

Stereotypes and Stigmas in the News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on
Khawajasiras in Pakistan's Newspapers

By

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دور کتنی بے ابھی صبح، بتا تو دیں گے

(فیض احمد فیض)

Abstract

The study aims to analyze the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourses regarding a non-binary gendered marginalized group in Pakistan, called Khawajasiras. Since 2009, after Supreme Court's verdict in favor of Khawajasiras, a number of developments have taken place for the welfare of the community. However, literature shows that these developments have had limited impact on the marginalized lives of Khawajasiras. Therefore, this study raises the question of if and how stereotypes and stigmas are reinforced regarding the Khawajasira community despite the post 2009 developments for the community's welfare. The question is addressed by doing critical discourse analysis of Pakistan's newspapers.

The study applies Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis and combines it with path dependency theory, Goffman's theorization of stigmatization of the non-normative for upholding a normative social order, Connell's conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity, and Delphy's work on discourses of gender binaries. Using primary data of news reports on Khawajasiras from 2009 to 2017, collected by Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), the study thematically analyzes the stereotypes and stigmas on Khawajasiras in the newspapers' discourse in Pakistan.

The analysis shows that the increasing visibility of Khawajasiras in the news discourses, underscored by their victimized and marginalized status, is a critical move away from the colonial stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community. However, evidence from the news texts also shows that the state driven 'mainstreaming' discourse appears to discipline the non-normative lives to uphold a normative social order which resultantly, entrenches Khawajasiras

into a multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas. These stereotypes and stigmas not only show continuation of some crucial elements of the colonial discourses on the community, but also highlights the ongoing gendering of Khawajasiras into a gender binary driven notion of femininity. The theoretical and practical implications of the analysis are discussed in the dissertation.

Keywords: Khawajasira, Transgender of Pakistan, Critical Discourse Analysis, Stereotypes, Stigmas.

Dedications

To my *Abu jee* and *Mama jee*.

میرے سارے امتحان، تیرے ہی دم سے آسان ہوئے

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Development is a complex process, one that does not necessarily benefit every stakeholder. Historical path dependency (Pierson, 2004), asymmetric power relations (North, 1990), heteronormative assumptions (Cornwall, 2014) and many other important variables result in exclusion, and hence, marginalization of many groups from the development processes. Marginalization results in their existences being perceived through stereotypical and stigmatizing lenses. Understanding these stereotypes and stigmas is therefore, important to understand the lives of the marginalized.

From a faulty thought process to a method of simplifying a complex environment, stereotypes have been defined in various ways. Lipmann (1922), one of the first theorists to define stereotypes, explains it as a process in which “we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see” (p.33). The understanding remains that stereotypes are “typical pictures that come to mind when thinking about a particular social group” (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses, 2010, p.7). These pictures limit our understanding by making our perceptions about the group rigid and inflexible. Such perceptions can result in a vicious cycle where the stereotypes do not only result from discrimination or marginalization of the group, but they also tend to reproduce and reinforce a discriminatory discourse regarding the group. (see Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Fiske, *et. al*, 2002; Eagly & Dikeman, 2005; Dovidio *et. al*, 2010).

Stereotypes do not only have a relationship with discrimination, a term that literature tends to use in relation to producers of exclusion and marginalization, it also has a strong connection with

stigma, a term that brings the focus of contemporary literature to the receivers of marginalization (Link & Phelan, 2001, p.366). Goffman (1963), one of the firsts to conceptualize stigma, defines it as a “deeply discrediting” attribute that reduces a person “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (p.3). Many other theorists have added to this definition (see Jones *et al*, 1984; Stafford & Scott, 1986; Crocker *et. al*, 1998; Link & Phelan, 1999). A more contemporary understanding of stigma as put forth by Link & Phelan (2001) calls it a “co-occurrence” of four components including “distinguishing and labeling differences,” “associating human differences with negative attributes,” “separating ‘us’ from ‘them’,” and “status loss and discrimination” (p.363-375). Stereotypes and stigmas appear in gender relations too. Their prescriptive nature, i.e., expectations and requirements of certain skills and roles from different genders increases the likelihood of stigmatization for those who do not adhere to those roles (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

The definitions of stereotypes and stigmas do not clarify as to why they occur in the first place i.e., what are the origins of stereotypes and stigmas. From Goffman (1963) to Link and Phelan (2001) and Dovidio *et. al* (2010), all agree that the occurrence of stereotypes and stigmas and their nature is determined by the power structure of the society. A biased and discriminatory exercise of power results in a stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse regarding different groups. Thus, understanding the stereotypes and stigmas and through that, the power structures is of critical importance for a society in order to ameliorate the lives of the marginalized. Discourse analysis as a research tool is meant to evaluate stereotypes and stigmas to understand the power structures. Critical discourse analysis investigates contents of speeches and texts (and other such material) produced within a society’s socio-cultural context to understand the ways in which the “social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted” (Van

Dijk, 2015, p.466). Newspapers, because of their centrality and embedded-ness in a socio-cultural context, are often used for conducting critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (1995; 2003) provides a comprehensive three dimensional model for analyzing newspapers' text that explains how the news text connects to its broader societal context not just in what it reports, but how and why it reports it as such as well. This is what this dissertation aims to achieve – a critical discourse analysis of news text on a marginalized group to evaluate the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the group in the text to develop a better understanding of the discourse and through that the power structure in which the marginalized community is entrenched.

In Pakistan, one such historically marginalized group is *Khawajasiras*¹² – the non-binary or third sex/gender group. The 2017 population census enumerated total Khawajasiras in Pakistan to be 10,418.³ On August 08, 2017, the first ever bill on transgender rights was tabled in the National Assembly (NA) of Pakistan (Zaidi, 2017). Earlier in 2009, Pakistan joined the ranks of those few countries⁴ that recognize a third sex/gender person – neither man nor woman – as distinct and equal citizen. Khawajasiras have historically lived under a unique family system known as *Guru-Chela* (teacher-disciple) system. There are a number of practices which classify them as a distinct culture group. Khawajasiras have a language called *Hijra-farsi* which consists of several words and terminologies that usually only people within the Khawajasira circle are familiar with (Khan, 2014a). A new Chela – or *Moorat* – as they are called in certain cases, joins the

¹ In the most recent acceptable English terminology for Khawajasiras, transgender is considered an adequate term. However, ethnographic studies like Khan (2014a) argue that transgender is not an exact translation of Khawajasiras. Thus, to keep the subject of this dissertation culturally accurate, the term Khawajasira is be used throughout the study.

² Following the example of Khan (2014a), a dissertation on Khawajasiras completed at Syracuse University, all non-English words are italicized only the first time they appear in the main text.

³ This figure is however, considered an underestimation of total Khawajasiras in Pakistan because many people conceal their third sex/gender identity in fear of marginalization.

⁴ Other countries in the list up until now include Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, Germany, Canada, Nepal, India and Bangladesh. While the first four recognize only the intersexual persons in the 'third' category as a distinct sex, the later three seek to recognize a much broader non-binary category.

Khawajasira circle under a guru through a proper initiation process. The guru is like father who not only feeds and raises the Chelas, but also teaches them the Khawajasira lifestyle (ibid). However, a guru is never a permanent father of the Chela – unlike the biological father, there is flexibility and the Chela can leave for another guru, too. Khawajasiras have some traditional occupations like dancing and begging at weddings and birthdays for alms. Access to these opportunities is restricted only to those who join the Khawajasira circle and follow its rules and regulations (ibid). In short, Khawajasira lifestyle has been carrying on a set of cultural practices that belonged to a diverse group of non-normative sex and gendered groups.

The term Khawajasira itself comes from the Mughal era when the non-binary persons had high social status and were given well respected roles in the empire. But the colonial rule stripped off not only their high status and jobs, but even tried to erase them as a socially visible group with its policies and legislation, particularly the Criminal Tribes Act 1871 (Pamment, 2010; Hinchy, 2014). Colonizers perceived Khawajasiras as sexual deviants who indulge in homosexual acts, and therefore made them vulnerable to the section 377⁵ of the Indian penal code⁶ (Hinchy, 2014). Among other things, the bill tabled in the NA in 2017 seeks appropriate amendments in the penal code to protect the Khawajasira community. Therefore, it has been a positive step away from the colonial influences.

The judgment of 2009 for Khawajasiras' equal citizenship status was historic, but it was neither the beginning nor the end of developments in favor of third gender in Pakistan. The debate in courts about the non-normative gender community first started in 2007 when a transsexual man – Shumail Raj – married a cis-gender woman – Shazina Tariq. The couple was jailed by the Lahore High Court for committing perjury (about Shumail's gender) and homosexuality

⁵ Section 377 of the Pakistan Penal Code declares sodomy punishable by law and homosexuality is considered sodomy in this code.

⁶ In Pakistan now, it is referred to as Pakistan Penal Code.

