekha)
>
> The guru that has brought us up lives in "Nawab Shah" Sindh. Our guru has sold us. Means like you people have relation and acquaintance with other people. Similarly, our gurus have relations with other trans people and gurus. Then they come to our home. If they like any disciple, they give money and take (him/he). Then they keep (him/her) with them.

As discussed above, the Government of Pakistan passed the law for protecting hijras 'rights. The state declared the buying and selling of hijras as an illegal activity. Human trading in any form must be stopped and discouraged because it makes human beings feel worthless.

4. B.8 Health Care

These accounts show that some kind of discrimination prevails in Pakistanis society for hijras. They are othered by the health professionals in various ways: they are neglected, treated non-seriously, ridiculed and, generally, stigmatized. The grand Others have access to the health care system and the hijras are these small others who are deprived of health care facilities.

Neelam describes a situation when some doctors do not even allow them to come inside the hospital. Lack of awareness about hijras or transgenderism may have serious consequences. They are afraid before going to the hospital that they will be disrespected, may not be allowed to enter inside the hospital and the doctor will simply refuse to diagnose or treat them. This kind of attitude may discourage them from consulting a doctor and encourage them to suffer and endure pain with negative assumptions in mind. Some doctors behave solicitously as Neelam says:

> Doctor bohat tang krtay hain. Hamary logon ki tu koi baat he nahi sunta, udher ho jao. Bary bary logon ki hospital main suni jati hay. Hamary logon ko koi doctor acha janta hay, koi acha nai b h janta. Aglay din meyraa appendix ka operation hoa thaa, tay aik doctor k pass gaye usnay hamara appendix ka operation bh nahi kia, mujhay acha he nahi jana, kanda in logon ko nai ander aany dena. Aik doctor nay mujhy operation kia meyraa, O' bohat acha si. Hospital main, o' bohat achi si, us nay mujhay apnay palion Sara kuch kia, meyraay say aik rupeea bhi nahi lea. (Neelam)

> Doctors don't pay attention to us, (they say) be aside. They listen to high-status people in the hospital. Some doctors consider us good and some don't consider us good. I had an appendix operation last time. I went to a doctor, he did not operate my appendix, and he did not consider me good. He said don't let these people come in. One doctor operated me, he was very good. He did everything on his own and did not charge me any money.

4. B.9 The Sargent

All of the accounts discussed below are accounts of otherness. These accounts show how discrimination and unequality results in turning hijras into beggars and thereby becoming a burden

on the society. It also shows their otherness in the sense of discriminations at the level of state institutions like the police department.

The majority of Khawaja Saras complaint about the Sargent. They argue: if they do not beg what else can they do? Being uneducated, they have no choice except begging:

> Sargent nay hamari zingadi (azab) bna di hay. Itna tang krta hay, danday marta hay, uskey bad parcha dayta hay, parchay k bad hum say passy chen leta hay, hum say monthly mangta hay. Itnay preshan hain hum log. Nokri mil jay tu kr lain gay. Hum logon ko kon nokri dayta hay. Parhay likhay hon tu koi hamain nokri bhi day day. Unparh hain, hamain koi nokri nahi dayta.

> We have just complained against the sergeant (traffic policeman). The sergeant has made our life hell. He scolds us, beat us with the stick, and then he gives us 'Parcha', after that he snatches money from us. He asks to pay him monthly. We are so much worried. If we get a job, we will do it. Who will give us a job? If we were educated somebody would have given us a job. We are illiterate. Nobody gives us a job.

The sergeants ask for money on a monthly basis because they think that hijras are illegally begging on roads and earning money. They ask for bribe and their share:

> Logon say koi shakiyat nahi hay, yeh sargent say hay, yeh hamain mangnay nai daytay. Sotian martay hain. Bhagaa daytay hain. Gandi galian daytay hain. Passay bhi chen latay hain, boltay hain hamain bolaten pilao, card feed kraao. Yeh karo, woh karo. Hum nai karwatay pher woh hamain martay hain. Hum nay kaha hamain maar lo hamain galian mat do. Woh kahtay hamain gali deni hay. Aam logon say koi shikayat nai. Hamari Khawhish yeh hay k hamain idher kaam knay dain hum sakoon say apni zingadi jeeain.

> I have no complaint against people but I have problem with the Sargent. They stop us from begging. Beat with sticks, they abuse [us], use dirty words, and snatch money [from us]. They say to bribe them with soft drinks and top up their calling cards, do this, do that. We do not do anything they beat us. We said, [you] beat us but do not abuse us, they say they will abuse [us]. [we] have no problem with common people, our wish is that let us do work here, so that we live our life peacefully.

Reema also complains about the traffic police's behavior with them:

> Humain jo LD walay hain na woh tang krtay hain, utha k lay jataay hain. Pher unko passay daynay prtay hain, do hazarm, 3 hazar, char hazar (2-4 thousand). Passay lay k phir chortay hain. Jo kamaya hota hay woh lay latay hain.

> The traffic police scold us. They take us and get money to release us. We had to pay then 2000, 3000, 4000. They release us after taking money. Whatever we earn they take it.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Government of Pakistan passed the law (protection of rights act) for state institutions to treat hijras equally as citizens of the state. The improvements have been observed in the status of hijras after these steps taken by the state.[80] It shows that once the problems are sorted out, they can be fixed as well.

4. B.10 How Hijras Overcome Pain and Sadness

The accounts below show that lack-in-being make them depressed. They try to overcome this sadness and depression by adopting different strategies to repair their self and feel normal and happy.

Hijras are distressed about their situation and circumstances. They think that it would have been better if they were simply masculine or feminine; in that case they could have been part of the family and live with their parents:

> Jab ziada preshani main hotay hain tu sochtay hain k hum bh asy larka ya larki hotay. Maan baap k pass rahtay, hamari bhi asy shadi hoti, hum bhi ghar basatay. Hum rodon pa assay dhakay na khatay. (Komal)

> When we are sad, we think, wish we had been like a girl or a boy. Wish we had lived with [our] parents, we would have been married we would have made a family and would not have been on roads.

They also confront people who tease them and mock them. Pari describes how she copes with this situation and feeling:

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[80] For detail see Section 3.D. Hijras in a post-colonial experiential context.

Hamain koi preshani nahi hoti (logon k rawiyee say), hamari adaat ban gaye hay. Pahlay pahlay preshan hotay thay, ab hamari adaat ban gaye hay. Loog tang krtay hain, tang kr k chalay jataay hain. Nai dukh nai hota jab adaat he ban gaye tu dukh kassay krein unka. Ab yahi samajtay hain kay dewaar say koi baten kr kay pagal chalaa gaya hay. Hum apnay apko samjha he dewaar hoa hay. Hum aik dewaar hain, dewaar k sath log baten kr rahay hain. Jo mazaak krtay hain, samajtay hain k dewaar k sath mazaak kr k chalaa gayaa. (Pari)

We do not have any problem with the attitude of people, it has become our habit. (we) used to be worried in the beginning but now it has become our habit. People tease [us] and then they walk away. No, [i] do not feel pain, now that it has become a habit then what to do with pain. Now, we think that somebody talked to a wall and walked away. We think of ourselves as a wall (inanimate thing). We are a wall; people are talking to a wall. People who make fun of [us] or mock [us] we think they are making fun of a wall.

When they are sad, they play music, dance, or talk to the guru. They live like friends with each other and share happiness and sadness: the lack of possessive markers in these excerpts show a lack of connection and a lack of self-possession. These are indicators of a lack in the being, as discussed above when briefly introducing this Lacanian concept.

Dukhi hon tu guru kay sath baten kr letay hain, roo bhi latay hain, soo jatay hain. Apaas main mazaak krty rhtay hain. Woh aik dosray ko lambi kahti hay, wohye choti, mooti kahti hay. Bus apass main mazaak krty hain. Dukh door ho jataa hay. Bohat ziada jab dukhi hon tu ganaay lagatay han, dance krtay hain aik dosray ka dil behla latay han. Hum sahelion ki trah aik dosray k sath rahtay hain. (Muhabat)

When [I] feel sad, [I] talk to guru. Sometimes [we] weep then [we] make jokes with each other. We address each other like tall, small, fat etc. (as a joke). We just make fun of each other and divert [our] attention, and forget the pain. When [we] are sadder, [we] play songs; (we) dance and make each other happy. We live like friends with each other.

The strategies discussed above to deal with the lack-in-being are the common strategies used by all human beings e.g. singing, dancing, chit chat or gossip with friends. Although these strategies are not permanent solution to make the self feel better, they work temporarily to bring the self out of this depressive mode. It also shows that the subjects have some self-knowledge, they are somehow aware about their lack-in-being and they know how they can overcome it, to attain a temporary relief.

4. B.11 Death

The death of Khawaja Saras has been a controversial subject in the eyes of the public. There were different kinds of misconceptions about their funeral practices. When asked Guru 1, she says that when the Khawaja Saras die, they are buried like men:

> Jesay mardon ko dafnay hain asy he hamain bh aam logon kit rah dafnaty hain. (Guru 1)
>
> When we die we are buried like men like all common people.

Guru 1 says Khawaja Saras themselves participate in the final funeral prepration, they are literate and they have read the Holy Book (the Qur'an) and Holy verses:

> Khusry nehlaty hain, kafan pehnaty hain, parhy likhy hotay hain khusray. Quran pak parha hota hay, tasbiahien pari hoti hain. (Guru 1)
>
> Khusray (transindividuals) give shower (to the dead person) and give dress (kafan/coffin) to the dead person. Khusray (transindividuals) are literate. They have read the Holy Book (Quran Pak) and the holy verses (tasbiahien).

The above discussion shows that the subjects are positioned with respect to the social relations, and communicative events which assigns them a particular identity.

The above discussions evince that when the subjects see their self, they experience multiple lacks: lack-of-having, lack-of-being and lack-of-identity. The detailed analysis of hijras' discourse indicates that lack-of-having plays a great role in the lack-of-identity. The *grand Others* have power, prestige and positive identity as compared to the small others (in this case hijras) because they have everything what hijras lack: for instance, happier childhood experiences, parents, relatives, and family, education, a job, money, a position, and healthcare services.

This study asserts that lack-of-having results in lack-of-being and lack-of-identity. Hence, lack of identity can never be fixed without fixing the lack-of-having issues. Moreover, it shows that the identity of subjects is a relational phenomenon that is formed in communicative events.

For instance, the communicative event described by Pari (in section 4.B.2) position her as a powerless subject, who lacks authority and assigns her a weaker status. These social contexts and communicative events in everyday life position the small others and grand Others in sharp contrast. The more lacks the small others have, the more power and prestige the grand Others will have. In order to minimize the gap between *us versus them* and to achieve equality in the society, it is necessary to identify and fix the lack-of-having.

The subject can never achieve a unified whole identity because they can never express themselves truly; there is always a void which cannot be filled and there is always something unsaid. Full identity cannot be achieved because identity is continuously reconstructed; it is not a permanent state that can be attained; nonetheless, it is an ongoing process. Hence, it can be reworked via positive discourse construction (as suggested in Section 4.A.) and can be reshaped. If the lacks identified above are fixed, they will ultimately contribute in the construction of positive subjects. The present research indicates that the problem emerges in the discourse, the solution of the problem also lies in the discourse. We may change the gaze of the self, the gaze of Others, and the social hierarchies of society by intervening and modifying the discourse positively.

4. C. Discussion

In examining hijras' media narratives and self-narratives, this study takes into account the theories of subjectivity, which suggest that the self is constructed in ordinary speech and that subjects use discourse to construct their identity in daily conversation. By analyzing hijra narratives closely, the present research provides an examination of the discourses of self-construction, lack-of-identity, and disruptions in individual experiences. The narrators draw on personal experiences and construct discourses about their selves. The self may be fixed by drawing

on discourses of self-experience and self-expression. This process of self-lack-identification turns lack-in-being into a problem to be fixed instead of an unfixable structural impossibility.

In the 21st century subjects are actively engaged in processing discourse every day: what they read in newspapers, on blogs, on web pages, on social media, Facebook, on WhatSapp. What they watch on electronic media like TV, film, YouTube, Netflix, or what they listen to on their cell phones- everything is composed of language and discourse. Thus, the subjects themselves are the carriers of discourse, who communicate with Other subjects. This dialogical process of interaction between subjects is mediated by discourse which in turn accounts for intersubjective relations. The intersubjective relations are mediated by discourse of power because not only does it not depend merely on the logical power of discourse but it also depends on the power of those who produce it.

Discourse has the capacity to impose its categories: in politics, the effects of discourse can be observed in social groups; the dominant social groups are engaged in discursive wars with the marginalized groups to gain power and position. Therefore, the dominant groups produce discourse for the formation and institutionalization of certain forms of subjectivity that may enhance their power over others. As Staszak (2008) suggests:

> The power at stake is discursive: it depends on the ability of a discourse to impose its categories. But this ability does not depend solely upon the logical power of the discourse but also upon the (political, social and economic) power of those who speak it (Staszak, 2008: 3).

The analysis of 'us versus them' discourse (in Section 4 A) shows that dramas asnarrative forms of discourse produce the stable, repetitive, pervasive and unavoidable patterns of images and ideologies that have great impact in shaping the identities, ideologies and the structures of society.

The subjects receive a large coherent part of discourse about their self and Others through this medium.

The Cultivation theorists approach television as "a system of messages" (Morgan and Shanahan 5). Although it does not produce uniform messages, the messages are complementary and coherent enough to affect the audience. Thus, it explains the effect of mediated stories over the audience's perception of reality (Gerbner 1998; Morgan, Signorielli and Shanahan, 2002; Morgan, Shanahan and Signorielli 2009). The hijras' narratives and events in the dramas are not simply the representations of existing realities and the presentations of social categories, they also guide and consolidate the existing behaviors and patterns of images. They are stored in the minds of subjects in an organized discursive system (as suggested by Subjective theory) and subjects use them when they encounter other subjects, situations and events.

The cultivation theory can play a great role in understanding the formation of subjects. Morgan and Shanahan describe aptly the way television discourse constructs the audience's perceptions of social reality:

> Cognitive theorists have often argued . . . that all the relevant bits are stored along the way, and then reconstructed at various times as stories that have particular meanings. Still both camps tend to come together in the agreement that the raw frequency of occurrences of events in the television universe reflects an important fact: that specific observed instances of televised behaviors are relevant to constructing judgments about social reality. Within this problematic, we argue that narrative theory can make a contribution to understanding the cultivation process. (Morgan and Shanahan 192)

The narrative discourse in dramas is assumed to portray certain facts but in doing so it also projects certain values and ideologies associated with them. This leads to opinion-making, which affects the subjects' beliefs and perspectives.

The repeated projection of these values and ideologies lead the subjects to accept certain beliefs strongly supported and encouraged by the media and to reject the others strongly negated and opposed by the media. The characters represented in these narratives in a highly realistic background "color" the perception of subjects about other subjects in real life and they see the others in the light of these colors. Morgan and Shanahan demonstrates how the television narratives affects subjects' thinking and actions:

> What we learn – or what society in general teaches us and the television most frequently reminds us of – is not only a store of "facts" but also the associated values and ideological assumptions which permeate the most stable and pervasive images of television drama. The presumed realism of the background – a background that is highly consistent across genres and over time–is critical in this process regardless of the degree of "perceived reality". We bring to bear on our viewing, no matter how aware we are of the fact that we are watching a made-up story, and no matter how much we refuse to suspend our disbelief. Through narratives and actions that take place against a highly realistic background, the stories television tells can help shape the deeper, invisible, rarely questioned assumptions all of us carry around; they do not "determine" our thoughts and actions so much as they color and help inform the meaning of what we think, say and do. (Morgan and Shanahan 22)

For instance, the hijra narratives in dramas depict an image of the the gaze of the Other on a hijras' character or a hijras 'community; this image in turn "colours," to borrow the term from Morgan and Sahanhan, the perception of audience and they see the real-life hijras likewise.

This gaze of Others with colored perceptions and beliefs have a great impact on the lived experiences of hijras' subjecthood. It has been observed that there is no difference in the narrative discourse presented by the media (in Section 4. A), and the self-discourse presented in Section 4.B. The authors and producers mostly say that the dramas are presenting the real picture of society but it can be the other way round: these repeated patterns of behaviors and social hierarchies are being internalized by the subjects. Thus, the subjects are absorbing the television worldview,

exhibiting the similar beliefs and behaving likewise. Morgan and Shanahan explain the impact of television stories on the subject's belief system as:

> Cultivation outcomes can be seen as the indicators of the extent to which texts are powerful (or conversely, as the extent to which audiences willingly submit to texts). Audiences' acceptance of messages is seen in the congruity between the television worldview and audience belief systems. (Morgan and Shanahan 38)

The subjects learn to interpret the meanings of discourses from the medium which send these messages, as Morgan and Shanahan maintain that "we learn how to interpret messages in part from the very system which sends those messages" (33).

The media provide the interpretation of these made-up stories and events side by side. When the marginalized individuals or societal groups are presented in narrative discourse in the name of the so-called "real" picture of the society, it reinforces the existing social categories of identities, group differences, hierarchies, and inequalities.

It has been observed and discussed in Section 4. A in detail that the marginalized groups of society like the hijra communities are represented as the excluded ones. The Other social actors of society repeat the same behavior they watch in the narrative discourse presented by the media. For instance, Section 4.B.2 reveals that the uncle and brother did not allow Pari and her friend to attend the marriage ceremony of her brother. These type of incidents are the oft-repeated episodes in dramas. In order to bring change to the society, it is crucial to change the gaze of Others in the dramas such that it reduces the gap between Us versus them. This study suggests that the creation of novel ideologies, innovative patterns of social structures based on equality and acceptability can

undo the psychological and social effects of conflicting discourses that cause suffering in human beings.

When the subject adopts a passive attitude, knowledge passes easily from one subject to another subject. The subject clears the previous knowledge that may affect the new knowledge. The subject may adopt an active attitude by participating in the discourse. When the subject is producing the discourse, the subject not only holds the previous knowledge but also holds an awareness about the conflicting knowledge. Lacan's model of subjectivity offers methods for evaluating both the psychological and social effects of discourse and their political significance. Lacan argues that the subjects can resist by producing counter discourse and this way resistance can be generated within discourse itself. Instead of absorbing the ideology passively, the subject can "produce ideology" as well. As Bracher aptly argues,

> Lacan's formulation (which is still seen by many critics as essentially poststructuralist) has important consequences for understanding the political significance of discourse, since it is able to explain how resistance (in both the political and psychoanalytic senses) against interpellation by discourse can be produced within discourse itself, and how the subject, in addition to being produced by ideology, is also capable of producing ideology. (Bracher, 1994: 1)

Although the othering strategies and practices are manipulated to create and manage the social difference, the complex and challenging question remains: whether the othering strategies employed for identifying the self and constructing self-identity are authentic to one's self or whether they merely reflect and replicate the popular opinions and dichotomies of the 'us versus them' categorizations. It seems impossible to think of and represent an authentic self because of

the media and discourse effect. The intersubjective relations are mediated by the discourse of Power, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The subjects are the products of discourse and a positive discourse can contribute to the construction of positive subjects. Language, media and discourse do not merely represent the reality, but are capable of constructing and transforming reality. As Berlin puts it:

> Language is a pluralistic and complex system of signifying practices that construct realities rather than simply presenting or representing them (Berlin 1992: 19).

The discourses may provide subject positions to hijras with which they can identify within the social and political system. For instance, these subject positions can be those of actors, entertainers, teachers, students, nutritionists, newscasters, journalists, tailors, dress-designers, gardeners, chefs, managers and sales persons identifying with new stories, new paradigms and new ideologies.

The subject positions cannot be fixed permanently; rather they are discursive and open-ended in character. As Laclau and Mouffe suggest:

> From the discursive character of all subject positions . . . every subject position is a discursive position, it partakes of the open character of every discourse; consequently, the various positions cannot be totally fixed in a closed system of differences. (Laclau and Mouffe 115)

One of the positive aspects of the subject's discursive positioning is that it is always open for improvement and transformation. This is what keeps the subject unsatisfied and the desire of want-to-be alive. As a result, the subject seeking fullness resorts to language and discourse for full representation and stable identity to fill this void.

The meaning of a subject position is constructed through its differential relations with the other subject positions that are found in a given discursive formation (Laclau and Mouffe qtd. in

Smith 87). In order to enframe the positive subjectivity of social agents, it is necessary to analyze the diverse and contradictory subject positions. It is the media discourse which presents certain subject positions privileged over Others. The differences can be presented in a positive way, without presenting certain subjects as deprived, disrespected and sympathy seekers. The positive intervention in the discourses can bring positive change in the self and in the society. The subjects can resist the discourse that collides with their self-identity. The subject can take a defensive position when it comes to their self-identity by developing an analytical form of resistance in these matters. When the subjects absorb the discourse passively, they are incapable of entertaining the dominant doctrines, standards and criteria that question their identity. If the subjects confront the dominant discourse actively by adopting an analytical approach and questioning the set patterns, the subjects will become more resilient to undo the effects of social discourses.

In order to bring change to the existing social patterns, the subject needs to produce an effective discourse to modify patterns of subjectivity as more appropriate and desirable than the previous ones. This form of innovative discourse based on novel ideologies must be preserved, idealized and transferred to others by the media. The state can establish institutions for the production and preservation and idealization of these types of discourses. The collective action can bring change in the subjects, social structures, and societies. The subjects have a unique ability to deny, dismiss or deform social dictates as well. It is not very easy for discourse to redirect and reshape the behavior of subjects armed with self-awareness to guard their rights.

In the light of present research, the state, the policy makers, the researchers and the analysts can help to reform the mechanisms that situate, position, constitute, and contain the hijras as subjects. In order to cultivate positive forms of subjectivity, to minimize conflict and suffering in the subjects, the next chapter analyzes hijras' symbolic performance of self.

CHAPTER 5

HIJRAS' SYMBOLIC PERFORMANCE OF THE SELF: A CORPUS ANALYSIS

The chapter presents an overview of Pakistani hijras 'self-enactment through feminine performance in the symbolic order. In regard to language practices, hijras adopt feminine body language as well as a feminine verbal and non-verbal speech style. A corpus-based methodology is used to analyze the lexico-grammatical features in hijras' speech corpora. It analyzes the inclusive and exclusive strategies and the linguistic markers hijras use to create borders between self and Others. The corpus analysis of hijras' language displays hijras' discursive performance of femininity-one of the fragments of self-construction. This study analyzes the speech characteristics of hijras and examines their lexical and grammatical choices. It examines the morphological code-switching between feminine and masculine speech styles because verbs, adjectives and postpositions are marked for gender in almost all regional Pakistani languages including Urdu. The combination of both masculine and feminine speech styles can be attributed to ambiguous gender and social ideologies. The results indicate that they use feminine gender markers and pronouns to refer to themselves or their community members. Nonetheless, the preference for non-gendered plural expression is higher as compared to the gendered expression. This brings to us the central issue, whether the issue around hijras and transgender individuals is actually a biological, cultural, social or a linguistic issue. The common belief is that the transgender crisis is a biological problem indicating that the natural existing state of an individual is believed to be unnatural due

to the presence or absence of certain sex organs that the majority expects to be there in a certain way. It is, therefore, entirely possible that the culture which set out to promote civility is responsible for the uncivility and strong taboos attached to it. Now, the culture promoting civility and liberalism has singled out other cultures like the Pakistani, Indian or Bengali culture for stigmatizing the third gender. It is the society with colonial legacy that is not accepting hijras and trans individuals, who told the society that being a hijra or transgender is unnatural? The historical record reveals that the colonizers attributed negative characteristics to hijras and created a defamed class out of it (discussed in Chapter 3).

Who decided that transgenderism is a condition, a disease, or a problem that needs a solution. Is it a linguistic deficiency? Does language directs, controls and affects the attitude and behavior of its speakers? Wasserman and Weseley (2009) conducted a survey to examine the relationship between the attitudes of speakers and their languages: natural gender languages, grammatical gender languages and gender less languages. They found that there is a correlation between speakers' attitudes and their languages: speakers with grammatical gender language background show less gender equality as compared to those with natural gender languages or genderless languages. It suggests that the more the gender is incorporated in one's languages the more the gender inequalities will follow accordingly.

It is important to note that the dominant language-English inherited only a limited set of pronouns that lacked a personal pronoun or gender neutral pronoun for transgender people. Gender pronouns are used to refer to a person's gender, he/him or she/her. It has been a complex issue for the general public to address a transgender person. Many people fall into this puzzling predicament whether to use the pronoun "he" to call a transgender person or "she." Many transgender people prefer to be addressed by the gender they are living in. Before the application of gender fair

language, it was "he" or "him" for a trans man and "she" or "her" for a trans women. But the preferred pronouns change with the passage of time and the transitional process a trans individual undergoes to recover his or her identity. While some gender queer people may not mind which pronouns people use to address them, there will be many who would prefer non-gendered terms like "Ze, Zir, Zirs, Zirself" instead of being addressed by gender-specific terms like "he" and "she". Baron demonstrates the evolution of epicene pronouns as the one "most of advocated and attempted and the one that has most often failed" (83). The absence of non-gendered pronouns in English led people to use the plural pronouns like "they, them and their" for the singular antecedents in the eighteenth century and it caught the attention of grammarians as an incorrect usage because of violating the number cord. Baron mentions Steven Plogar's "Ze-paradigm" in 1970s in this regards as:

> "Steven Polgar of Chapel Hill, North Carolina proposed the ze paradigm [of ze, zim and zeeself] on the analogy of German sie". (Baron 94)

Except Polgar's nominative-Ze, the other forms are used nowadays are completely different that is ze, hir,hirs, hirself. In a study, Robinson explores the history of gender expression in English language and explains the development of neutral-gender expression in English from "HEO TO ZIR" (2018). Robinson explains the change between "Polgar's recommendation and modern declension" (26) in the formation of neutral gender expression as:

> By the time that ze resurfaced as a noun in use amidst the transgender community, the declension was ze, hir, hirs, and hirself, where hir is pronounced homophonous to "here". However the confusion over pronunciation . . . . . . resulted in a shift towards a paradigm of ze, zir, zirs and zirself. (Robinson 26)

> Similarly, Darr and Kibbey (2016) explains in detail the adoption and failure of several gender neutral pronoun systems in English (See. (Darr and Kibbey 75)

The reason, why the pronouns and referents gained so much attention of researcher is that, they are not simply words to refer to individuals but these are the linguistic expressions of identity as well. Thus, the lack of gender neutral words in a language lead to the identity crises. Darr and Kibbey argues that English has words to refer to non-binary individuals but these words were biased in nature and were projecting them in a negative light. The root cause of this issue is that the categories of sex and gender are naturally inseparable, because of this complex relationship between sex and gender "words referring to gender are often based on words referring to sex" (73). The inclusion of gender neutral pronouns will not only bring the non-binary gender categories into positive light but it will also be helpful in resolving the identity crisis issues. Darr and Kibbey aptly explains the relationship between gender neutral pronouns and categories of identity (for detail see. Darr and Kibbey 73-74).

All languages of the world change and evolve with the passage of time irrespective of the case of gender-neutral pronouns. Robinson aptly explains the shift in English pronoun system and successful adoption of new words as:

> By the dawn of Early Middle English, the three formally distinct Old English pronouns he (masculine), heo (feminine), and hie (plural), had become nearly indistinguishable in many English dialects. The language had all but deserted its former inflections in the nouns, adjectives, and articles, and it seemed briefly that the personal pronouns would condense into indistinguishable he as well. However, whether intentionally or subconsciously, speakers of Middle English preserved the inflectional gender distinction in their language by adopting two new pronouns: she and they. (Robinson 15)

The most important question arises here is that can the inclusion of gender neutral pronouns in natural language decrease gender discrimination and gender stereotyping? Researchers (Wayne 2005, Stotko and Margaret 2007; Elrod 2014; Bäck et al.; 2015; Zimman 2017) from different parts of the world have already started investigating the issues around the language amendments

and initiatives for GFL (gender fair language): language structures, language policies and individual language behaviors. In a study, Gustafsson, Emma and Anna (2015) analyzed the attitudes of people towards the inclusion of gender neutral pronouns in a natural language. In 2012 a gender neutral pronoun hen was included in the Swedish language parallel to the already existing pronouns hon (she) and han (he). The pronoun hen represents the third gender category people, those who do not fit into the gender binary system. They presented the data from 2012 to 2015 showing the attitude of people towards hen. They found that in the beginning the attitude of people was very negative and hostile towards hen but with the passage of time there was a significant shift towards positive attitudes. They suggested that the induction of GFL could be challenging but the factor time may play important role in normalizing the responses.

The corpus analysis in this study also reveals the structural limitations of linguistic gender within the fields of language, linguistics and gender. It therefore, necessitates the reconceptualization and creation of a non-gendered language structures by de-essentialisation in language use i.e. the language structures that avoid grammatical bias toward any particular sex or social gender. In order to reform the existing sexist language, Miller and Swift created a manual *The Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing* (1981) to fight against the exclusion and dehumanization of women in English language. They developed it for producing awareness regarding gender biasness in English language. In the 1980s, American feminists criticized the androcentric language i.e. placing the masculine view at the center of one's world view (e.g. Gilman, 2011) and promoted gynocentric language i.e. employing the feminine view at the center of languages.

The present study explores the speech characteristics of hijras in order to identify the transitioning in hijras' language and self. It examines the issue, whether the lack of gender neutral pronouns in Pakistanis language is the major cause of hijras' identity crises and lack in their being?

Can this identity crises be partially fixed by inclusion of gender- neutral pronouns in Pakistanis language? What are the cultural expectations of gender-appropriate speech and how do hijras perform linguistic masculinity/femininity? The most influential theories related to language and gender explained the gender- appropriate use of language: the deficit theory (Lakoff 1975); the dominance approach (Spender, 1980) and the difference model (Coats 1986, Tennon 1990). The deficit, dominance and difference approaches consider how gender variances expressed through language are perceptible within the physical manifestations of gender i.e. men and women. They are bound and limited to the polarized expressions of gender such as masculinity and femininity (which construct men as dominant, active and authoritative and women as subordinate passive and emotional)[81]. Crawford criticizes these approaches because they either see woman speech as socially deficient (e.g. Lakoff 1975) or equal but different language styles (e.g. Coates1988 and Tannen 1984). The dominance and difference approaches call for change in women' speech style by embracing men's authoritative and assertive style. On the other hand, the cross-cultural models (Maltz and Borker 1982; Tannen 1990) view gender as constructed through language within a cultural framework; for them male and female conversation is equal but it belongs to different cultures. The above mentioned approaches do not address the need for change in the unequal patriarchal social structures. The more recent approaches view gender as a social construct. Crawford and Chaffin demonstrates the effect of this view on individuals, institutions and society as follows:

> On this view gender is not an attribute of individuals but a way of making sense of transaction. Gender exists not in persons but in transactions. One might say that it is conceptualized as a verb, not as a noun. … Gender-related processes influence behavior, thoughts, and feelings within individuals; they affect interactions among individuals; and they help to determine the structure of social institutions. When gender is regarded, not as an attribute of individuals, but as a system of meanings, the processes by which differences are created and power is allocated can be understood by considering how gender is played

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[81] (for detail see: Ghilzai, SA, 2018).

out at three different levels: societal, interpersonal, and individual. (Crawford and Chaffin 88)

Derrida (Limited inc 127) located the self as constructed through discourse. The discursive approach therefore moves away from binary to multiplicity. According to the socialization theory, identity is formed gradually in a social context but once shaped, it is hard to change it. However, the discursive approach offers new theoretical possibilities which could be seen as linear, spherical and even liquid. The flexibility is the main strength of the discursive approach. To discursive psychologists:

> gender is neither something into which we are born, nor something that we eventually become in terms of the same metaphor, we would argue that the jelly never sets (Edley 192).

Therefore, the discursive approach is most suitable in rejecting essentialism[82] (man/woman), recognizing and identifying stereotypes and their construction within the vast area of human psychological explorations. Judith Butler (*Gender Trouble* 1990) criticizes the binary perception of gender. Although, she adopted a different approach from discursive psychologists in her theory of performativity[83] but she supports them in that gender is not embodied in the biological body rather it is constructed through a set of acts within social and cultural settings. According to Butler, an individual is not produced by the performance but the performance is what produces the individual. Instead of focusing on the individual producing the deed, she focuses on the deed itself:

> My argument is that there need not be a "doer behind the deed," but that the "doer" is variably constructed in and through the deed. This is not a return to an existential theory of the self as contained through its acts, for the existential theory maintains a pre-discursive structure for both the self and its acts. It is precisely the discursively variable construction of each in and through the other that has interested me here. (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 142)

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[82] Essentialism (see.Grosz 47). (For detail see. Chapter 1)
[83] See. Chapter 1.

Next section (5.A.) shows how hijras identify self and Others linguistically and how they construct in-group identity by employing inclusive and exclusive strategies and establishing linguistic boundaries between self and Others.

5. A. Identifying Self-Other Boundaries through Inclusive and Exclusive Strategies

The Urdu language is a gender-oriented language: gender is marked at verb position, at adjective position, at possessive pronoun and at genitives. There are no specific pronouns for hijras and transgender persons in Urdu language. This section analyzes hijras' language preferences and choices to examine how hijras construct their self-identity and their group-identity linguistically. As discussed in Chapter 3, self and other are inseparable terminologies; they cannot exist independently. The construction of the other is a prerequisite for the construction of the self. As Sartre states:

> The Other is the indispensable mediator between myself and me (Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* 189).
>
> I need the Other in order to realize fully all the structures of my being (Ibid, 190).