(International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission [IGLHRC], 2008). Later, in 2009, in a different incident, Dr. Aslam Khaki, an Islamic Jurist, filed a petition in the Supreme Court against the arrest of Khawajasiras from Taxila⁷ and appealed for Khawajasiras' welfare. In continuation to the 2009 case, a number of judgments from the Supreme Court of Pakistan recognized a series of basic human rights for Khawajasiras in Pakistan. These rights include the right to vote, education, healthcare, employment, inheritance and many more (Khaki v. S.S.P, 2009). Their identity cards are now issued as *mardKhawajasira* (Female-to-Male Transgender or Trans-man), *auratKhawajasira* (Male-to-Female Transgender or Trans-woman) or *khunsa-e-mushkil* (indeterminable – used for ambiguous intersex). However, the 'sex' category in the passports of Khawajasiras says 'X'⁸ (Ullah, 2017). Even those non-normative individuals, who do not live under the Guru-Chela family system, can obtain a Khawajasira identity card or passport. Interviews conducted by Pamment (2010) show that the gurus and other Khawajasiras openly welcome and consider them a part of their extended family. There are also many other apparent affirmative social actions including the hiring of a transgender as news anchor at Kohenoor News⁹ (Dawn, 2018), hiring of transgendered individuals for running a cafeteria in National College of Arts (NCA), Rawalpindi (Shafqat, 2015), and the 'Khawajsira socio-economic rehabilitation program' initiated by Akhuwat foundation (Majeedullah, 2016). These are examples of acknowledging the community's presence, its problems, as well as actively working for their welfare.

⁷ A district in the province of Punjab, Pakistan

⁸ The letter 'x' in the 'sex' category represents indeterminate. It originated from Germany for the newborn intersex babies. Prior to that, an intersex had to undergo surgery to become a boy or a girl to be able to get access to the country's healthcare, education and other welfare rights. However, the x category accepted the presence of a third sex and ensured equal access to healthcare, education and other rights for them too. However, in Pakistan 'x' in passports represents all Khawajasiras, not just the intersexual persons.

⁹ A local news channel in Pakistan

However, despite the efforts, the group largely remains marginalized. Violence, abuse and harassment from the state and the non-state actors continue to make the lives of Khawajasiras miserable. Education and employment prospects in the formal market without government support remain grim for the community (Nazir & Yasir, 2016). Similarly, in 2015, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa alone, 45 Khawajasira were killed (The Express Tribune, 2016). The reason for such marginalization, as this study would show, appears to be in the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourses regarding the community. This study shows that while formal affirmative actions are increasing, the community is surrounded by a discourse that is driven by gender binaries and hegemonic state structures, the roots of which lie in the colonial era.

Stereotypes and stigmas reinforce marginalization and marginalization reinforces stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community. Khawajasiras' well-being is unlikely to be uplifted as long as this vicious cycle is not broken, the key to which appears in breaking away from the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse. There continues to be stringent lack of acceptance to greater gender diversity. State's welfare actions are only likely to be effective if they contribute to a reduction of stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse on Khawajasiras. While plenty of research focuses on Khawajasiras plight and marginalized situation in the country, few studies address the problem of studying and analyzing specifically the discourse i.e., what stereotypes, inequalities and biases are being eliminated and what are being reproduced or replaced with new ones regarding the community. This is what this research aims to achieve. It studies the problem of stereotyping and stigmatizing discourses on Khawajasiras in Pakistan's print news media. For this purpose, a critical discourse analysis of Pakistan's national newspapers from 2009 to 2017 is done using Fairclough's model. This study analyses how the discourse in the news texts reinforces the stereotypical and stigmatizing status quo regarding Khawajasiras. The narrowed

down research question from this problem statement, and how it is further divided into sub-questions, based on the relevant study objectives, is delineated in the section below.

1.2 Research Question

The study explores the following primary question:

Do Pakistan's newspapers reinforce certain stereotypes and stigmas regarding the Khawajasira community, and if yes, how?

Using the techniques of critical discourse analysis, studying the discourses of newspapers over time will help understand the discourse on Khawajasiras at a macro level. Discourses on Khawajasiras during the colonial times which led to their inclusion in the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, as the review of literature would show, involved various stereotypes and stigmas. Therefore, the first sub-question of the study relates to the post 2009 discourse's path dependency on the colonial discourse. The question is:

Question 1: Does the post 2009 discourse on Khawajasiras continue to reinforce colonial discourses on the community, and if so, how?

Furthermore, the 2009 verdict of the Supreme Court of Pakistan attempted to turn the tables and change the state of Khawajasiras' well-being. Many affirmative actions for Khawajasiras' welfare followed since then. However, once again the relevant literature would show that the marginalized existences of Khawajasiras continue to face challenges, at times even more than before due to the increased focus on them. Therefore, the second sub-question would explore the discourses around the state's post-2009 actions for Khawajasiras' welfare and well-being.

Question 2: How does the discourse on state's welfare activities for Khawajasiras reinforce stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community?

Within the second question, the aspect of gender relations is important. Since Khawajasira community is a distinct cultural group underlined by their diverse gender performances, the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community in the post 2009 era should also be analyzed through the lens of gender relations. Therefore, the third sub-question is:

Question 3: How does the contemporary discourse on Khawajasiras reinforce a stereotypical and stigmatizing notion of gender binaries and gender roles?

The answers to these sub-questions will not only add separately to the existing literature, but together, will also present a comprehensive picture to understand the discourse on Khawajasiras in Pakistan's newspapers, which is a reflection of the broader social discourse on the community.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The study is important not only for its academic contributions at understanding the discourse on non-binary community but also for its practical implications. In a broader sense, the study critically evaluates the notion of 'mainstreaming' of Khawajasiras. It contends that such notions are characterized by stereotypical and stigmatized discourses. It leads to a better understanding of why development continues to be marginalizing for the non-normative groups. Therefore, it has implications as to how the overall power relations can be made more equal and less marginalizing. It will particularly help us study whether Khawajasiras' representation in the Pakistani newspapers is contributing positively towards their lives i.e., whether the news text increases or decreases stereotypes on them. Furthermore, the study also helps identify points where newspapers could improve and contribute in reducing the stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras. The news text is influenced by the society and it influences the society as well. So it can either choose to reinforce the status quo or challenge it. The study will show where and how the resistance is required for better development and inclusion of Khawajasiras.

1.4 Key Terminologies

Important terminologies have been divided into three broad categories: first, the general gender terminologies, second, the study specific operationalized terminologies, and third, the culture centered terminologies. The concepts have varying, and at times, contesting definitions. Their understanding and application has also evolved overtime. Therefore, rather than going into a debate on the different definitions and operationalization of each concept, which is beyond the scope of this study, the criteria used for selection and operationalization of particular definitions of these concepts is that they are taken from the recently published scientific literature to make sure that most recent working definitions have been employed in conducting this research.¹⁰ The definitions below help understand as these concepts are applied (operationalized) in the contemporary literature as well as in this dissertation.

General Terminologies:

Sex versus Gender Identity: Sex identity of a person generally refers to the biology of a person but the gender identity deals with the socio-psychological identity i.e., a person's inherently felt sense of belonging to a certain category that reflects on his or her behavior and attitude (Diamond, 2002). If the person conforms to the cultural expectations, he or she is gender-normative, if not, he or she becomes gender non-normative or non-conformist (American Psychological Association [APA], 2012).

Cis-gender: A person whose psychological sense of his/her identity matches the sex assigned at birth. A biological male having masculine psychological identity would be cis-male and a biological female having feminine psychological identity would be cis-female or cis-woman (APA, 2015).

¹⁰ This approach is borrowed from Nisar (2016), a dissertation on Khawajasiras completed at Arizona State University.

Non-Binary or Non-normative Sex/Gender: A person whose sex/gender does not match the normatively accepted male female binary (APA, 2012; Richards *et al*, 2016).

Gender Dysphoria: Marked incongruence between a person's sex and gender identity (APA, 2013).

Gender Queer: A person whose gender identity does not conform to the male and female binary understanding of gender is called genderqueer (APA, 2015).

Queer: An umbrella term used for individuals whose sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression does not conform to the socio-cultural normative expectations (APA, 2015).

Intersex: These are also known as hermaphrodite – a term that is considered derogatory now in the global discourse and hence, should not be used. It is defined as a person who is born with both male and female physical or hormonal characteristics (Diamond, 2002).

Transgender: A person whose psychological sense of identity differs from the sex assigned at birth. If the person was assigned male at birth, but the psychological identity is predominantly feminine, she is a male to female transgender (MTF) or trans-feminine. Similarly, if a person was assigned female at birth, but the psychological identity is predominantly masculine, he is a female to male transgender (FTM) or trans-masculine (APA, 2015).

Transsexual: A person who undergoes a physical or hormonal change in his/her sexual identity through surgery or therapy compared to change the sex assigned to him at the time of birth (Diamond, 2002).

Cross-Dresser: A person who cross dresses. Previously, in derogatory terms, they were also called transvestites (Diamond, 2002).

Study Specific Operationalized Terminologies:

Stereotypes: Stereotypes are rigid and inflexible typical pictures of a group that tends to introduce or reinforce a discriminatory discourse regarding the group (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses, 2010).

Stigmas: Stigmas are defined as a “co-occurrence” of four components including “distinguishing and labeling differences,” “associating human differences with negative attributes,” “separating ‘us’ from ‘them’,” and “status loss and discrimination” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p.363-375). The two definitions, of stereotypes and stigmas, not only give a theoretical understanding of the concepts, but also have clear indicators for operationalizing the terms when studying the discourses.

*Dominant Discourse:*¹¹ The dominant discourse could be identified by looking into what narrative appears more repetitively. However, to ensure the reliability of such statistics, data on newspapers readership i.e., what percentage and which section of the society reads which newspaper is also required. The reason is that a particular narrative can only be taken as the dominant one if the newspapers in which it is appearing carry the majority readership. Because if only a small minority is the recipient of a narrative then it cannot be classified as a dominant discourse. However, readership related statistics for Pakistani newspapers could not be accessed during this study. Therefore, the criteria employed for finding the dominant discourse is that if a narrative (in its lexical choices, syntax, logic and/or presuppositions) occur in at least six of the newspapers – with at least three from Urdu newspapers – that are being reviewed for this study in the given context then the discourse would classify as the dominant discourse regarding Khawajasiras.

¹¹ Author has created this operationalized definition himself after reviewing multiple studies and dissertations on discourse analysis as well as after knowing the relevant limitations of the available data for this study.

*Gendering:*¹² In the context of this study can be defined as a way of reducing Khawajasira identity such that the male and female oriented binary notion of sex and gender and gender roles is reinforced, and their non-normative existence is abridged if not eliminated completely, which ultimately reinforces hegemonic masculinity in the normative space.

Cultural Terminologies:¹³

Khawajasira: In Pakistan, Khawajasira is an umbrella term that refers to a cultural group of non-binary or non-normative gendered people (Khan, 2014a). However, after recent developments, a person does not necessarily have to be part of the cultural group because he or she can attain a Khawajasira (third gender) identity card from the state too.

*KhawajaSarai:*¹⁴ Mughal Court eunuchs (Hinchy, 2014).

Moorat: Refers to young individuals relatively new in the Khawajasira circle (Khan, 2014a).

Hijra: Refers to transgendered cross dressing eunuchs in Pakistan – castrated men who believe to have a feminine soul and hence, dress up as woman too (Hinchy, 2014; Khan 2014a). According to Khan (2014a), “the state of having undergone genital excision, which involved the removal of both the penis and testicles, was called *nirban* in Farsi, and the identity term attached to this physical condition was hijra” (p.67). It is considered a derogatory term now, and hence, is replaced by the broader term Khawajasiras.

Khusra: A Punjabi term for Hijras (Khan, 2014a).

Khansa or Khunsa: Urdu word for Intersex (Khan, 2014a).

¹² This term has been adopted with some modifications from Sanders (1991) whose work is included in the literature review.

¹³ With one exception, the definitions of cultural terms have all been taken from Khan (2014a), a dissertation completed on Khawajasiras in Syracuse University involving a fourteen months long ethnography.

¹⁴ This differentiation between KhawajaSira and KhawajaSarai comes from Hinchy (2014) and is further explained in the literature review.

Zennana or Zankha: A sub-group within the Khawajasira circle. According to Khan (2014a), “the state of possessing a feminine soul and male sexual organs was called *akva* in Farsi vernacular, and the identity term attached to this condition was *zennana*” (p.65).

1.5 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation has a total of eight chapters including this introductory chapter. The second chapter reviews literature on Khawajasiras. It first places Khawajasiras in the global context i.e., reviews literature on similar global groups to understand the discourse in different parts of the world on non-normative gendered groups. Then the chapter enters into more contextualized review of literature, and reviews their historical status in the Muslim world perspective, and then it looks at the literature that deals with Khawajasiras’ history in the subcontinent. Once the historical context is set, the literature review then focuses on the contemporary lives of Khawajasiras in Pakistan.

The third chapter explains the methodological approach of the research. It first explains Fairclough’s three dimensional critical discourse analysis model for analyzing news texts. Then it combines Fairclough’s model with path dependency theory, and the works of Goffman (1963) and Delphy (1993) to hypothesize the news discourse on Khawajasiras. Then it explains the research process in which the research design, sampling and limitations are explained.

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapter are based on the three themes identified during the research. These themes are continuation of colonial stereotypes, stigma oriented mainstreaming of Khawajasiras, and gender roles reinforcing discourse on Khawajasiras. Each theme has sub-themes which present the relevant findings, and then contextualize the findings for analysis to explain whether and how the findings confirm the hypothesis.

Chapter seven is the discussion chapter. This chapter puts together all three themes into one picture and shows how the discourse has a self-reinforcing stigmatizing characteristic to it. It also sheds light on other related aspects and relates them to the existing literature to show how this study has added to the existing literature. Finally, chapter eight concludes the study by summarizing the contributions to the existing literature, explaining practical implications of the study, and giving recommendations for future studies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Overview

Non-binary groups are marginalized in many parts of the world. However, their estrangement varies with context. This review of literature takes the form of a narrative review. A narrative review gives the reviewer “an initial impression of the topic area that they intend to understand through their research” (Bryman, 2012, p.110). The review of literature for this study aims to achieve the following objectives: a) place the Khawajasiras of Pakistan in the broader global and historical socio-cultural setting (see section 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 of the review), b) examine the different topics that the existing studies on Khawajasiras have contemporaneously explored (see section 2.5), and c) review the areas in which a discourse analysis, directly or indirectly, has already been done so that an appropriate research gap could be identified and turned into the focus of this research. The review of literature on non-binary groups is therefore, divided into four sections. The first section reviews literature on non-binary or non-normative gendered groups at the global level to understand their marginalized situation across the globe. The second section reviews practices of the Muslim world on non-binary gender. This is important since in Pakistan, religion plays a crucial role. The section establishes the broader understanding and acceptance of non-binary gender in the traditional practices of Islam and how it has changed in the contemporary interpretations. The third section reviews Khawajasiras’ history in the subcontinent in four phases: ancient, medieval, colonial and post-colonial eras. The fourth section studies the post-2009 lives of Khawajasiras to get closer to the existing literature on contemporary discourse regarding Khawajasiras and their lifestyles.

2.2 Non-normative Gender in the Global Setting

Khawajasiras, because of their cultural distinctness, lack an exact match among the global non-normative groups. Generally, they are referred to as transgender persons in Pakistan. However, Khan's (2014a) ethnographic study argues that the term transgender is close, but not an accurate translation because it does not cover the diversity, particularly the culturally distinct characteristics that the term Khawajasira covers. In his later work, Khan (2016) proposes the term genderqueer as a better term – though he still does not consider it an exact translation – to understand Khawajasiras in the global context. Khan's distinction between transgender and genderqueer becomes debatable when one notices that Connell (2010) considers transgender an umbrella term and argues that genderqueer persons fall under the broader trans-person or transgender category. It is important to remember at this point that the local term Khawajasira as well as the global terms genderqueer or transgender are not meant to be restricted to narrowly drawn boundaries. Their non-normativity is in breaking away from supposed normative ideals of boundaries (Butler, 1990). Therefore, a debate on which non-normative person falls under which category as well as establishing which English terminology is a more accurate match of the term Khawajasira is beyond the scope of this study. This section briefly reviews literature on the global non-normative groups, transgender and/or genderqueer, to understand the status of non-normative groups and reasons for their marginalization at the global level. It aims to understand the processes of marginalization as well as the status of non-normative persons' education, employment, health and general well-being, globally.

The process of marginalization of non-normative persons begins from transgender persons' homes and immediate social circle despite their aspirations to be accepted. While reviewing media stories from 1990 to 2005 in American mass and alternative media regarding transgender,

Westbrook (2010) notices that contrary to media portrayals of the trans-community, the transgender individuals see themselves as complete humans, who do or aspire to do everything that people who are part of the mainstream society do. Connell (2010) would disagree with this hypothesis as she argues that ‘doing transgender’ by definition means breaking away from normative or mainstream boundaries. Hence, transgender persons bring forth a holistically different view of gender and gender performances (Butler, 1990). However, beyond the debate of specifics of transgender persons’ aspirations and performances, Hines (2010) recognizes the aspirations among transgender persons at a broader level, and takes a step forward into analyzing how family itself creates hurdles and makes it difficult for trans-persons to turn their aspirations into a reality. She cites multiple case laws in which transgender persons appealed against the discrimination by the society, particularly the family members and demanded for their right to family life.

The denial of right to family and social life extends to increasing the likelihood of denying them access to education and employment as well. Equal access to education and employment could potentially lead to better healthcare, greater chances of economic mobility as well as an opportunity to breaking away from the vicious cycle of discrimination by the family as well as the larger society against transgender persons (Whittle, 2000). However, Armas (2008) argues that the vicious cycle tends to be so strongly embedded within the social norms that the prospects of formal education and employment become a challenge for transgender individuals.