The corpus analysis given below helps to understand how hijras identify self and others and what strategies and linguistic devices they employ to mark social alliance and distance. The social differences are maintained through linguistic choices that determine the boundaries between self and others. Riggins suggested that the most overt linguistic markers employed to create borders of self and others are the pronouns and possessive markers.

> Expressions that are most revealing of the boundaries separating self and others are inclusive and exclusive pronouns and possessives such as "we and they", "us and them", and "ours and theirs". (Riggins 8)

Pronoun Usage in Hijras Speech								
Pronouns in Urdu	meyraa	meyree	meyrey	uskaa	uskee	uskey	Hamaraa	hamaree	hamarey
	My	My	Mine	His	Her	His/her	Our	Our	Ours
	Sing. Mas.	Sing. Fem.	Neutral Plural	Sing. Mas.	Sing. Fem.	Neutral Plural	Mas. Plural	Fem. Plural	Neutral Plural
Percentage	37.5	43.8	50	56.3	62.5	68.8	75.0	81.3	87.5

Table 1. Shows percentage of pronoun usage in hijras' speech (Data sample collected at Lahore in 2017)

Table 5.1 shows that Hijras (interviewed at Lahore, 2017) prefer neutral and plural forms of pronouns. In the Urdu morpheme –aa is used to mark the masculine, -ee is used to mark the feminine and -ey is used to mark the plural form, which is neither masculine nor feminine. The preference for *meyrey* (plural 50 %) is higher as compared to *meyraa* (masculine 37.5 %) and *meyree* (feminine 43.8 %). Similarly, there is higher preference for pronoun *uskey* (plural 68.0 %), as compared to *uskaa* (masculine 56.3 %) and *uskee* (feminine 62.5 %). Likewise, the preference for the neutral plural form *hamarey* (Neutral 87.5 %) is higher than the *hamaraa* (masculine 75.0 %) and *hamaree* (feminine 81.3 %). Overall, the sample data shows that hijras prefer the neutral and plural forms in all types of pronoun choices available to them in Urdu language. Some of the examples from Interview (1) are illustrated below to show how the pronouns are analyzed grammatically and only relevant tokens are included for statistical analysis.

```
ay, log hamain tang krty hain.  Society main hamara jeena mushkil ho jata hay. Maan
 Maan baap ab fout ho gaye hain. School main phly pahly theek thaa. Pher jab baad ma
in tu larky tang krnay lagy. Pher aggay main parhi nahi, ghar bath gae. Main das tak
 ko pata hota hay, pher woh mil kr apas main baten krty hain k yeh dakho yeh khwaja
ota hay. Meyraa ID card bna hoa hay. ID main maan baap ka naam likha hay. Phly chala
behan bhai hain, un say mily hain. Ghar main attay jaty hain. Woh tu kahty hain bath
hay , woh urti hay. Jesy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh tu woh aurton jesi bate
pata chal jata hay. Uskee rooh ap jeson main nh mily ge. Na mardon main mily gen a a
ooh ap jeson main nh mily ge. Na mardon main mily gen a aurton main mily ge. Jo rooh
ly ge. Na mardon main mily gen a aurton main mily ge. Jo rooh ho gen a asal woh door
ta  hay, do kismain hoti hain. Aik mard main hota hay, aik aurat main hota wa. Aik k
hain. Aik mard main hota hay, aik aurat main hota wa. Aik khusri hoti hay aurton mai
ain hota wa. Aik khusri hoti hay aurton main, aik mard main khusra hota hay. Sirf ni
k khusri hoti hay aurton main, aik mard main khusra hota hay. Sirf nishan hota hay p
rtay thay. Ab log chupa laty hain, ghar main he rakhty hain. Apna ghar lay laty ain
a us nay kaha mary dil ki khawish hay k main iska janaza karwaon woh us din fout ho
hi lagta hay. Koi asy jharak day tu dil main mail aati hay k hum bhi insan hotay kab
i rewayet) , aaj say nahe, phaly wakton main , jab Hindustan aur Pakistan bna thaa n
```

Image 5.1: Shows the preference of the word *main* as postposition in the Guru-1 Corpus

In Urdu the word **main** is used **as** a **pronoun** at the subject position meaning **I** and as a **post position**

meaning **in**. The frequency of the word *main* as a post position (17) is higher than the pronoun (2).

Society main (in the society), *school main* (at the school) , *apas main* (among each other), *ID main*

(in the ID), *ghar main* (in the house), *ap jeson main* (in people like you), *mardon main* (in the

males), *aurton main* (in the females), *aik mard main* (in a man), *aik aurat main* (in a woman), *dil*

main (in the heart), *pahly wakton main* (in early periods of time).

There are only two instances in the interview 1 where guru used the pronoun *main* (I) as subject

to refer to herself.

1. Pher   aggay   **main**   **parh-i**   nahi
   Then   further   **1.Pr.sg**   **study Verb.fem**   no
   Then I did not continue studies further

2. **Main**   das   tak   **parh-i**   hon
   1.Pr.sg   10th   grade   study **Verb.fem**   am
   I studied till 10th class

There are 9 tokens of the pronoun **Hum** (we), *Hum* is a plural pronoun and is used by both masculine and feminine persons. It shows that there is preference for the pronoun **hum** (we) over **main** (I).

```
             Maan baap ko chora nahi hay hum nay, milty hain maan baap say laken muj
 maan baap ki jayedad hoti hay na uskey hum hissay daar nahi bn sktay thay. Phir hu
um hissay daar nahi bn sktay thay. Phir hum nay thora sa atiraz kia tu unho nay kah
i baten kry ge. Hum jab bathtay hain tu hum apni baten krty hain. Jo rooh hoti hay
. Jo rooh ho gen a asal woh dooron jati hum pechan letay hain. Paki rooh hoti hay w
sbiahien pari hoti hain. Hun yeh dakho, hum sarak pa mang rahy hain na, koi acha ka
 jharak day tu dil main mail aati hay k hum bhi insan hotay kabi , hum bhe inki tra
l aati hay k hum bhi insan hotay kabi , hum bhe inki trah hotay, asy kasy is nay ha
ak dia. Koi jo acha salok krta hay usko hum achi duaen daytay hain. Woh Allah Pak s
```

Image 5.2 shows the preference for the pronoun *hum* (we) instead of *main* (I) (Interview 1). Instead of **object pronoun** *mujhy* (me) or the possessive pronoun *mera* (mine), the plural form *hamaraa* (our, us masculine), *hamari* (our, feminine) and *hamain* (us, M, F) is preferred.

3. Society   main   **hamar-a**   jeena   mushkil   ho jata   hay
   Society   in   our **PP.Pl.mas**   living   difficult   becomes   is
   It becomes difficult for **us** to live in the society

4. Log   **hamain**   tang   kerty   hain
   People   us **OP.Pl**   tease   do   are
   People tease us

5. Nokri   kon   dayta   hay   **hamain**
   Job   who   gives   is   us **OP.Pl**
   Who gives **us** job

In example 6, there is only one token of possessive pronoun *meyraa* (mine), which is masculine. For the feminine the word *meyree* (mine) is used. This pronoun is masculine because it is in gender agreement with the noun *ID card*. They prefer the pronouns *us* and *ours* in place of *me* and *mine*.

6. **Meyr-aa**   ID card   bana -hoa   hay
   1Pr.sg.mas   ID card   made   is
   I have my ID CARD

7. Laken   mujboori   **hamar-i**   ho jati   hay
    but   helplessness   OP.Pl.fem   becomes   is
    But it is **our** helplessness

8. Laken who   **hamar--i**   maan baap   ki   **jaydaad**   hoti   hay   na
    but   hedge our OP.Pl.fem parents   of   property   have is   hedge
    But (it is?) the property of **our** parents

In example 8, the possessive pronoun *hamari* (our, feminine) is used right before the word *maan* ,

baap (parents), Here the possessive pronoun should have been in agreement in gender and number

with the word *maan baap* (parents) but it is not in agreement with the adjacent word *parents*

(masculine); rather it is in agreement with the word *jaydaad* (property).

```
p ko chora nahi hay hum nay, milty hain maan baap say laken mujboori hamari ho jati hay.
ay. Meyraa ID card bna hoa hay. ID main maan baap ka naam likha hay. Phly chala thaa yeh
uru ka nam likhnay ka. laken woh hamari maan baap ki jayedad hoti hay na uskey hum hissay
ri k tahat sub kuch chalta hay beta. Ab maan baap fout ho gaye hain, behan bhai hain, un
 aa jaty hain. Pher majboor tor pa guru maan baap ban jata hay aur apnay pass khan peena,
```

Image 5.3 shows that there are no possessive markers used with the word *maan baap* (parents)

9. ID   main   **maan baap**   ka   nam   likha hay
    ID   in   mother father of   name written is
    Parents name is on the ID card

10. Ab   **maan baap**   fout   ho gaye   hain
    Now   mother father   died   past tense   are
    Parents are died now

The use of indirect language is a very note able feature, where most of the sentences lack subject

word pronouns. In example 12 pronoun is omitted at subject word position.

11. Pahlay lay   aatay   thay jab   bacha payda hota   tha
    (we) used to bring (the child) when the baby was born

```
milty hain maan baap say laken mujboori hamari ho jati hay. Jassy jasy hamari jawani b
mujboori hamari ho jati hay. Jassy jasy hamari jawani barhti hay, zingadi barhti hay,
rewaj guru ka nam likhnay ka. laken woh hamari maan baap ki jayedad hoti hay na uskey
aty hain. Woh tu kahty hain batho laken hamari jo rooah hay na asal jo rooh hay , woh
a asal jo rooh hay , woh urti hay. Jesy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh tu woh aur
eena, uthna bathna, tu society ban jati hamari. Hamara pana aik khandan ban jata hay ,
Apna aik khandan bna laty hain. Rasmain hamari koi nahi hoten , bus apnay kamaa lea, k
```

Image 5.4 shows the tokens of the possessive pronoun *hamari* (our, feminine)

The above image has 5 tokens of the possessive pronoun *hamari* e.g. *hamari jawani* (our youth) *hamari rooh* (our spirit), *hamari society* (our society) *hamari rasmain* (our rituals). In these examples, the feminine gender marking is modifying the adjacent feminine words (*society*, *jawani*, *remain*). They are included in the analysis not because of gender marking but for two other reasons: firstly they are showing some ownership and possession and secondly they are showing a preference for the possessive pronoun *hamari* (our, plural) over the possessive pronoun *meyree* (mine, singular).

Overall, there was a higher preference for We-Us expressions over I-Me expressions. The I-Me expression was rarely used by the participants; it was almost insignificant in the sample data. The participants did not prefer singular personal pronouns for self-reference because singular pronouns in the Urdu language have gender marking; hence they preferred the plural form because they are neutral expressions with no gender marking. Secondly, the I-Me (*main*, *meyraa*, *meyree*, *meyrey*) expression shows power, authority, and self-centeredness. It shows lack of individual authority in hijras' language. They use a collective expression like *hum*, *hamain* (We-Us) for self-expression because their power lies in their communal and collective existence. Their linguistic choices reflect their selves as social beings who lack individual authority and stay closer to their communities. Thirdly, the expression like *hum*, *hamain* (we-us) can be used for both inclusive and exclusive purposes. It can be used to include both the speakers and the audience to give an

expression of inclusiveness, on the other hand, it can be used to exclude the audience to show in-group solidarity by excluding Others. Hijras mostly use it in the second sense which excludes the audience and includes only their community members to show harmony and solidarity among themselves. The expressions like *hum* and *hamian* (we, us) in their speech refer to their collective selves exclusively. They mostly use this expression to show their collective communal identity and collective power. It also shows solidarity because they live in groups with mutual support and without solidarity, it would not have been possible for them to stay together. The expressions like *Hum*, *hamarey*, *hamain* (we, ours and us) convey a feeling of harmony among their collective selves. They build in-group identity through the repetitive use of these expressions which indicate close friendship among the community members and emphasize their common background. An expression like *woh* (they, their) is an exclusive kind of expression. It is used to refer to the Others. Hijras use this expression to maintain distance between us and them (See Chapter 4). This expression is used to create the boundary between the self and Others. Hijras often use the word *dunia-dar* (worldly people) or *log* (people) instead of *woh* to refer to the Others. The expressions like *woh*, *dunia-dar*, *log* (they, worldly people, people) are used to create a distance and to establish the boundaries of self and Others.

The section below (5 B) analyzes how hijras construct their self-identity through the discursive performance of femininity. The gender (performance of femininity) along with the 'us versus them' distinction performed by hijras reveals their self-enactment processes involved in the construction of a Hijra identity.

5. B. Hijras' Discursive Performance of Femininity

Corpus Guru-1

There are 8 tokens of the use of auxiliary *thaa* (masculine) in interview with guru 1, but none of them are included in the analysis because none of them are addressing the referee himself/herself.

```
gaye hain. School main phly pahly theek thaa. Pher jab baad main pataa chala kay yeh
maan baap ka naam likha hay. Phly chala thaa yeh rewaj guru ka nam likhnay ka. laken
hly lay aatay thay jab bacha payda hota thaa, ab nahi. Bacha payda hota hay na, aik
in fout ho gaya, us nay kahen kaam jana thaa molvi nay, woh molvi kaam chor k aya. P
kaam chor k aya. Pora shaher usko manta thaa, haji haji kahta thaa, pora shaher kkha
shaher usko manta thaa, haji haji kahta thaa, pora shaher kkhata ho gya , jab woh fo
 woh fout hoa, sham ko char bajy janaza thaa Uskaa. Khusry nehlaty hain, kafan pehna
n main , jab Hindustan aur Pakistan bna thaa na, yeh bohat purani rasmain hain. Jab
```

Image 5.5 shows the use of auxiliary *thaa* (was, masculine), but it is not used by the hijras to refer to himself/herself.

There is no token of feminine marking auxiliary *thee* (was). But there is a token of auxiliary *thay* (was f/m), which is a plural form and can be used by both masculine and feminine referents. In example 11, auxiliary *thay* is in agreement with the pronoun *hum* in both gender and number.

12. **Hum**   hissaydar   nahi   ban sakt-ay   **thay**
    We **1Pr.Pl**   partner   could not   become   was **Aux.Pl**
    We couldn't become part of that

```
in pataa chala kay yeh khwaja sara hain tu larky tang krnay lagy. Pher aggay main
Nokri kon dayta hain hamain, kr bh lain tu , government day day ya kahen aur bh da
rnment day day ya kahen aur bh day dain tu woh aik do din acha salook kren  gay, k
ren  gay, kaam bura ho jay , achi na ho tu kahen gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh
a ho jay , achi na ho tu kahen gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh kia tu nay kr dia
n gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh kia tu nay kr dia. Guzara bus mang kr hota hay
 thay. Phir hum nay thora sa atiraz kia tu unho nay kaha k bus apna naam likhwaen.
ly hain. Ghar main attay jaty hain. Woh tu kahty hain batho laken hamari jo rooah
 hay. Jesy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh tu woh aurton jesi baten kry ge. Hu
esy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh tu woh aurton jesi baten kry ge. Hum jab b
jesi baten kry ge. Hum jab bathtay hain tu hum apni baten krty hain. Jo rooh hoti
rakhty hain. Apna ghar lay laty ain aik tu yeh chaly hamary pass aa jaty hain. Phe
ur apnay pass khan peena, uthna bathna, tu society ban jati hamari. Hamara pana ai
amat tak rahy ge. Woh jab fout hoa na , tu molvi masjid ka us nay kaha mary dil ki
 koi inkar kar jata hay, jab koi na day tu bura bhi lagta hay, jab koi day day tu
 tu bura bhi lagta hay, jab koi day day tu acha bhi lagta hay. Koi asy jharak day
 acha bhi lagta hay. Koi asy jharak day tu dil main mail aati hay k hum bhi insan
hnay hon, woh dooron pechna jay ga. Yeh tu Hindustan say lari chali aa rahe hay, (
a ho jaata hay, umar ziada ho jati hay, tu guru ban jata hay, aik dosray ko sanbha
```

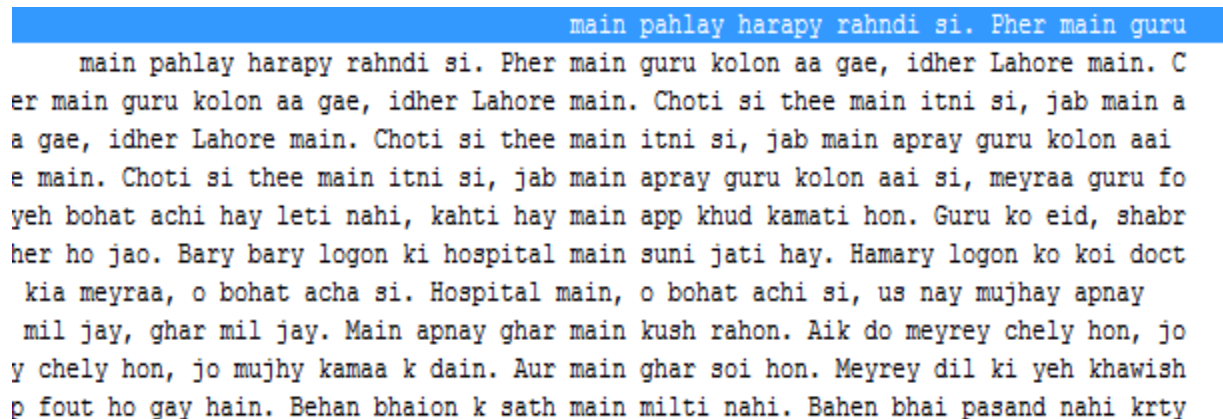Image 5.6 shows 17 tokens of "tu" (hedges) in the Guru-1 Corpus

There are 17 instances of "tu" used as hedges in corpus Guru-1. "tu" is one of the hedges in Urdu language. According to Lakoff (1975) and Coats (1988) hedges are one of the features of female conversation.

> The use of hedges of various kinds. Women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of "well, "y'know", "kinda" and so forth: words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he (or she) is saying, or cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement. (Lakoff 53)

> 'Hedge' is the term used to refer to a large and disparate set of words and phrases whose function is to mitigate the force of what is said. Thus in the utterance Perhaps it'll rain, the word perhaps weakens the force of the proposition it will rain. Hedges are often viewed as stereotypically female . . . . . their use in other contexts is a sign that the speaker lacks confidence. Such usage is typical of women precisely because they are socialized to believe . . . . feminine. (Coats, 69-70)

The use of hedges in conversation shows lack of assertiveness. Hijras use hedges in conversation to express a feminine self through language. Additional instances of the use of "tu" are found in corpus of Komal Ashi and Mohabat as well.

Corpus-Neelam Nergis

Image 5.7 Shows 5 tokens of Subject Pronoun *main* (I) in the Neelam Nergis Corpus

There are 11 tokens of the word *main*, out of which 5 are subject pronouns and four are postpositions (in) e.g. *Lahore main* (in Lahore), *ghar main* (at the house), *hospital main* (in the hospital) etc. Only subject pronouns are included in the analysis.

13. Pher **main** guru kolon aa **gay-e**
    then **1.Pr.sg** guru to came **Verb.fem**
    Then **I** came to guru

14. Choti si thee **main**, jab **main** apnay guru kolon **aa-i**
    Very little **was** **1.Pr.sg** when **1.Pr.sg** my guru to came **Verb.fem**
    I was very little when **I** came to my guru

15. Aur **main** ghar **so-i** hon
    and **1.Pr.sg**home sleeping **Verb.fem** **am**
    And **I** would be sleeping at home

16. Behan bhaion kay sath **milt-i** nahi
    Sisters brothers with meet **Verb.fem** do not
    (I) Do not meet (my) brothers and sisters

In example 14, the phrase *apnay guru* (my guru) is used while no possessive pronoun is used with the brother and sisters (*behan*, *bhaion*) in example 16. The subject word (pronoun) is also missing in example 16.

```
main pahlay harapy rahndi si. Pher main guru kolon aa gae, idher Lahore main. Choti
ti si thee main itni si, jab main apray guru kolon aai si, meyraa guru fout ho gaya
ab main apray guru kolon aai si, meyraa guru fout ho gaya wa, uskey baad meyraa yeh
 fout ho gaya wa, uskey baad meyraa yeh guru hay, anday kolon athy Lahore aa gae. At
 Athy mang kay guzara kr leti hon. Bara guru jo meyraa thaw h fout ho gaya hay, Alla
a hor koi sahara nae si. Main aeno apna guru bna lea. Ghar waly mujhy acha nae janta
n baap izat qadar krta hay na asy hamai guru izar qadar krti hay. Achy bury ki tamee
zar qadar krti hay. Achy bury ki tameez guru daytee hay. Jeewain maan baap samjhatay
aan baap samjhatay hain asy hamary bary guru krtay hain. Jo assi kamana hay na , asi
 na , asi apna kapra lera lena hay, aur guru ko tu kuch bh nhi detay hum log. Jo mey
h bh nhi detay hum log. Jo meyraa pahly guru fout hoa usko daytay thay. Aur isko nah
```

Image 5.8 shows the use of possessive pronouns used for guru in the Neelam Nergis Corpus

However, the image above shows the use of possessive pronouns for the guru e.g. *apray guru* (my guru), *mera yeh guru* (my this guru), *mery pahly guru* (my previous guru) etc. She also uses the feminine gender marking for her new guru at verb position e.g. *kerti hay* in example 5, *daytee hay* (gives) in example 6 and at adjective position *achi hay* (nice in example 7).

17. Aesy   **hamar-i**   guru   izzat qader   **kert-i**   hay
    Likewise   **1PP. Pl.fem** guru   respect   do **Verb.sg.fem**   is
    Likewise guru respects us

18. Achay   bury   ki   tameez   guru   **dayt-ee**   hay
    Good   bad   of   knowledge   guru   gives Verb.sg.fem   is
    Guru gives knowledge about good and bad

19. Yeh   bohat   **ach-i**   hay
    it   **very** nice **Adj.sg.fem**   **is**
    (It) is very nice

```
i apna kapra lera lena hay, aur guru ko tu kuch bh nhi detay hum log. Jo meyraa pa
 nay kabhi tang nahi kia. Bemar ho jaen tu hospital jatay hain, hamari koi jaldi h
```

Image 5.9 shows 2 tokens of hedges in the Neelam Nergis Corpus.

Corpus-Komal

```
ay. Main bhi jati hon aur rishtay daron main main nahi jati. Jo tofeek ho main dati
ain bhi jati hon aur rishtay daron main main nahi jati. Jo tofeek ho main dati hon (
daron main main nahi jati. Jo tofeek ho main dati hon (ghar walon ko), wasy woh nahi
h hamara jo kaam mangnay wala hay yeh hamain acha nahi lagta. Log hamain Mazak krty
a hay yeh hamain acha nahi lagta. Log hamain Mazak krty hain, acha nahi samajhtay. G
ak krty hain, acha nahi samajhtay. Ghar main 8, 10 ssaal tak rahe. Ghar walon nay pa
r walon nay parhany ki koshish ki laken main nay parha he nahi, mujhy shok hota thaa
hi shok hota thaa, yahi krna hay. Log hamain acha nahi samajhtay, tab sochti hon mai
ain acha nahi samajhtay, tab sochti hon main apnay bary main k logon  ki zingadi ach
majhtay, tab sochti hon main apnay bary main k logon  ki zingadi achi hay, log hamai
ain k logon  ki zingadi achi hay, log hamain insan nahi samajhtay. Han rooknay tokna
nahi. Hum log khaty hotay hain function main jatay hain. Jab ziada preshani main hot
ion main jatay hain. Jab ziada preshani main hotay hain tu sochtay hain k hum bh asy
```

Image 5.10 Shows 3 tokens Subject Pronoun *main* (I) and two tokens of feminine gender marking and 1 token of masculine gender marking. (Corpus: Komal)

The extract shows that there are 9 tokens of the word *main* out of which there are only 3 tokens of pronouns *main* (I); the rest of them are used as post positions *rishtay daron main* (at relatives; *ghar main* (at the house), *apnay bary main* (about myself), *function main* (in the function), *preshani main* (in stress/tension). These three subject pronouns are included in the statistical analysis.

20. Rishtay daron   main   **main**   nahi   **jati**
    Relatives   **in**   **1Pr.sg**   do not   go **Verb.fem**
    I do not visit relatives

21. Laken **main**   nay   **parha**   he   nahi
    but   1Pr.sg   study Verb.mas   hedge   did not
     But I did not study

22. Tab   **socht-i**   hon   **main**   apnay   bary   main
    then   think **Verb.sg.fem** am   **1.Pr.sg**   myself   about
    Then I think about myself

```
20 saal say guru k pass hon. Main apni marzi say, apni khusi say in kay sath
y guru k pass hon. Main apni marzi say, apni khusi say in kay sath sath hon. Waled
 ghar chor dia, jati, aati hon, mamma, papaa bhi attay hain, behan bhi bhi aatay h
:ha nahi samajhtay, tab sochti hon main apnay bary main k logon  ki zingadi achi h
uum bh asy larka ya larki hotay. Maan baap k pass rahtay, hamari bhi asy shadi hot
```

Image 5.11 shows 3 tokens of possessive pronouns *apni*, *apnay* (my, mine) and 2 tokens of feminine gender marking.

Possessive pronouns are used with the abstract nouns like "will" and "happiness" (example 23) and about "herself" (example 24). Possessive pronouns are not used with parents or siblings (example 26, 27, and 28); this is the same pattern found in corpus Guru-1 and Neelam Nergis.

Example 24 and 25 shows *komal* used feminine gender marking for "herself" (*jati*, *aati* and *sochti*)

23. Main   **apni** marzi   say,   **apni** khushi say   inkay sath   hon
    1.Pr.sg   my **PP.sg.fem**   my **PP.sg.fem**   with   am
    I am with them with my own will and my own happiness

24. Tab   **socht-i**   hon   **apnay** bary   main
    then   think **Verb.sg.fem**   am   my **PP.Pl**   about
    Then I think about mysef

25. **Jat-i**   **aat-i**   hon
    Go **Verb.sg.fem**   come **Verb.sg.fem**   am
    (I)   Come and go

26. **Mama   papa** bhi   aatay   jatay   hain
    Mother   father   also   come   go   are
    Parents also come and go (visit)

27. **Bahen   bhai**   bh   aatay   hain
    Sister   brother   also   come   are
    Siblings also come (visit)

28. **Maan   baap**   kay pass   rahtay
    Mother   father   with   lived
    (We) would have been living with mother and father

Examples 29 and 30 show the indirect use of language; subject pronouns are missing and plural

verb forms are used. The examples 31 to 36 show the preference for subject pronoun *hum* (we),

object pronoun *(hamain)* and possessive pronoun *(hamara, hamari)*.

29. Function   main   **jatay**   hain
    function   in   go Verb.Pl   are
    (we) attend functions

30. Jab   ziada   preshani   main   hotay hain   tu   **sochtay**   hain
     When   more   tension   in   are   hedge   think **Verb,Pl**   are
     When (we) are in stress then (we) think

31. **Hum**   bhi   asy   larka ya   larki   hotay
    1.Pr.Pl also like   boy   or   girl   would be
    Wish We would have been a girl or a boy

32. Log   **hamian**   Mazak   krtay   hain
    People   us **OP.Pl**   mock   do   are
    People mock at us

33. Log   **hamain**   acha   nahi   samajhtay
People   us **OP.Pl**   good   not   consider
People do not consider us good

34. Log   **hamain**   insan   nahi   samajhtay
People   us **OP.Pl**   human being   do not   consider
People do not consider us human beings

35. Yeh   **hamar-a**   jo   kaam   hay   mangnay wala
This   our **PP.Pl.mas**   hedge   work   is   begging
Our work begging

36. **Hamar-i**   bhi   asy   shadi   hoti, **hum**   bhi   ghar   basatay
Our **PP.Pl.fem**   also   like   marriage do   **1.Pr.Pl**   also   home   made
We would have been married and had made a house (family)

There are two tokens of object pronoun *Mujhy* (me); this pronoun can be used by both masculine

and feminine genders to refer to themselves.

37. Wasy   wh   nahi   letay,   wh   detay   hain ,   **mujhy**
By the way   they   do not   take   they   give   are   me **OP.sg**
They do not take it, they give me (money)

38. **Mujhy**   shok   hota   tha   dance   kernay ka
OP.sg.   found   was   dance   of
I was very fond of dancing

nahi samajhtay. Han rooknay toknay wala tu koi nahi. Hum log khaty hotay hain func
ain. Jab ziada preshani main hotay hain tu sochtay hain k hum bh asy larka ya lark

Image 5.12: shows two tokens of hedges tu in the Komal Corpus

Corpus Ashi

```
ai thee chay saal (6 years) ki thee jab main.  Jab hamari guru kahen gae ho, Lahore
 Lahore say baher gayee ho tu, jab ghar main akely hotay hain tu pher hamain feel ho
ab ghar main akely hotay hain tu pher hamain feel hota hay, hamary bhi ami abu hotay
y , khaltay , koodtay, baten krtay apas main. Jab guru kahen gaye ho tu pher hamain
 main. Jab guru kahen gaye ho tu pher hamain akela pan mehsoos hota hay. Kabi Jab sa
an bohat acha hay, very nice hay, bus hamain sargent say shekayat hay.  Sargent nay
i dayta hay. Parhay likhay hon tu koi hamain nokri bhi day day. Unparh hain , hamain
main nokri bhi day day. Unparh hain , hamain koi nokri nahi dayta. Guru ki traf say
nay dayti, guru say chori rakha hoa hay main nay. Maan kit rah khyal rakhti hay. Ham
n nay. Maan kit rah khyal rakhti hay. Hamain kahi program main jana ho , shadi pa, h
h khyal rakhti hay. Hamain kahi program main jana ho , shadi pa, humain baqida gari
kahi program main jana ho , shadi pa, humain baqida gari krwa k deni hay, uskey bad
aqida gari krwa k deni hay, uskey bad hamain bhaj kay call krnay k leay mobile sath
ogram khatam ho tu call kr k dosri gari main wapis ghar aa jana. Life partner assa h
hay ghar bitha k khilaay, aur kuch nahi main mangti. Bus aik roti khani hay woh bus
```

Image 5.13 shows 3 tokens of subject pronoun main (I) and two tokens of two tokens of feminine gender marking at verb position.

There are seven tokens of the word *main* out of which there are only three tokens of subject pronoun (I); the rest of them are used as post position like *appas main* (with each other), *program main* (in the program), *gari main* (in the vehicle). So, only two of them are included in the statistical analysis.

39. Chay saal ki **th-ee** jab **main**
    Six years of was **Verb.sg.fem** when **1.Pr.sg**
    When I was six years old

40. Aur kuch nahi **main** **mangt-i**
    Anything else do not **1.Pr.sg** ask **Verb.sg.fem**
    I do not ask for anything else

41. Guru say chori rakha hoa hay **main** nay
    Guru CM hidden kept Pres.perf is **1.Pr.sg** Erg
    I kept it hidden from the guru

The previous examples 9, 10, 16, 26, 27, 28 from the corpus (Guru 1, Komal and Neelam Nergis) show that trans individuals do not use possessive pronouns for parents or siblings. This

shows that they do not possess them. Examples 42 and 43 show that they do not possess their parents and siblings.

42. **Hamary** bhi ami abu hotay
    We also mother father have had
    (wish) We have had mother and father

43. Behan bhai hotay
    Brothers sisters have had
    (Wish) We have had brothers and sisters

But possessive pronouns are used for the guru and for fellow trans individuals. Examples 44, 45 show the use of the possessive pronoun with feminine gender marking (*hamar-i. Mer-i*) for the guru. It also shows that feminine gender marking is used at verb position (*ga-e, aa-i, keht-i, samajht-i*) for the guru. She is perceived as having a feminine gender and she often plays the role of a mother (examples 44, 45, 46, 47). Possessive pronouns are also used with the abstract terms like *zingadi* (life), *khushi* (happiness) etc.However, example 48 is not included in the present statistical analysis because the possessive pronoun has feminine gender marking, as it is modifying the adjacent feminine noun *Zingadi* (life).

44. Jab **hamar-i** guru kahen **ga-e** ho
    When **PP.sg.fem** guru somewhere gone**Verb.fem** is
    When our guru is gone somewhere

45. **Mujhy** **meyr-ee** guru lay kay **aa-i** **th-ee**
    OP.Sg. PP.sg.fem guru bring CM came Verb.sg.fem **Aux.sg.fem**
    My guru has brought me

46. Guru yeh **keht-i** hay
    Guru just says **Verb.sg.fem** is
    Guru just says that

47. Woh **samjhaat-i** hay
    She advises **Verb.sg.fem** is
    She advises

48. Maan   ki trah   khayal   **rakht-i**   hay
       Mother   like   care   takesVerb.sg.fem   is
       (She) cares like a mother

49. Call   krnay   kleay   mobile   sath   **det-i**   hay
       Call   making   for   mobile   with   givesVerb.sg.fem   is
       (she) gives mobile for calling

50. Sargent   nay   **hamar-i**   zingadi   azab   bnadi   hay
       Sargent   erg   our PP.fem   life   hell   made   is Aux
       Sargent has made our life hell

There is a preference for 1 person plural form (*hum*) and the object pronoun plural form

(*hamain*) instead of e of the singular subject pronoun (I) and the object pronoun *mujhy* (me).