With little familial and social support and denial of access to education and employment, discrimination in accessing healthcare – physical and psychological – also becomes a highly likely scenario for non-normative individuals. Griensven and de Lind van Wijngaarden (2010)’s

review of MSM's¹⁵ health standards in Asia, Richards et al. (2016)'s analysis of genderqueer persons' psychological and physiological health in the United States, Zeluf *et. al* (2016) survey among 796 genderqueer, transmen, transwomen, and cross-dressers to examine the health and general well-being in Sweden and many other studies (see Dahl, 2000; Hill *et al*, 2005; Simon *et al*, 2011) show that non-normative groups all over the world remain at risk of discrimination because of gender binary driven societal structures. The discrimination harms transgender persons' physical as well as psychological well-being.

Ultimately, the informal discrimination and stigmatization starts to appear in formal institutional structures as well. Sood (2010) reviews laws and policies regarding the non-binary groups in 12 Asian countries. The report shows that while the legislations vary in each country and many countries do provide some support to the non-binary or trans groups, most countries tend to have some discriminatory laws and policies as well which results in formally accepted marginalization of non-binary persons. Zeluf *et. al* (2016) bring similar findings from Sweden, but contrary to Sood (2010), they do not see formal legislation in isolation from the informal norms. They argue that discrimination against transgender persons tends to have its origins in the informal societal norms, which then translate into formal legislature, and hence, make it even difficult to improve the well-being the quality of life among trans-groups.

Findings of the above mentioned studies and many others point to a vicious cycle in which trans-lives are likely to be trapped across the globe. Jolly (2010) and Richards *et al*. (2016) summarize this vicious cycle by arguing that discrimination and stigmatization which results in denial of basic human rights for transgender individuals deteriorate their physical as well as psychological well-being, which reduces their productivity, and results in a poor economic status. Hence, a

¹⁵ MSM stands for Men who have Sex with other Men. Until early 2000s, many Asia based studies used this terminology to understand the broader category of male to female transgender groups.

vicious cycle continues to strengthen which traps non-normative individuals into a web of poverty. Therefore, a cycle of discrimination that often begins from home and spreads to the wider social circle affects the overall well-being of trans-persons, significantly.

Beyond singular aspects of trans-lives, it is important to understand the structural basis of the web of discrimination and stigmatization in which the transgender individuals are trapped. Several studies argue that hetero-normative assumptions dominate the development processes especially when engaging with the issues of sexuality (Cornwall & Jolly, 2009). They argue that a narrow and stringent approach is generally adopted in dealing with gender and sexuality issues. This introduces exclusion as a highly likely consequent of the development processes (Cornwall, 2006; Armas, 2007; Jolly, 2008; 2010). The transgender community being an outlier to the hetero-normative assumptions faces the risk of marginalization and alienation (Armas, 2008; Cornwall & Jolly 2009).

The question then arises what is the way forward and what are the opportunities for non-normative persons. Studies argue in favor of structural changes to ensure that appropriate space is given to the non-normative persons. Butler (1990; 2004) argues that the fundamental change needs to appear in our conceptualization of gender. She argues that the existence of transgender persons is evidence against gender binaries. Therefore, there is a need to do away with understanding gender in dual and oppositional terms; there is a need to 'undo gender'. Building further, Armas (2008) and Harcourt (2009) emphasize on the need for a better understanding and awareness of the fluid and complex nature of gender and sexuality. Taking this point specifically in healthcare context, Richards et al. (2016) calls for a more inclusive approach to understanding gender and suggests that medical and psychological professionals should be trained to help out the genderqueer individuals better.

However, Connell (2010) builds on Butler's arguments in a more structural manner and argues for shifting away from 'doing gender' to 'doing transgender.' 'Doing gender' was a term that West and Zimmerman (1987) coined in explaining how gender relationships are produced and reproduced in our everyday interactions. However, Connell (2010) argues that 'doing transgender' framework is a mode of doing, redoing, or undoing gender in a way that it sheds light on the "discordance between sex, gender, and sex category" (p.47), and it is also a "development of doing gender theory that returns it to its feminist roots" (p.50). She argues that such structural change in approaching gender could contribute to undoing stereotypical notions of gender. Her argument goes in accordance with Butler (1990; 2004)'s theory that transgender persons' public performances challenge normativity and undermine the dominant sexual order. Therefore, the way forward for transgender persons, according to literature is in a structural change of doing away with hetero-normativity or undoing gender binaries such that an acceptance for more fluid and complex understanding of gender surfaces.

Summary

Non-normative or non-binary gender groups are marginalized all over the world. The reason is the gender binary oriented development processes from which the non-binary gender is left out and hence, marginalized and victimized. Undoing such structural constraints is considered important for ensuring equally liberated existence of non-normative individuals. Khawajasiras of Pakistan in the global setting can relate to such experiences. However, before reviewing Khawajasiras' contemporary lives, literature on practices in the Muslim world and then history of Khawajasiras in the subcontinent is reviewed for better contextualization of Khawajasiras in Pakistan.

2.3 History of Non-Binary Sex/Gender in the Muslim World

Understanding the diverse historical perspectives is important for the contextualization of the objectives of the study – which is to understand the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourses regarding Khawajasiras. Therefore, this section reviews the scholarly views on the status of non-normative sex/gender in traditional and contemporary Muslim world, and then, the next section sheds light on the history of Khawajasiras in South Asia.

2.3.1 Non-Binary Sex/Gender in Early and Medieval Muslim World

Debates on the position of non-binary sex and gender in Islamic history cover many different dimensions of the subject. However, not much homogeneity can be found between the traditional and contemporary scholarly opinions and practices. Broadly, the debates can be divided into three categories. These include, debates on: 1) non-binary sexual identity, 2) non-binary gender identity, and 3) non-binary both sexual and gender identity. Debates and practices on people with non-binary sexual identity focus on intersexual persons (*Khuntha*). Intersexual persons are further divided into non-ambiguous intersexuals and ambiguous intersexuals (Cilardo, 1986, p.129; Haneef, 2011). Practices in the early Muslim world, according to literature, argued that a non-ambiguous intersexual can be identified at birth by carefully identifying the child's dominant physical features. If the person is born with dominant male elements and some female elements, the child would be identified male and given all legal rights of a male, and vice versa (Cilardo, 1986; Sanders, 1991).

On the contrary, an ambiguous intersexual (*khunsa mushkil*) is one whose body does not show dominance of either sex (ibid). In such cases, most schools of thought argue that the sexual identity is determined when the person reaches puberty (ibid). Other features (like facial hair, chest growth, etc.) can also be taken into account to identify the sex of the person. In terms of

their legal and social rights, Sanders (1991) after reviewing the works of early Muslim scholars, argues that rather than recognizing and establishing their true sex, there appears a consistent effort by each school of thought in Islam of categorizing intersexuals within the limits of male and female sexes. She calls this process of categorization, ‘gendering’ (Sanders, 1991, p.79).

However, Cilardo (1986) differs in his inference, and shows that jurists made special provisions regarding circumcision, prayer, pilgrimage, marriage, witnessing, inheritance, funeral, punishment and social behavior of intersexuals which shows their acceptance as a distinct third sex in early Islamic practices (p.138-151). Therefore, despite trying to identify with either male or female sex, the social space and legal rights of such individuals do not necessarily strictly adhere to either of the sexes in Islam. In a nutshell, traditional Islamic practices recognize intersexual persons, both ambiguous and non-ambiguous, and identify their rights.

When it comes to non-binary gender identity, evidence of the existence of such individuals and their recognition can be found from the literature. Kugle (2010) reviews early and Medieval Muslim scholars’ opinions and cultural practices, and argues that the gender performance of *Mukhannaths* from the early Islamic period could be understood as that of the contemporary transgender persons. Out of their innate disposition, these men behaved in gender-ambiguous manners (p.253). According to Kugle (2010), several special exceptions applied to *mukhannaths* that were not applicable to normative men in general. For instance, it was not forbidden for *mukhannaths* to visit women to whom they were not related. However, this particular aspect is often considered applicable only when the term *mukhannaths* is interpreted as someone who lacks sexual desire or at least does not feel attracted towards women (Haneef, 2011). Thus, according to Kugle (2010), a distinction was made between *mukhannths* and *takallufi mukhannths*. Unlike the former for whom feminine gender performance is a natural

phenomenon, latter is the one who does it out of some ulterior motives. The latter was strongly condemned by Prophet Muhammad (Kugle, 2010).