51. **Hamain**   akela pan   mehsoos   hota   hay
       We **OP.Pl**   loneliness   feel   pres.   is Aux

52. **Hamain**   feel   hota   hay
       We **OP.Pl**   feel   Pres.   is Aux
       We feel

```
kahen gae ho, Lahore say baher gayee ho tu, jab ghar main akely hotay hain tu pher
e ho tu, jab ghar main akely hotay hain tu pher hamain feel hota hay, hamary bhi a
krtay apas main. Jab guru kahen gaye ho tu pher hamain akela pan mehsoos hota hay.
 mehsoos hota hay. Kabi Jab sad hon bhi tu feel nahi kraya hum nay,jab hota hay ph
nay preshan hain hum log. Nokri mil jay tu kr lain gay. Hum logon ko kon nokri day
 kon nokri dayta hay. Parhay likhay hon tu koi hamain nokri bhi day day. Unparh ha
e sath dayti hay. Jab program khatam ho tu call kr k dosri gari main wapis ghar aa
```

Image 5.14 shows 7 tokens of hedges tu in Corpus: Ashi

Corpus-Guru-2

There are 10 tokens of the word *main* out of which 8 are first-person singular pronouns; the rest

of them are postpositions. These eight pronouns are included in the statistical analysis. However,

there are 13 tokens of the first-person pronoun plural form *hum* (we). There are four tokens of verb

with feminine gender marking. For example, *Jat-i* in example 54, *ho-I* in example 55, *sakt-i* in

example 56 and *kaht-i* in example 57, *aa gay-e* in example 58 are verbs with singular feminine gender marking.

53. **Main**   idher Lahore   main   pandra, sola   saal   say   hon
    1.Pr.sg   here   Lahore   in   fifteen, sixteen   years CM   am
    I am in Lahore from fifteen, sixteen years

54. Udher   **main**   nahi   **jat-i**
    There   **1.Pr.sg**   do not   go **Verb.sg.fem**
    I do not go there

55. Jab   idher he   **main**   jawan   **ho-i**   hon
    When here   hedge **1.Pr.sg**   young   became **Verb.sg.fem** am Aux
    When I grow young here

56. Inkay samnay bhi   **main** koi   istrah ki   baat nahi kr   **sakt-i**
    Them infront also   **1.Pr.sg**. any like   that   talk do not do   **Verb.sg.fem**

57. **Main**   **kaht-i**   hon ap   **mujhy**   job   pa   rakh lain
    1.Pr.sg   Say **Verb.sg.fem** am you me **OP.Sg** job   on   keep verb
    I say you give me job

58. **Main**   bachpan   say   guru   kay pass   **aa gay-e**   thee
    1.Pr.sg   childhoos   from guru   CM   came **Verb.sg.fem**   was
    I came to guru in childhood

59. **Main** in dono   ki   guru hon
     1.Pr.sg   both   CM   guru am
       I am guru of both (of these)

```
hay meyraa beta hay. Meyree baat suno, hum jo bhi hain, maan k leay beta hota hay.
hay larki bus hamary main itna fark hay hum bacha nahi payda kr sakty). Yeh meyrey
 krty hain. Idher aatay hain tu sargent hum logon ko tang krta hay. Hamary logon sa
ay. Hamary logon say passy mangta hay , hum nahi passy daytay, woh monthaly mangta
aken hamari mujboori hay. Job nahi hay, hum logon ko koi kaam pa rakhay ga nahi. Ag
gon ko koi kaam pa rakhay ga nahi. Agar hum larkon way kapray pehan k ksi k ghar ma
arkatein kuch is trah ki rahni hain, jb hum nay baher nikalna hay tu ksi na ksi lar
 ghar waly hamain rahnay nahi daytay tu hum nay guru k naam pa he bnvana hay. Hamar
 nahi, khawish kia , yahe khawish hay k hum logon ko mangnay dain, hum logon ko jee
hawish hay k hum logon ko mangnay dain, hum logon ko jeenay dain. Agar nahi jeenay
enay dain. Agar nahi jeenay dain gay tu hum logon nay kahain na kahain , kuch na ku
yeh hamain mangnay nahi daytay. Ghar tu hum logon ka hay he nahi, itnay hamary pass
hi, itnay hamary pass passy nahi hain k hum log ghar apna aly lain, rent pa rahtay
```

Image 5.15 shows 13 tokens of first-person pronoun plural form (we)

There are 5 tokens of the possessive pronoun *meyraa* (my) in the corpus (guru 2); three of them are included for statistical analysis i.e. *mera cheela* (my cheela), *mera guru* (my guru), *mera dil* (my heart) because they show possession. In this corpus no possessive marker is used with the word "mother"; however, the possessive markers are used with the fellow trans individuals, the guru and for her own heart (dil). There are four tokens of word *amaa* but the possessive marker is not used even once (examples 61, 62, 63).However, in examples 64 and 65 talking about *cheelas* (disciples) she uses the possessive pronoun (*meyrey*, my)

n ki guru hon (pointing to her chelas), meyraa guru jo hay woh bara hay (haji sahib).
yeh mujhy day gee na aik dafa a tu yeh meyraa chela hay. Jesay ksi ko ustad pakartay
he nahi ki, amma kahti hain jo bhi hay meyraa beta hay. Meyree baat suno, hum jo bhi
bachy hain. Maan tu kahti hay na k yeh meyraa beta hay, dunia tu yahi kahti hay na k
jhay job pa rakh lain, ksi kaam pa bhi, meyraa nahi dil krta k bheek mangon, ksi ka b

Image 5.16 shows 5 tokens of the possessive pronoun *meyraa*

Guru 2 uses the masculine possessive pronoun *meyr-aa* for her guru. However, the words *cheela* (disciple) and *dil* (heart) are masculine in Urdu. In 2 sentences, she is telling what her mother thinks about her (example 60).

60. Amaa   kahti hain   jo bhi   hay   mera beta hay
    Mother   says   Aux. whatever   Aux.   my   son   is Aux.
    Mother says whatever he is, he is my son

61. Sirf   amaa   say   **milt-i**   hon
    Just   mother   CM   meet **Verb.sg.fem**   am Aux.
    (I) Just meet (my) mother

62. Amaa   say   tu   kafi dafaa **mil-i**   hon
    Mother   CM   many times meet Verb.sg.fem   am Aux.

63. Amaa   nay   kabhi ksi   say   baat he   nahi   ki
    Motehr   erg   neg.   anyone   CM   talk hedge never do
    Mother never talked to anyone

64. Yahi **meyrey** behan bhai hain
They my **PP.Pl** sister brother are
They are my brothers and sisters (*cheelas*, disciples)

65. Yeh **meray** bachy hain
They my **PP.Pl** Childern are
They are my children (*Cheelas*, disciples)

Image 5.17 shows 24 tokens of hedges tu in the guru-2 Corpus. There are total 25 hedges tu in this corpus.

Corpus-Pari

There are 21 tokens of the word *main* in this corpus, Out of which only 5 are used as first-person singular (*main*, I); the rest of them are post positions. These five are included in the statistical analysis.

66. **Main**   tu   **kaht-i**   hon   main   larki   hon
    1.Pr.sg   hedge say **Verb.sg.fem** **am**   **1.Pr.sg**   **girl**   **am**
    I say I am a girl

67. **Main**   bhi   kush   **hot-i**   **rah-i**
    1.Pr.sg   also   happy   became **pers.sg.fem** **Verb.sg.fem**
    I have also been happy

68. Maslan kay   **main**   nay   app   kay   pass   jana hay
    For example **1.Pr.sg**   erg   you   CM   to   go   is
    For example I want to go to you

69. Tu   **main**   nay   kahna   hay
    Then **1.Pr.sg**   erg   say   will
    Then I will say

```
nay aaye hain. Ghar walon nay bola nai, mamaa nay bola nai, phir papaa nay bola lay j
ar aanay say bhiya waghera roktay hain, mamaa nahi rokten. Sister bhi mil lati hay, b
n bhai hain. Jo guru hay woh papaa hay, mamaa hay, bus wohi sub kuch hay. Bachpan mai
```

Iamge 5.18 shows that no possessive pronouns are used with *mamaa, papaa* and sisters (Corpus: Pari)

Trans individuals do not use possessive pronouns for their family members like parents or sitters and brothers (examples 70, 71, 72, 73). The same pattern is found in the previous corpus discussed above (Guru 1, Neelam Nergis, Ashi, Guru 2 and Komal). Examples 73 and 74 show feminine gender marking at verb position (*mil*-I, *sakt*-I), while example 75 shows feminine gender marking at possessive pronoun (*mer*-i). She uses feminine gender marking while talking about herself. She

also uses the feminine gender marking for her fellow trans individuals. Examples 77 and 78 show

feminine gender marking at verb position when Pari talks about her fellow trans individuals.

70. Pher   papa   nay   bola   lay jao
    Then   papaa   erg   said   take
    Then papaa said take (him/her)

71. Kabi   mamma   papaa   ko   milnay   nai   **jat-ay**
    Never   mother   father CM   meeting   no   go **Verb.pl**
    (we) never go to meet mother and father

72. Papaa   fout   ho gaye   hain
    Father died   past.   Aux. hon
    Father has died

73. Mamaa   ko   aik   do dafa   **mil-i**   hon
    Mother   CM   once   twice   met **Verb.sg.fem**   am
    (I) met mother one or twice

74. Apni   kahani nahi   suna   **sakt-i**   Farsi   zuban   main
    My   story   cannot   tell   do Verb.sg.fem   Farsi   language   in
    (I) cannot tell my story in Farsi language

75. Taleem   nai   hay   **mer-i**
    Education   do not   is   my **PP.fem**
    (I) do not have education

76. Hum   is liay   **aay-e**   hain
    We   for that reason   came **Verb.fem**   are
    We came for this reason

77. Ab   woh   zuban   hum   **bolt-i**   nahi   hain
    Now   that   language   we   speak **Verb.fem**   do not   are
    Now we do not speak that language

78. Yeh   door door   dakh   kay   pher   wapis   **aa gay-e**
    She   at distance   watch   CM   then   back   came **Verb.sg.fem**
    She watched at a distance and then came back

79. Iskay   papaa nay   bola   agar   ghar   **aao g-e**
    Her   father erg   said   if   house   came **Verb.sg.fem**
    Her father said if (you) came home

soo (1000, 1500) ban jata hay. Acha ho tu iss say ziada bhi ban jatay hain. Group
guru ko 8 saal ki ummar main pata chala tu woh lay k aai. Ghar waly boltay thay ha
oltay thay hamara larkon jesa hay. Main tu kahti hon main larki hon. Shuru say he
 Nai dukh nai hota jab adaat he ban gae tu dukh kassay krein unka. Ab yahi samajta
 k sath mazaak kr k chalaa gayaa. Roona tu aata hay, kabi kabhi bohat ziada rooti
eechay koi hay k nahi hay. Bachpan main tu lay aayee thay. Woh hamari zuban hay F
s main. Kafi logon ko aati hay. Hum nay tu aik code word bnayaa thaa k koi tang kr
 word bnayaa thaa k koi tang kr raha ho tu uskey paas say agar jana hay tu apni zu
raha ho tu uskey paas say agar jana hay tu apni zuban main baat kren. Woh ab sub d
 Farsi zuban main k main 8 saal ki thee tu guru k pass aa gayee thee, nahi assay n
aslan kay main nay ap kay pass jana hay tu main nay kahna hay k main paat ja rahi
 hay. Ab jesay larkay tang kr rahe hain tu kahnay hay k looray belay painday pain.
nay seekhai hay. Agar make up kerna hay tu kahna hay tarawaa krdi payee aan. Kapra
waa krdi payee aan. Kapray pehannay hon tu kahna hay k firqa chis kren lagi aan.

Image 5.19 shows 14 tokens of tu (hedges) in conversation (Corpus: Pari)

There are fourteen tokens of hedges (tu) in the Pari Corpus. This is a characteristic of female speech and makes it sound feminine.

Corpus Parwati

There are 20 tokens of the word *main* in this corpus, out of which there are 8 instances of first - person singular pronouns; the rest of them are post positions. These 8 pronouns are included in the statistical analysis. In examples 83, 84 and 85 she uses the feminine gender marking at verb position (*sakt-i, kert-I, sakt-i*) while talking about herself.

80. **Main**   ghar   nahi   **jati**
    1.Pr.sg   home   neg   go
    I do not go home

81. Shuru   say   **main**   nay   yahi   kaam   kia   hay
    From beginning   **1.Pr.sg** erg   this   work   done   is
    I have done this work from the beginning

82. **Main**   das   saal   ki   ummar   main   aaye   thee
    1.Pr.sg   ten   years   CM   age   in   came   was
    I came in the age of ten years

83. Laken **main**   ghar   nahi   jaa   **sakt-i**
    but   **1.Pr.sg**   home   neg   go   do **Verb.sg.fem**
    but I cannot go home

84. **Main**   in say   pyar   **krt-i**   hon
    1.Pr.sg   with   them   love   do **Verb.sg.fem**   am
    I love them

85. **Main**   apnay   ghar   main   nahi   rah   **sakt-i**
    1.Pr.sg   my   home   in   neg   live   do **Verb.sg.fem**
    I cannot live at my home

In examples 86 and 89 singular, feminine gender markers are used with the auxiliary *g-ee* (will, shall). Parwati is referring to herself using the first-person singular pronouns and using the feminine gender marking for herself. She is saying that when she goes somewhere for dancing, she will bring the baby (if the baby is Khawaja Sara).

86. Agar   **main**   kesi kay ghar   nachnay   key liay jaon   **g-ee**
    if   **1.Pr.sg** **someone's house** **dance**   **for**   **go**   **will Aux.sg.fem**
    if I go to someone's house for dancing

87. Usko   **main**   lay   kay   aaon   **g-ee**
    her   **1.Pr.sg**   bring CM   came   will **Aux.sg.fem**
    I will bring her

Parwati is talking about her guru. She uses the feminine gender marking for her at verb position and at adjective position. In examples 88, 90, 91, and 94 (*sakt-i, mangti, kerti, kerti*), she uses

feminine gender marking for her guru at verb position. However, in examples 89 and 92 she uses the feminine gender marking for her guru at adjective position (*Bar-i*, bigger, elder).

88. Jo   **Hamar-i**   sub say   **bar-i**   guru   kah   **sakt-i**   hay
     What   Our 1.Pr.pl   then all   elder   guru   say   do **Verb.sg.fem**   is
     What our elder guru can say

89. Guru   qanoon   say   bhi   **bar-i**   hay
     Guru   Law   CM   also   bigger **adj.sg.fem**   is
     Guru is bigger than Law

90. Laken   wh   **mangt-i**   nhi
     But   she   asks **Verb.sg.fem**   neg
     But she does not ask

91. Wh   **mujhy**   pyar   **kert-i**   hay
     She   me **OP.sg**   love   do **Verb.sg.fem**   is
     She loves me

92. Hamary   liay   wohi   **bar-i**   hay
     Us   for   she   bigger **adj.sg.fem**   is
     She is bigger for us

93. **Hamar-i**   sahelian   hain
     Our 1.Pr.pl   friends   are
     We have friends

94. **Hum**   us   say   pyar   **kert-i**   hain
     We **1.Pr.pl**   her   with   Love   **do Verb.sg.fem**   are
     We love her

There are four tokens of singular object pronouns *mujhy* (I, me). She used these pronouns referring to herself. They are included in the statistical analysis. In the examples below she is talking about herself. She had been with the guru for 10 to 12 years. In example 96 she is telling the interviewer that she was fond of this work (dancing). In example 97, she is saying that her family disowned her. In example 98, she is saying that when she is Khawaja Sara, then

Khawaja Saras will take her. In all these examples, she is using the object pronoun *Mujhy* to refer to herself. The object pronoun *mujhy* in Urdu can be used for both genders. Both genders can use it to refer to themselves. It has no gender marking.

95. **Mujhy** das   baraa   saal   ho gaey   hain
     OP.sg ten   twelve   years   Past.pl   are
     I had ten to twelve years (with the guru)

96. Yeh   kaam   ka   **mujhy** shook tha
     This   work   CM   **OP.sg** found   was
     I was fond of this work

97. Unho   nay   **mujhy**   nikal   dia   hay
     They   erg   me OP.sg   disown   do   is
     They disowned me

98. **Mujhy**   Khawaja Sara   he   lay kay   jaen   gay
     me OP.sg   Khawaja Sara   hedge   take   do   will
     The Khawaja Sara will take me

Parwati is talking about her guru and her fellow trans individuals. In example 99 she uses the possessive pronoun *meyr-ee sahelian* (my friends) with feminine gender marking. The word *Sahelian* is also used for girls. In Urdu for boys the word *Dost* (friend) is used. In example 100, she also uses the feminine gender marking at verb position for her friends. In example 101, she uses the possessive pronoun for her guru with feminine gender marking *meyr-ee guru* (my guru). In example 102 she uses the feminine gender marking at verb position *lay aai* (brought) while talking about the guru. In example 103, she talks about her parents but she does not use possessive pronoun with *maan baap* (mother and father).

99. Yeh   **meyr-ee**   sahelian   hain
     These   my **PP.sg.fem**   friends   are
     These are my friends

100. Yeh   **mujh**   say   pyar   **kert-i**   hain
     They   me **OP.sg**   with   love   do **Verb.sg.fem**   are
     They love me

101. Yeh   naam   **meyr-ee**   guru   nay   rakha   hay
     This   name   my **PP.sg.fem**   guru   erg   keep   is
     My guru has named me this

102. Pher   shuru   say   he   guru   idher   lay **aa-i**   hay
     Then   beginning   CM   Hedge guru   here   brought **Verb.sg.fem**   is
     The guru has brought here from the beginning

103. **Maan baap**   udher   he   rahty   hain   apnay   shaher   main
     Mother and father   there   hedge   live   are   their   city   in
     Mother and father live in their city

```
bajay (5, 6 O clock at noon).  Kapray tu bas guru lay k deti hay, kabi lay deti
ain isss main konsi bari baat hay. Guru tu bari hain, isliay ghar ka kharcha hum n
) rupee siraf kamaay hay mane. Mil gaee tu kr lain gay laken hamain kon job dayta
nahi. (Agar hum kothion main krtay hain tu hamain larkay nahi chortay woh hum say
ta hay, woh kahtay hain line main lagoo tu phir dawaai dain gay) woh bas parchi k
 ghar main wadhaai lanay jaatay hain na tu aksar assay hota hay k bachy ko nanga r
ain. Nichay say jab kapray utartay hain tu unko pataa chal jata hay, larki ho tab
y jaon gee aur khawja sara payda ho gaa tu usko main lay aon ge woh meyraa he bach
aulad payda ho sakti hay. Ksi k ghar ho tu hum nay wohi lay k kahna hay k yeh hama
rra bacha hay. Ghar walay na aanay dain tu phir hum case kr saktay hain kay yeh ha
 hay. Woh jab chup kr k hamain day dain tu hamain case krnay ki zarorat he nahi pa
hamari sub say bari guru kah sakti hay tu hamain qanoon say kia lena. Guru qanoon
```

Image 5.20 shows 12 tokens of hedges tu in the Parwati Corpus

Corpus Muhabbat

There is no token of first-person singular pronoun (I) in this corpus. There is one token of

first-person plural pronoun (we, *hum* example 117). She uses the indirect language and

mostly skips the subject word. Sometimes she uses the word *woh* (they, examples 110,

111) at subject place.

Examples 104 and 105 show that the subject word is missing while she is using the auxiliary *hon* (am). The auxiliary *hon* (am) is always in agreement with the subject first-person singular pronoun (I) in Urdu. Examples 107, 113, 114, 115 and 116 also show that subject word has been skipped. She uses feminine gender marking for herself at verb position *(kert-i* in example 112) and *aa-i* in example 105, 108), *th-ee* at auxiliary position. In example 105 the feminine gender marker is also used with the case marker (K-i); for males, the case marker *kaa* is used.

104. Pandra   sola   saal   say   guru   kay pass   **hon**
     Fifteen   sixteen years   CM   guru   with   **am**
     (I) am with guru from fifteen to sixteen years

105. Chay saal **k-i**   **th-ee**   jab   guru   kay pass **aa-i th-ee**
     Six   years CM.sg.fem   was Aux.sg.fem   when   guru   to   came was
     (I) was six years old when (I) came to guru

106. Bohat   dukh   lagta   hay   kay   Khawaja Sara **hon**
     so much   pain   feel   is   CM   Khawaja Sara **am**
     (I) feel so much pain that (I) am Khawaja Sara

107. Bohat ziada jab   dukhi   hon   tu   ganaay   lagatay   hain
     So much   when sad   Aux   hedge songs   play   Aux.pl
     When (we) are so much sad (we) play songs

108. Dil   krta   hay   per   milnay   nae   daytay (family)
      Heart do   is   but   meeting   neg   do Verb.pl
     Heart wants but (they) do not allow to meet

She also uses the feminine gender marking while talking about the guru (example 109).

109. Guru   bhi   nae   milnay **det-i**
     Guru   also   neg   meet   allow **Verb.sg.fem**
     Guru also do not allow to meet

Example 110 shows that his family considers him male, but she thinks of herself as female because she is telling what his family says to her. They say "you do this sort of work." They dislike her work. The masculine gender marker is used for her *(kertya ho)*. If it was a feminine gender marker it would have been *kert-i ho.*

110. Woh   kahtay   hain   kay   assay   kaam   **kr-tay** ho
     They   say   Aux   CM   sort of   work   do Pres.
  They say you do this sort of work

Possessive pronoun is not used with the mother (hamshera) in example 111.

111. Woh   **hamshera**   aa jati   hay
     Hedge   **mother**   come   Aux
  Mother comes

112. Phone   **krt-i** hon   idher   milnay aa jati   hay
     Phone   do **Verb.sg.fem**   here   meet   comes   Aux.
  (I)   call, (she) comes here to meet

113. Umaar   pichay   ja   rahe   hay
     age   decline   going do   is
  (My) age is delining

114. Phir   kia   kren   gay
     Then   what   do   will
  Then what will (we) do

115. Dukhi hon tu   guru   kaysath   baten   kr letay   hain
     Sad are   hedge guru   with   talk   do   Aux.
  (when, we) are sad , (1) talk to guru

116. Apaas   main mazaak   krty   rhtay hain
     Each other   with joke   do   Pres. Aux.
  (we) make jokes with each other

In example 117 she uses word *sahelian* for her friends which is used for females, for males the word *dost* is used in Urdu.

117. **Hum sahelion**   ki trah aik dosray   kay sath   rahtay hain.
     We   friends like   each other   with   live   Aux.
     We live like friends with each other

118. Jab   **aa-i**   **th-ee** tu   **mujhy** bhat   dukh   lagaa tha
     When came   was   hedge **OP.sg** so much   pain   feel   was
     When I came I felt so much pain

ain k assay kaam krtay ho. Jab aai thee tu mujhy bohat dukh lagta thaa. Woh hamshe
rahe hay. Phir kia kren gay. Dukhi hon tu guru kay sath baten kr letay hain, roo
ho jataa hay. Bohat ziada jab dukhi hon tu ganaay lagatay han, dance krtay hain ai

Image 5.21 shows hedges (tu) in the Muhabbat Corpus

Corpus Rekha

There are three tokens of first-person singular pronouns (I), 2 tokens of first-person plural pronouns (*hum*, we) and 5 tokens of object pronoun *hum ko* (us). Rekha uses the feminine gender marker with the auxilary in examples 120 and 121. She consider sherself a female.

119. **Main**   nay   apnay guru   ko   kamaa kay   khilena hay
        1.Pr.sg   erg   my   guru   CM   earn   CM   feed   is
     I have to earn to feed my guru

120. Pher **main** uski   jaga   pa   ho jaon   **g-ee**
     Then   1.Pr.sg his   place   on   Pres.   will **Aux. sg.fem**
     Then I will be on his place

121. Pher   **main** apnay pass   chelay   rakhon **g-ee**
     Then   1.Pr.sg with me   disciples   keep   will **Aux.sg.fem**
     Then I will keep disciples with me

122. **Hum**　　　aksar　shadion　　　pa　　　jat-ay　　　　hain
　　　We　　　　often　marriages　　　on　　　go Verb.pl　　Aux
　　　We often attend marriages

Rekha uses the masculine gender marker with the verb *dayt-a* in example 123.

123. **Hum** guru　　ko　　　boltay hain　woh　　lay kay **deyt-a**　　　　　hay
　　　We　guru　CM　　　say　Aux.　he　　buy　give Verb.sg.mas　　Aux
　　　We ask the guru and he buys (for us) and gives (us)

Rekha uses the adjective *bar-ay* (older) plural form for her guru. She did not use the feminine marker with the adjective as Parwati did (*bar*-I examples 89, 92 corpus Parwati). In example 125 and 126 she uses the singular masculine gender with the possessive pronoun (*Hamar-a*). In example 127 she chooses the plural form of the verb *hot-ay* instead of the feminine one observed in the previous corpus (Parwati, Pari). In example 128, she uses the masculine gender with the verb *hot-a*. In example 129 she uses the masculine gender marker *gain* with the possessive pronoun *hamar-a*. In example 130, she uses the masculine gender with the verb *dayta*. In example 131, she uses the singular masculine possessive pronoun *meyr-aa* for her guru. She also uses the masculine gender marker at verb level *gay-a* for her guru in example 131. In the whole corpus, she never used the feminine gender marker for her guru.

124. Hamar-ay　　guru　　jo　　　hain　　na　　　**bar-ay**
　　　Our　　　　　guru　Hedge Aux.　hedge　older adj.pl.
　　Our older guru

125. Ab　　　　　jo　　　**hamar-a**　　　guru　hay
　　　Now　　　　hedge　our　　　　　guru　Aux.
　　The guru we have now

126. Jo　　　　　**hamar-a**　　　bara　guru　hay

Who   our **PP.sg.mas**   older   guru   Aux.

The one who is our older guru

127. Hamaray   guru log   jo   **hot-ay**   hain
     Our   guru   who   Pres.pl   Aux.
     (Those) who are our guru

128. Pher   woh   jo   bara   guru   **hot-a**   hay
     Then   he   who   older guru   Verb.sg.mas   Aux.
     Then (the one) who is the older guru

129. Kuin kay   **hamar-aa**   jo   guru   hay
     Because   our PP.sg.mas.   who   guru   Aux
     Because (the one) who is our guru

130. Make up   waghera   woh   guru   lay kay   **det-a**   hay
     Make up   etcetera   he   guru   buy   give Verb.sg.mas   Aux
     The guru buy make up (for us) and gives (us)

131. Jab   woh   **meyr-aa**   guru   fout   ho **gay-a**   na
     When   he   my PP.sg.mas   guru   die   will Verb.sg.mas   hedge

There are four tokens of plural object pronoun *Hum ko* (us) in the corpus. It has been observed in the previous corpus that trans individuals prefer the plural forms for both subject object positions. One reason for this preference is that the *hum ko* pronoun can be used for both genders.

132. **Hamaray   ko**   das   baraa   saal   ho gaye   hain
     We   CM   ten   twelve years Pres.pl   Aux.
     We had ten to twelve years

133. Woh   bachan   main   lay kay   aa gaye   thay   **hum ko**
     They   childhood in   brought   came   Aux.   us **OP.Pl**
     They brought us in childhood

134. Jis   hamary guru nay **hum ko** palaa   hay
   The one our guru erg us OP.Pl brought up Aux.
   Our guru the one who has brought us up

135. Hamaray guru nay **hum ko** bach dia
   Our   guru erg us OP.Pl   sold
   Our guru has sold us

Image 5.22 shows hedges tu in the Rekha Corpus

Corpus Reema

There are no tokens of the first-person singular pronoun *main* (I). There are 6 tokens of *main* in this corpus, but all of them are postpositions like *ghar main* (in the house), *condition main* (in this condition), *kapron main* (in clothes), *hamary main* (among us) etc.

Image 5.23 shows 16 tokens of first-person plural pronoun *hum* (we) in the Reema Corpus

There are 20 tokens of the first-person plural pronoun *hum* in this corpus and no token of the first- person singular pronoun *main* (I).

Reema never used the feminine gender marking for her guru; instead, she uses the masculine gender marker. In example 136, she uses the singular masculine gender with the possessive pronoun for her guru. In examples 137, 138, 139, 140, she uses the singular masculine gender for her guru at verb position (*bolt-a, kert-a, dayt-a krt-a*).

136. Woh **hamar-aa** jo guru hay
   Hedge our 1.PP.sg.mas. hedge guru Aux.
   Our guru

137. Woh **bolt-a** hay apki marzi hay
   He says **Verb.sg.mas** Aux. your will is
   He says it is your will (wish)

138. Aik aik guru dance **krt-a** hay
   One by one guru dance do **Verb.sg.mas** Aux.
   (every) guru dance one by one

139. Saal saal kay bad hamar-a guru hum ko bhaj **dayt-a** hay
   Every year after our guru us send **Verb.sg.mas** Aux.
   Our guru sends us every year

140. saraa paysa kharch hota hay kuch guru **krt-a** hay
   all money spent prest.sg.mas. some guru do **Verb.sg.mas** Aux.
   all money that is spent, some of it is spent by the guru

Talking about her guru Reema says: *Hum dakhtay hain na apnay guru ko aur uskey "giryay" ko tu hamra dil he nae krta, woh apass ma jhagertay hain, kabi koi baat kerty hain kabi koi.* When we see our guru and his friend (*girya*) then we do not wish to have girya. They fight with each other sometimes on this thing sometimes on another one.

In her interview she told us that *girya* is a male friend of trans individuals. In the examples above, she used the masculine gender for her guru. In example 141, she is using the singular first person masculine (*hamar-a*) and also the singular masculine gender at verb position for *girya* (friend). *Hamar-a* is here modifying *dost* which is masculine.

141. **Hamar-a**   aik   **dost**   **hot-a** hay   **girya**
     We 1.Pr.sg.mas.   one   friend   Pres.sg.mas girya
     We have one friend girya

```
a bachpan say he assay hain. Pahli baat tu yeh k hum ksi say pyaar kartay nae, aga
a ksi say pyaar kartay nae, agar ho jay tu hamara jo bh kuch hay hum sub usko dayt
. Hamaray main, jab hum pyar krtay hain tu Larki zaat jassay shadi krti hay mard k
na apnay guru ko aur uskey giryay ko tu hamra dil he nae krta, woh apass ma gha
a k pher hum baat krtay hain. Assi liay tu krtay hain kay rakhni hay tu paki paki
Assi liay tu krtay hain kay rakhni hay tu paki paki dosti rakhen warna nae rakhen
insan pa aa jay. Woh boltay hain, Dil tu gadhy per aa jaay tu pari kia chez hay.
a boltay hain, Dil tu gadhy per aa jaay tu pari kia chez hay. Yahi baat hay bus. A
```

Image 5.24 shows 8 tokens of hedges tu in the Reema Corpus

5. C. Statistical Analysis
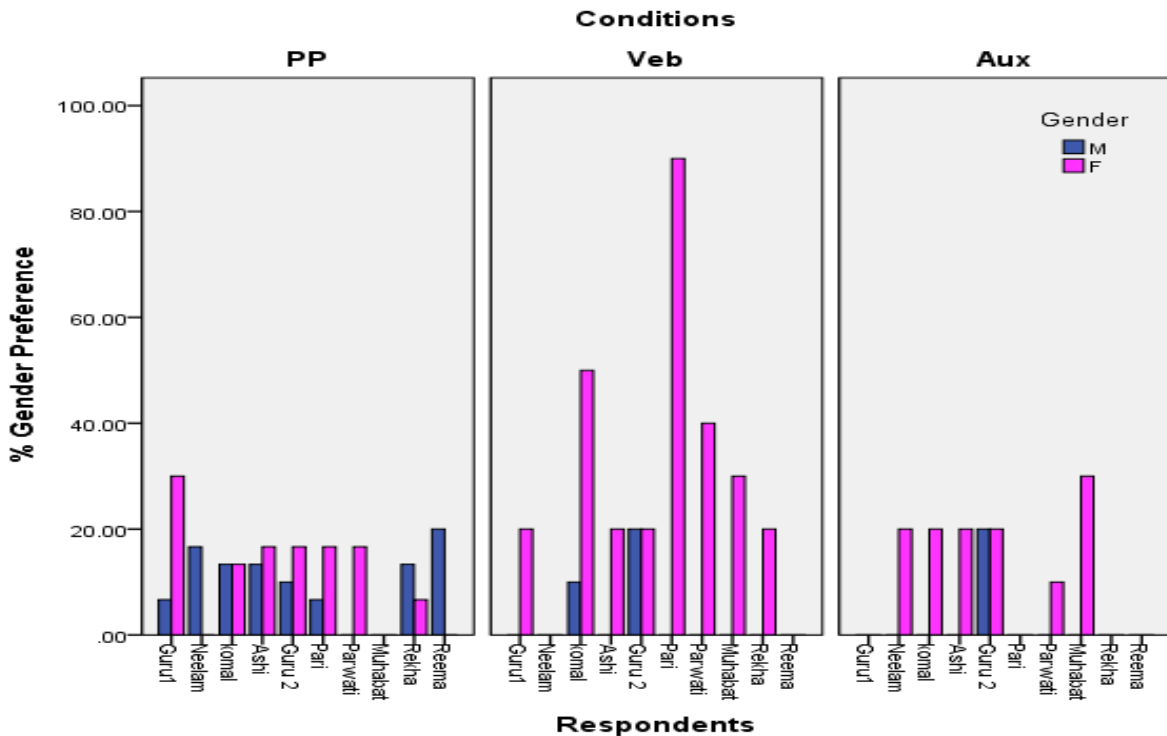
Figure 5.1 shows percentage of gender marking in three conditions: at possessive pronouns, at verb level and at auxiliary position.
The x-axis lists the names of respondents from the hijra community and the y-axis shows the percentage of gender preference.