Finally, in the third category, non-binary both sexual and gender identity, debates and practices from early and medieval Islam recognize eunuchs. Scholarly opinions as noted by Kugle (2010), strongly discouraged the practice of castration, but people who were castrated in the non-Muslim world were bought as slaves and assigned important duties in the Muslim world. While castration changes their sexual identity¹⁶, it also impacts their gender behavior, which is why the ambiguity in their case is of both, sex and gender.¹⁷ Hence, eunuchs were seen as neither male nor female. They could mix up with either of the two sexes, and often be the buffer between men and women (Kugle, 2010). Such acceptability helped eunuchs gain an important social status and take on several distinct duties.

Ottoman Empire, in the medieval period, expanded their roles further. Critics argue that it ended up creating an economic marketplace for eunuchs-slave trade (Wilson & Roehrborn, 1999). Hence, initially, eunuchs came from Russia and Balkans, later they were also brought in as slaves from Ethiopia and Sudan (ibid). Evidence also suggests forced castrations by slave dealers who kidnapped young men and even children (ibid). And in some cases, even parents sold their children into slavery who were then castrated and sold in the Ottoman Empire (ibid). However, inside the Ottoman Empire, they were assigned important duties at the *Kabah*¹⁸ (Young, 1999), as well as given important responsibilities in the Ottoman courts as in charge of the harem, and hence, uplifted their socio-economic status (Young, 1993; Wilson & Roehrborn, 1999). Their

¹⁶ Apart from the obvious changes due to castration, Wilson and Roehrborn (1999) used several case studies to show that long term consequences of castration. It includes: enlargement of pituitary, skeletal changes (like thinning of the bones of the skull and kyphosis), gynecomastia, and apparent disappearance of the prostate.

¹⁷ It should be noted here that there is differing opinions regarding the origins of gender ambiguity among eunuchs. Kugle (2010), while talking about early Islamic period, argues that eunuchs' gender ambiguity was due to the patriarchal social pressures. Khan (2014a) calls it the "deficiency of "testes-produced-hormones"" (p.42). However, Talwar (1999) argues that it has psychological basis.

¹⁸ Muslim's sacred place of worship in Mecca.

roles were peculiar but of critical importance, that is why they were respected and honored in the Empire. They were given the titles of *Agha*¹⁹. This tradition was adopted by the Mughal Empire of the Indian subcontinent too which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter when discussing Khawajasiras' history in the sub-continent. It can be inferred at this point that history of early and medieval Islam is filled with dignified acceptance and social recognition for the non-binary sex/gendered groups. In the following section, views on the sex/gender ambiguous individuals in the contemporary Muslim world will be discussed.

2.3.2 Non-Binary Sex/Gender in the Twentieth Century Muslim World

Contemporary interpretations of Islam by Muslim scholars mostly acknowledge and focus only on intersexuality matters, i.e., they tend to not incorporate the non-binary gender identities. Several examples can be cited in this regard. Kugle (2010) argues that Egyptian law calls for sex-realignment if a person's sexual identity is ambiguous. However, Egyptian law does not accept gender ambiguity. Similarly, Haneef (2011) gives the example of Malaysia where although sex-reassignment is not illegal, but sex change cannot be recognized on official documents. Interestingly, according to Khan (2014a), Turkey and Indonesia permit sex reassignment surgeries as a treatment for gender dysphoria²⁰, but these are not backed by religious interpretations. Khan (2014a) also cites Bucar (2010) to mention an exception, Iran, as the only Muslim (Shia) majority country where after a religious *fatwa*, sex reassignment surgeries were legalized for people who have been certified to have gender dysphoria by a panel of physicians. In Pakistan, the matter seems quite complex. However, there is as such no study that specifically reviews contemporary interpretations of Islam in Pakistan in relation to

¹⁹ Agha in Turkish means elder sibling, chief or master (Young, 1993) – Cited in Khan (2014a).

²⁰ Gender dysphoria is a scientific, but socially derogatory, term for gender ambiguity.

Khawajasiras. With the data available, a section in Chapter 7 sheds light on the complexity of the situation in Pakistan.

Summary of the Section

The section reviews literature on traditional as well as contemporary Muslim world practices regarding non-binary or non-normative gender. The traditional perspectives are divided into non-binary sex, non-binary gender, and non-binary sex and gender both. The literature shows a general acceptance and provision of special rights to individuals falling into any of the three groups. However, the contemporary perspectives take a narrow approach. Iran is an exception that recognizes transgender as a psychological thing and allows sex reassignment surgery for it. In the next section, the history of Khawajasiras in the subcontinent is reviewed after which literature on the post-2009 status and discourse regarding Khawajasiras is reviewed.

2.4 History of Khawajasiras of the Subcontinent

Khawajasiras have seen many ups and downs in the subcontinent over the course of history. Broadly, Reddy²¹ (2005) divides their history into four time-periods: ancient, medieval, colonial and contemporary.

Ancient Period: In the ancient period, several references show association of low social status, but high mystical powers with the non-normative gender. References to the third sex/gender individuals exist in ancient texts such as the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain²² texts (Reddy, 2005; Sharma, 2012; Michelraj, 2015). They are referred to as “*kliba, pandaka, trtiyaprakrti* or more commonly as *napumsaka*” (Reddy, 2005, p. 19). Reddy’s work argues that ancient people believed in a self-informed idea of sexuality. The debates regarding their understanding are reflected in how these terms are defined. The meanings of these terms vary from unmales or

²¹ Reddy uses the term ‘Hijra.’ However, since the context of Pakistan, Khawajasira is considered a more respectful term, therefore, the author will continue to use the term Khawajasira in this section as well.

²² Of the three, Jain literature has a much diverse and in depth account of third sex/gender (Reddy, 2005).

eunuchs, to transvestite, intersexual and even someone who produces only female children. It not only shows the ambiguity, but also an acceptance and visibility of the diverse notions regarding sex/gender in the ancient times (*ibid*). The ambiguous discourse led to the association of mystical powers with the third sex/gender. Although, their social status was not considered high, however, special divine powers, which were conditional upon asexuality, were associated with them (Nanda, 1986; Pamment, 2010). That is why, Pamment (2010) notes that several legends – like Mata Bahuchara cutting off her breasts or Shiva ripping off his phallus for gaining supernatural powers through asexuality – are notable in the ancient discourse on non-normative gender.

Medieval Period: Accounts of third sex/gender during the medieval period mostly get reduced down to eunuchs because of their greater visible socio-political role and influence in the Mughal courts²³. The term Khawajasira or Khawajasarai²⁴ was also coined for the first time during the Mughal era. It referred to the chief of the Mughal court's eunuchs (Reddy, 2005; Pamment, 2010; Michelraj, 2015). They were brought in as slaves. However, their outsider status as well as gender ambiguity helped them achieve higher socio-economic status and important political responsibilities (Reddy, 2005). This is evident from the diversity of roles that Khawajasiras undertook during the Mughal era. Manucci (1906) notes that in the Mughal Empire, Khawajasiras served as army generals, advisors to the emperors, harem guards, educators and supervisors of princes' education as well as messengers and watchmen. Furthermore, Khan (2014a) cites Preston (1987) to note that Khawajasiras were officially entitled to beg and they also received grants in the form of cash and land. In short it can be noticed that non-normativity

²³ Studies show that Mughals had adopted the concept of having eunuchs in their courts from the Ottoman's. However, as Wilson and Roehrborn (1999) note, Eunuchs of Roman Empire, Chinese empire and Byzantine Empire have also more or less served in similar roles. Therefore, even in the Ottoman Empire Eunuchs appear to be playing roles that they had been carrying long before the Ottoman Empire.

²⁴ According to Hinchy (2014), the term Khawajasira is used in the present day Pakistan, however, originally during the Mughal era the term was Khawajasirai.

allowed the Empire to assign them diverse roles, which increased their influence in the Empire (Gomez, 2005).

It is important to note here that under the Mughal Empire, there were two kinds of non-normative gendered groups. According to Hinchy (2014), these groups were Hijras²⁵ and Khawajasirais. Only the Khawajasirai were the eunuchs of Mughal royal courts. The two groups had similar organization (Guru-Chela) and had similar third gender category people. However, Hinchy (2014) cites a study by Bakhsh (1989) that argues that dressing up in female clothing and dancing were not found in Khawajasirai; these activities were specific to Hijras only. However, even though Hijras were considered lower in social status compared to Khawajasirais, they were not discriminated against through any of empire's formal policies. Khawajasiras superior rank can be explained by the demand and importance for their roles in the royal courts. That is why just like in the Ottoman Empire, as Beveridge (1909) notes, sale of eunuch slaves was an important industry. Families even forced/convinced their sons to undergo castration to get a steady job in the royal court. This practice continued despite Mughal king Aurangzeb's ban because the ban was only on the supply of eunuch slavery; their demand in the harems continued in the same way.

Colonial Period: Contrary to their Mughal predecessors, British adopted a completely different development strategy in India. It was important for the colonizers to maintain a certain degree of social order. Reddy (2005) notes accounts of early European travelers which show that they were deeply disturbed by the presence and acceptance of non-normative individuals in the subcontinent. Several scholarly sources elaborate on how the British colonial policies impacted the lives of non-normative gendered community in India (Sinha, 1995; Reddy, 2005; Pamment, 2010; Hinchy, 2014). The maintenance of social order particularly required men to demonstrate

²⁵ Now known as Khawajasiras in Pakistan

masculinity (Hinchy, 2014). Colonizers categorized tribes and races based on their historic masculinity. Here, British men were on the top as ideals. Then within colonized (inherently inferior) men, hierarchy was based on distinction between ‘martial tribes’ including Sikhs, Pathans and Muslims and ‘effeminate races’ like Bengalis (Sinha, 1995). Khawajasiras could not live up to the expected standards in either of the requirements. Although, they were categorized among martial tribes, their sexual deviance and impotence made the colonizers see their existence as “failed masculinity” (Hinchy, 2014, p. 276). Under such stereotypical and stigmatizing perceptions, colonizers viewed gurus as crucial personnel holding the non-normative structures together. However, since the colonizers were not willing to accept the community as a whole, they perceived gurus as the anchors or the spear headers of Khawajasiras’ ‘sinfulness’ (Hinchy, 2014; 2017). Similarly, their acts of adopting non-normative gendered children were also seen as disruptive to the social order. The colonial authorities understood it as kidnapping rather than adopting. On the other hand, Khawajasarai, who had become part of the Hijra circles after the fall of Mughal empire, became a target of British under the suspicion of political corruptness too (ibid).

It led British to discriminate against the Khawajasira community of the time via legislation. First, the failure to recognize them as a separate gender made them vulnerable to the Indian Penal Code 1860 section 377 which declares homosexuality as sodomy and an act punishable under the British law (Pamment, 2010). To make things worse, the introduction of Criminal Tribes Act 1871 attempted to completely shun them from social space by restricting their public activities and their livelihood sources as well as preventing them from adopting children (Narrain, 2009; Pamment, 2010; Hinchy, 2014; Reddy, 2005). Although, it defined eunuchs as castrated male, however, Hinchy (2014) argues that the Act was flexibly applied to several transgendered (non-

normative) male groups. Furthermore, Solanki (2014) and Hinchy (2014) both argue that CTA's implementation varied across regions. Depending on the authority in-charge, time and place, the application and the extent of stringency in implementation of the CTA varied. Its impact then also varied from one criminalized community to another. Hinchy (2014) further notes that since Khawajasiras' activities had a wide-ranging informal social acceptance, and the British Indian government lacked the resources for such high scale surveillance, Khawajasiras often succeeded in conducting their public activities. However, the formal colonial policies did carry a lasting impact on the informal societal practices which made its way into the post-colonial era too, as noted in the section below.

Post-Colonial Era: The influence of colonial institutions in alienating and making Khawajasiras socially invisible is noticeable in the post-colonial subcontinent – both India and Pakistan. Initially, in 1936, Nehru declared the provisions of CTA 1871 “monstrous” and “a negation of civil liberty” (D’Souza, 2001, p. 42-52). Hence, in India, the act was repealed after independence in 1951. However, leaders of the independent state of India, including Nehru, could not escape the psychological influences of colonization (D’Souza, 2001; Narrain, 2009). Therefore, similar attitudes continued, which in India were reflected by the introduction of Habitual Offenders Act 1959 which functioned as a replacement of the CTA 1871 and hence, continued the alienation of marginalized communities including the non-normative individuals (ibid).

In the case of Pakistan, as Pamment (2010) notes, the “psychic implications of the [CTA 1871] law continue to manifest themselves, however, through social prejudice” (p.35). Attempts to make the Khawajasiras socially invisible were made by the leaders of Pakistan too in its early days. Naqvi and Mujtaba (1997) note that after the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the formation of Pakistan, Hijra activities were banned in the early 1960s during the presidency of

Ayub Khan. The ban was only lifted after the Hijras carried out a protest outside Khan's residency and convinced his mother to ask her son to take the decision back.

Furthermore, Khan (2004)'s research in India and de Lind van Wijngaarden, Schunter and Iqbal (2012)'s research in Pakistan on the prevalence of HIV among third gender also concludes that the lives of third gender in post-colonial India as well as Pakistan are highly stigmatized, a result of which is wide-ranging human rights abuses against the community. Therefore, the stigmas that were attached with the transgender community in the colonial times continued with all their force for many years after the independence too.

Summary of the Section

The history of Khawajasiras of the subcontinent has been divided into four eras: ancient, medieval, colonial and post-colonial. Ancient and Medieval eras were relatively better in terms of acceptance and social status. However, Colonial era was the time of their marginalization. Colonizers viewed Khawajasiras acts of dancing and begging as disturbance to social order. To maintain the social order, the public activities of Khawajasiras were banned. The gurus were portrayed as the head of 'sinfulness.' Thus, the discourse on Khawajasiras became stigmatized during the colonial times and it got institutionalized with the CTA 1871. The colonial legacy appears to have continued to influence social processes in the post-colonial times too.

However, in 2009, an apparent turn of the tides came when the Supreme Court of Pakistan issued a historic judgment in which it declared Khawajasiras equal citizens of Pakistan under the Article 25(A) of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan. Later the court also issued a verdict to issue Khawajasiras separate identity cards, recognizing as third sex/gender in the country. However, it remains to be seen to what extent the social marginalization with the stigmas and stereotypes have also been replaced with a more equality oriented discourse about the Khawajasira

community. The next section reviews literature on the post-2009 world of Khawajasiras to see how the legal reforms have impacted their lives.

2.5 Post 2009 World of Khawajasiras in Pakistan

The post 2009 literature in Pakistan continues to show an absence of a broad social acceptance for Khawajasiras. Primarily, studies have focused on analyzing debates and discourses on Khawajasira identity. Another aspect focused on in existing literature is of analyzing the marginalized social space which regulates Khawajasiras' access and mobility in terms of education, health, employment and other basic rights and opportunities. Finally, another critical aspect of existing literature deals with an analysis of the socio-political activism of Khawajasiras. This section reviews literature on each of these aspects in the following paragraphs.

Identity Debates: Existing literature has analyzed discourses on Khawajasira identity from three broad perspectives: state, society and Khawajasiras. From state's perspective, while it is true that Khawajasiras are now recognized as equal and third sex/gender in Pakistan, but the question is what does the state mean when it categorizes them in a separate sex/gender category. Redding (2012) was one of the firsts to dig into this question. His study analyzes how the conceptions of Khawajasiras changed across time and space and what that meant for their survival. Supreme Court's verdict called their psychological state a 'disorder,' under the broader understanding of which they were labeled as she-males, eunuchs and many other names. Such notions at the formal institutional level have influenced the already misled informal society.

However, at the level of general society, post-2009 studies show prevalence of misconceptions regarding non-normative gender. Jami and Kamal (2015) conducted multiple focus group studies among male and female groups and noticed that much like the state, the society also believes in accepting Khawajasiras as third sex/gender. However, there is also simultaneous prevalence of

major misconceptions regarding the Khawajasira identity among people of the mainstream. Their findings show that the level of interaction with the non-normative gender has a negative correlation with the level of misconceptions – the greater the level of interaction, the lesser the misconceptions. With that, they also found out that women in Pakistan tend to have more misconceptions about non-normative gender compared to men. While Jami and Kamal's findings could be a continuation of pre-2009 era, Redding (2012) argues that the 2009 SC verdict put the state in anchoring role. He finds that while the events of 2009 initiated important debates on gender/identity, accountability of police, and welfare institutions' responsibilities, the state's driving position on the debates did not necessarily translate into a discourse of wide-ranging acceptability of gender diversity, which is reflected through the rigid conceptualizations of Khawajasiras at different points in time.

Specifically, in regards to gurus of Khawajasiras, the societal views vary significantly. It was noticed earlier in Hinchy (2017) that the views of colonizers regarding gurus denied the latter an acceptable social space. However, Khan (2014a) notes that gurus are like father figures in the Khawajasira circle. When a child, normative or non-normative, abandons or is abandoned by the biological parents, gurus take the child under their wing. They raise and teach the child, the Khawajasira lifestyle. In between the negative colonial image and positive image within Khawajasiras' circle, the broader society, according to Khan (2014a), shows mixed attitudes towards gurus. Some view them as spiritual figures, some as just normal human beings, and some view them in derogatory ways.

The conflicting debates and discourses on Khawajasira identity make it to the inner Khawajasira circle as well, which results in them questioning their own identity and actions. Khan (2014b) argues that Khawajasiras have over time become very conscious of their identity and social

image. After conducting a fourteen months long ethnographic study, Khan (2014b) concludes that the influence of the broader society makes Khawajasiras question themselves too, because of which they often see themselves as ‘sinners.’ That is why they often do not openly discuss their issues and keep many of the complex matters within the community, so that their social image could be improved while their private sexual acts do not become their whole image. Due to such stigmatized societal views, Nisar (2016) extends, Khawajasiras feel threatened and hence, continue registering themselves in normative (male/female) category in the identity cards despite having the option of registering themselves as third gender.