Hijras prefer feminine gender marking for themselves; in all conditions respondents never preferred masculine gender marking for referring themselves. A notable point from the above discussion is that respondents never used the possessive pronouns for their parents or siblings but instead used them for their guru and for their fellow hijras. In the first condition, overall, there is high preference for feminine gender marking at possessive pronoun condition. Guru1, Ashi, Guru 2, Pari, and Parwati preferred feminine gender marking (at possessive pronoun condition). The feminine gender marker –i and -ee is used for the guru (*hamar-i, mer-I*; examples 44, 45 Ashi). In example 99, Parwati uses the feminine gender marker –ee for her fellow Hijras.

44. Jab **hamar-i** guru kahen **ga-e** ho
    When **PP.sg.fem** guru somewhere gone**Verb.fem** is
    When our guru is gone somewhere

45. **Mujhy** **meyr-ee** guru lay kay **aa-i th-ee**
    OP.Sg. PP.sg.fem guru bring CM came Verb.sg.fem **Aux.sg.fem**
    My guru has brought me

99. Yeh **meyr-ee** sahelian hain
    These my **PP.sg.fem** friends are
    These are my friends

However, there is higher rate of masculine gender marking by Neelam, Reema and Rekha. The reason is that these respondents did not use masculine gender marking for themselves, but they used it for their Guru. Except for Reema, Rekha and Neelam, all respondents used feminine gender markers for their Guru. For instance, Neelam uses the masculine gender marker -aa for her previous guru at possessive pronoun level *meyraa (**Meyr-aa** Guru fout ho gaya wa, Uskay bad*

meyr-aa yeh Guru hay, Jo **meyr-aa** pahly Guru fout hoa) but the feminine gender marker for her current guru at verb level (examples 17, 18, 19).

17. Aesy   **hamar-i**   guru   izzat qader   **kert-i**   hay
    Likewise   **1PP. Pl.fem** guru   respect   do **Verb.sg.fem**   is
    Likewise guru respects us

18. Achay   bury   ki   tameez   guru   **dayt-ee**   hay
    Good   bad   of   knowledge   guru   gives Verb.sg.fem   is
    Guru gives knowledge about good and bad

19. Yeh   bohat **ach-i**   hay
    It   **very**   nice **Adj.sg.fem**   **is**
    (It) is very nice

Similarly, Reema and Rekha used the masculine gender marker at possessive pronoun condition for their Guru (examples Rekha 125, 126, 131, Reema 136) but they do not use it for their parents, siblings or relatives.

125.Ab   jo   **hamar-a**   guru   hay
    Now   hedge our   guru   Aux.
    The guru we have now

126.Jo   **hamar-a**   bara   guru   hay
    Who   our **PP.sg.mas**   older guru   Aux.
    The one who is our older guru

131. Jab   woh   **meyr-aa**   guru   fout   ho **gay-a**   na
     When he   my PP.sg.mas guru   die   will Verb.sg.mas   hedge

136.Woh   **hamar-aa**   jo   guru   hay
    Hedge our 1.PP.sg.mas.   hedge   guru   Aux.
    Our guru

Overall, there is a higher preference for feminine gender marking at possessive pronoun condition.

There is higher preference for feminine gender marking at verb position (20, 0, 50, 20 70, 90, 40, 30, 20, 0 % respectively) and at Auxiliary position (0, 20, 20, 20, 10, 0, 10, 30, 0, 0 % respectively) almost by all respondents. The higher rate of gender marking was observed at verb level as compared to the other two conditions. The respondents preferred the feminine gender marker at verb level and at auxiliary position while referring to themselves.

5. D. Discussion

The corpus analysis above demonstrates the discursive performance of feminism by hijras in various ways. Although all human beings experience what Jacques Lacan has termed "lack-in-being" (see Chapter 4) the quest for "want-to-be" and lack-in-being is manifested in hijras more rigorously than in the rest of the Pakistani population. They try to fill the void in their being by performing gender linguistically. But there is no guarantee that what they are performing is closer to their true self. The self which they are exhibiting has come to them from various sources, through previous generations, through history and through the discourse of Others. In the beginning (before the Mughal empire), they were perhaps gender-neutral. But with the passage of time, they were taught to be either males or females. As Gannon pointed out:

> The hijra were reported to have a variable relationship to the gendered nature of clothing. In the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, this class of persons was depicted as wearing cloths attributed to both males and females. However, in the nineteenth century, this portrayal changed such that they were dressed in only women's cloths. (Gannon 158)

Clothing have been associated with identity. The pre-modern societies have fixed dress codes for males and females. Violation of dress code, affixed gender behaviors and styles was strictly unacceptable for them. Hijras have been struggling to adopt a gender neutral position, but failing in these attempts they resort to feminine one, instead of the masculine gender position.

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Similar kind of order is evident in their language preferences (section 5 A.). They prefer the neutral pronouns, if the neutral pronouns are not available, they prefer the feminine pronouns, and if both of these options are not available to them, they resort to masculine pronouns. This enactment of feminine style, language and clothing emerges in response to a strong desire to negate masculine gender identity. Keeping in view the above linguistic and corpus analysis, this study recommends the inclusion of gender neutral pronouns in Urdu language. Due to the limitation of time and the complexity of Urdu language structure-where gender is marked at verb position, at adjective position, at possessive pronouns and at genitives-the present study could not suggest the gender neutral pronouns. However, it recommends the future researchers, language planners and policy makers to focus on the development of non-gendered pronouns and inclusion strategies.

Though many Hijras would say that they are neither males nor females, but at the same time they do perform feminism discursively. It is because they are taught to think in terms of gender through the discourse of Others. The West has provided gender-variant people with more categories to choose from; they may be gay, lesbian or queer (See Chapter 1) but may not live without any gender. So, under the influence of gendered discourse, hijras also have to live their life in either this form of gender or that form of gender but not outside the gender. Human beings are burdened to fix themselves in categories provided by the discourse of the Others. It is because the subjects are taught to think of their "self" in terms of gender. The categories which emerged to manage social difference in the name of recognition have not only littered the gender and sexuality spectrum but also added more complexity to it.

As for as, the issue of identity is concerned, it is not possible for subjects to achieve full identity because the subject tries to gain stable identity by means of language. On the other hand, language-the symbolic order is itself lacking in nature and cannot capture the totality of the subject.

The subject is born into the language of Others and language constitutes the discourse of the Other: "The Other being a pre-given structural site that proceeds the birth of the subject" (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 155). For instance, the subject comes first into being through this language of the Other. Language has a preinscribed position within the symbolic order for the child before its birth. When the child comes into the world, he or she takes up a place in the language by acquiring a proper name and by submitting to a position in the symbolic order, which opens up the possibility of subjective recognition for him/her.

> The Other precedes the subject. The Other as the locus of the language, the Other who speaks precedes the subject and speaks about the subject before his birth. (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 43)

This is a preinscribed position that one did not choose for oneself just as one does not choose one's place in the kinship structure. Barnard explains the Lacanian concept of symbolic order as:

> The symbolic order is both the particular linguistic system into which the subject is born (the language of "others") and, more abstractly, language defined by its basic algorithmic and "law like" functioning (language as "Other"). As it is first mediated by the child's "others," language constitutes what Lacan calls the "discourse of the Other"; as it is itself lacking in an origin, Lacan refers to language as simply "Other". (Barnard 72)

The lack of identity, division of subject and the split of subjectivity are caused by subject's submission to language. Because the language is itself lacking in nature, the subject is unable to attain full representation. Barnard puts it as:

> it is this taking up of one's pre-inscribed position within the "Other" of language that constitutes an original division or "split" in subjectivity between the subject "*in*" language (the ego, in psychoanalytic parlance) and the subject "*of* " language (the *subject*). This alienation or *lack* that constitutes the subject is the result of the impossible necessity of the subject's coming into being through submitting to representation in the "foreign" structure of language (Barnard 73).

Therefore, One can never encounter a self having exact discernible limits or form but only with the fragments of self. Self-division emerges from the logical disjunction between the order of

satisfaction and the order of representation. The satisfaction process links body to experience and the representation process initiates communication and inter-subjectivity (Malone & Friedlander 2000: 12). The subject is disturbed because of being dissatisfied with all of the experiences and engaged in a never-ending process of representation and communication. The subject keeps on amending the self-representation based on previous experiences, judgments, and perceptions. Hence, one can never come up with a determinate representation of the self. For Lacan, self-division is a systematic, organized and repetitive function of subject which operates the subject, the subject keeps on filling this lack but the alienation[84] and lack returns back for repairing. It follows that, "Therein lies the twist whereby separation represents the return of alienation. For the subject operates with his own loss, which brings him back to his point of departure" (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 272). All forms of the subjects' manifestations of the self are in a transitional state that divides the subject into fragments. Thus, the subject never attains the state of a unified whole: "A subject that by being essentially split and alienated becomes the locus of an impossible identity, the place where a whole politics of identification takes place" (Stavrakakis 13).

The division or split causes conflict in the subject. The theories of subjectivity and discourse aim to resolve the conflicts that cause various kinds of suffering to human beings. According to Lacan, what causes the split in the subject is the division between the biological human organism and the socially, linguistically constructed human subject (Bracher, 190). Lacan describes the function of the gaze in splitting the subject. The gaze makes the subject feel the presence of others who are looking at him or her. It creates a bipolar split in the subject, and as a

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[84] Lacan defines alienation as "is the fact that the subject, having no identity, has to identify with something". (Feldstein, Fink, and Jaanus 30)

result, the subject feels lack-in-being. The subject then analyzes his or her experience in the symbolic order to negotiate the lack-in-being. This gaze influences the subject and produces "counter desires" to delete or omit or ignore the lack (Berressem, 168). Thus, the subject cannot be wholly represented in the Other. There is a "bipolar reflexive relation" between the human being and the world; the subject knows that the universe is looking at him/her and he also knows that some part of his/her being is looking at his/her self. Every time the subject encounters the gaze, he or she faces a "psychic rupture" that causes lack-in-being (Berressem, 168). It is the gaze of Other which makes the subject feel lack of identity. A positive gaze of Others may contribute in the development of positive subjects, and this positive gaze of Others can be achieved through innovative and novel kind of media discourse-a discourse which aims at deconstructing fixed gender roles, stereotypes and patriarchal structures of society. As Lacan suggests, that in order to achieve the de-alienation of the subject, one must understand the meaning of the discourse:

> It is therefore always in the relation between the subject's ego (*moi*) and the 'I' (*je*) of his discourse that you must understand the meaning of the discourse if you are to achieve the de-alienation of the subject. (Lacan, Écrits, Trans. Sheridan 67).

This means that subjects keep on reorganizing their self-expression/self-representations over and over again in the pursuit of identity. Subjects' identity is achieved and suspended simultaneously. Stavrakakis explains the connection between identity and subjectivity as:

> The subject is always attempting to cover over this constitutive lack in the level of representation, through the continuous identification acts. On the contrary, it is this same lack the characteristic mark of subjectivity. Which makes necessary the constitution of every identity through a process of identification: one needs to identify with something because there is an originary insurmountable lack of identity. (Laclau, 3 qtd. in Stavrakakis 35)

 It is this lack which makes the achievement of ultimate identity desirable for the subject. Stavrakakis maintains that attainment of full identity is impossible to achieve because the language cannot capture "the totality and singularity of the real body" (29). The subjects are unable to

represent themselves fully due to lack in the symbolic order. The failure of these attempts maintains the desire of 'want-to-be' alive during the whole journey of life. Stavrakakis puts it as:

> It is this constitutive impossibility that, by making full identity impossible, makes identification possible, if not necessary . . . what we have is only attempts to construct a stable identity, either on the imaginary or the symbolic level, through the image or the signifier. The subject of lack emerges due to the failure of these attempts. What we have then . . . is not identities but identifications, a series of failed identifications, or rather a play between identifications and its failure, a deeply political play (Stavrakakis 29).

This lack can only be filled through the process of identification by analyzing the subjects sociopolitical positioning within the discursive and intersubjective networks. This study attempts to provide the hijras' positioning and an identification of lack-of-being within the discursive and sociopolitical contexts (see. Section 4.A and 4.B). As Stavrakakis suggests:

> Since, this lack can only be filled by socio-political objects of identification. The point here is that analytic theory is not only concerned with the lack but also with what attempts to fill this lack: 'Psychoanalysis is otherwise directed at the effect of discourse within the subject'. (Stavrakakis 37)

The corpus analysis and above discussion shows that lack of language causes lack of representation, lack of identity and consequently, the split in subjectivity. The inclusion of gender neutral pronouns seems plausible and appropriate remedy in this context, because fixing this lack in language can have positive effects on hijras and trans individuals' identity and subjectivity. It would be helpful in changing the gaze and behavior of Others towards them.

In short, one can never achieve a unified and stable identity; however, identities can be reworked, transformed and reconstructed. For instance, the construction of eunuchs as Khawaja Saras by the Mughal emperors who defined and designed their social and political roles. Their identity was redesigned and reconstructed by British colonizers as hijra. The former had positive and prestigious status and later one have negative and unprivileged status (for detail see. Chapter 3, Section 3.A). Subjectivity theorists (Ashcroft 1994; Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1952, 1994; Parry

1987, 1994; Fieldhouse 1981; Dirks 1992; Slemon 1994: Wolfe 1999; Sartre, 2003; Leonard 2005; Werbner and Stoller 2002.) suggest that although it is very difficult to elude the influence of those forces that produce them but it is possible to retract them. Therefore, it is possible to transform hijras into subjects with positive identity by reconstructing and reshaping their subjectivity through innovative discourse and novel ideologies. The reconstruction processes might be slow but it is not impossible to achieve this.

The next chapter demonstrates how hijras maintain the difference between self and others by using Hijra Farsi code switching and code-mixing techniques. It shows how they exhibit their linguistics identity and construct self-Other boundaries by employing Hijra Farsi codes.

CHAPTER 6

HIJRAS' IDENTITY NEGOTIATION VIA HIJRA FARSI CODE-SWITCHING

Language helps to define and structure the identity of individuals of a society. Linguistic identities are formed through linguistic devices by identifying self and others. The construction of 'we and they' is essential for creating self-identity. Therefore, Hijras negotiate their identity through Hijra Farsi code mixing. The concept of we-code and they-code was introduced by Gumpers in the context of code switching.

> The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we-code' and become associated with the in-group and in-formal activities, and for the majority language to serve as 'they-code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (Gumperz, 66)

Hijras exhibit peripheral behavior by negotiating their identity through code switching and code mixing linguistic techniques. The major function of code switching is identity negotiation. Hijras use Hijra Farsi as we-code to establish their in-group solidarity. They use the other regional languages as 'they-code' to establish out-group relations. We-code and they-code signal the group identity. Code-switching regulates the multiple memberships of the speakers: the speakers strategically negotiate their social identity through code switching and code mixing. The speakers have choices to move around more central linguistic forms (well-known forms) and less fluent linguistic forms (more peripheral forms). These choices are synchronized by their competence, conversational targets, conversational partner's role relationship and traditions. The speakers learn

how to use these codes by interaction with other speakers and through the media. The speakers learn with the course of time which identity will be assigned if one focuses on one or more codes in conversation. Myers Scottons developed markedness Model (1988) to explain the question why speakers use code switching and two languages instead of using one language throughout conversation. She assigned a set of RO (Rights and obligation set) to the different languages used in the code switching. Through the RO set, the languages are linearly linked to the identities. The speakers are well aware of these correlations between languages and identities. These correlations have been conventionalized through the socialization processes. Hence, the speakers select the most suitable option from the available choices that fits their conversational target. In this view, the monolingual speech designates the speakers membership of one identity category and code switching designates dual or multiple identity memberships. Therefore, hijras use Hijra Farsi code-switching and code-mixing as we-code to negotiate their plural identity.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 examines the controversial case of Hijras Farsi. Some scholars (Awan and Sheeraz) suggest that it is a separate language whereas others (Hall (2005:129 and Nagar, 2008: i)) suggest that it is merely a lexical code or code language respectively. The present study is in line with the assertions of Hall and Nagar that Hijra Farsi is not a separate language rather it is a case of code-switching and code-mixing. Hijras use the code-switching and code-mixing devices to construct solidarity and otherness while creating self-identity. Hijras use Hijra Farsi code mixing to create borders between self and others to solidify or alienate. Hijras use the inclusive and exclusive strategies to identify the boundaries between self and others.

There is no significant work available on transgender language in Pakistan. Awan and Sheeraz (2011) claim that there is a secret language spoken by the Hijra community known as

'Hijra farsi'[85]. It is a living language on the basis of its distinctive linguistics and social features. They argue that since both of these studies explored it only in relation to identity and sexuality their claim regarding its status might therefore be misleading. They applied Bell's seven criteria for language analysis. They found that Hijra Farsi contains its own vocabulary and is different from other languages on the basis of morphological and syntactical structure. But it has a small number of lexical items which is perhaps because of its limited usage. The claim that there exists a separate Hijra language is contradictory because it was not well researched and is therefore not based on any solid grounds. If it exists, it needs to be analyzed in detail on all linguistic levels, that is, morphologically, syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. The present study explores the exclusive lexical extensions used in the "translect" (Hijra Farsi) (for detail see. Zabus and Kumar Das, 2).

6.A. Analysis of Hijra Farsi

The following extracts are the responses of Khawja Saras about Hijra Farsi. They show how they learn Hijra Farsi, why they learn it, how they interact with each other. Some extracts From Nagar (2008) have also been quoted here because she conducted research on Kotis'[86] lifestyle and language. Kotis also share the same secret language as Hijra Farsi and are said to have learned this language from Hijras. Describing her early days in her field work Nagar writes:

> I was told in Delhi earlier that Kotis had a secret language. Arif ji, kaushik ji and I sat down
>
> to talk about why I was at the Lucknow office. I did not have a good answer, and I said I

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[85] It is important to note here that in Iran the name "Farsi" is used for the Persian language. But Hijra Farsi has no connection with the Persian Language.

[86] Kotis are male sex workers in India, who self-identify as kotis. They switch their identities between heterosexual males and koti.s

wanted to find out about the secret language of kotis. They suggest that the secret language Farsi was also shared by hijras and probably came to kotis from Hijras (Nagar, 62)

While conducting interviews about Hijra Farsi, Nagar (2008) explains why kotis learn Hijra Farsi and what the importance of this language to them is:

> A koti cannot perform in a lot of contexts if she does not know Farsi. In a lot of situations like in the cruising area, or within a group of other kotis, the use of Hindi does not provide a context in which the particular speech act could turn out to be felicitous. It is in this regard that the use of Farsi becomes important. Also, Farsi sets apart kotis from another identity which they are confused with gays. The use of Farsi gives kotis a distinct identity, which is distinct from that of the English speaking gay (Nagar 113)

The comparison of the present data of Hijra Farsi with Nagar's (2008) data sample of Hijra Farsi not only provides similarities in the code-mixing techniques and also suggests that the Hijras' Farsi in the Pakistani community is the continuation of Hijras' Farsi inherited from India because some lexical items are same as Indian Hijra Farsi and are still used with similar meanings like Cheesa (beautiful) etc.

Extract 1

Wh hamari zuban hay "Farsi" wh boltay hain hum aapis main. Kafi logon ko aati hay. Hum nay tiu aik code word bnayaa tha k koi tang kr raha ho tu uskay paas say agar jana hay tu apni zuban main baat kren. Wh ab sub duniya daaron ko bhi aa gae hay. Code main baat krtay hain laken ab bohat ziada log asaay hain jinko wh zuban ka pataa chaal gaya hay. Ab hum bolti nahi hain aurton ko bhi pataa chal gayaa hay. Admion ko bhi pata chaal gaya hay. Ab wh zuban hum bolti nahi hain. (Interview 6)

We have a language 'Farsi' we speak among us. Many people know this language. We made a code word that of somebody is teasing us we will talk in our language. But now the whole world knows this. (we) talk in code but now there are majority of people who know this language. Now we do not speak (in that language). Now the women and men, they all know (this language). We do not speak that language now.

Extract 2

Koi seekhnay wali baat nae hoti, jab main idher aai hon, yeh mery pass hain, appas ma koi hum nay baat ki hay na, ye iss say bari hay (pointing to her Cheela) na, agar isko samajh nae aaye ge u yeh poch lay ge, iska kia matlab hay. Jab koi naya lafz bolen gay tu ye poch lay ge. (Group discussion)

There is nothing to be learned in this, when I came here, they are with me, if we have talked with each other, she is older than her, if she could not understand something, she will ask, what is the meaning of this. When we will speak a new word then she will ask about it.

Similarly Nagar[87] (2008:113) explains how kotis learn Farasi[88] : "A young koti's entry into the community is fortified by her use of Farasi in appropriate contexts. Kotis use this 'special register' when they act in their role as kotis. Kotis learn to become and behave like kotis when they come into contact with other kotis. In a similar manner, kotis learn Farasi after they come in contact with other kotis or Hijras". On replying to the question, when you started meeting other kotis, when did you learn Farasi? A koti (E) replies:

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[87] Nagar 2008 studied language gender and identity -the case of Kotis in Lucknow, India.
[88] Nagar uses "Farasi" for Hijra Farsi

I learned Farasi by interacting with Hijras. I used to visit Hijras, sit with them, they would talk, this is called this and that is called that. Like I am standing here and some problem might emerge on the place then I will say 'kade karo', kade karo means go away from here. **Pato** also means go away form here. There are many purposes of one sentence. Like 'kade raho' also means do not move like women. This language is like this and it has to be learned by interacting with others. (Nagar, 113)

In my sample I also found the word "Pato" with the same meaning 'going away' as in Nagar's sample (2008), which shows that Hijra Farsi is transmitted from generation to generation from Indian hijras to Pakistani hijras. Hence they are "translects" (see Zabus and Kumar Das).

Hijras learn the vocabulary items by asking each other about the words and their meanings. A Koti (E) tells Nagar (2008) how she learned Farsi.

Like I know Farasi and I am speaking; now she asks me (pointing towards another Koti) what is the meaning of '**cheesa**', cheesa means good. Surila also means good. What is jholi, jholi means eye, what is natwachi, natwachi means nose.etc. Now she asks us such questions and settles these in her mind. This is how people learn (Nagar, 114)

In my sample I also found the word "cheesa" with the same meaning of 'good' as in Nagar's sample (2008).

Extract 3

In the present study Rekha (interview 9) explains very innocently that she has been with the guru for ten to twelve years and she does not know much Farsi but their guru knows it very well. She says that when she will get older she will be skilled in all Farsi (language).

Apass main farsi zuban boltay hain. Jassay *main ghar janaay lagi hon*, farsi main bolen gay *main khanay raman lagi aan*. *Main make up krnay lagi hon* tu siddha he bol dain gay k make up krnay klagi hon. *Larkay tang kr rahy hain* ko bolen gay *natay tang kr rahy hain*. Hamain itni farsi nae aati, jo hamara bara guru hay usko aati hay. Jab bary hun gay na tu sari farsi aaye ge hum ko. Hamary ko dass bara saal (10-12 years) ho gaye hain guru k pass. Hamaray guru jo hain na baray wh bachpan ma lay kay aa gaye they hum ko. Abe jo hamara guru hay na us kay pass dass, baraa (10-12 years) ho gaye hain (interview 9).

. We talk in 'Farsi' language with each other, like I am going home we will say in Farsi "*main khany raman lagi aan"*. If it is I am applying makeup, we will say it simply, I am applying makeup. If the boys are teasing (us), we will say *"naty tang kr rahy hain"*. We do not know much Farsi (language). Our older guru knows much (Farsi). When we get older we will know (Farsi language). We have spent 10 -12 years with the guru. (Interview 9)

Nagar (2008) also observed that some young kotis did not know much Farsi and it was claimed that they will learn it within a year very fast.

During field work I observed that some young kotis (ages 13-17) did not know much Farasi. According to the older kotis they were new in the community; nai nai bigdi hai. She has been initiated/spoiled lately. And this was the reason that they did not know Farasi, but it was also claimed that they would learn very fast and within a year they would pick up

'good' Farasi and become proficient in it. Contact with Hijras is not a condition for learning Farasi (Nagar, 113).

Extract 4

Pari says about Farsi that it is in fact composed of some code words. The code words were created to protect themselves from outsiders. If somebody is teasing them and they want to go away from them, then they can say this (to their fellow/friend) in their own language. But now the whole world knows this (Farsi)

Hum nay tu aik code word bnayaa tha k koi tang kr raha ho tu uskay paas say agar jana hay tu apni zuban main baat kren. Wh ab sub duniya daaron ko bhi aa gae hay (interview 6)

we have made a code word that if somebody is teasing us, and we want to go away from him/her, then we talk in our own language. But now the whole world knows this.

Nagar (2008) also has similar observations according to which Kotis speak Farsi to protect themselves from outsiders and police.

> I went to Lucknow in the summer of 2003 to study Farasi which I understood as a mixed language spoken by kotis to protect themselves from exposure to outsiders and from the police. (Nagar, 46)

6.A.1 Discussion-is Hijra Farsi a Language or not

In order to support their view Awan, and Sheeraz (2011) present three interviews of Reema, Kiran and Nazia who claim that Farsi is a separate language like all other regional languages. They use it as a code language and they even speak it at their home (Dera) with the guru.

> **Extract 1**: Farsi kia hae? Farsi ik zaban haegi jes tarah tusi urdu ich bolde-o, asi Punjabi bolde-an esi-trah farchi vi zaban hae-gi. (Awan, and Sheeraz 132)

What is Farsi? Farsi is a language just as you say something in Urdu, we speak Punjabi, in the same way Farsi is also a language.

Extract 2: samajh farsi meku tan andi-ay matlab thik-ay farsi samijh hik Pashto ay samaj asan bulesun tan tuhaku tan Pashto nai andi nan samajh sadi aprin hik boli ay. (Awan, and Sheeraz, 132)

You can say that I know how to speak Farsi, right, you can say that Farsi is like Pashto, when we will speak it, now you do not know how to speak Pashto, you can say we have our own language.

Extract 3: Nai nai hamari guru hum-ko mar mar ke hamara bera gharaq kr dete haen, hamen sab ko ghar man farsi he bolni parti hae, na bolen tu guru us ke pas danda hae na hum kese ni bolen gay farsi phir ye hamari apni zaban hae. guru bhi sai kehti hae zaban to apni sai hoti hae chahe jesi bhi ho. (Awan, and Sheeraz., 2011 : 132, 133)

No, no the guru beat us black and blue. We all have to speak Farsi at home. If we do not do so, the guru may beat us with a rod. Why won't we speak Farsi? This is our own language. Guru also rightly says one's own language is right no matter what type it is.

However, almost all of the Informants from the Hijra community (Lahore[89], Rawalpindi[90]) in present study denied that Farsi is a separate language. Some of the extracts from the interviews are as follows:

 Extract 1:

Nahi apni kahani nahi suna sakti Farsi zuban ma k main 8 saal ki the tu guru k pass aa gayee the, nahi assay nahi, wh maslan chand chezon ki alheda zuban hay. Wh chand kuch assay khas alfaz hain k maslan kay main nay ap kay pass jana hay tu main nay kahna hay k main paat ja rahi hon (pataan lagi aan) chand chezon kay code word hain , pori zuban nahi hay. Ab jesay larkay tang kr rahe hain tu kahnay hay k looray belay painday pain. Nahi sari zuban nahi hay. Yeh zuban guru

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[89] Lahore: city of Pakistan, the location of city is shown on the map in appendix.

[90] Rawalpindi

nay seekhai hay. Agar make up kerna hay tu kahna hay tarawaa krdi payee aan. Kapray pehannay hon tu kahna hay k firqa chis kren lagi aan (interview 6)

No, I cannot tell my story in 'Farsi' language, like I was 8 years old when I came to guru. No, not like that, it is only a language for a few things. They are a few special words, for example if I want to go to you then I will say "*main pat ja rahe hon*". They are code words for a few things. It is not a full language. Guru has taught us this language. If (I) am applying make up, I will say "*Tarawa kerdi payee aan*". If I am dressing then I will say "*firqa chis kern lagi aan"*.

Extract 2

Reema: Ay zuban nae hay, Zuban hondi tu pher ais trah hondi, jest rah tusi mery naal gaal ker rahy ho, tay main tuhaday nal. Aye sirf chand lafaz nay jehray asi aik dosray nal gaal baat wich islamal kerday aan. (Interview 11)

This is not language. If it was a language it would have been like you are talking to me and I am talking to you. These are only a few words that we use while talking to each other.

Extract 3

Nai appas main koi khas zuban nae boltay, jassay sub logon ki zuban hay wasy hamari zuban hay. jo Punjabi hay wh Punjabi bolta hay, jo Saraiki hay wh apni Saraiki bolta hay, jo urdu hay wh urdu bolta hay. (Interview 1)

No, we do not talk to each other in any special language. We also have the same language like other people. The one who is Punjabi speak in Punjabi. The one who is Saraiki speaks Saraiki language and the one who is the Urdu speaker speaks the Urdu language.

Extract 4

ghar main jassay ap log baat ker rahy hain, is trah krtay hain baten, jab koi aa jata hay tu jis k samnay hum nay baat nae krni hoti , pher is trah kay jumlay boltay hain k yaar anj nae anj. Appas ma Punjabi boltay hain. (group discussion)

We talk at home like you are talking. When somebody comes and we do not want to talk in front of him or her then we speak sentences like xxx. We talk in Punjabi (regional language) with each other.

Extract 5

Hum nay tu aik code word bnayaa tha k koi tang kr raha ho tu uskay paas say agar jana hay tu apni zuban main baat kren. Woh ab sub duniya daaron ko bhi aa gae hay (interview 6)

We have only made a code word that if somebody is teasing and we want to leave then we talk in our language. Now all the worldly people know this (Language).

6.A.2 Focus Group Discussion about Hijra Farsi

A detailed group discussion about Hijra Farsi (language) also shows that Hijra Farsi is not a language rather it is composed of some code words and vocabulary items that the Hijra community uses when they do not want others to listen to their conversation or keep something secret from others. The present study is in line with Nagar's 2008 findings according to which Hijra Farsi is not a language but is rather constituted of some vocabulary items and code words.

Group Discussion[91] about Hijra Farsi

1   G: Koi seekhnay wali baat nae hoti, jab main idher aai hon, yeh mery pass hain, appas ma koi hum nay baat ki hay na, ye iss say bari hay (pointing to her Cheela) na, agar isko samajh nae aaye get u yeh poch lay ge, iska kia matlab hay. Jab koi naya lafz bolen gay tu ye poch lay ge.

G: there is nothing to learn. When I came here, they are with me. When we talk to each other, she is older than her (pointing to her cheela), if she could not understand something, she will ask what the meaning of this word is? When we will speak a new word, she will ask about it.

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[91] See the detailed discussion in Appendix

2	G:Ye tu khandani baat chal rahe hay, hum logon ko nae pata k guru nay kahan say seekha hay.	G: this is family heritage. We do not know from where guru has learnt (Farsi).
3	S: pani ko kia kahtay hain	S: what do you call water
4	G: pani he kahtay hain	G: we say it water
5	S: acha pani pee rahe hon isko kia bolen gay?	S: ok, I am drinking water, how will you say this?
6	G: kuch nae , bus pani pee rahe hon bus	G: nothing, same I am drinking water.
7	S: tu sari wh zuban nae boltay app, thori thori boltay hain?	S: so you don't speak the whole language, you speak a little?
8	G: ghar main jassay ap log baat ker rahy hain, is trah krtay hain baten, jab koi aa jata hay tu jis k samnay hum nay baat nae krni hoti, pher is trah kay jumlay boltay hain k yaar anj nae anj. Appas ma Punjabi boltay hain.	G: we talk at home the same way you speak. When somebody comes and we do not want to talk in front of him/her. Then we speak sentences like this. We speak Punjabi (Language) with each other.

6. A.3 Hijra Farsi –A Case of Code-Mixing

According to the definition, code-mixing is the mixing of vocabulary items or codes from two or more languages in a speech (for detail see. Myers- Scotton's Markedness model of code switching, 1998: 4)[92]. The Markedness model explains the choice of one linguistic variety over the other. The scholars adopt specific definitions of code-switching and code-mixing depending on the subfields e.g. linguistics, education theory or communication. However, I use the term code-mixing to refer to all cases where lexical items appear in the base language (dominant language) framework. I avoid using the term code-switching for the general process of mixing. Code-switching occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages or language varieties, in the context of

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[92] Myers-Scotton, C. (Ed.). (1998). *Codes and consequences: Choosing linguistic varieties*. Oxford University Press.

a single conversation. So, there are two types of processes involved: alternation and insertion. The insertion process is involved in code-mixing, while alternation is in code-switching.

Hijra Farsi is basically a type of code-mixing. These are old vocabulary items transferred from one generation to the next generation, from Indian hijras to Pakistani hijra communities. The whole data collected from Lahore city shows lexical code-mixing, whereby a single constituent is inserted into a frame provided for by the matrix language[93].

1. Ay   **lori** **chissi** ay   (HF)
    ye   larki   khobsorat   hay   (URDU)
    This   girl   beautiful   is (English glossing)
    This girl is beautiful

There are only two lexical items of Hijra Farsi in this whole sentence (lori, chissi). Lori (girl) is a noun word while chissi is an adjective item inserted in the base language-the Punjabi language, that is, a Pakistani and Indian regional language. Hijra Farsi does not have any sentence structure of its own. The code mixing is at subject level and at adjective level in the sentence.

2. Ay   lori   **beli**   ay   (HF)
    ye   larki   badsorat   hay   (URDU)
    This   girl   ugly   is (English glossing)
    This girl is ugly

Only one constituent[94] of Hijra Farsi (beli) is inserted into the matrix language (Punjabi Language) at adjective level.

3. Inna   noon **khomar**   nal   lao (HF)
    in   ko   lift   na   karo (URDU)

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[93] In code-switching studies, the dominant language is often called the matrix language, into which the elements from the embedded language are inserted.
It is mostly assumed that the way in which languages may be combined within a syntactic unit is such that language A is dominant and language B (embedded language) is inserted (in the form of a single word or of a larger constituent) into the grammatical frame defined by Language A (Matrix language).
[94] In syntactic analysis a constituent is a word or group of words that function as a single unit within a hierarchical structure.

Don't respond to them/ talk to them

A single lexical item of Hijra Farsi (khomar) is inserted at verb level in the base language

(Punjabi Language).

4. **Neharo**   ty   **girya** rozana aa   janday aan (HF)
    Mian   aur   bewi   rozana aa   jaty aan (URDU)
    wife and husband come daily (English)

5. **Girya** aa jaway **neharo** na aaway (HF)
    mian aa jay , bewi na aaye   (URDU)
    Husband may come, wife should not come
    (English)

6. **Neharo**   kolon sharam   aandi
    wife   say   sharam   aati hay
    feel shy infront of wife

Examples 4, 5 and 6 have only two lexical items of Hijra Farsi (neharo = wife, girya= husband).

These two items are embedded into the Punjabi Language where Punjabi is serving as a Matrix

Language.

7. Abhi **jhamkola** dakho gay (HF)
    abhi dance dakho gay   (URDU)
    (would you) like to see dance now (English)

In Example 7 one Lexical item (jhamkola, dance, noun) is inserted in the base language, Urdu.

8. Main **trawa** kr   lea   aay   (HF)
    main   tyar ho   gai   hon   (URDU)
    I am done with makeup   (English)

9. Main   **trawa**   krn   lagi   aan   (HF)
     main   make up   krnay lagi   hon   (URDU)
    I am going to wear makeup   (English)

In examples 8 and 9 the Matrix language is again Punjabi and the lexical item trawa meaning

"make" is used as a noun in the sentence.

10. **Firqa**   **chis**   kren   lagi   aan   (HF)
     kapry   phennay   Verb lagi   hon   (URDU)

going to wear clothes (English)

Firqa (noun) means "dress" and chiss (verb) means "to wear."

Two lexical items Firqa (noun) and Chis (verb) are mixed with the Punjabi base Language.

11. **Konda**   pan   lagy   aan   (HF)
     Khana   khany lagy   hain   (Urdu)
     (We are) about to have lunch/dinner (English)

Only one constituent of Hijra Farsi (konda = lunch/dinner, noun) is embedded in the Punjabi

Language in example 11.

12. Main   **khol**   tay   **wagen**   lagi   aan   (HF)
     main   ghar   Postposition   jany   lagi   hon   (Urdu)
     I am about to go home   (English)

Two constituents of Hijra Frasi are inserted in the matrix language Punjabi. In example 12, khol

(home), noun, wagen (going) is used as a verb. The code is mixed at noun level and at verb level.

13. **Lory belay**   panday   paaen (HF)
     larky   tang   kr rahy   hain   (URDU)
     boys are making mischiefs (English)

Two lexical items of hijra Farsi (lory = boys, belay = making mischiefs) are embedded at noun

and verb level in Punjabi where Punjabi is acting as a matrix language and Hijra Farsi is serving

as an embedded code for code mixing.

14. Main **khany raman**   lagi   aan   (HF)
     Main   ghar   jany   lagi   hon   (Urdu)
     I am about to go home   (English)

The base language is again Punjabi in example 14 and two lexical items of Hijra Farsi Khany

(home) and raman (going) are embedded at noun and verb level in it.

15. **Naty**   tang   kr rahy   hain   (HF)
     larky   tang   kr rahy   hain   (Urdu)
      boys are making mischiefs   (English)

Code-mixing is done at subject level. The lexical item **Naty** is inserted in the matrix language, Urdu.

16. **Loriay**   tang   kr   rahy hain   (HF)
    larky   tang   kr   rahy hain   (Urdu)
    boys are making mischiefs   (English)

The Urdu language is serving as a base language in example 16 and the lexical item **Loriay** from Hijra Farsi is embedded in it at subject position.

17. **giryan**   nay   **jog**   utar   di   (HF)
    larkon   na   baal   utar   diay   (Urdu)
    boys cut (my) hair (English)

Giryan= boys, friend jog = hair

Giryan is in fact the male boyfriend or partner of a Hijra. In example 17 two lexical items giryan (boy, partner, husband) and Jog (hair) are embedded in the Urdu language.

18. **Jog**   **hanon** aay (HF)
    baal   choty hain   (Urdu)
    I have (short hair)   (English)

Two lexical items Jog (hair) and hanon (short) are inserted at noun and verb position in the Punjabi language.

19. Mano **teto**   day day (HF)
    Mera mobile day do   (Urdu)
    give me my mobile   (English)

In example 19 the lexical item Teto (Mobile) is mixed with the Urdu language.

The data collected from Islamabad and Rawalpindi also show a pattern of code-mixing similar to the former one collected from Lahore city. It shows the insertion of a few lexical items in the matrix language. The matrix language is again Punjabi and Urdu. Despite of the fact that in

Islamabad and Rawalpindi there were many respondents whose L1 was the Pashto language, they were embedding the Hijra Farsi lexical codes in the Punjabi or Urdu language.

20. **Firqa**   **chis**   kren   lagi -aan
    Karpray   **pahen** rahe   hon
    (I) am wearing clothes

There are two lexical items of Hijra Farsi (firqa, chis). Firqa is a noun word meaning "dress" and chis is a verb meaning "wearing." (This has already been argued; avoid repetitious style)The code is mixed with the Punjabi language.

21. Main   **jhamkola**   ker   rahi   hon
    Main   **dance**   ker   rahe   hon
    I am dancing

In example 21 a single constituent **Jhamkola** (noun) is inserted in the Urdu language.

22. Main   function   pa   **wag**   rahe   hon
    Main function   pa   **jaa**   rahe   hon
    I am **going** to attend a function

In example 22 a single constituent **wag** is embedded at verb level in the Urdu language.

23. Mujhy   **dangor**   tang   ker   rahy   hain
    Mujhy   **police** waly   tang   ker   rahy   hain
    The **police** is teasing me

In example 23 a single lexical item **dangor** (noun) is inserted in the base language, Urdu.

24. Aye baji   **kary**   kraa ja
    Behan   **baat khatam**   ker do
    Sister please, **close the matter**

In example 24 a single constituent **kary** is inserted at verb level in the Punjabi matrix language.

25. Yeh   mery   **soday** ka   **sorma** aaye
    Yeh   mery   **abu**   ka   **bhai** hay
    He is the brother of my father

In example 25 two noun constituents **soday** and **sorma** are inserted in the Punjabi matrix

language.

26. Aaye   meri   **sormi**   lagdi   aaye
    Yeh   meri   **bhean**   lagti   hay
    She is my **sister**

In example 26 a noun constituent **sormi** is embedded in the Punjabi language.

27. Yeh   meri   **sodi** ki   **sodi** aaye
    Yeh   meri   **ami**   ki   **ami**   hay
    She is the mother of my mother

In example 27 a noun constituent sodi ki sodi (grandmother) is inserted in the Punjabi language.

28. Aaye   meray   **sormay**   di   **neharo**   aaye
     Yeh   mery   **bhai**   ki   **bagum**   hay
     She is the wife of my brother

In example 28 two noun constituents **sormay** and **neharo** are embedded in the regional matrix
language, Punjabi.

29. Main **nerka**   lenay ja rahe   hon
    Main **doodh**   lenay ja rahe   hon
    I am going to bring **milk**

In example 29 a single lexical item doodh (noun) is inserted in the base language, Urdu.

30. **Sormi**   **panki**   **konday**   gee
    Bahen   **roti**   **khay**   gee
    Sister would you like to **eat roti**

In example 30 three lexical items are inserted in the base language Urdu. There are two noun constituents **sormi** and **panki** and a verb constituent **konday**.

31. Main   **shomans**   day   **kholon**   **wagen**   lagi aan
    Main   **dunia daron** kay   **ghar**   **Janay**   lagi hon
    I am going to the house of **worldy people**

In example 31 three constituents are embedded in the matrix language, Punjabi. Two lexical items **shomans** and **kholon** are noun words and one lexial item **wagan** is a verb item.

32. Kia   **segha** hay
    Kia   **baat**   hay
    What's the matter

In example 32 a single noun constituent **segha** is inserted in the base language, Urdu.

33. Yeh   hamaraa   **girya** hay
    Yeh   hamaraa   **shoher** hay
    He is my **husband**

In example 32 a single noun constituent **girya** is embedded in the base language, Urdu.

34. **Karay** kra jaa
    Abe baat **khatam karo**
    Close the matter now

In example 34 a single constituent **karay** is inserted in the matrix language, Punjabi.

35. Uska   **khomar**   dekha hay
    Uska   **chehra**   dekha hay
    Did you see her **face**

In example 35 a single noun constituent **khomar** is embedded in the base language, Urdu.

36. Yeh   meri   **chahal**   hay
    Yeh   meri   **chapel**   hay
    This is my shoe

In example 36 a single noun constituent **chahal** is inserted in the base language Urdu.

37. **Chanda**   day do
    Roti   day do
    Give me roti

In example 37 a single lexical item **chanda** (noun) is embedded in the base language, Urdu.

38. Usay   **chasti**   day do
    Usay   **cha-aay**   day do
    Give her tea

In example 38 a single noun constituent **chasti** is inserted in the base language, Urdu.

39. Mery   **thapar**   wapis ker do
    Mery   **passay**   wapis ker do
    Please, give me my **money** back

In example 39 a single noun constituent **thapar** is embedded in the base language Urdu.

40. Chalo **pato**   naan
    Ab ghar **chalo**
    Now please, let's **go**

In example 40 a single constituent of Hijra farsi **Pato** is inserted at verb level in the Urdu language.

41. Mujhy **thapar** do
    Mujhy **passy** do
    Please, give me **money**

In example 41 a single noun constituent **thapar** is embedded in the base language, Urdu.

42. Apka   **khomar**   **bela**   hay
    Apka   **chehra**   **badsorat**   hay
    Your **face** is **ugly**

In example 42 two lexical items **khomar** and **bela** are inserted in the base Urdu language.

Khomar is a noun word and **bela** is an adjective.

43. **Karay** kraao
    Chup karo

Please, **be quiet**

In example 43 a single noun constituent **karay** is used in the base language, Urdu.

44. Hum   nay   apnay **khol**   pa jana hay
    Hum   nay   apnay **ghar**   jana hay
    We have to go **back** home

In example 44 a single noun constituent **khol** is used in the base language, Urdu.

45. Apki   **chahaal**   **chissi**   hay
    Apki   **joti**   **pyari**   hay
    Your **shoe** is **beautiful**

In example 45 a noun constituent **chahaal** and an adjective constituent **chissi** is embedded in the

base language, Urdu.

46. Sano   tery   naal   **rotha** ho gya aaye
    Mujhy tum   say   **pyar** ho gya hay
    I fall in love with you

In example 46 a single noun constituent **rotha** is inserted in the regional matrix language

Punjabi.

47. Yeh   kapray **baseet**   hain
    Yeh   kapray **bury**   hain
    This dress is **not good**

In example 47 a single lexical item **baseet** is inserted at adjective level in the base language,

Urdu.

In sum, all of the above examples from hijra Farsi show that the base language is either

Punjabi or Urdu but these are only lexical items inserted in the base language from Hijra Farsi.

This shows that Hijra Farsi has no syntactic structure. The syntactic structure is provided by the

regional or national language.

6. A.4. Hijra Farsi- Discussion and Findings

Awan and Sheeraz (2011) challenge the assertions of Hall (2005) and Nagar (2008) according to which it is merely a lexical code or a code language respectively:

> The two linguistic features that kotis use are Farasi and feminine gender markings. Kotis use a code language which they call Farasi which is a mixture of Hindi grammar and vocabulary of an unknown source (Nagar, 2008: i).

> In addition, both groups[95] make use of a **secret lexical code** they call Farsi, a name that recalls the dominant language of the medieval Mughal courts. Although the Farsi of Kotis and Hijras is unrelated to Persian Farsi, its speakers conceptualize it as such, employing it in the construction of a historically authentic sexual identity (Hall 2005: 129).

Awan and Sheeraz claim that Hijra Farsi is not merely a code or mixture of codes but a language. Awan and Sheeraz (2011) analyze the Hijra Farsi both morphologically and syntactically. They claim that Hijra Farsi is a language. Now let's have a look at the arguments and examples they present to support their claim step by step.

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[95] Hijras and Kotis.

They claim that during their fieldwork they came to know about 1000 lexical items of Farsi but in their paper they presented only a few sentences and limited lexical items.

Table 1. Farsi Nouns[5]

Noun (Singular)	Masculine (M)/ Feminine (F)	Plural	English
Khombaṛ	M	Khomaṛ	Face
Nakṛa	M	Nakṛey	Nose
Chamṛri	F	Chamṛian	Eye
Dhhambṛa	M	Dhamṛey	Tummy
Dambṛi	F	Dambṛian	Tummy
Choochkey	M	Choochkey	Moustache
Reskey	M	Reskey	Pubic hair
Nejma	M	Nejme	Tooth
Chamki	F	Chamkian	Skin
Chhalka	M	Chhalkey	Breast
Chapti	F	Chaptian	The hole of a hijra after castration similar as vagina
Leekaṛ	M	Leekaṛ	Penis
Vatal	F	Vatal	Hips
Seepo	F	Seepo	Vagina

Image: The table above "Farsi Nouns" is presented by Awan and Sheeraz (129) for the morphological analysis of Farsi (language)

These are lexical items and Nouns that they presented for morphological analysis. All these items are names of body parts and the morphemes (-ey and -ian) in these items used for pluralization are morphemes of the Urdu language like Prinda, Prindey (birds), Ankh, ankhian (eyes) etc.the morphemes -ey and –ian are used for pluralization in the Urdu language.

1   Nakṛa   Nakṛey   NOSE

2.   Chamṛri   Chamṛian   EYES

It would have been better if they had presented some words for morphological analysis instead of parts of the body since they had come across 1000 lexical items. They claim that this list shows

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that Farsi nouns are not part of Hindi or Urdu, but it seems that Hindi and Urdu have something to do with these Farsi Lexical items.

Noun (Singular)	Masculine/Fe minine	Plural	English
Khalki	F	Khalkian	Shoe
Firka	M	Firkey	Women's wear
Kotki	F	Kotkian	Men's wear
Santli	F	Santlian	Shawl

Image: The table above "Footwear and garments" is presented by Awan and Sheeraz (130) for morphological analysis of Farsi (language)

These are again lexical items, nouns with morphemes –ey and –ain used for pluralization.

Table 6 Farsi Syntax

Language	Sentences
Farsi	*Hamala tamala nal rootha krendi ey.* S O V
English	I (female) love you. S V O
Punjabi	*Maen terey nal piar kerdi wan.* S O V
Siraiki	*Maen teday nal piar krendi aan.* S O V
Urdu	*Maen tum se piar kerti hun.* S O V

Awan and Sheeraz (131) claim that Farsi has a syntactic level and it follows the general syntactic pattern of s+o+v.

Table 6 Farsi Syntax

Language	Sentences
Farsi	*Hamala tamala nal rootha krendi ev.* S O V
English	I (female) love you. S V O
Punjabi	*Maen terev nal piar kerdi wan.* S O V
Siraiki	*Maen teday nal piar krendi aan.* S O V
Urdu	*Maen tum se piar kerti hun.* S O V

The sentence Awan and Sheeraz (130) present to show the syntactic structure of Hijra Farsi language is in fact following the structure of the Siraiki language. The above sentence has three Hijra Farsi code words (Hamala = I, tamala = you, rootha = love).

Awan and Sheeraz claim that Hijra Farsi also has pronouns like 'Hamala for I' and 'Tamala for you'. But the data in the present study shows that there are no pronouns for you and I in Hijra Farsi. They argue that hijras from D.g.khan[96] use the word "krendi" (Saraiki) due to the influence of the Saraiki language, a Pakistani regional language. While the hijras from Rawalpindi use the word "kerdi" (Punjabi) due to the influence of the Punjabi language a regional language. The influence of these two regional languages resulted in two varieties of the Hijra Farsi language. They assume that though Hijra Farsi borrows many expressions from other languages, it does not mean that it is merely a dialect or a mixture of other languages; rather it is a unique hidden language. The examples from present data clearly shows that Hijra Farsi is using the dominant languages as a base language or matrix language and is embedding a limiting number of lexical

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[96] City of Pakistan in Punjab

items in these languages for code-mixing. In other words, the whole syntactic structure Hijra Farsi is using is merely as borrowing. The sentences they presented to support their view are using the functional words (nal, kerndi ey) from the Saraiki language. . It also follows the structure of the Saraiki language. As they collected the data from the region (D.G.Khan) where Saraiki is the regional language, the data sample is composed of regional language structure and lexical items of Hijra Farsi. The present research data sample was collected from the region Lahore where Punjabi is spoken by a majority of people; the Hijra Farsi follows the structure of the Punjabi language with a mixture of lexical items from Hijra Farsi.

However, the present study does not agree with the findings of Awan and Sheeraz according to which Hijra Farsi is a unique and separate language. We suggest that these are code words and lexical items that are embedded in regional languages and follow the structure of regional languages. So, the hijras/Khawja Saras in Punjabi area embed these words in the Punjabi language because they belong to that area and speak the regional language. It is easy for them to learn some code words or limited vocabulary items and mix them with the regional language. Hijras/Khawja Saras living in the Saraiki area embed these words in the Saraiki language. Hijras/khawja Saras keep moving from one place to another. It is also possible that Farsi was deliberately created only as a list of 'limited lexical items' in order to use it in any language they want, since the purpose was to maintain secrecy. So, when they are in the Punjabi area, they use these lexical items in the Punjabi language and when they are in the Saraiki area they use them in the Saraiki language.

The present study suggests that Farsi lacks functional items and a grammatical structure of its own. Therefore, the Hijras in the Saraiki area (Punjab Pakistan) use the structure of the Saraiki language and mix the code words and lexical items from Hijra Farsi. Hijra Farsi actually is a list of lexical items created for the purpose of maintaining secrecy and protection from outward exposure. This

list of lexical items seems to have been created thousands of years before partition[97] because some lexical items (like Paten, and cheesa) are similar to Nagar's (2008) sample data collected at Lucknow (India) and the present study (Lahore Pakistan).

A recent study conducted on what Zabus and Kumar Das call "translects"[98] spoken among the hijras in India and Sangomas in South Africa shows that translects are composed of lexical items: "Words to refer to themselves, their body parts, sexual orientation, societal rituals and practices" (Zabus and Kumar Das 2). The same applies to the translect "Ulti Bhasha" spoken in West Bengal among hijras. Bandyopadhyay maintained that Ulti Bhasha is composed of semantic units only: "To call Ulti Bhasha a language per se is a misnomer, as it is only made of semantic units describing, for example, sexuality, body parts, criminal acts, kinsmen, and hijra work that needs to be kept hidden from public hearing"(Bandyopadhyay, 132, qtd. in Zabus and Kumar Das 13). Zabus and Kumar Das contend that translects are threatened with potential erasure under the influence of the Western-style transsexual grid and the hegemony of standard languages. They quoted a wide range of terms used to describe the gender-variant state of individuals like the hijras in India. However, all of these vocabulary items are semantic units/lexical items.

Therefore, the present study suggests that the translects lack functional words and are comprised of lexical items. From the above analysis, it seems that the translects were designed to be limited to lexical items only on purpose: Firstly, the translects are designed to use the structure of surrounding languages because it makes the movement of these individuals from place to place convenient. Secondly, the disciples belong to different language backgrounds, it is easy for them

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[97] See Hijras in colonial and post-colonial context for Partition background.

[98] Translect: "The term 'translects,' usually referred to as a second-language variety in Hindi/English, is here derived from "genderlect", which, in feminist theory, is a style of speech, used by a particular gender. . . We here use "translects" to address the way hijras and sangomas as "transgender individuals" [cultivate] a culture-specific, gender liminality" through their language. (Zabus and Kumar Das 2)

to learn the lexical items and use them in their languages. Thirdly, the child first starts learning a language by acquiring the lexical items; the translects follow the principle of language acquisition instead of language learning and teaching. The acquisition of lexical items is a quick and easy process, the basic purpose seems to make the disciples adopt the system easily and quickly. Fourthly, these code words are used to maintain secrecy and to create solidarity among the community members by excluding the non-community members in social interactions.

In short, hijras construct solidarity and otherness through code switching and code-mixing strategies. The employment of these linguistics techniques helps them to overcome the feelings of an alienated beings. This gives them a sense of belonging to their community, it also creates in-group solidarity among group members. They also construct their linguistics identity through using Hira Farsi codes but maintain their regional identity simultaneously: they use their regional language as the bases language and mix the Hijra Farsi code words in it. The Hijra Farsi code switching also functions as an inclusive and exclusive strategies. The hijras exclude the Others by using Hijra Farsi codes and include their community members. This way they construct their self-identity and maintain the difference between self and Others. However, the need for gender neutral pronouns persists (See. Chapter 5, Section 5. D) because Hijra Farsi lacks functional words and pronouns.

The next chapter sums up the whole discussion about hijras' identity and subjectivity by viewing it in the context of the politics of assimilation and recognition. It attempts to provide recommendations for decolonizing the hijra subjects and transforming the postcolonial hijra identities into optimistic and constructive ones.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS DECOLONIZING HIJRAS

Gender and sexuality studies attempt to understand how genders and sexualities shape the lives, experiences, and perceptions of individuals and societies. This understanding can work as a critical lens for viewing identities and shaping the theoretical framework. Individual narratives and life experiences are meant to identify who we are as human beings, cultures, and societies. They also provide us with an opportunity to see how much their lives have to tell us about our own in contrast. Chapter 7 provides a thorough discussion of hijras and trans genders in Pakistan. It further analyzes the phenomenon by integrating it with other studies to provide prolific recommendations. It aims to join the pieces of the puzzle to give the reader a whole picture of the scenario under discussion.

7. A. Recommendations vis-a-vis Decolonizing Hijras

This section attempts to join the scholarly work related to Pakistani hijras in a chain to provide recommendations for transforming hijras' identity. Jami (2005, July) discussed the legal and religious rights of hijras in Pakistan. Islamic law poses restrictions on cross-dressing and castration, as there are clear rules regarding men's and women's dress-code in Islam. According to Jami,

> Rules are clearly set regarding the dressing/roles of men and women in Islam. The Prophet (SAW) has cursed those men who are in the similitude of women and vice versa. Prophet Muhammad (SAW) not only cursed them but also ordered their dismissal from the houses.

The Prophet (SAW) personally did so and Caliph Umar (RAA) also did the same (Sahi Bukhari 1986, pp. 513-514, Sunnan-e-Ibne Maja, 1983, p. 533, cited by Jami 2005: 11)

However, hijras in Pakistan are granted equal human rights and obligations in society: There is no legal restriction on hijras in enjoying their rights as also fulfilling their moral obligations. Only hindrances are cultural, social and attitudinal barriers in the society towards this community" (Ibid.12)

The religious connotations of Hijras in Islam are very different from Hinduism. So, the concept of hijras in India and Pakistan are dissimilar: Although various Indian researchers have traced the religious connotation of hijras in Hinduism, hijras in Pakistan do not associate with that concept (Ibid, 12).

Jami also described some reasons for becoming hijras and joining the hijra community: interest in dancing, make up like women, sexual interests, earning easy money, unemployed and poor youth, harsh treatment of family, sexual abuse, reinforcement of womanish inclination, watching hijra activities frequently. There are very few hijras who claimed they had been born hijras and their parents handed them over to hijras. Financial reasons seemed to be the most prominent one for entering into the hijra community. These are also the reasons which tarnished hijras' repute.

A. Sultana & M. K. Kalyani (2012) stated that the widespread belief in Pakistani society about hijras and Khusras is that they are born with a sexual deformity but contrary to this myth, becoming Hijra in most cases involves the conscious attempt at driving out passion and desire to express their feminine identity and at enjoying personal autonomy to live a carefree life. They interviewed 91 different types of transgender people from Punjab, Pakistan, and found that out of a sample of 91, only 3 were real Hijras; 57 were *zenanas* (transvestites /cross-dressers), and 31 were *nirban* (eunuchs). The study also highlighted the fact that low-status youth chose to become hijras for getting some material and psychological benefits. It provides them with an opportunity to earn money through dance performance at marriage ceremonies, disco bands, circus, and prostitution.

Ahmed, Yasin and Umair (2014) examined the sociological factors affecting the social exclusion of hijras in Pakistan. They found that the majority of eunuchs are socially, culturally, economically, and politically discriminated against and are physically, verbally, and sexually abused, which results in lower self-esteem and a lesser sense of responsibility. They face deprivation, alienation, and hostilities since childhood. Consequently, they exclude themselves from the social setup and become marginalized. They observed that the majority of eunuchs come from the lower socio-economic classes and have no access to social, educational, legal, and health services while those who belong to the upper socio-economic class who remain in their houses can afford health services and follow their careers.

Currently, HIV prevalence is very low in the general population in Pakistan. However, it is higher in the Hijra community. A study carried out by Khan, Rehan, Qayyum, and Khan in 2008 assessing four hundred and nine Hijras as a core group in the Pakistan HIV epidemic found that 58 % had sexually transmitted infections, and 38 % had multiple infections. Their communal living and wider exposure to sexual networks suggest a more central role for Hijras in the Pakistan HIV epidemic. Therefore, effective HIV control programs must take this high-risk population into account to enrich their program. Another study conducted at Rawalpindi, Pakistan, found a high prevalence of HIV (21.6) among transgender men (Hawkes et al. 2009). An extremely high rate of HIV prevalence (27.6 %) was observed in hijras of Larkana Sindh, Pakistan (Altaf, Zahidie and Agha (2012). Hijras including Khusras (hermaphrodites), Zenanas (cross-dressers), and Narbans (eunuchs) begging at the bus stops, signals and traffic not only earn money by begging but also promote prostitution by flattering their clients at these spots. They have been observed distributing visiting cards with phone numbers and addresses to the young generation. Most of them do not

know about sexually transmitted diseases and therefore are not aware of the seriousness of the issue (Saeed Umar et al. 2013).

The afore-mentioned works, including the present study, show the various ways in which hijras and trans individuals are rejected by society. Many people need this information, not just hijras and trans individuals who need to know more about themselves. It is important for teachers who may have a hijra or transgender student. It is important for doctors or medical health professionals who may encounter a hijra or transgender patient. Journalists and government officials need to develop a policy. They need to understand the situation in which hijras or trans individuals find themselves in order to develop better public understanding.

Hijras need more support, counseling, and health care because they have many complex health-related issues. Hijras need health assistance regarding their gender incongruence. They need support and information regarding gender-affirming healthcare issues. They need proper and serious guidance to explore their identity issues and to make difficult decisions which can have implications for family relationships, friendships, employment, etc. The parents and teachers may also seek help and information from a medical professional trained in trans issues. Hijras must be provided with health care at least according to their population size. Health care professionals must get training in a range of transgender health care needs (Gender affirming healthcare issues, use cross-sex hormones). They need supervision and proper medical treatment.

Although hijras need help from psychologists and medical doctors to deal with the problems they face, there is little awareness and facilities available in Pakistan for providing them with medical treatment. The vast majority of them do not go to hospitals for treatment. In emergency cases, if they go, they are not only denied treatment but they also face discrimination. Not only do they have their health issues, but also they are exposed to many other sexually

transmitted diseases because they live within a community in poor conditions and no one to take care of them. There is very little to no awareness in hijra communities to take any preventive measures to protect themselves and others from transmitted diseases. Fear of stigma also discourages them from accessing any healthcare support. Many hijras hide themselves so that the others may not come to know about their Hijra status and therefore, have no other option except to bear the pain or problems throughout their lives.

Many children who are born as hermaphrodite (as the now obsolete term went) or intersex are disowned by their families and community and end up begging on roads and getting involved in the sex trade. It creates a reservoir of many dangerous diseases, including HIV infection. If the society wants to protect itself from these rampant epidemic diseases and deal with many other public health issues, they need to understand transgender issues.

Khawaja Saras and trans individuals are rejected by society because they deviate from the norms and violate cultural rules. They have been rejected almost at all levels of the social hierarchy, i.e. disowned by family, rejected by society, at schools, in hospitals, at work. Rejection from all sides results not only in self-destruction and causes many other psychological issues to trans individuals but also results in danger and threat to the whole society. Understanding trans individuals is important because not only do trans individuals face negative consequences, society and culture also undergo and experience negative consequences. The government officials and the whole society must understand that these people are not on the roads because they want to be there but because they have few options and opportunities available to them. It is also important for government officials (such as the police department) to understand how to treat hijras and trans individuals. It is necessary for the governor, politicians, and policymakers to understand transgenderism to develop laws and policies for hijras and trans individuals to provide equal

opportunities and protect all citizens of the state including hijras and trans individuals to bring peace in the society. The majority of hijras and trans individuals assume themselves to be unwelcomed everywhere including the medical centers; they think the doctor will not listen to them, and they will be denied any treatment, so they reject the idea of consulting the health professional. This attitude transpired throughout the interviews carried out in the present study (see. Appendix).

In carrying out the present study, we aim to promote democracy and equal citizenship. We hope to contribute to the understanding of hijras and transgender individuals and therefore impact the government to institutionalize equality at all levels of hierarchy under governance. The categorization may aid the state in governance but it leads to discrimination, marginalization, or suppress some members by reward others. The above discussion points out the colonial legacies highlighted in chapter three and intends to contribute to the decolonization process.

7. A.1. French Trans genders' Identity vs. Pakistani Hijras' Identity

The European gender and sexual identities are discussed in detail in Chapter One and the hijras (one of the Asian identities based on gender and sexual differentiation) are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. A comparison of both of these identities shows that hijras' identity is different from the trans gender individuals' identity. However, a case study (Meena vs. Maxema given below) shows that these are not corporal, physical or bodily distinctions that make them different from each other rather these are historical, religious, spiritual, cultural, and connotative differences that establish this difference among them.

During my stay in France, I had the chance to see some French trans persons. I found similarities between French trans person Maxema (age around 40-45) and Meena from Pakistan

(age around 45); both were effeminate boys since childhood, both of them started taking female hormones when they were young and both of them had children. Maxema told me that he had been an effeminate boy since childhood. He had few women in hir life, it was hir first wife who told him that he was a ladyboy. He said it was stressful for him when they separated and he felt like committing suicide. He told me that he has one daughter and shared her picture as well (the picture of Maxema with her daughter is enclosed in the appendix). Meena lives at Lahore in a small house. I approached Meena with a neighbor's reference who had known Meena for a long period of time. Meena prepares functional dresses for other Khawaja Saras. After a short interview, the neighbor told me this person (Meena) has children as well, she was beautiful when she was young and she used to take female hormones. Maxema also told me that he used to take female hormones when he was young. Both cases are similar. I am presenting these cases and some pictures to remove this misconception that all hijras, trans persons, or effeminate boys are infertile.

Image: Image: Maxema in young age	Image: Maxema current picture

When I say that hijras and transgender individuals are different, there is not much difference on an individual basis. Crossdressers like Maxema are known as Hijras in Pakistan. One may not understand the difference very easily. Both are effeminate boys (Maxema, Meena); both have had female hormones at a young age; both of them have one or two children, both are cross-dressers. What is the difference? That one is born in France and the other is born in Pakistan? Or one is wearing a European feminine dress and the other is wearing a traditional Pakistani feminine dress? The difference does not lie in bodily appearance. They may be different from the normative masculine and feminine gender but they resemble their kind. The problem lies with the labeling, with the construction of identities. Their identities are constructed at a different time and place by different people, who designed them as they desired for their own interests. These interests look more like political ones, because the identities have always been constructed by political powers for political gains. For instance, Khawaja Saras and hijras are not the same either. The identity "Khawaja Sara" was constructed by the Mughals during the Mugham Empire (see Chapter three) and the "hijras" were constructed by the British colonizers. The constructors had a different mindset and different political interests so that both Khawaja Saras and hijras are tailored according to the desires of their constructors and function likewise.