Differing from Nisar (2016), Khan (2016) argues that with the idea of protection from section 377 of the Pakistan penal code, many who many not necessarily fall into the category of third gender wish to register themselves in that category. However, noting that statistical data would contradict Khan (2016)’s argument, Nisar (2016) through his 12 interviews with police workers, 19 interviews with employees of NADRA, social department and a local NGO, and 50 in-depth person-centered interviews with Khawajasiras does a much deeper analysis and notes that legal identity does not make Khawajasiras any less vulnerable to legal or social victimization. That is what explains the continuation of registering of non-normative groups in normative categories. In short, studies show that the post-2009 debates on Khawajasira identity restrict the acceptance of the broad non-normative group from the state and societal actors which holds its influence on Khawajasiras’ own understanding of their identity too. The question then is how such understanding of Khawajasira identity changes their pre-2009 marginalized social status. The next section reviews literature on this question:

Marginalized Space: Although not enough time has passed since the 2009 SC verdict to evaluate its impact or to raise the question of a structural change, however, studies argue that the

unfolding of different events show a direction that does not reflect any ongoing change in Khawajasiras' social space. Redding (2012), S. Khan (2016) and Nisar (2016) agree that the legal identity has not yet contributed in ameliorating the marginalized existences of Khawajasiras. With a broader understanding of constricted time and space for the non-normative groups in Pakistan even after providing them with legal recognition, one can delve into understanding the status of education, employment and healthcare among Khawajasiras. Studies suggest that from education to health, employment, housing, marriage, inheritance and in many other rights, Khawajasiras continue to face alienation, marginalization, and hence denial of provision of basic rights (Khan, 2014a; Jami & Kamal, 2015; Nisar, 2016).

In terms of education, Pamment (2010), Sood (2010) and Majeedullah (2016) argue that because of the stigmas, it is very difficult for Khawajasiras to gain access to formal education. Sood (2010) further argues that particularly, the absence of formal sexual education plays a critical role in stigmatizing and restricting Khawajasiras' social space. Zulfiqar (2015) notices that lack of sexual education combined with other factors also increases the risk of HIV/AIDS and other related health problems. Upon tracing the origins of such restrictions in cultural norms and values, Sood (2012) further argues that even access to sexual health and rights continues to be a challenge for the Khawajasira community. In the absence of right to formal education and healthcare, Pamment (2010) and Majeedullah (2016) notices that Khawajasiras cannot even get formal employment and that alienates them further and traps them into a web of poverty.

Here, Pamment (2010) and Majeedullah (2016) both are of the opinion that because of being side-lined from the formal social space, Khawajasiras are forced to beggary, dancing and prostitution. However, Khan (2014a)'s ethnographic and historical research contradicts the hypothesis of coercion. He argues that while some non-normative individuals may feel forced

into such professions because of marginalization, but beggary and dancing have historically been the culturally distinct and chosen occupations of the non-normative groups in the subcontinent.²⁶ Therefore, the point of coercion or choice may vary from person to person. But the critical point is that equal respect for Khawajasiras' activities including beggary and dancing does not exist anymore, which is why the denial of education and healthcare when combined with a stigmatized employment entangles Khawajasiras deep into a web of poverty and does further damage to their possible social acceptance (Pamment, 2010; Majeedullah, 2016).

With such restricted social space, many choices get subsumed under survival instinct. Zulfiqar (2015) and Ali (2016) argue that the marginalized space threatens Khawajasiras' survival, hence, they use their time and space strategically to ensure survival and welfare through income-maximization. While exploring the informal lives of Khawajasiras, Zulfiqar (2015) digs into the importance and relevance of 'love' for them. The author uses semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations to approach the research problem and concludes that socially structured marginalization and violence give rise to the importance of love in the lives of Khawajasiras. However, survival instinct often presents love and money as trade-offs and hence, love turns into a commodity for Khawajasiras that is to be used for fulfilling their strategic needs. Similarly, Ali (2016) studies the concept and use of time among the Khawajasiras. Using qualitative interviews approach, his findings show that Khawajasiras' decisions of where and how to allocate time are primarily influenced by two factors: survival instinct and income-maximizing interests.

What purpose is then legal recognition achieving? To answer this question, Nisar (2016) analyzes the impact of the new legal identity on Khawajasira's informal life experiences and their interaction with government actors. His analysis reveals that due to formal and informal

²⁶ This point has been discussed at length in the previous sections of the review.

discourses about gender identity in Pakistan, Khawajasiras' interactions with the state actors are subject to higher regulations via moral policing and hyper-surveillance. The question then is how Khawajasiras fight for their rights in this constricted and socially alienated and stigmatized situation. The next section reviews literature on the socio-political activism by and for Khawajasiras.

Socio-political Activism: Literature on the socio-political activism for Khawajasiras can be divided into two categories: 1) activism of NGOs and other private actors, and 2) activism of Khawajasiras. After 2009 SC verdict, different NGOs actively started working for Khawajasiras' welfare. Majeedullah (2016) specifically discusses a program initiated by Akhuwat-Foundation titled "Khawaja Sira Socio-Economic Rehabilitation Program," which gives Khawajasiras different vocational skills that they could use to earn livelihood. She argues that programs like these could go a long way in helping Khawajasiras escape the trap of poverty. She also notes that NGOs alone cannot be enough; government departments need to take concrete steps in ensuring equal opportunities for Khawajasiras.

Apart from the NGOs, Khawajasiras themselves have long been actively working for gaining social space and acceptance. A study by Pamment (2010) highlights a number of political activities by the Khawajasira community to gain social acceptance and space. In this regard, the country's first non-binary gendered person Muhammad Aslam, a zennana, running for elections in 1990 was a first of its kind. Similarly, the late night show with Begum Nawazish Ali (also known as Ali Saleem), a non-normative gendered person, on AajTv is also a constructive act for promoting social acceptance for the third gender. Pamment argues that these activities are important contributions for Khawajasiras in claiming a third space.

However, Majeedullah (2016) and Pamment (2010)'s work does not help understand the broader structure of the activism and what it seeks to achieve. To eliminate this gap in literature, Khan (2014a) theorizes the socio-political activism of Khawajasiras in light of the constricted social space. Khan (2014a) applies Foucauldian model to his fourteen months long ethnographically collected data to theorize the unique and perplexing socio-political activism of Khawajasiras. He theorizes Khawajasira activism and politics as a 'game.' He argues that Khawajasiras intentionally misrepresent and conceal information from general public because it helps them avoid becoming vulnerable to harmful actors. The risks of stigmatization and physical or mental endangerment are the factors behind their games. However, such activism does not always work in their favor. It also perpetuates stereotypes and stigmas regarding them in the discourse. Such is the nature of marginalization that even activists adopt strategies that often reinforces some stereotypes and stigmas.

Summary of the Section

The post-2009 lives of Khawajasiras continue to face several problems. Despite a legal recognition, the origin of their marginalization continues to be in a lack of understanding of non-normative gender at the state as well as societal level. Largely, they are marginalized and the discourse on them corners them further. As a result they often are trapped in poverty. Their activism also faces limitations because of the lack of awareness and acceptance towards a diverse gender understanding. The state continues its activities of moral policing and hyper surveillance of Khawajasiras' lives. Resultantly, even state's welfare activities for Khawajasiras are not of much benefit to the community.

2.6 Research Gap

Much has been written on the plight of Khawajasiras in different contexts. However, what leads to the marginalization is a question that requires further exploration. Marginalization of Khawajasiras is the result of development processes that do not allow a recognition and acceptance of the non-normative community in our societal discourses. In other words, it is the way of knowing, understanding and presenting Khawajasiras that has to be non-stigmatizing for marginalization to be eliminated from their lives. Therefore, to add to the existing literature, one needs to take a step back and study the discourse on Khawajasiras. Previously, Khan's (2014a) discourse analysis using Foucauldian model has been a major contribution in understanding Khawajasira politics and activism. However, stereotypes and stigmas need to be studied in depth in not only their present day socio-political scenario, but in their historical context as well. Therefore, an in depth critical discourse analysis is required which not only focuses on what stereotypes and stigmas are reinforced in the discourse, but also results in a understanding of how such a discourse sustains and grows. What are the notions that influence the discourse, how does a negative discourse continue to exist and how does that impact the lives of Khawajasiras; this is what needs to be addressed. To make it more focused, this study will analyze Pakistani newspapers to analyze how the discourse in the news texts reinforces stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras.