The world is changing rapidly; now the dictionary shows that the word "eunuch" is outdated. The new modern terminology "transgender" has replaced the word eunuch. Discourse and media have been the major sources employed for the construction of identity. The discourse analysis shows that the word hijra was translated as "eunuch" in the colonial era and is being translated as "transgender" in the post-colonial era. The hijra identity is a colonial production and Pakistani hijras sustained this identity as one of the colonial legacies just a decade before moving towards transgender identity. The above comparison of Meena and Maxema show that difference

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does not lie in bodily appearance but there are historical, religious, and cultural connotations associated with these identities that create distinction among them. Even hijras in India and hijras in Pakistan have different connotations. As Jami suggests:

> Although various Indian researchers have traced the religious connotation of hijras in Hinduism, hijras in Pakistan do not associate with that concept (Jami, 2005, 12).

The hijra identity sounds like an old-fashioned, outdated dress and Hijras seems anxious to have a new modern dress, namely "the transgender identity". Apparently, they are struggling to embrace this new identity in the hopes to uplift their degraded status. But this transition is not as simple as changing a dress, as it sounds at the surface level. A deeper look shows the intricate details that follow it, one may not wear the joggers or slippers (shoes) with the fancy functional dress. The adoption of a new identity also enforces one to adopt the new features of identity.

One thing that is common among all of these European identities (see Chapter One) and Asian identities (see Chapter 2) based on gender and sexuality differences is that they are all othered and they face discrimination. They are destined to face the same consequences and show similar results because they are all designed by using one basic formula and one basic ingredient i.e. the difference. All of these identities require difference for their existence because they are formed in opposition to the Other. They are dependent on the dominant Other for their self-survival. For instance, they are defined in opposition to males and females. Butler (2004) describes this relationship to the dominant Other very aptly.

> Being outside the norm is in some sense being still defined in relation to it. To be not quite masculine or not quite feminine is still to be understood exclusively in terms of one's relationship to the quite masculine and quite feminine. (Butler, 2004: 42)

So, the differences used to construct these identities converts them into otherness. These differences are constructed through discourse (see Chapter 4).

I observed that in the last one or two decades the hijra community has grown drastically and dramatically after the rights and recognition politics. They were very insignificant in numbers and Pakistani people hardly came across any hijras in markets or on roads, but nowadays they are seen in markets, on roads, in public parks, everywhere. Being a hijra is becoming a business and hijras consider it a profession.

The post-colonial identities have a strong inevitable relationship with recognition. The modern identities that emerged in the late 20th century mobilized the minority groups in various ways in the name of ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality in order to demand recognition. It does not mean that people did not have identities in pre-modern times but they were not as much complicated as they are nowadays. Taylor (1992) presented the concept of the politics of recognition in the defense of cultural diversity within a universalistic perspective. The politics of recognition seeks acknowledgment of diverse cultural identities. It is opposite to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's concept of totalitarian and homogenizing tendencies of the politics of universal identity which seeks to recognize the identity of citizens comprehensively.

> The two modes of politics, then both based on the notion of equal respect come into conflict. For one the principle of equal respect requires that we treat people in a difference blind fashion. The fundamental intuition that humans command this respect focuses on what is the same in all. (Taylor, 1992: 43)

> Liberal democracies, pace Rousseau, cannot regard citizenship as a comprehensive universal identity because (1) people are unique self-creating individuals (2) people are also culture bearing and the cultures they bear differ depending on their past and present identifications. The unique, self-creating and creative conception of human beings is not to be confused with a picture of atomistic individuals creating their identities de novo and pursuing their ends independently of each other (Gutmann in Taylor, 1992).

According to Taylor, the early models of the politics of equal dignity (e.g. Rousseau and Kant) are based on the false assumptions of homogeneity. These models not only lack general will but also fail to give due acknowledgment to distinctness. Although they embark on the equality of rights and equal freedom for citizens, they do not address any issue of differentiation (See. Taylor 51, 52).

In earlier societies identities were mostly associated with the social position of individuals in society. The background was used to determine one's social place in society. This did not change even with the emergence of a democratic society. Because people still used to define themselves with their social roles.

According to Taylor with the decline of hierarchical society, the new ideal of authenticity (i.e. the original, personal identity) thereby generated undermined the socially derived identification.

7. A.2. Post-colonial Identities, Categorization and Recognition

Post-colonial identities are shaped and reshaped by recognition. But the very process of recognition, non-recognition, or misrecognition is a troublesome domain that requires individuals and groups to pay a high price for engaging in these wars. Taylor describes the predicament of these individuals and groups very aptly who are either non recognized or misrecognized (See. Taylor, 25, 26, 36)

Whereas Levinas and Sartre present a monological understanding of self (see Chapter 3, section 3.A), Taylor puts forward the idea of a dialogically created identity which is opposite to the idea of socially constructed identity. Drawing on Hegel and Rousseau, Taylor (1992) gives a more mature and advanced concept of individualized identity. The individual identity started

emerging at the end of the eighteenth century. Taylor characterizes it as an inwardly generated identity that one discovers inside one's self. It is a particular way of being that one holds true to oneself.

Taylor argues that it is a unique sense of self that cannot be derived socially because it is an inner voice. On the other hand, he also states that one cannot discover the personal identity in seclusion but can determine it through negotiating it with others partially. This process of discovering one's self is partially implicit and partially explicit. Taylor describes the self-other relationship as:

> It calls on me to discover my original way of being. By definition, this way of being cannot be socially derived but must be inwardly generated (Taylor, 1992: 28).

Taylor's version of self-expression and recognition is too simple to account for intersubjective relations. It assumes that self-other relationships are established independently through the medium of language without power relations. Foucauldian theory, on the other hand, assumes that the subject is always created by discourse within power/knowledge networks (see Chapter 3 Section 3 A). Foucault puts it in as:

> If I tell the truth about myself, as I am now doing, it is in part that I am constituted as a subject across a number of power relations which are exerted over me and which I exert over others (Foucault, 1980: 39).

It is claimed that the politics of recognition is based on differences, however, a closer look shows that these so-called different groups depend on similarities in the principles for internal categorization.

Suppose there are two boxes: you are supposed to put all the similar things in one box and all the different things in another box. The first box with similarities among things is labeled

"assimilation" and the second one is labeled "recognition." The whole procedure is the categorization process. Now in the next step things in the assimilation box are further categorized and labeled, based on similarities. At this stage, the recognition box is also arranged following the same procedure and principle used to organize the assimilation box. In other words, the recognition box also follows the principle of similarities instead of dissimilarities in the second stage.

For instance, in the context of sexualities, people are segregated in the first stage as dissimilar based on their sexualities and then they are further categorized and labeled following the similarities principle as transgenders, lesbians, gay, bisexual. The people who are segregated face discrimination as being "others." In this struggle to be authentic, people are needy and dependent on the significant others in the name of so-called recognition. They need affirmation of the pubic for their actions on the intimate level. It is the very struggle for recognition which has turned them into approval seekers. It gets worse when it comes to sexualities for these people are looking up to the majority for self- approval, with the fear of denial or rejection which has made them more vulnerable. It is pathetic that some people are seeking approval of the majority for the fulfillment of their ordinary needs. The worst side of the politics of recognition is that it has turned some people into beggars who are begging for the approval of their self, their love relationships, their intimate relationships and their private and personal life from the public. It is the process of segregation and categorization which has created the majority and minority groups. Some people are "different"; they are "others" and ultimately, they are "minority". These views are created by the opinion-makers through the discourse of how the majority looks at the minority and how the minority looks at the majority: the "us" versus "them" view (see Chapter five). This view is created by discourse, visualized through the media which turns it into reality, as the media has the power to create and disseminate reality.

The idea of recognition works differently in different contexts. Unfortunately, it has been viewed as one solution for all problems sort of formula. It has been applied to race, ethnicity, multiculturalism, gender, and sexuality. It has been prescribed by the majority of scholars as to the one and the only pill that will liberate human beings from all kinds of oppression. Recognition in the defense of cultural diversity is quite different than in the context of sexuality. Culture is the public part of an individual's life and its values are shared values while sexuality is a very personal and private part of an individual's life.

The colonial identities were comprised of language, nationality, religion, culture, race, ethnicity, and gender. All of these fragments of identity were used to establish the self-ascribed superiority of the colonizers over the colonized. The post-colonial era added a new element in the identity i.e. sexuality. The struggles in the name of recognition propagated and strengthened these concepts to make them a permanent part of an individual's identity. These struggles promised people to liberate them from oppression and the people who gathered under the banner of recognition compromised their personal and private life by publicizing and politicizing it. A question arises here: how many fragments of identity and self can liberate human beings? How many labels can liberate human beings from oppression? One thing that is common among transgender individuals, hijras, and LGBT people is that they are all othered. A deeper analysis shows the following: the more labels, the more discrimination.

Moreover, an individual's identity can never be described by using an affixed set of group characteristics. The identity of a person is never stagnant and fixed at one position, rather it is always engaged in an unending process of development. Why is a person's unique sense of self perceived as a sense of having not this, not that but the other kind of sexualized body? The politics of recognition takes one element of identity to describe an individual. It sounds like following

essentialism according to which identity is created by natural essence and a part stands for the whole. Opposite to this view is constructivism which creates, builds, and rebuilds identities. We need to follow a combinatorial and integrated approach instead of bending towards one single approach. I believe individuals are combination of both essential and constructive properties. The constructive properties are not distributed evenly, one lacks ne kind of properties and the other lacks other kind of properties. Almost all human beings have to construct some missing properties.

As discussed above Taylor's idea of individualized identity is one that is inwardly generated within individuals by communicating with others dialogically and it cannot be constructed socially. For Taylor, identity is not constructed rather it is discovered. Now in the twenty-first century, we observe that people are actively engaged in constructing their identities on different social media platforms. They are engaged in constructing multiple identities or perhaps they are struggling with multiple identities. Self-expressions are continuously transformed and shaped by power relations. In order to attain the hijra community membership, hijras have to confirm and follow the rules, regulations, rituals, and discipline to endorse a specific vision of the community's identity. So where does the unique, individualized sense of self stand? It disappears at the very point when the individual members compromise their uniqueness to follow the norms set by any community or group because a community or a group needs some similar features and shared concepts to the sense of a group. So the community or group requires following the similarities principle for its existence. Therefore, it is a necessary pre-requisite to affirm a certain affixed set of features for securing the group or community affiliation. The process of group affiliation prevents individuals from sustaining their uniqueness and individuality. In other words, the individuals lose their individualized unique sense of self by merging their self into any group or community. This is evident from accounts of Hijras who share almost similar kinds of life stories, world view, shared

knowledge, and assumptions. The similarities among these accounts show how the members echo the group identity and shared assumptions instead of self-identity. They merged their "self" into the community/group.

A look at the surface level shows that hijras are capable of crossing the borders, deviating from the norms, and violating the gender behavior categories which attracts youngsters to attain a new identity promising autonomy. However, a deeper look shows that hijras are not free from borders: if they do not practice one kind of norms, they do practice another set of norms. They leave one circle and enter into another. They do follow community rules, regulations, and principles for survival in the hijra community. The community membership prevents them from acquiring autonomy. They leave one kind of community and enter into another one with shared assumptions.

There is no single, independent concept of identity; an individual's core identity is composed of multiple layers of identity. Individuals have multiple identities. Which identity is the true and authentic sense of self is a very complex question to answer. The mediation of media and discourse has made it even impossible for individuals to come up with a true authentic self because people are engaged with multiple mobile screens and unlimited online discourse. It has made it difficult for them to hold any original ideas, views, and opinions. How can they have a single, homogeneous identity in the twenty-first century where not only their thoughts and opinions are changing every single minute, but their concepts of self are also being shaped and reshaped rapidly. It is no longer possible to single out the original, authentic, unpolluted concept or sense of self. Now these readymade labels in the name of recognition have made the situation worse. Time is running fast; managing time has also become more difficult than ever before; people are used to picking up readymade things, and in this haste, many of them would have picked up tailored

recognition under the effect of online media and discourse instead of discovering or constructing it themselves.

It is difficult for people to realize that their choices and decisions are not authentic and unbiased, they are driven by media and discourse, what Althusser called "Interpellation"[99] (see. (Althusser, 40). Similarly, for Butler, the subject produces the already existing discourse; it is the discourse that produces the subject, and it does not work the other way round. The subjects build on the already existing discourses because the Performative acts "emerge in the context of a chain of binding conventions" (Butler, 1993: 225). Likewise, Davis and Harré (1990) echo the same concept, according to which speakers build their conversation on already existing conversations. Speakers position themselves and others through interactive positioning. They enact a "multiplicity of selves" (Davis and Harré, 5) because they are positioned differently in different discourses. Bulter, Davis, and Harré agree that these subject positions are not infinite because they are a conventionalized reiteration of already existing ones. Therefore, subjects select multiple positions from the loop of already existing discursive interactions. The younger generation is vulnerable in this situation because they o are provided with multiple readymade identity labels to choose from and they have to make tough decisions. Understanding the self is quite difficult especially when one is provided with an enormous quantity knowledge loaded with opinions to influence choices and decisions. I agree with Foucault that identities are the effect of power and discourse. As Foucault writes:

> Certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is not the vis-a-vis of power; it is I believe, one of its prime effects (Foucault 1980: 98)|.

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[99] Interpellation: "the process by which individual mistakenly believes herself to be the author of an ideological discourse" (Hall, 9)

The gender and sexuality spectrum is plagued with labels and identities but these labels and new identities are discriminatory just as others were. In the 21st century, people are actively engaged in creating blogs and constructing their self-identities but these accounts are not authentic accounts of self-construction because they are mediated by discourse and power relations. Individuals who read these online discourses on gender and sexuality and absorb this knowledge as an input, process these discourses in their brains and utilize this knowledge while constructing their own identities, be it gender or sexual identities, as an output. The similarities among these accounts and the specific terminologies, definitions, and oft-repeated opinions reveal that there is a common source that constructs them i.e. a discourse of power.

I agree with Foucault in that the human subject took itself as the object of this knowledge available online in various forms, be it the blogs or the media; none of them are free from the power and knowledge circulated in the network as a chain whereas the individuals not only undergo the effects of power but also exercise power as well (see Chapter 3 Section 3 A.). Foucault poses the question, "at what price can the subjects speak the truth about themselves?":

> What interested me was precisely the forms of rationality applied by the human subject to itself. While historians of science in France were interested essentially in the problem of how a scientific object is constituted, the question I asked myself was this: how is it that the human subject took itself as the object of possible knowledge? Through what forms of rationality and historical conditions? And finally at what price? This is my question: at what price can subjects speak the truth about themselves? (Foucault, 1988: 30)

In the case of sexual identities, they may or may not be authentic as they are the effects of the discourse of power. When individuals disclose the "truth" about themselves, they pay a high price not only by being discriminated at every step of the social hierarchy but also by imploring self-approval and recognition from others for the rest of their lives. Therefore, this study recommends

to desexualize the non-binary gender identities by desexualizing the discourse: by changing the gaze of the others. The media discourse must stop focusing on them as non-binary gender persons, they must be projected in all other possible roles and ways similar to the grand Others.

The state institutions require individuals to disclose their gender and sexual identity on each and every application forms. The subjects must not be asked to disclose it unless it is inevitable. They must be treated equally and provided equal opportunities regardless of their gender or sex. Subjects must also be provided the option of not disclosing their gender/sexual information.

7. C. Conclusion

The originality of an individual is an unintelligible phenomenon; it can never be captured and categorized. That is why we often heard people saying "I am not what people think of me," or "I am not what he /she perceives about me." It is because people use narratives to convey their life stories or experiences by negotiating their self-construction with others. Narratives are interactive and are conversed in dialogues with others; it implicates a very complex process of encoding and decoding. Hence, the process of meaning-making is also very complex.

From the above discussion (section 7.A1, 7 A.2) it is clear that identity can be constructed, reconstructed, and transformed e.g. the transformation of Khawaja Sara (a positive and respectful identity) into hijra identity (a negative identity facing disrespect). Although the invention of the third-gender identity or category is an attempt at helping hijras' identity evolve into a new identity, it is not a satisfactory solution because it is created in opposition to the gender binary system. The third gender identity is dependent on the Lacanian "grand Other" binary system for its existence. Consequently, not only are all of the heterogeneous gender-variant people homogenized in this

category, which is constructed in the name of so-called recognition, but they are also othered and are likely to face discrimination.

Once again it is the media, discourse, and foreign ideologies that are not only indulged in changing the perceptions of people about hijras but they are also involved in changing and over-simplifying the very definition and concept of hijras by limiting them as sexualized bodies. The classical definitions describe hijras as either born infertile, impotent people, or as those who gain this status "as neither man nor woman" via castration (Nanda, 1999: 14). So, the key features in these definitions are the inability to procreate through which they drive their special powers of blessing or cursing. (see Chapter 2).

> The special powers that the hijras derive from their alternative gender role legitimate their function as ritual performers, and it is this role that forms the core of their self-definition and the basis of their positive, collective self-image. Only the hijra-those who is neither man nor woman is given special powers by God to make their words-whether blessings or curses-come true (Nanda, 1990: 12).

On the other hand, in the contemporary oversimplified definitions of hijras, they are described as eunuchs, intersex people, or transgender simply. Indeed, these discourses have affected hijras in the past few decades and we have seen them growing very fastly because not only gender variant people or trans gender people have joined the hijras community but also the vast majority of people who either fake hijras or have adopted ready-made LGBT identities under the influence of media and discourse. . So, the discourses not only describe the existing identities but also create new identities and people opt for them deliberately or un-deliberately.

Perhaps the most challenging issue in the postcolonial age is to invent new forms of life by disintegrating it from all forms of conventional discourses. In his lectures at College de France and

in the last two volumes of the history of sexuality, Foucault coins the concept of governmentality[100]

which calls for self-government. In his later work, he focuses on the genealogy of the state and the

genealogy of the subject which elicits new hope by problematizing rules (forms of knowledge and

power) and institutions (forms of social control over institutions). He analyzes the connection

between the technologies of self and the technologies of domination, the constitution of the subject,

and the formation of the state within the context of the problematics of the government.

Governmentality refers to the state where power is decentralized and the individuals are actively

engaged in their self-government. Foucault's politics of experience brings new hope for the future:

> The technique of the self is inextricably linked to the moral formation of an individual for whom the process of subjectivization is an ontological as well as a social question; and it is experience which results in the constitution of this subject (Kritzman in Foucault, 1988: xxiv).

> To think is to experience, to problematize. Knowledge, power, and the self are the triple foundation of thought (Deleuze in Foucault 1986: 124).

> If hope is in the offing it may only be in the more recent Foucauldian admonition to self-government and the aesthetics of existence that it implies. It may only be realized by refusing to acquiescence to the ultimate sovereignty of any one system of thought (Kritzman in Foucault 1988: xxv).

The power relations have been engaged in constructing identity both in the colonial and

post-colonial era through the mediation of language and discourse. But we see a change in the

process of identity formation in the twenty-first century. Individuals are actively involved in the

construction of multiple identities themselves through discourse by using different electronic

media e.g. social media. This is a step towards self-governance but these identities also could not

escape the unavoidable effects of discourse and power. It is not possible to escape the power and

discourse effects, but it is possible to exercise power positively by producing positive knowledge

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[100] Governmentality guides the individuals and their behavior to enable them to govern themselves.

and discourse that guide and control the institutions (schools, hospitals, and offices; see Section 7.A.) and people to enable them to govern themselves.

Because language, media, and discourse do not merely represent the reality, they are also capable of constructing and transforming reality (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). As suggested by Berlin (1992), Carpentier and De Cleen (2007) and many other scholars,

> Language is a pluralistic and complex system of signifying practices that construct realities rather than simply presenting or representing them (Berlin 1992: 19).

> From a discourse theoretical viewpoint, media are seen not just as passively expressing or reflecting social phenomena, but as specific machineries that produce, reproduce and transform social phenomenon (Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007: 274).

Keeping in view the above discussion, this study asserts that the subjects should be identified by their profession rather than by their gender or sexuality. In the 21st century, the media and discourse have focused on gender and sexuality enormously, which has had drastic consequences. The narrative discourse must provide other subject positions for hijras and trans individuals by defocusing on gender and sexuality. The hijras and trans individuals should be represented as doctors, educators, actors, managers, and salespersons. The previous discourse and categories see them as gendered and sexualized bodies and only this aspect of their identity has always been presented in the foreground of every discourse narrative. This study suggests desexualizing these subjects discursively by modifying the gaze of self and Others.

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Appendix

Appendix-A

Interviews

Interview 1: (Guru 1, education= matric- class 10). Maan baap ko chora nahi hay hum nay, milty hain maan baap say laken mujboori hamari ho jati hay. Jassy jasy hamari jawani barhti hay, zingadi barhti hay, log hamain tang krty hain. Society main hamara jeena mushkil ho jata hay. Maan baap ab fout ho gaey hain. School main phly pahly theek thaa. Pher jab baad main pataa chala kay yeh khwaja sara hain tu larky tang krnay lagy. Pher aggay main parhi nahi, ghar bath gaye. Main das tak parhi hon. Rishty daron ko pata hota hay, pher woh mil kr apas main baten krty hain k yeh dakho yeh khwaja sara hay. Mang kr apna kharcha he pora krty hain. Nokri kon dayta hain hamain, kr bh lain tu, government day day ya kahen aur bh day dain tu woh aik do din acha salook kren gay, kaam bura ho jaaay, achi na ho tu kahen gay k ja tu to wahi acha hay, yeh kia tu nay kr dia. Guzara bus mang kr hota hay. Meyraa ID card bna hoa hay. ID main maan baap ka naam likha hay. Phly chala thaa yeh rewaj guru ka nam likhnay ka. laken woh hamari maan baap ki jayedad hoti hay na uskey hum hissay daar nahi bn sktay thay. Phir hum nay thora sa atiraz kia tu unho nay kaha k bus apna naam likhwaen. Mujboori k tahat sub kuch chalta hay beta. Ab maan baap fout ho gaey hain, behan bhai hain, un say mily hain. Ghar main attay jaty hain. Woh tu kahty hain batho laken hamari jo rooah hay na asal jo rooh hay, woh urti hay. Jesy hamari society main aurat ho tu woh aurton jesi baten kry ge. Hum jab bathtay hain tu hum apni baten krty hain. Jo rooh hoti hay na woh asal rooh apko maloom ho jay ge. Jo asal rooh ho ge woh door

say hamin pata chal jata hay. Uskee rooh ap jeson main nh mily ge. Na mardon main mily ge na aurton main mily ge. Jo rooh ho ge na asal woh dooron jati hum pechan letay hain. Paki rooh hoti hay woh. Ghar ka kaam kry ge. Ghar jharo, pocha kray ge. Handi rooti pakaay ge. Jesa marzi khana pakwa lain, assa khana pakaay ge k apki soch say bohat behtar ho ga. Phly lay aatay thay jab bacha payda hota thaa, ab nahi. Bacha payda hota hay na, aik khusri hota hay, aik khusra hota hay, do kismain hoti hain. Aik mard main hota hay, aik aurat main hota wa. Aik khusri hoti hay aurton main, aik mard main khusra hota hay. Sirf nishan hota hay pishab ka. Phly log chor jaaya krtay thay. Ab log chupa laty hain, ghar main he rakhty hain. Apna ghar lay laty ain aik tu yeh chaly hamary pass aa jaty hain. Pher majboor tor pa guru maan baap ban jata hay aur apnay pass khan peena, uthna bathna, tu society ban jati hamari. Hamara apana aik khandan ban jata hay, jassy koi maan ban gaye, koi behan ban gaye, koi bhai ban gaye. Apna aik khandan bna laty hain. Rasmain hamari koi nahi hoten , bus apnay kamaa lea, kha lea. Jooti kapra lay lea. Jesay mardon ko dafnay hain asy he hamain bh aam logon kit rah dafnaty hain. Hamara aik haji hay bohat bara, saat haaj kiay hoay thay us nay, Uskee kothi hay bohat bari, mashor hay woh, woh kothi kayaamat tak rahy ge. Woh jab fout hoa na, tu molvi masjid ka us nay kaha mary dil ki khawish hay k main iska janaza karwaon woh us din fout ho gaya, us nay kahen kaam jana thaa molvi nay, woh molvi kaam chor k aya. Pora shaher usko manta thaa, haji haji kahta thaa, pora shaher kkhata ho gya , jab woh fout hoa, sham ko char bajy janaza thaa Uskaa. Khusry nehlaty hain, kafan pehnaty hain, parhy likhy hotay hain khusray. Quran pak parha hota hay, tasbiahien pari hoti hain. Hun yeh dakho, hum sarak pa mang rahy hain na, koi acha kah jata hay koi bura kah jata hay, koi day jata hay, koi inkar kar jata hay, jab koi na day tu bura bhi lagta hay, jab koi day day tu acha bhi lagta hay. Koi asy jharak day tu dil main mail aati hay k hum bhi insan hotay kabi , hum bhe inki trah hotay, asy

kasy is nay hamin jaharak dia. Koi jo acha salok krta hay usko hum achi duaen daytay hain. Woh Allah Pak sun bhi leta hay.

Jo paki rooh ho ge woh aurton waly kapry pehnay ge. Jo murd ho ga woh dooron pechna jay ga, us nay kapray bh pahnay hon, woh dooron pechna jay ga. Yeh tu Hindustan say lari chali aa rahe hay, (guru bannnay ki rewayet) , aaj say nahe, phaly wakton main , jab Hindustan aur Pakistan bna thaa na, yeh bohat purani rasmain hain. Jab borha ho jaata hay, umar ziada ho jati hay, tu guru ban jata hay, aik dosray ko sanbhal laty hain.

Interview 2: (Neelam Nargis, City Liyah, no education) main pahlay harapy rahndi si. Pher main guru kolon aa gaye, idher Lahore main. Choti si thee main itni si, jab main apray guru kolon aai si, meyraa guru fout ho gaya wa, uskey baad meyraa yeh guru hay, anday kolon athy Lahore aa gaye. Athy mang kay guzara kr leti hon. Bara guru Jo meyraa tha woh fout ho gaya hay, Allah uno jantain which ghar deway. Bus hun meyraa hor koi sahara nae si. Main aeno apna guru bna lea. Ghar waly mujhy acha nae jantay. Ami abu fout ho gaey hain. Behan bhai shadi shuda hay gay. Guru bnanay ka fida bohat hay, jesay hamary maan baap hoaty hain na, jesay hamara maan baap izat qadar krta hay na asy hamai guru izar qadar krti hay. Achy bury ki tameez guru daytee hay. Jeewain maan baap samjhatay hain asy hamary bary guru krtay hain. Jo assi kamana hay na , asi apna kapra lera lena hay, aur guru ko tu kuch bh nhi detay hum log. Jo meyraa pahly guru fout hoa usko daytay thay. Aur isko nahi daytay. Nahi yeh bohat achi hay leti nahi, kahti hay main

app khud kamati hon. Guru ko eid, shabrat daytay hain. Guru nay kabhi tang nahi kia. Bemar ho jaen tu hospital jatay hain, hamari koi jaldi hospital waly baat he nahi suntay. Doctor bohat tang krtay hain. Hamary logon kit u koi baat he nahi sunta, udher ho jao. Bary bary logon ki hospital main suni jati hay. Hamary logon ko koi doctor acha janta hay, koi acha nai b h janta. Aglay din meyraa appendix ka operation hoa thaa, tay aik doctor k pass gaye usnay hamara appendix ka operation b nahi kia , mujhay acha he nahi jana, kanda in logon ko nai ander aany dena. Aik doctor nay mujhy operation kia meyraa, o' bohat acha si. Hospital main, o' bohat achi si, us nay mujhay apnay palion sara kuch kia, meyraay say aik rupeea bhi nahi lea. Meyree aik khawish hay k menu koi achi si nokri mil jay, ghar mil jay. Main apnay ghar main kush rahon. Aik do meyrey chely hon, jo mujhy kamaa k dain. Aur main ghar soi hon. Meyrey dil ki yeh khawish hay. Ya nokri ho koi, barten bhi dho skti hon, handi bhi paka skti hon. Koi barten dhonay pa rakh lay, safaai bh kr leti hon. Main choti si thee jab yahan aa gaye, mujhy rishtay daron ka pata he nahi. Maan baap fout ho gaey hain. Behan bhaion k sath main milti nahi. Bahen bhai pasand nahi krty.

Interview 3: (komal, Lahore, no education) 20 saal say guru k pass hon. Main apni marzi say, apni khusi say in kay sath sath hon. Waledain ka rawayaa theek hay, behan bhaion ka bhi theek hay bus rishtay daron ka theek nahi hay. Is liay ghar chor dia, jati, aati hon, mamma, papaa bhi attay hain, behan bhi bhi aatay hain, saray milnay aatay hain muj say. Main bhi jati hon aur rishtay daron main main nahi jati. Jo tofeek ho main dati hon (ghar walon ko), wasy woh nahi letay, woh daytay hain mujhy. Khawihsen hamari hain k hamary ko job mil jay, hum achi si koi job Karen. Yeh hamara jo kaam mangnay wala hay yeh hamain acha nahi lagta. Log hamain Mazak krty hain, acha nahi samajhtay. Ghar main 8, 10 ssaal tak rahe. Ghar walon nay parhany ki koshish ki laken main nay parha he nahi, mujhy shok hota thaa nachnay ka, dance krnay ka. Bus yahi shok hota thaa, yahi krna hay. Log hamain acha nahi samajhtay, tab sochti hon main apnay bary main k logon ki zingadi achi hay, log hamain insan nahi samajhtay. Han rooknay toknay wala tu koi nahi. Hum log function main jatay hain. Jab ziada preshani main hotay hain tu sochtay hain k hum bh asy larka ya larki hotay. Maan baap k pass rahtay, hamari bhi asy shadi hoti, hum bhi ghar basatay. Hum rodon pa assay dhakay na khatay.

Interview 4: (Ashi, no education, qasoor) mujhay meyree guru lay k aai thee chay saal (6 years) ki thee jab main. Jab hamari guru kahen gaye ho, Lahore say baher gayee ho tu, jab ghar main akely hotay hain tu pher hamain feel hota hay, hamary bhi ami abu hotay, behan bhai hotay, hum unkay pass bathy hotay , khaltay , koodtay, baten krtay apas main. Jab guru kahen gaye ho tu pher

hamain akela pan mehsoos hota hay. Kabi Jab sad hon bhi tu feel nahi kraya hum nay,jab hota hay pher hum gana bajana , deck laga letay hain, dil behla latay hain.logon say koi shekayat nahi hay, Pakistan bohat acha hay, very nice hay, bus hamain sargent say shekayat hay.

Sargent nay hamari zingadi (azab) bna di hay. Itna tang krta hay, danday marta hay, uskey bad parcha dayta hay, parchay k bad

hum say passy chen leta hay, hum say monthly mangta hay. Itnay preshan hain hum log. Nokri mil jay tu kr lain gay. Hum logon ko kon nokri dayta hay. Parhay likhay hon tu koi hamain nokri bhi day day. Unparh hain, hamain koi nokri nahi dayta. Guru ki traf say koi pabandi nai hoti, bus guru yeh kahti hay k bacha time say time say baher jao, time say ghar aao. Ksi traf be fazool nahi jana. Jasay maan baap kahta hay bus wasy woh samjhati hay. Bus wasy woh samjhati hay aur pabandi ksi chez kin ahi hoti. Mobile nahi rakhnay dayti, guru say chori rakha hoa hay main nay. Maan kit rah khyal rakhti hay. Hamain kahi program main jana ho, shadi pa, humain baqida gari krwa k deni hay, uskey bad hamain bhaj kay call krnay k leay mobile sath dayti hay. Jab program khatam ho tu call kr k dosri gari main wapis ghar aa jana. Life partner assa ho j bus mujhay ghar bitha k

khilaay, aur kuch nahi main mangti. Bus aik roti khani hay woh bus mujhay mil jaya karay. Bus apna aik ghar ho, chahay do (2) marlay ka ho aur kuch nahi chayee. Aur bus ghar bathi ko roti mil jay bus yahi khawish hay.

Interview 5: (Guru 2 Sanwali, No education, city qasoor) main idher Lahore main pandra, sola (15, 16 years) saal say hon. Taleem kuch bhi nahi hay, mujhay apna naam nahi likhnay aata. Main bachpan say he guru kay paas aa gaye thee. Main in donon ki guru hon (pointing to her chelas), meyraa guru jo hay woh bara hay (haji sahib). Guru bannay k leay hamary kanoon qaiday hain kay kis trah bantay hain kis trah nahi. 125 rupay (125 rupees) yeh mujhy day gee na aik dafa a tu yeh meyraa chela hay. Jesay ksi ko ustad pakartay hain na kay yaar yeh main tumhary leay mithai lay kay aaya hon. Main nay apko ustad pakarna hay, yeh main nay hunar seekhna hay. Dance seekhna hay, ya functionon main jana hay tu make up ki, is chez ki baton ka aik soo tay picheys rupay yeh day ge. Yeh 125 ruppay ki baat jo chaal rahe hay na , yeh shuru say, hamary payda honay say phly ki chal rahe hay. Ghar walon say nahi milti, sirf amma say milti hon. Amma ko tu kafi dafa mili hon, jab bhi phone krti hon woh aa jati hain. Udher main nahi jati. Bhai nahi munasib samajhty k yeh milnay aaye. Mujhy shuru say pata thaa k khawja sara hon. Jab pata chala tu kia mehsos hona tha kuch bhi nahi, jab main idher he jawan hoi hon, sari baten idher he tu mujhay kia feel hona hay. Kay yahi mery behna bhai hain, maan, baap hain, sub kuch hain. Kabhi behan bhaion ko

milnay ko dil krta hay tu roo roo k chup kr jaaty hain k una nay tay miln nai dena. Rishtay daron say milti he nahi. Sub ko pata hay meyrey ghar walon ko, rishtay daron ko k unka beta is trah ka hay. Amma nay kabi ksi say baat he nahi ki, amma kahti hain jo bhi hay meyraa beta hay. Meyree baat suno, hum jo bhi hain, maan k leay beta hota hay. Kuch bhi hay, agar ap chahay larkon waly kapray pehan lain, jab bhi maan k samnay aana hay tu unhon nay kahna hay yeh meyree beti hay. Kahen gae k nai kahen gee. Main larki hon (hay larki bus hamary main itna fark hay hum bacha nahi payda kr sakty: Ashi). Yeh meyrey bachay hain na (pointing towards his cheelas) inkay samnay bhi main koi istrah ki baat nahi kr sakti kuin k yeh meyrey bachy hain. Maan tu kahti hay na k yeh meyraa beta hay, dunia tu yahi kahti hay na k yeh khusra hay. Maan k leay tu beta he hon na, maan nay tu beta he janum dia hay. Logon ki baten mehsoos nahi hoten, sochti he nahi hon. Khana peena bus her chez apni manage kro koi tension nai hay. Hamary jab function hotay hain tu police waly tang krty hain, maley hotay hain tu yeh police waly tang krty hain. Idher aatay hain tu sargent hum logon ko tang krta hay. Hamary logon say passy mangta hay, hum nahi passy daytay, woh monthaly mangta hay. Main kahti hon ap mujhay job pa rakh lain, ksi kaam pa bhi, meyraa nahi dil krta k bheek mangon, ksi ka bhi nahi kray ga. Chahay Khawaja sara hain, kuch bhi , koi bh insan ksi ka bhi dil nahi kray ga ksi k aagay hath phelana. Nai na kray ga, laken hamari mujboori hay. Job nahi hay, hum logon ko koi kaam pa rakhay ga nahi. Agar hum larkon way kapray pehan k ksi k ghar ma bhi job kr lain gay na tu hamari harkatein kuch is trah ki rahni hain, jb hum nay baher nikalna hay tu ksi na ksi larkay nay hamain cherna hay. Meyraa ID Card (n National identity card) bna hoa hay. Us main guru ka naam likha hoa hay. Daftar waly hain na woh kahtay hain k agar larkon wala bnana hay tu jao apnay ghar jao. Tu ghar waly hamain rahnay nahi daytay tu hum nay guru k naam pa he bnvana hay. Hamara tu maan baap wahi hay. Nahi logon say koi shekayat nahi, khawish kia, yahe khawish hay k hum logon ko mangnay dain, hum

logon ko jeenay dain. Agar nahi jeenay dain gay tu hum logon nay kahain na kahain, kuch na kuch tu kerna he hay. Hamain tu bus police walon say shekayat hay k yeh hamain mangnay nahi daytay. Ghar tu hum logon ka hay he nahi, itnay hamary pass passy nahi hain k hum log ghar apna ly lain, rent pa rahtay hain. Six thousand rent hay, 3000 bijli ka bil hay. Hum log teen (3) rahtay hain. Kar letay hain mil jul kay. ID card bna hoa hay na Khawaja saraon wala tu isliay id card pa ghar mil jata hay rent pa. Phaly mushkil hoti thee (jab ID card nahi thaa).

Interview 6: (Pari, kanan poor, no education) taleem nai hay meyree. Mangtay hain signal per aur dance program, function main jatay hain. Aik din main panch, saat soo kabhi ban jata hay. Kabhi char soo (500, 600, 400). Dance program main hazar, pandra soo (1000, 1500) ban jata hay. Acha ho tu iss say ziada bhi ban jatay hain. Group kay sath jatay hain na. Main 8 saal ki umar say guru kay sath hon. Ghar walon ko bachpan say pata thaa (k Khawaja sara hon) laken guru ko 8 saal ki ummar main pata chala tu woh lay k aai. Ghar waly boltay thay hamara larkon jesa hay. Main tu kahti hon main larki hon. Shuru say he meyraa chalna phirna sub larkion wala he hay. Jab 8 saal ki umar main hoi hon, guru ko pata chala hay yeh hamaray khawja sara hain, hum issay lenay aaye hain. Ghar walon nay bola nai, mamaa nay bola nai, phir papaa nay bola lay jao. Ghar walon ko pata thaa yeh un main say he hay (khawja sara) laken btatay nai thay ksi ko. Uswakat bachpan thaa laken ab kartay hain (rishtay dar baten krty hain). kabi mamma papaa ko milnay nai jatay. Papaa fout ho gaye hain. Mamaa ko aik do dafaa mili hon. Ghar aanay say bhiya waghera roktay hain, mamaa nahi rokten. Sister bhi mil lati hay, bhayia nahi milnay daytay. Logon say koi shakiyat

nahi hay, yeh sargent say hay, yeh hamain mangnay nai daytay. Sotian martay hain. Bhagaa daytay hain. Gandi galian daytay hain. Passay bhi chen latay hain, boltay hain hamain bolaten pilao, card feed kraao. Yeh karo, woh karo. Hum nai karwatay pher woh hamain martay hain. Hum nay kaha

hamain maar lo hamain galian mat do. Woh kahtay hamain gali deni hay. Aam logon say koi shikayat nai. Hamari Khawhish yeh hay k hamain idher kaam knay dain hum sakoon say apni zingadi jeeain. Hamain koi preshani nahi hoti (logon k rawiyee say), hamari adaat ban gaye hay. Pahlay pahlay preshan hotay thay, ab hamari adaat ban gaye hay. Loog tang krtay hain, tang kr k chalay jataay hain. Nai dukh nai hota jab adaat he ban gaye tu dukh kassay krein unka. Ab yahi samajtay hain kay dewaar say koi baten kr kay pagal chalaa gaya hay. Hum apnay apko samjha he dewaar hoa hay. Hum aik dewaar hain, dewaar k sath log baten kr rahay hain. Jo mazaak krtay hain, samajtay hain k dewaar k sath mazaak kr k chalaa gayaa. Roona tu aata hay, kabi kabhi bohat ziada rooti hon, jab ghar walon ki yaad aati hay. Yeh meyrey sath wali kay bhai ki shadi thee unhon nay shadi main nahi jaanay dia. iskey bhai ki shadi thee, udher gayee thay, unho nay hamain aanay nahi dia, hum phir sara din door bath k dakhtay rahy, uskee shadi dakhi, door bath k yeh kush hoti rahe , main bhi kush hoti rahe. Woh shadi pa nach rahay thay, gaa rahay thay, dhool bajaa rahay thay. Yeh door door dakh k phir wapis aa gayee. Iskay papaa nay bola agar ghar aao ge tu hum apki tangain toor dain gay. Bus yahi sochtay hain k yeh jo guru kay cheelay hain woh bahen bhai hain. Jo guru hay woh papaa hay, mamaa hay, bus wohi sub kuch hay. Bachpan main guru nay itna payaar dia, mehsoos he nahi honay dia k meyrey peechay koi hay k nahi hay. Bachpan main

tu lay aayee thay. Woh hamari zuban hay "Farsi" woh boltay hain hum aapis main. Kafi logon ko aati hay. Hum nay tu aik code word bnayaa thaa k koi tang kr raha ho tu uskey paas say agar jana hay tu apni zuban main baat kren. Woh ab sub duniya daaron ko bhi aa gaye hay. Code main baat krtay hain laken ab bohat ziada log asaay hain jinko woh zuban ka pataa chaal gaya hay. Ab hum bolti nahi hain aurton ko bhi pataa chal gayaa hay. Admion ko bhi pata chaal gaya hay. Ab woh zuban hum bolti nahi hain. Nahi apni kahani nahi suna sakti Farsi zuban main k main 8 saal ki thee tu guru k pass aa gayee thee, nahi assay nahi, woh maslan chand chezon ki alheda zuban hay. Woh chand kuch assay khas alfaz hain k maslan kay main nay ap kay pass jana hay tu main nay kahna hay k main paat ja rahi hon (pataan lagi aan) chand chezon kay code word hain , pori zuban nahi hay. Ab jesay larkay tang kr rahe hain tu kahnay hay k looray belay painday pain. Nahi sari zuban nahi hay. Yeh zuban guru nay seekhai hay. Agar make up kerna hay tu kahna hay tarawaa krdi payee aan. Kapray pehannay hon tu kahna hay k firqa chis kren lagi aan.

Interview 7: (Parwati, no education, Lahore) yeh nam meyree guru nay rakha hay. Saat bajay say aai hon yeh kamaay hay bus (showing some rupees in his hands), yeh jo meyrey hath main hay. Poray din main nahi, hum sham ko aatay hain bus panch, chay bajay (5, 6 O' clock at noon). Kapray tu bas guru lay k deti hay, kabi lay deti hay kabi nahi. Rozana wasy day dati hon guru ko (money) apni khushi say laken woh mangti nahi. Ghar k kharchay hi hum log krtay hain isss main konsi bari baat hay. Guru tu bari hain, isliay ghar ka kharcha hum nay krna hota hay. Main shuru say main nay yahi kaam kia hay, mane aur koi kaam nahi kia. Yeh kaam ka mujhy shok thaa. Maan

baap udher he rahtay han apnay shahr main. Main ghar nahi jaati, mujhy das, bara saal (11 , 12 years) ho gaey hain main ghare nai jaati. Main das bara saal ki ummar main aaye thee guru k pass.

Baki behan bhai parhay likhay hain woh nokrien krtay hain. Yaad aatay hain bohat (family) laken main ghar nahi jaa sakti, unhon nay mujhy ghar say nikal dia hay is liay. Han krtay hain log baten, dunia waly, ghar waly na baher jeenay daytay hain na ghar jeenay daytay hain. Ab kia kren hum log. Logon say koi shekayat nahi, bus yeh walten waly say hay (sargent) yeh hamain mangnay nahi dayta. Subah say 6 bajay ki aai hon, laken yeh do, theen soo (200, 300) rupee siraf kamaay hay mane. Mil gaye tu kr lain gay laken hamain kon job dayta hay, koi bhi nahi. (Agar hum kothion main krtay hain tu hamain larkay nahi chortay woh hum say badtamizi krtay hain). Yeh meyree sahelian hain bus main in say pyar krti hon, yeh mujh say pyar krti hain. Mujhy koi assi larkon k sath (interest) nahi hay. Bus bartien kartay hain, jassay salgira ho gaye, guru ki saalgira hum assay manatay hain jassy shadi biah kia function hota hay. Bohatr ziada dukh hay kay meyrey ghar walay mujhay nae bulatay, ya mujhay ghar nai aanay daytay. (isko TB ho gaye hay, wahan hospital main itni lambi line main lagna parta hay, woh kahtay hain line main lagoo tu phir dawaai dain gay) woh bas parchi k passay latay hain woh unka haq hay. Baraa saal tak ghar main chori rakha thaa, ksi ko pata nhi thaa. Pher shuru say he meyree guru idher lay aai hay woh mujhay pyar krti hay. Hum usko pyar krti hain, hamari sehalian hain

appas main dukh bant latay hain. Jab ghar main wadhaai lanay jaatay hain na tu aksar assay hota hay k bachy ko nanga rakh k uskey upper asy passay lagaa k daytay hain. Nichay say jab kapray utartay hain tu unko pataa chal jata hay, larki ho tab pata chal jataa hay, larkaa ho tab pataa chal jata hay, khawja sara ho tab pataa chal jata hay. Utha k lay aatay hain phir woh log. Maan baap kassay nahi dain gay, khawja sara un pa case kr daytay hain. Khawja sara hun tu main apnay ghar main nahi rah sakti. Jab khawja sara hun tu mujhy khawja sara he lay k jaen gay. Unkay bachay hum log he hotay hain. Agar main ksi k ghar nachnay k leay jaon gee aur khawja sara payda ho gaa tu usko main lay aon ge woh meyraa he bacha ho ga, ksi aur ka nahi ho ga. Usko mane palna hay posna hay, baraa krna hay, woh meyraa he bacha ho ga ksi aur ka nae ho ga. Hum say konsi aulad payda ho sakti hay. Ksi k ghar ho tu hum nay wohi lay k kahna hay k yeh hamarra bacha hay. Ghar walay na aanay dain tu phir hum case kr saktay hain kay yeh hamara prewar (family) hay. Woh jab chup kr k hamain day dain tu hamain case krnay ki zarorat he nahi parti. Qanoon ka koi problem nahi hay. Jo hamari sub say bari guru kah sakti hay tu hamain qanoon say kia lena. Guru qanoon say bhi bari hay. Hamaray liay woh bari hay. Han zabardasti bhi lay aatay haain (bachay ko).

Interview 8: (Muhabaat, city: Qasoor, no education) hum apaas main boltay hain farsi zuban jo guru nay seekhai hay. Pandra sola saal (15, 16 years) say guru kay pass hon. Chay saal saal (6-7 years old) ki thee jab guru kay pass aai thee. Dil krta hay per milnay nae daytay (family). Guru bhi nae milnay deti, woh jonsay hain hamaray ghar walay bhi, hamaray mamoon aur bhai jo hain woh bh nae milnay daytay. Woh kahtay hain k assay kaam krtay ho. Jab aai thee tu mujhy bohat dukh lagta thaa. Woh hamshera aa jati hay, phone krti hon idher milnay aa jati hay. Aur koi bhi nahi aata. Bohat dukh lagta hay k khawja sara hon. Aam logon say koi shekayaat nae hay. Koi passay dayta hay koi nae dayta. Sanu koi kaam day diaye jehra assi kriaay bath kay. Apni sukh di

zingadi guzar leiay. Sarkon per bheek mangtay hain, aik rupeea koi dayta hay koi panch dayta hay koi das dayta hay.

Bohat dukh lagta hay. Assay kitni ko zingadi guzar lain gay, umaar pichay ja rahe hay. Phir kia kren gay. Dukhi hon tu guru kay sath baten kr letay hain, roo bhi latay hain, soo jatay hain. Apaas main mazaak krty rhtay hain. Woh aik dosray ko lambi kahti hay, wohye choti, mooti kahti hay. Bus apass main mazaak krty hain. Dukh door ho jataa hay. Bohat ziada jab dukhi hon tu ganaay lagatay han, dance krtay hain aik dosray ka dil behla latay han. Hum sahelion ki trah aik dosray k sath rahtay hain.

Interview 9: (Rekha, lahore, no education) hum aksar shadion pa jatay hain, dance program krtay hain, function pa jataay hain. Abhi shadian band hain tu pher guzara tu krna hay tu idher isharay pa aa jatay hain. Idher mangtay hain. Apass main farsi zuban boltay hain. Jassay *main ghar janaay lagi hon*, farsi main bolen gay *main khanay raman lagi aan*. *Main make up krnay lagi hon* tu siddha he bol dain gay k make up krnay klagi hon. *Larkay tang kr rahy hain* ko bolen gay *natay tang kr rahy hain*. Hamain itni farsi nae aati, jo hamara bara guru hay usko aati hay. Jab bary hun gay na tu sari farsi aaye ge hum ko. Hamary ko dass bara saal (10-15 years) ho gaey hain guru k pass. Hamaray guru jo hain na baray woh bachpan main lay kay aa gaey they hum ko. Abe jo hamara guru hay na uskey pass dass, baraa (10-12 years) ho gaey hain. Jis hamaray guru nay hum

ko palaa hay na woh nawaab shah main rahta hay, Sindh main. Hamaray guru nay hum ko bach dia (sold) .

Matlab jassay ap log ho, apki jan pechan hay dosray logon say, assay hamarray guru log jo hotay hain unki dosray khusraon kay sath jan pechan hoti hay. Pher woh aatay hain hamaray ghar pher unko koi chela pasaand aa jay tu woh pher mang latay hain. Passay day k woh lay jataay hain. Pher woh apnay pass lay ja k usko rakhtay hain. Pher woh jo bara guru hota hay na woh ghar pa bathta hay jo chelay hotay hain woh kamaa k latay hain woh guru ko daytay hain. Jab hamaray ko zaroorat ho ksi chez kit u hum guru ko boltay hain woh lay k deta hay. Make up wagera woh guru lay k deta hay. Khawish hamari koi bhi nae. Hamari khawish kia ho ge. Bahen bhai bhi yaad krtay hain, unkay pass bhi jatay hain, saal ka baad, do saal k baad. Jab hamara dil chahay un k pass rahtay hain laken phir wapis aa jataay hain guru kay pass. Kuin kay hamaraa jo guru hay unho nay hamaray ko khreeda hoa hay passon k sath. Mujhy abi do lakh (200,000 Rupees) ka khareeda hoa hay. Tu abi jitni meyree umaar hay na, main nay apnay guru ko kamaa k khilana hay.jab woh meyraa guru fout ho gaya na tu phir main uski jagaa pa ho jaon ge. Pher main apnay pass chalaay rakhon ge assay.

Interview 10: (Reema, no education, Lahore) hamari khawish kia ho ge, hamari khawish yahe hay k hamaray pass bh ghar ho, gari ho, passay hun, hum bhi aam dunia kit rah ghomein, pherain,

khaen peeain. Buys aur koi khawish nae hay hamari. Log tang krtay hain , hum unko ziada mun nae lagatay. Hum apni family say bhi miltay hain. Saal saal k bad hamara guru hum ko bhaj dayta hay apnay ghar. Woh bolta hay apki marzi hay chahay aik mahena raho, chahay do mahenay raho, chahay saal raho per wapis aana parta hay. Hum udher 1 mahena rahen, 2 mahenay rahen hamari marzi hoti hay. Ghar main hum is condition main nahi jaatay. Ghar main gents kapron main jatay hain. Kuin k mahallay daar hain na, ghar pa phir assay ateraaz krtay hain ghar waly. Jo bary bhai hain woh ateraaz krtay hain. Rishtay daar baten nae krtay, unko pata hay yeh bachpan say he assay hain. Pahli baat tu yeh k hum ksi say pyaar kartay nae, agar ho jay tu hamara jo bh kuch hay hum sub usko daytay hain. Hamaray main, jab hum pyar krtay hain tu Larki zaat jassay shadi krti hay mard kay sath, assay hamara aik dost hota hay "Girya" usko hum "Girya" boltay hain. Uskey sath dosti hoti hay hamari , aur ksi k sath nae hoti sirf aik he dost hota hay hamara. Matlab dunia k jo chez woh mangay ga hum usko dain gay. Aur jo hum mangaen gay woh hum ko day ga. Hum nay abhi dosti rakhi nae hay. Hamara dil he nae krta. Hamaray jo baray guru hain na unho nay rakhay hoay thay "giryaay" abe hamari itni umaar bhi nae hay na k hum dost rakhen. Hum dakhtay hain na apnay guru ko aur uskey "giryay" ko tu hamra dil he nae krta, woh apass ma jhagertay hain, kabi koi baat kerty hain kabi koi. jassay aam log hotay hain mian aur bivi, hamaray dost bh assay hotay hain. Hamaray sath kasaam le jati hay aur kasaam di jati hay. Phir hum dosti krtay hain, aik kay

sath bus. Woh hamaraa jo guru hay woh hum ko bitha k aur usko bitha k pher hum baat krtay hain. Assi liay tu krtay hain kay rakhni hay tu paki paki dosti rakhen warna nae rakhen. Hamaray jitney bhi guru hain na aik say barh k aik sub aatay hain hamaray function pa. Jassay shadi hoti hay na assay he hota hay fnction krtay hain, khushi manatay hain. Aik aik guru dance krta hay. Bohat bara function krtay hain bohat bara, woh jo saraa paysa kharch hota hay kuch guru krta hay, kuch woh krta hay jiskay sath dosti krtay hain. "Girya" woh hum main say nae hota, woh aam admi hota hay. Woh jinka dil insan pa aa jay. Woh boltay hain, Dil tu gadhy per aa jaay tu pari kia chez hay. Yahi baat hay bus. Abe shadian nae hamri hoen, idher aa k mangtay hain. Humain jo LD walay hain na woh tang krtay hain, utha k lay jataay hain. Pher unko passay daynay prtay hain, do hazarm, 3 hazar, char hazar (2-4 thousand). Passay lay k phir chortay hain. Jo kamaya hota hay woh lay latay hain.

Appendix-B

A Focus Group Study (**Visit to a transgender's house**)**:** O movie bnaai janda (pointing to the camera man) mundian noon vikhavay ga, kal nun rishta na aaway koi meyraa kanwari bathi rawan main. Aay manu guru shalwar silwa day (Watching tv, pointing to a dress talking tu her guru). Ajkal chal day nay ayho jhey kapray bachyaa (guru replaying). Aaye menu lagda silyian siliaan mildian. Aye 18 tareekh nun program tay jana tay baraat tay aaye pawon gay tay mehndi tay kalli choli pawon gay. Baji menay functional kapray dikha diay tay paai menu jutian marray ga (talking to the interviewer). Main wikhani aan (pari is very eager to show the dress and stands up to pick one to show me). Mobile ee o lay gayaa oday wich tasveer si (Pari returns and sit down, reluctant to show the dress perhaps her guru signaled not to show). Yeh Blause pichay say back aur agay sara pait nanga (blouse with nacked back and belley (the guru describing the dress seriously in a

very desent mannar). Menu bary achay lagday nay (pari). Aeno achay lagday nay sirf aeno (Guru pointing towards Pari). Baki saday panday nay, una day rang kalaay hain na (Pari smiling and commenting on her friends) tera tay ziada chitta aye (muhabaat replaying to pari's comment). O ve tay chitti aye (guru pointing towards muhabat).

Image: A Focus Group Study (Visit to a transgender's house), the interviewer is in the middle. On the right side of interviewer is Grur, on the left isde is Muhabbat, with Pari on left and Parvati on right sitting down.

Vikha day aethay paai (guru asks pari finally to show the dress). Aye pai aye, pichay (guru telling where the dressing is laying). Yeh darzi say special silwatay hain (Pari showing her black skirt with silver work on it). Woh bhi hamari trah ka hay jo darzi hay. Woh bhi hamari trah ka hay jo darzi hay (khawja sara hay) . Issi mehallay main rehta hay. Hazar rupeea (1000 rupees) suit ki silaai hay. Ab iska main ney hazar rupeea dia hay (guru showing her dress) bilkul sadaa hay, yeh

dakhen (showing her shirt) siraf yeh piping ki hay aur gala bnayaa hay. Woh kahtay hain k nai silwana tu kahen aur say silwa lo. Pata hay kuin usko hamari fitting ka pataa hay (guru telling the reason why she gets her dress stiched by the tailor who charge high rate for simple dress). Usko kapray day diay hain, tu us nay khud he bna k bhajnay hain. Koi naap nai, koi gal nai, koi baat nae. Do daffa silaaye hain kahen aur say, is nay nechay yeh darzi hay us say silwaaye han tu woh fitting hamari nae aati jo woh bnaa k dayta hay. Us nay pher nakhray kernay hain (guru telling about the tailor). Bilkul sadaa hay, gala bna bnayaa lea hay. Anj kapray pandi aan main (Pari pointing to the TV showing a dress to the interviewer). Function pa jaati hon pher munday passay vet ay danday aan na. Woh tu kismet ki baat hay k kitnay passay aatay han, baad main jab gintay han tu pata chalta hay k kitnay aae han. Kabhi acha function ho jay to 20 pachis hazar tak ho jaata hay (20, 25 thousand rupees). Nai tu panch, chay das tak ho jata hay (5,6, 10 thousand rupees). Kuin k panch bhi hum log gayee hain tu das hoa tu do do hazar ana hay na. Panch log tu pakaa jatay hain na. Kuin k do dance krnay wali aik passy uthanay wali, aik perchian denay wali, bakaya denay wali. Raat pori krni aye, make up krna aaye, kapray dress pana aye, acha pana aye, pher gadi da kriyaa, aana, janaa, khajal khuarri O aledha. Aik pori raat dance krna, teen bajay tak tu woh nachwatay hain na. Azannon say pahlay khatam hota hay function. Yeh koi ameer log thora he hain k ghantay do ghantay nichwaya, chalain theek hay naraz na hona, ab jaen. Pindan walay tee (30) rupaay danday nay sari sari raat nichanday nay. Main idher kothi pa chali gaye idher pass he signal pa mang rahe thee. Do larkay aaye, main kia shayed mazaak kr rahay hain. Woh kah rahy yaar idher na shadi ka function hay tu kitnay passay lay ge. Main ney socha jassay yeh mazaak kr rahy hain wasy main bh mazaak kroon. Main nay kaha yaar teen hazaar (3000) rupaay mujhay day dena. Kahtay han yaar apko teen hazaar rupaay day datay hain, udher apko passay nae daynay. Na nay kaha chalain theek hay. Main ney teen hazaar rupeea lay lia. Main ney socha shayad badtamezi

kren udher meyrey sath. Tu udher main gaye, udher family thee, tu pher na mujhy kuch hosla hoa k udher family bhi hay. Ghar walon nay kafi passay diay, pachass pachaas ka note, soo soo wala note. Woh teen hazar jo dia thaa na woh y pass he tha. Dass hazar main udher say lay aai. Tu main ney aik dost ko phone kia, choti meyree saheeli hay k idher aa function hay, pher donon nay kr lea. (guru sharing one incident from her life about a function). Hun ijazat aaye sanu, hum nay jana hay kaam per (guru seeking permission from interviewer to leave for work).

Appendix-C

Translation of Interviews

Interview 1: (Guru, education= matric- class 10). We did not leave our parents, we meet our parents but it is our problem when we start growing young people start bullying us. It becomes difficult for us to live in the society. (My) Parents have died. It was good at the beginning of school. When people came to know that they are khawja Sara, the boys started bullying. Then I did not continue (study), stayed at home. I passed 10th grade. The relatives know, then they talk among themselves that look (he/she) is khawja Sara. (We) beg to incur/bear our expenses. Who gives us a job? If the Govt. gives us a job or if we get a job anywhere else, they will treat us good just one or two days (few days). If the work went wrong, if it is not right (work), they will say you are better to be a khawja Sara. What have you done? We barely survive by begging. I have my ID card (National Identity Card). My Parents name is written on my ID card. In the beginning, it was a convention to write the name of guru (on ID Card) but we couldn't get the inherited property left by our parents. We objected a little bit them they (NADRA Office) said ok write your own name. Helplessness makes us do anything. Now, (my) parents have died. (I) have brothers and sisters. (we) meet them, we visit home. They ask (us) to stay (at home) but our spirit flies. Like in our society if it is a female she will speak about females (talk, topics). When we sit together we talk

about ourselves. You can recognize the real spirit (khawja Sara) from a distance (even if it is far at a greater distance). You can't find that kind of spirit in common people like you. Neither you can find (the spirit) in males nor in females. If this is a real spirit (of khawja Sara) we recognize it from far away. It is a mature spirit. (he/she) will do all household work, will do dusting cleaning at home, and will prepare (cook) meal. Whatever kind of meal you ask (him/her) to cook, (he/she) will cook better than your thinking. (we) used to bring the child (trans child) when it was born, not now. When a baby is born, there are two kinds of (transindividuals). One is khusri , and other is khusra. One is in men and other is in women. Khusri is found in females and khusra is found in males. There is only a spot for urine. In the past people used to leave (them), now people hide (them). They keep (them) at home. We take a home and the disciples come to us. (They) had no choice, so guru becomes the father and mother; (they) share meal and live with guru. Then it becomes a society. It becomes a family. Like someone becomes mother, some becomes sister, some become brother. (We) make our own family. We do not have any rituals. We just earn money for living (for food, for dresses). When we die we are buried like men like all common people. We have a big 'Hajji' he has done seven 'hajj' (religious performance). He has a very big Bangla (house). He is very famous. His house will remain till the day of judgement. Few days before he died, 'the molvi' of the mosque said "I have a wish to offer his Namaz-e- Janaza (funeral, rituals for dead person). The day he died 'the molvi' had to go for a work. The molvi left his work and came for Namaz-e- Janaza (funeral). Khusray (transindividuals) give shower (to the dead person) and give dress (kafan/coffin) to the dead person. Khusray (transindividuals) are literate. They have read the Holy Book (Quran Pak) and the holy verses (tasbiahien). Look, we are begging on the road, some people say good, some people say bad (to us), some people give us money and some refuse to give (money). When people refuse we feel bad and when they give (money) we feel good.

Is someone snubs and scolds (us) we feel bad in heart and think wish we had been human beings. (Wish) we had been like them. How he snubbed us. The one who treats us good, we pray good for him and the God listens (to us). The one who is' rooh' (the trans individual spirit) (he/she) will dress like female and the one who is male will be recognized from far away. Even, if he dress like woman. He is recognized from far away. The convention of becoming 'Guru' is coming from Hindustan. These are very old rituals. When (he/she) becomes old becomes a 'Guru' and take care of each other.

Interview 2: (Neelam Nargis, City Liyah, no education) I was living in Harappa earlier, and then I came to guru in Lahore. I was very small when I came to guru. My guru is died, after him/her (pointing to the guru) she is my guru. I came to him here at Lahore, where I live on begging. My older guru has died. May God give (him/her) place in heaven. Now, I had no support, I made (him/her) my guru. (my) family does not consider me good. (my) Parents have died. (my) Brothers and sisters are married. It's very beneficial to make guru (to somebody). Like we have mother and father and they love and respect us, same way guru treats us. Guru gives us knowledge of good and bad. Like parents, guru makes us understand things and advise us. Whatever we earn we buy our own clothes and we give nothing to guru. My older guru who died we used to give him money. And we don't give anything to (him/her, isko). She is very good she doesn't take money from us. She says "I myself earn". We give 'Eid, Shabarat' (gift money on festivals) to guru. Guru never creates any problem (for us). If we become sick, we go to the hospital. Nobody listens to us quickly at the hospital. Doctors don't pay attention to us, (they say) be aside. They listen to high-status people in the hospital. Some doctors consider us good and some don't consider us good. I had an appendix operation last time. I went to a doctor, he did not operate my appendix, and he did not consider me good. He said don't let these people come in. one doctor operated me, he was very

good. He did everything on his own and did not charge me any money. I wish I have a job and a house. I want to live happy in my house. Or I want a job, even if somebody gives me a job as a dishwasher. I can cook very well. I can do cleaning as well. I was very small when I came here. I do not know any relatives. (My) Parents have died. I do not meet my siblings. They do not like me.

Interview 3: (Komal, Lahore, no education) I am with the guru for twenty years. I am living with them by my own will. (my) Parents treat me good and (my) siblings also treat me good but (my) relatives do not treat me good. That's why I left home. I go there; (my) parents also come to see me. (My) Brothers and sisters also come, everybody comes to see me. I also go there but I do not meet (my) relatives. If I have money, I give them but mostly they do not take it rather they give me (money). We wish we have a job, we want to do a good job. We do not like our work begging, people mock at us. They don't consider (us, it) good. I spend 8-10 years of my life with family at home. They tried to educate me but I did not study. I was very fond of dancing. I had only interest in dancing; I only wanted to do this. People do not consider us good. Then I think about myself that people have a good life, they do not consider us as human beings. Nobody is there to stop us, we attend functions. When we are sad, we think, wish we had been like a girl or a boy. Wish we had lived with (our) parents, we would have been married we would have made a family and would not have been on roads.

Interview 4: (Ashi, no education, qasoor) My guru brought me when I was 6 years old. When our guru is not at home and is out of Lahore (city), and we are alone at home, then we feel that wish we had father and mother, brother and sister. We would have been sitting with them, playing and talking to each other. When the guru is not at home we feel loneliness. When we are sad, we do not make other people feel that we are sad. When we feel depressed we turn on songs and deck.

We divert our attention. We don't have any complaint against people. Pakistan is very good, very nice. We have just complaint against the sergeant (traffic policeman). The sergeant has made our life hell. He scolds us, beat us with the stick, and then he gives us 'Parcha', after that he snatches money from us. He asks to pay him monthly. We are so much worried. If we get a job, we will do it. Who will give us a job? If we were educated somebody would have given us a job. We are illiterate. Nobody gives us a job. Guru does not constrain (us). The guru only asks to go out (of the house) on time and return back home on time, do not go anywhere without purpose. She also advises us like parents. She advises us the same ways as parents but does not constrain (us) from anything. She does not allow (us) to keep mobile. I have kept mobile hidden from the guru. She takes care of (us) like a mother. If we have to attend a program or a marriage ceremony, she manages the vehicle for us. After sending us, she gives us mobile to call. (She says) when the program is finished call back for the convince to bring you back home. (I) want a life partner who keeps me like a housewife and brings (me) food at home. We only need food (roti) to survive. Just wish we have that at home. Just want a small home (2 marlay). We don't need anything else. Just want food while staying at home (without going out or doing a job).

Interview 5: (Guru Sanwali, No education, city qasoor) I am in Lahore from fifteen to sixteen years. I have no education. Even I cannot write my name. I came to guru in my childhood. Now I am guru of these two (pointing towards his cheelas) my guru is older "haji sahib". We have rules and regulations for making (somebody) guru, that how we can make guru and how we cannot. When she gives me 125 rupees one time then she will become my Cheela. Like you make somebody your teacher by giving him some sweet (and say to him) I want to make you my teacher. (You will say) I want to learn a skill, dance or party make up. For these things she (the Cheela) will pay 125 rupees. The rule of 125 rupees is from the beginning before our birth. (I) do not meet

my family. I only meet my mother. I have met my mother many times. Whenever I call her she comes (to see me). I do not go there. (my) Brothers do not consider it appropriate that (I) go there to meet (them). I am aware from the beginning that (I) am a Khawaja Sara. When I came to know I felt nothing because I grew up here. Everything was here, so (I) felt nothing. They (transindividuals) are my brothers and sisters, father and mother and everything. Whenever we want to meet our brothers and sisters, we weep a lot and then think they will not allow (us) to meet. I do not meet (my) relatives. Everybody knows my family, my relatives that their child is like this (Trans individual). (My) mother has never talked to anybody (about this) she says, "Whatever he is, he is my son". Listen to me, whatever we are, for mother it is son. Whatever it is, if you dress like boys, whenever you will come in front of your mother, she will say this is my daughter (giving example to the interviewer). She will say or not? I am a girl (transindividual considers herself a girl). (Ashi (one of cheelas) we are girls but we have the only difference that we cannot give birth to a child). These are my children (the guru pointing towards her cheelas) I cannot say things like this in front of them because they are my children. The mother says that this is my son, but the world says that he is a " khusra" (transindividual). For mother he is son, she gave birth to a boy. (I) do not feel what people say. (I) in fact do not think (about it). Just manage your food and everything there is no tension. When we held functions, police disrupt us. When there are festivals the police scold us. If we come here on the traffic signal the Sargent scolds us. He asks for money from our people, we don't give him money, he asks for monthly (paying money every month). I say you give me a job, any kind of work (I will do), I do not like to beg, and nobody likes to beg. Even if these are Khawaja Saras (transindividuals) or any human being, nobody would like to spread his palm in front of others. But we have no choice. Nobody will give us job. If we dress like boys and do a job at some body's house, our habits, the behavior will be like this that whenever

we will go out of the house, boys will tease us. I have ID card; Guru's name is written on it. (NADRA) office says if you want a boy's ID card then go back to your home. Our families do not keep us. So, we have to get our ID cards registered by our Guru's name (instead of father's name). He (the guru) is our mother and father. (We) have no problem with common people. We do not have any complaint other than this that let us beg, let us live. If they will not allow us to live then we have to do something for our survival. We have only complaint against police. They do not allow us to beg. We do not have home; we do not have enough money to buy a home. We live in rented house. The rent is 6000 rupees and the electricity bill is 3000 rupees. We are three people who live together, we share it. We have ID card by the name of Khawaja Sara (transindividual), that is why we get home on rent on this card. It was a big trouble (to get home on rent) without ID card in the past.

Interview 6: (Pari, kagan poor, no education) I have no education. We beg on signals and attend dance program and functions. (We) earn four -seven hundred in a day on traffic signal. (We) make one thousand or thousand and five hundred rupees (1000/1500 rupees) in a dance program. If it is good program or function (we) earn more than this. (We) go with the group. I am with the guru since I was 8 years old. (my) Family knew since childhood (that I was a transgender) but guru came to know when I was 8 years old. (my) Family used to say ours is like a boy. I say I am a girl. I have girly walking style from the beginning. When (I) became 8 years old and guru came to know that they are our Khawaja Sara, (guru said) we came to take her, (my) family said no, (my) mother said no, then (my) father said take her. (my) Family knew that (he/she) is from them. But they did not tell anybody. That time it was childhood, but now relatives talk (about being Trans). (We) do not visit (our) parents. (my) Father is died. (I) met mother once or twice. (My) Brother forbade me to come home. (my) Mother does not forbid meeting her. (I) have no complaint against people but

I have problem with the Sargent. They stop us from begging. Beat with sticks, they abuse (us), use dirty words, and snatch money (from us). They say to bribe them with soft drinks and top up their calling cards, do this, do that. We do not do anything they beat us. We said, (you) beat us but do not abuse us, they say they will abuse (us). (we) have no problem with common people, our wish is that let us do work here, so that we live our life peacefully. We do not have any problem with the attitude of people, it has become our habit. (we) used to be worried in the beginning but now it has become our habit. People tease (us) and then they walk away. No, (i) do not feel pain, now that it has become a habit then what to do with pain. Now, we think that somebody talked to a wall and walked away. We think of ourselves as a wall (inanimate thing). We are a wall; people are talking to a wall. People who make fun of (us) or mock at (us) we think they are making fun of a wall. Sometimes I feel like weeping and I weep a lot when I remember my family. (they) don't allow us to come in my friend's brother's marriage (pointing to one of cheelas). Her brother was getting married. We went there, they did not allow us to come (in marriage ceremony) we had been watching (the marriage ceremony) from far away and becoming happy. I also felt happiness. They were dancing, singing and beating drum (dhool) on marriage ceremony. (she) had been watching from far away and came back. Her father said if you came home I will break your legs. (we) just think that these cheelas of guru are our brothers and sisters. Guru is our father, mother and everything. Guru loved me so much in the childhood; (she) did not made me feel that I have any family behind me. (they) brought me in childhood.

We have a language 'Farsi', we speak among us. Many people know this language. We made a code word that if somebody is teasing us we will talk in our language. But now the whole world knows this. (we) talk in code but now there are majority of people who know this language. Now we do not speak (in that language). Now the women and men, they all know (this language). We

do not speak that language now. No, I cannot tell my story in 'Farsi' language, like I was 8 years old when I came to guru. No, not like that, it is only a language for few things. They are few special words, for example if I want to go to you then I will say " *main pat ja rahe hon*" . They are code words for few things. It is not a full language. Guru has taught us this language. If (I) am applying make up, I will say " *Tarawa kerdi payee aan*" . if I am dressing then I will say "*firqa chis kern lagi aan*"

Interview 7: (Parwati, no education, Lahore) (My) guru named me "Parwati". I came at 7'O'clock, I just earned this (showing some rupees in her hands). These that I have in my hands. It is not the whole day (earning). We come here in evening at 5, or 6 O' clock. Guru buys us clothes. Sometimes she buy us clothes, sometimes not. (I) give money to guru willingly but she never asks for money. We run our house with this money; it's not a big deal. Guru is elder, that's why we run the house. I have done this work from the beginning and have done no other work than this. I was fond of this work (dance). (my) Parents live in their own city. I do not go home. It has been 11, 12 years I did not go home. I came to guru when I was 11, 12 years old. Rest of my brothers and sisters are all educated, doing job. I remember them a lot, but I cannot go home. Because they have disowned me from house. The family, the people, the world talk (about us). (we) are neither allowed to live inside house nor outside house. What should we people do? I have no problem with people, but the Sargent stops us from begging, I came at 6'O clock, I just earned these 200, 300 rupees. If (we) get job we will do it but who will give us job. If we work at big houses, boys do not leave us there, they tease us. These are my friends. I love them they love me. I have no interest in boys. We just do parties like birthday parties. We celebrate the birthday of our guru like a marriage ceremony. I feel so much pain that my family do not call me back home or they do not allow me to come home. She has TB (pointing to a cheela) we have to wait in a long row to get

medicine. They only take little money that is their right. They kept me hidden at home till 12 years. Nobody knew. Then my guru brought me here from the beginning. She loves me, we love her. They are our friends (pointing to cheelas), we share pain and sadness together.

When we go to homes to take wadhaai then many times they touch the money to a necked baby and gives (us). When they undress the babies then (we) come to know that this is a boy, a girl or a Khawaja Sara (transindividual). Then (we) bring him/her. Why the parents will not give them to trans individuals. Transindividuals can make a case on them (in the court). If I am a khawja Sara than I cannot live at my own home. When I am a transindividual then trans individuals will take me. We are their children. If I go at a house to dance and if it is a born-trans baby then I will bring (him/her). He, she will be my child. We cannot give birth to a baby; if a trans baby is born anywhere we can only take that to nourish, to bring up. If the family does not give us the trans baby, then we can make a case on them that this is our family. When they give the trans baby quietly to us then we do not need to go to the court to make a case on them. There is no problem of law. What our older guru say (we do), we have nothing to do with the law. Guru is bigger than law. For us, the guru is big, yes we bring the baby without their will as well.

Interview 8: we speak 'Farsi' language with each other that guru has taught (us). I am with the guru for fifteen, sixteen years. I was 6, 7 years old when I came to guru. I want to meet (my) family but (we) are not allowed to see them. Guru does not allow us to see them and our family as well. Our brother and mother's brother, they do not allow us to meet (our family). They say you do this kind of work (dislike our work). When I came here, I felt sadness and pain. (My) Mother comes to see (me) when I call her. Nobody else comes. I am very sad and feel the pain that (I) am a khawja Sara (transindividual). I have no problem with common people, some people give money, some do not. (We) want some work to do. (We) want to live peacefully. We beg money on roads,

somebody gives one rupee, some five, some 10 rupees. (I) feel pain and stress. How much life (we) will spend like this. (we) are getting older, then what will (we) do. When (I) feel sad, (I) talk to guru. Sometimes (we) weep then (we) make jokes with each other. We address each other like tall, small, fat etc. (as a joke). We just make fun with each other and divert (our) attention and forget the pain. When (we) are sadder, (we) play songs; (we) dance and make each other happy. We live like friends with each other.

Interview 9: (Rekha, Lahore, no education) we attend marriage ceremonies often. We attend the function and perform in the dance program. Now, It is not a marriage season, so (we) came here on the traffic signal to earn (our) living. (we) beg here. We talk in 'Farsi' language with each other, like I am going home we will say in Farsi "main *khany raman lagi aan"*. if it is I am applying makeup, we will say it simply, I am applying makeup. If the boys are teasing (us), we will say *"naty tang kr rahy hain".* We do not know much about Farsi (language). Our older guru knows much (Farsi). When we will get older we will know (Farsi language). We have spent 10 -15 years with the guru. Our older guru has brought us in childhood. The recent guru we have (we) spent 10-12 years with (him/her). The guru that has brought us up lives in "Nawab Shah" Sindh. Our guru has sold us. Means like you people have relation and acquaintance with other people. Similarly, our gurus have relations with other trans people and gurus. Then they come to our home. If they like any cheela they give money and take (him/he). Then they keep (him/her) with them. Then the elder guru sits at home and the disciples earn money and give to guru. When we need something we say to guru, the guru buys it for us. The guru buy make up for (us). We have no wish. What can we wish? Our siblings remember us. We go there to meet them after one or two years. If we wish to spend more time with them, we are allowed, we live there. But we come back to guru, because our guru has paid money to buy us. The guru has bought me in two lacks (200,000 rupees).

The age, I have I have to earn money to feed my guru. When my guru will die, I will take place of (him/her). Then I will keep disciples like this with me.

Interview 10: (Reema, no education, Lahore) what can we wish, we wish to have a house, a car, money, and we also want to enjoy life like common people. We do not have any other wish. People tease us, we do not become frank with them. We meet our family. Our guru sends us back home every year. The guru says it's up to you want to spend one month, two months or a year (with your family). But we have to come back. It is up to us whether we live there one month or two months. We do not go to the home in this condition. We go home in gents dress (male dress) because of neighbors. Family members object to this (dressing). Elder brother has an objection to this (feminine dressing style). The relatives do not say anything because they know that (we) are like (transindividual) since childhood. First of all, we do not love. But if we do whatever we have we give him. Like, a female gets married to a male, similarly, we have a friend "Girya". We call him girya. We have a friendship with him. We do not make friends with anybody except one. It means whatever he likes we bring for him and whatever we like he brings for us. We have no friendship; we have no interest in it. Our elder guru has a "girya". We are too young to have a girya. When we see our guru and his girya, we do not like it, they quarrel with each other on many things. It is like husband and wife relationship. We take a vow just with one person. Our guru sits with both of us to make sure if this is a relationship worthy of taking a vow or not. All of our gurus come to attend the function. It is like a marriage ceremony, we celebrate. Every guru dances. It is a huge function. Both the girya and the guru spend money on the function. "Girya" is not from us. He is a common male person. Those who lose their heart for   a human being. It is said, you may fall in love with a donkey then what a pari is. This is what it is like. We are not married still. We come here to beg. The traffic police scold us. They take us and

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get money to release us. We had to pay then 2000, 3000, 4000. They release us after taking money.

Whatever we earn they take it.

	Focus Group Discussion about Hijra Farsi	
1	G: Koi seekhnay wali baat nae hoti, jab main idher aai hon, yeh mery pass hain, appas ma koi hum nay baat ki hay na, ye iss say bari hay (pointing to her Cheela) na, agar isko samajh nae aaye get u yeh poch lay ge, iska kia matlab hay. jab koi naya lafz bolen gay tu ye poch lay ge.	G: there is nothing to learn. When I came here, they are with me. When we talk to each other, she is elder than her (pointing to her cheela), if She could not understand something, she will ask what the meaning of this word is? When we will speak new word, she will ask about it.
2	G:Ye tu khandani baat chal rahe hay, hum logon ko nae pata k guru nay kahan say seekha hay.	G: this is family heritage. We do not know from where guru has learnt (Farsi).
3	S: pani ko kia kahtay hain	S: what do you call water
4	G: pani he kahtay hain	G: we say it water
5	S: acha pani pee rahe hon isko kia bolen gay?	S: ok, I am drinking water, how will you say this?
6	G: kuch nae , bus pani pee rahe hon bus	G: nothing, same I am drinking water.
7	S: tu sari wh zuban nae boltay app, thori thori boltay hain?	S: so you don't speak the whole language, you speak little?
8	G: ghar main jassay ap log baat ker rahy hain, is trah krtay hain baten, jab koi aa jata hay tu jis k samnay hum nay baat nae krni hoti , pher is trah kay jumlay boltay hain k yaar anj nae anj. Appas ma Punjabi boltay hain.	G: we talk at home same way you speak. When somebody comes and we do not want to talk in front of him/her. Then we speak sentences like this. We speak Punjabi (Language) with each other.
9	S: acha, kabi assa hota hay k apko koi raaz wali baat krni ho?	S: ok, do you have sometimes some secret thing to say to each other.
10	G: Raaz wali baat yeh hay k ap meri behan hain, bhai hain, agar main nay ap logon say koi baat chupani hay na, tu main is trah baat kroon ge k ap logon ko pata na chalay.	G: the secret thing is that you are my sister, my brother, if I want to keep something secret from you, then I will talk in a way that you could not understand.

11	S: acha	S: Ok
12	G: jassy main nay abi aik lafz bola tha k baseit nay, tay main agar Farsi which kawan (say) k anna nu pataao, klaoo, o'da matlab ay k ena no bithan da koi fida nae.	G: like I have spoken a word right now that they are basiet. If I say in Farsi k anna nu pataao, Kaloo, it means that there is no benefit to make them sit here.
13	S: matlab inko bhejo?	S: you mean send them?
14	S: aur kuch btaen mujhy Farsi kay jumlay	S: tell me some more sentences of Farsi
15	G: Farsi kay ap dakh lain yahe hain chand lazf (alfaz , words) aur kia hotay hain. Gahr ka apko ba dia hya k *khol* ma kassay jatay hain.	G: you see Farsi is composed of few words. What else can be? I told you how to go in khol (home).
16	S: ye bhajnay ko kia bola hay ap nay?	S: what word did you speak for sending?
17	G: **pataao** in ko, k **paat jao**	G: Pataao in ko, K paat jao
18	S: Pora fiqra kia bola hay app nay?	S: what was the whole sentence
19	G: kay ina nu **khomar** nal lao, tay ina no kado	G: kay ina nu khomar nal lao, ty ina nu kado
20	P: kah rai ae pai nu khomar naal lao	P: she is saying send the brother away
21	G: bhagao yahan say	G: make them run away from here
22	G: sath sath recording kr rahe hain	G: you are recording it?
23	S: han, yeh main record kroon gee tu pata chaly ga k app kassay bol rahe then. isko boltay kassay han lafz ko?	S: yes, I am recording this to understand how you were speaking this (pronouncing this). How do you speak this word?
24	P: niharo tay girya dowan aa janday nay	P: niharo tay girya dowan aa janday nay
25	G: Lafz bolya ay jera enay, o' tuano samajh e na aai, enay kia ey dowan mian , bevi roz aa janday nay	G: the word she has spoken you could not understand it. She said both husband and wife come every day
26	S: Acha, tu kassay bola hay?	S: ok, how did you speak it?
27	G: kay **neharo** tay **Girya** dowan aa janday nay. Jab usnay kaha hay na , Girya wh apka mian hay, neharo ka matlab bivi hay.	G: kay neharo tay girya dowan aa janday nay, when she said girya , he is your husband, and neharo means wife.
28	S: isko kia bolen gay k mujhy zarori kaam hay	S: how will you say it that you have an urgent work?

29	G: assay he	G: same like you
30	S: matlab kay khas khas seekhay hoy hain jumlay aur her chez app nahe kah saktay (Farsi ma). her baat nahe bol saktay is zuban ma, kuch code hain baki lazfz wasy urdu , Punjabi kay bolnay party hain? Kuin k hain nahe?	S: it means that you people have learnt some specific sentences, and you cannot say everything in this language. There are some code words and the rest of all you speak in Punjabi, because you don't have words for others.
31	G: han, o' kah rae aay k pai aa jaway tay baji na aaway (laughing)	G: yes, she is saying that brother may come and sister do not come (laughing)
32	S: isko kassay bolen gay? Isko Farsi zuban ma kassay bolen gay k wh aa jaen aur yeh na aaen?	S: how will you say this that he may come and she does not come
33	P: **Girya** aa jaway tay **neharo** na aa way (Laughing)	P: girya aa jaway tay neharo na aa way (laughing)
34	P : **neharo** tu **jahalak** aandi aaye,	P: neharo tu jahalak aandi aaye
35	S: kia bola	S: what did you speak?
36	P sharam andi aye, **giriaay** kolon nae andi, **neharo** kolon andi aaye.	P: I shy infront of neharo (wife), but I do not shy (jhalak) infront of giryaa
37	S: nato ka kia matlab hay	S: what is the meaning of nato
	G: **nato** (nahi)	G: nato means nahi
38	S: assay mujhy koi lafz bta dain, jassay ye hay **Nato.**	S: tell me some words like nato
39	P abi **jhamkola** dakho gay	P: would you like to see jhamkola now
40	G: **Jhamkola** , dance	G: jhamkola , dance
41	S: acha dance ko j**hamkola** boltay hain	S: ok you say jhamkola to dance
42	P: han ji **jhamkola** , dance	P: yes , Jhamkola means dance
43	S: acha kapron ko kia kahtay hain	S: ok what do you call to cloths/dress
44	P: **firqay**, aye jera pai nay paya aye , ano **khorki** kanday nae	P: Firqa, the one that the brother is wearing we call it Khorki
45	G: larkay day kapron nu **Khorki** tay larki day kapran nu **firqa** bolay nay	G: Boy's drss is khorki, and girls dress is firqa
46	P: main tan ho gaye aan baji tyar	P: I am ready sister

47	S: isko kassay bolen gay, main tyar ho gaee hon?	S: how will you say that I am ready (in Farsi)
48	P: main **trawa** ker lea aaye	P: main **trawa** ker lia aaye
49	S: acha	S: ok
50	P: aggay **giryan** nay **jog** utar deti aaye.	P: aggay **giryan** nay **jog** utar deti aaye.
51	S: laughing, yeh behi mujhy samaj nae aae	S: laughing, I could not understand this
52	G: kah rae aaye agay mundian nay mery waal kat detay nay. Tay baji kah rae aye k waal chotay nay.	G: she is saying that boys have cut my hairs, and she is saying that hairs are short
53	S: acha, blaon ko kia kahtay han	S: ok what do you call to hairs?
54	G: Jog	G: Jog
55	S: acha larkon nay baal kaat diay hain (writing)	S: ok, boys have cut hairs (writing)
56	P: mundian nay waal kaat ditay nay	P: boys have cut hairs
57	S: is ma main ka lafz konsa hay. main nae hay is ma, kahen kay larkon nay mery baal kaat diay hain.	S: where is the word *I* in this sentence? There is no *I* in this, you say that boys have cut my hairs?
58	P: O' hum nay nae kahna.	P: we don't say this.
59	S: bus assay he kahna hay	S: so you will say it like this?
60	P: meri **jog giryaan** nay kata deti aaye	P: giryian have cut my Jog
61	S: aur baji kah rahe han mery baal chotay hain, isko kasy kahen gay	S: and the sister is saying my hairs are short
62	P: **Jog hanoon** aaye	P: **Jog hanoon** aaye
63	G: Meri aik sehali aaye, menu tay typhied hoya se, tay doctor nay kia se waal chotay kra lay. O na main oday kolon gae, tay O' kahdi , O' ray Guru tery waal kithy gay. Onay tay meri zuban wich menu kia na. kay guru teri **jog** kithay gae. Main kia mundian nay kaat deti. Tay kendi, guru tu nay parcha nae katwaya, main kia nae.	G: I have a friend. Once I had typhoid, doctor asked me to have haircut. I was with her, she said guru where are your hairs? She asked me in my langauge. That guru where is your **Jog.** I said boys have cut my hairs. She said guru you did not make a case on boy? I said no.

64	P: une kia mundian no **dangor khanay** nae pakarwaya.	P: she said you did not send the boys to **dangor khana?**
65	S: dangor khana	S: **dangor khana**
66	P: police, thana	P: Police, police station
67	G: **dangor** police hay aur **khana** thana ho gaya.	G: dangor police, and khana means police station

Appendix-D

Timeline of The Mughal Dynasty		
Rank	Mughal Ruler	Period of Rule
1	Babur	1526 – 1530
2	Humayun	1530 – 1540 1555 – 1556
3	Akbar	1556 – 1605
4	Jahangir	1605 – 1627
5	Shahryar (de facto)	1627 – 1628
6	Shah Jahan	1628 – 1658
7	Aurangzeb	1658 – 1707
8	Muhammad Azam Shah (titular)	1,707
9	Bahadur Shah I	1707 – 1712
10	Jahandar Shah	1712 – 1713
11	Farrukhsiyar	1713 – 1719
12	Rafi ud-Darajat	1,719
13	Shah Jahan II	1,719
14	Muhammad Shah	1719 – 1748
15	Ahmad Shah Bahadur	1748 – 1754
16	Alamgir II	1754 – 1759
17	Shah Jahan III (titular)	1759 – 1760
18	Shah Alam II	1760 – 1806
19	Jahan Shah IV (titular)	1,788
20	Akbar II	1806 – 1837
21	Bahadur Shah II	1837 – 1857

Image: www.oxfordreference.com

Appendix-E

Media Discourse (Pakistani TV-serials)

A Pakistani Tv serial **Moorat**[101] **(2004)** is based on the life of a transgender person and revolves around the issues related to transgender people and the problems of people who are associated with them. It is the story of a boy Babar who was snubbed by his father and brother and went to a group of transgender people living in the neighborhood. Babar (previously spelled Babar) likes all girly things like jewelry, makeup, playing with dolls, and going to the house of Reshma who is a *guru[102]* Reshma lives with her disciples, Bijili and Shola. Babar talks like girls and goes dancing parties and wedding ceremonies with the neighboring group of khawja Saras.

This way, the serial captures the life of khawja Saras in Pakistani society; they earn money through dancing in functions and parties, which is their main profession. Many times throughout the play, Reshma is accused of converting Babar into a hijra/khawja Sara. Sometimes his parents were regretting that he became Hijra/khawja Sara because of his parents' strictness and khawja Saras' companionship. Babar marries his cousin Kosar and has a baby girl, but he never changes his behavior after marriage and after becoming a father. The story reveals the problems of the girl who is the wife of a Hijra/khawja Sara (Babar). Who is working all the time just like a servant, firstly at her step-mother's house before marriage, secondly, at her in-laws house after marriage, thirdly at her aunt's house. Kosar leaves babar's home along with her little daughter and stays at her aunt's house. During this period once or twice her mother-in-law goes to see kosar but she rejects the idea of going back to Babar's house. During this period Babar never visited her.

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[101] Moorat- TV drama serial. Retrieved on 22-3-2018:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B1r1qKD9EEs

[102] Guru is a mentor, teacher, elder person, acting like parents in Hijras community. RELOCATE EARLIER.

Kosar marries second time with her aunts son. Her second husband is prejudiced towards her daughter unaware of the fact why kosar dissolved her first marriage. In her second marriage, Kosar gives birth to a baby boy. Her second husband arranges a function to celebrate the birth of new born. In this function a group of khawaja sara's comes to give wadahai. Babar comes along with this group of khawaja sara in feminine attire. Babar was unaware that it was kosar's house, he was dancing with his fellow khawaja saras when Kosar enters and asks his husband (if she had not left Babar) what would she have to tell the people that this (Babar) is the father of her daughter. Upon hearing this everybody around traumatized and skocked. Babar leaves the house with great grief and kosars second husband feels sorry for the kosar's daughter.

It shows that although Babar was a kind of effiminate boy since childhood but it was the strictness of the parents and neighborhood environment which compelled Babar to join hijra community.

Murad[103] (2004) is a TV drama short film about a khawja Sara's motherhood. Saima, a khawja Sara, adopts a helpless child Murad. The child does not like her profession of dancing. Saima tries to work as a male in other professions, but people tease her at every place. She also tries to get a job as a woman but fails again. The story shows the problems of Hijras/khawja Saras in earning money respectfully. She starts begging to earn her living, but when Murad sees her as a beggar, he dislikes it and becomes angry. Saima sends Murad to a hostel and starts dancing again to earn money for his studies. She never goes to Murad to avoid his hatred. Murad goes abroad on a scholarship for his studies. In the end, Saima gets an invitation for a newborn welcoming ceremony from an unknown person. When she, along with her company, reach there, she comes

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[103] Murad –TV movie. Retrieved on 23-3-2018: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YM1SlfQNXJQ

to know that it was Murad, who wanted to show his son and wife his mother who brought him up with the help of her "Ghungroo." He thanks Saima for everything she did for him.

Chandni[104] (2016) is a short film portraying the story of a Khawaja Sara and the attitude of society around her. It shows many true aspects of Khawaja Saras' life: rejection from family, acceptance by Hijra community, Khawaja Saras' motherhood, friendship with Khawaja Sara community members, the attitude of society, etc.

The story begins with Taimoor visiting the shrine and thinking why he is attracted to the shrine and the particular character Chandni a khawja Sara who lives as a Darwish[105] near the shrine. One day he visits the shrine and meets Chandni. Chandni asks him what he wants from her and why he follows her every day. Taimoor replies: "how did you see me?" he asks in a rather surprising manner, 'but your voice is masculine." Chandni replies: "Yes, my voice is masculine, but I am not a man, I am a woman." Taimoor retorts: "I want to know the hidden in your raqs (dance)." At first, she denies but finally agrees to tell her story. Her parents started fighting after her birth. Her mother had a great love for her and wanted to keep her at all costs, but her father was afraid of society and was not ready to accept her and keep her. During the few years she spent at her home, she received love from her mother and hatred from her father. She used to play with her two younger siblings. One day the khawja Saras grabbed her in front of her father. His father remained silent and moved inside the house with her two younger children.

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[104] Chandni Pakistani telefilm. Writer: Sohail Alam Khan, Producer: Faisal Qureshi, Director: Siraj-ul-Haque. Starcast: actor Kashif mehmood as Chandni. Retrieved on 25-3-2018: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YM1SlfQNXJQ

[105] Darwish is a selfless person who has renounced the world. The world is adopted from sufi-ism.

The later part of the story shows her life with khawja Saras: the role of the guru as a mother and the lifestyle of khawja Saras. When she is grown up, she insists that the guru let her live near the shrine instead of dancing. The guru accepts her request, and she starts living near the shrine. After listening to the story, Taimoor asks her: "Do you remember the name of your father." Chandni replies "Although my father did not name me, I remember his name very well, his name was Nisar Ahmad." On hearing this, Taimoor, lost in her thinking, says that he will come back later. He returns home and quarrels with his father for handing over his child to khawja Saras. He says that he will bring this child (Chandni) back and will give him his father's name. On hearing this, his father died. Taimoor tells his wife that he has found his lost sister and he will bring her home. His? wife becomes happy on hearing this and congratulates him, but she is not aware that his lost sister is a Khawaja Sara (Chandni). Next time, Taimoor tells Chandni that he is her brother and comes to take her back home. Chandni accepts his request somehow and goes with him. Upon entering the house, when Taimoor's wife realizes that Taimoor's sister Chandni is a Khawaja Sara, she fails to accept her and leaves home, saying that she will only come back when Chandi leaves the house. Chandni requests Taimoor not to disturb his home because of her, but Taimoor is still determined to have her stay at his home at any cost. Taimoor's other sister is also afraid of society and her in-laws; she disapproves to own the lost sister Chandni. Chandni goes back to her old home and asks Taimoor to bring his wife back home and never tell anybody about their relation.

The story at the end shows that people ask Hijras/Khawaja Saras for prayers and blessing, but they are not ready to keep them at home. It also shows that if one person accepts Hijras/Khawaja Saras, it is difficult for him to fight with the whole society. Therefore, it is necessary to bring change in the whole society.

Khuda Mera Bhi Hay[106] (2016-2017), a TV serial on ARY Digital, highlights the stereotypes, gender discrimination, and marginalization of trans individuals within Pakistani society. The couple Maghagul and Zain are very liberal and broad-minded. They share the same interests and objectives to change the world, whether it is inequality, poverty, or gender discrimination; they both want to bring change together. However, they could not see/failed to envisage this one change, that is, they would not be able to raise their transgender baby together. Life changes for them completely as their first baby is transgender. When the doctor declares the baby as transgender, Zain refuses to accept the baby (Noor) and leaves Mahagul and his baby alone. To bring up his baby as a normal/cisgender being, Mahagul takes bold steps against the family pressure and society where the third gender is not acceptable and remains a taboo which produces identity crises. Mahagul wants Noor to identify (gender/sex) his personality and get equal treatment and opportunities as a normal/cisgender child. She hires a tutor Mikaeel who teaches Noor as he would have his son.

Trans on Screen

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[106] Khuda Mera Bhi Hay (2016-2017), writer: Asma Nabeel, Director: Shahid shafaat, Cast: Ayesha Khan , Syed Jibran, Furqan Qurashi. Reterived on 15-07-2018: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYSjNpp5CbI

Trans on screen

Mehmood aslam in tv serial janjal purs (1996)

Shammo in alif allah aur insaan (2017)

Trans on screen

I said, 'Me, as a eunuch?'

M warsi in moorat 2004

On the way, near to the milestone, Someone is sitting sad and dejected

mehmood akhtar in 'moorta'

altogether playing a Eunoch's role seemed difficult.

Sohail asghar in moorat 2004

And I hope that you will watch it with the same love.

Abid Ali in moorat 2004

Framing Pakistani Hijras' Discursive Positioning on Gender, State and Society: Analyzing Transgender Language, Identity and Subjectivity

Abstract:

This thesis explores Pakistani hijras positioning vis-à-vis gender, state and society. The study inspects the prevailing theoretical aspects of gender to formulate new avenues of thinking, theorizing and living. It analyzes the existing discursive practices influencing hijras' identity and subjectivity. It examines the self-Other relationship in the formation of identity and subjectivity. This study suggests that the gaze of the self and the gaze of others play a great role in forming and shaping the individuals, their identity, and subjectivity. The discourse of Others has great impact on the discourse of the self. The discourse of Others cultivates particular ways of thinking and responding. The social actors under this discursive influence behave in a particular predefined and preplanned ways in dayto-day communicative events. Identity can be transformed and reshaped by constructing positive discourse. Hijras' self-discourse reveals that lack of identity is deeply linked to the *lack-ofhaving* issues. The more lacks the *small others* have, the more power and prestige the *grand Others* will have. In order to minimize the gap between *us versus them* and to achieve equality in the society, it is necessary to identify and fix the lack-of-having. This study also suggests the inclusion of gender-neutral pronouns in Urdu language to produce positive subjectivities.

Keywords: transgender, identity, subjectivity, discursive positioning, self-other relationship

Cerner le positionnement discursif des hijras pakistanais sur le genre, l'État et la société: analyse de la langue, de l'identité et de la subjectivité transgenre

Résumé :

Cette thèse explore le positionnement des hijras pakistanais vis-à-vis du genre, de l'État et de la société. L'étude examine les aspects théoriques dominants du genre pour formuler de nouvelles pistes de réflexion, de théorisation et de vie. Il analyse les pratiques discursives existantes qui influencent l'identité et la subjectivité des hijras. Il examine la relation soi-autre dans la formation de l'identité et de la subjectivité. Cette étude suggère que le regard de soi et le regard des autres jouent un grand rôle dans la formation et le modelage des individus, de leur identité et de leur subjectivité. Le discours des autres a un grand impact sur le discours de soi. Le discours des autres cultive des modes particuliers de pensée et de réponse. Les acteurs sociaux sous cette influence discursive se comportent d'une manière particulière prédéfinie et pré-planifiée lors d'événements de communication quotidiens. L'identité peut être transformée et remodelée en construisant un discours positif. L'auto-discours des Hijras révèle que le manque d'identité est profondément lié au *manque d'avoir* au sens lacanien du terme. Plus les *petits autres* sont marqués par ce manque, plus les *Grands Autres* auront de pouvoir et de prestige. Afin de minimiser l'écart entre *nous et eux* et de parvenir à l'égalité dans la société, il est nécessaire d'identifier et de corriger le *manque d'avoir*. Cette étude suggère également l'inclusion de pronoms neutres dans la langue ourdoue pour produire des subjectivités positives.

Mots clés: transgenre, identité, subjectivité, positionnement discursif, relation soi/autrui