Chapter 3

Methodological Framework

3.1 Overview

The research uses narrative research approach to analyze discourse on Khawajasiras. According to Czarniawska (2004) “narrative is understood as a spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected” (p. 17). A narrative research approach can either delve into narrative analysis or an analysis of narratives (Polkinghorne, 1989). While both are not mutually exclusive and borrow from one another, this study’s objectives make analysis of narratives, the focal point of the study. In analysis of narratives, data on events, actions, identifications and representations is gathered to arrive at themes that spread across multiple stories used for data collection (ibid). To analyze the narratives, thematically, the study uses Pakistan’s newspapers to conduct a critical discourse analysis with an aim to understand and examine the stereotypical and stigmatizing narratives on Khawajasiras. This chapter is divided into six sections after this section. The next section provides a comprehensive understanding of the conceptual framework that the study employs for analysis. The framework puts together Fairclough’s three dimensional critical discourse analysis model and combines it with path dependency theory (Pierson, 2004), Goffman (1963) theorization of stigmatization of the non-normative for upholding a normative social order, and Connell (1987)’s conceptualization of hegemonic masculinities to apply Delphy (1993)’s conceptualization of gender binaries and gender roles’ reinforcement discourse. The components of the framework lead to three hypotheses that the study puts to test. The two sections after that provide a methodological understanding of the study by elaborating on the research design and

sampling. Then the chapter delineates the ethical considerations for conducting this research and the final section talks about this research's methodological limitations.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

Discourse analysis is generally divided into four types: 1) critical discourse analysis, 2) critical linguistic analysis, 3) interpretative structuralism, and 4) social linguistic analysis (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). While all four overlap with one another on some objectives and strategies, the first two take a more critical approach while the latter focus on constructionism (ibid). However, since the objective is not to just focus on the text, which critical linguistic analysis does, but to focus on the context as well, therefore, critical discourse analysis (CDA) becomes the optimal choice for undertaking this study. It is however, important at this stage to understand what CDA aims to achieve and its relevance and importance in studying development and marginalization, particularly gender and sexuality based marginalization. The following section delves into this debate.

3.2.1 Importance of Critical Discourse Analysis in Studying Development and Marginalization

Texts, speeches and images are used as tools in a society to uphold certain values, which reflect the society's power structure. Dominant groups uphold a normative system which results in the domination of certain values and meanings in the society while the rest are excluded or marginalized (Van Dijk, 1997; Mills, 2004). In this process, development tends to become exclusionary and marginalizing towards groups and communities who do not adhere to the society's normative values and practices (Faille, 2011). The dominant group then continues to benefit from the development processes, while the marginalized continues to lose space.

Therefore, CDA's primary objective is to study a societal phenomenon to understand the reproduction and reinforcement of power, biases and inequalities as reflected in the texts, speeches and images (Fairclough, 1995; McGregor, 2003). Critical discourse analysts, when reading a text, seek to answer, "Why was this said, and not that? Why these words, and where do the connotations of the words fit with different ways of talking about the world?" (Parker, 1992, p.3). CDA contextualizes discourses within their surrounding setup (Palmquist, 1999).

CDA is therefore, an important tool for exposing the exclusionary and marginalizing side of development (Faille, 2011). Mueller (1986)'s work for instance, highlighted how the discourse of development itself is dominated by the first world since the discourse perpetuates first world's hegemonic relationship with the third world. Similarly, in the context of gender, discourse analysts have contributed in exposing gender biases at multiple levels, which has added to a better understanding of subtle gender inequalities and biases. Revealing the lack of acceptance of 'difference' has been a key achievement of development studies oriented discourse analysts in explaining gender discrimination, inequality and marginalization (Faille, 2011). Mohanty (1984)'s work shows how first world feminist literature misrepresents third world women and treats them as a "homogenous" and "powerless" group (p.338). More closer to the context of this dissertation, the work of Foucault (1990) is worth mentioning. He highlighted how the discourse on understanding sexuality is structured in the modern world order in such a way that it upholds and strengthens a 'normative' social order where one ideology holds power over others and hence, gives domination to a few over the masses. Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgenders and Queers (LGBTQ) in the global scenario face a lack of acceptance in terms of their 'difference' from the presumed normative. It is important to question and study if Khawajasiras in Pakistan face similar lack of acceptance and if yes, how such a discourse unfolds. CDA is an important

tool for finding insights to answer the question. The following section delineates the specific model for critical discourse analysis that this study employs.

3.2.2 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for Critical Discourse Analysis

Several theorists have theorized models for CDA, but this study employs on Norman Fairclough's (1995; 2003) conceptualization. Fairclough's (1995, p.133), CDA model aims to:

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; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor in securing power and hegemony.

Fairclough's conceptualization of the relationship between text and society can be described in the following words: "social practices influence texts, via shaping the context and mode in which they are produced, and in turn texts help influence society via shaping the viewpoints of those who read or otherwise consume them" (Richardson, 2007, p.37). Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis has three dimensions, as shown in figure 1 (see next page).

The three dimensions of the model are: text, discursive practices and social-cultural practices. These dimensions interact, overlap and influence one another. The first dimension deals with the internal textual relations, while the third dimension deals with the external socio-cultural context of power structures; the second dimension thus, comes in the middle where it connects the text with the external social relations through the producer and consumers of the text (Fairclough, 2003). The interconnectedness of the three dimensions accentuates "how discourse (language in

use) relates to and is implicated in the (re)production of social relations – particularly unequal, iniquitous and/or discriminatory power relations” (Richardson, 2007, p.42).

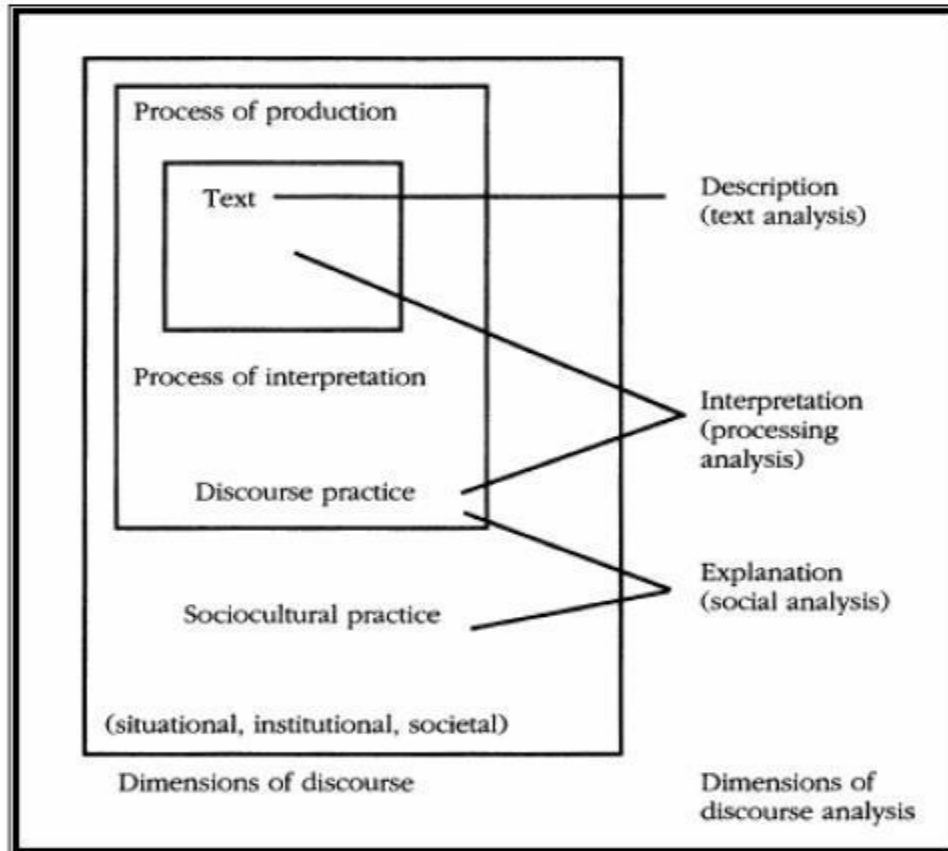


Figure 3.1: Fairclough's Model for Critical Discourse Analysis. Source: Waller (2006)

Critical discourse analysis is often applied to newspapers text for its embedded-ness in a society's culture and power relations. The following paragraphs explain how each dimension applies to the analysis of newspapers text and the relevance of it to the study.

The first dimension of Fairclough's CDA model requires a textual analysis. The basic idea is to examine what is present and what is absent, but could have been present, in the text. This is done by identifying three things in the text: actions, representations and identifications (Fairclough,

2003). Fairclough (2003) argues that these three separately and collectively brings “a social perspective into the heart and fine detail of the text” (p.27). Identifying the actions being reported help the analyst identify the text format i.e., whether it is declarative, persuasive or implicative. Similarly, analyzing representations requires the analyst to study how different people, places or actions are represented in the text.²⁷ The identification aspect connects the text with the second dimension of the discourse analysis model, which is explained later. However, within actions and representations, Fairclough (1995) suggests an analysis of lexical choices, structures of propositions, presuppositions and the sentence structures/sequences (see figure 2 below). With the objective of trying to understand how the text is involved in reproducing or resisting existing ideologies or power structures, the textual analysis can lead to an understanding of the prejudices in discourse regarding the disempowered individuals or groups of the society.

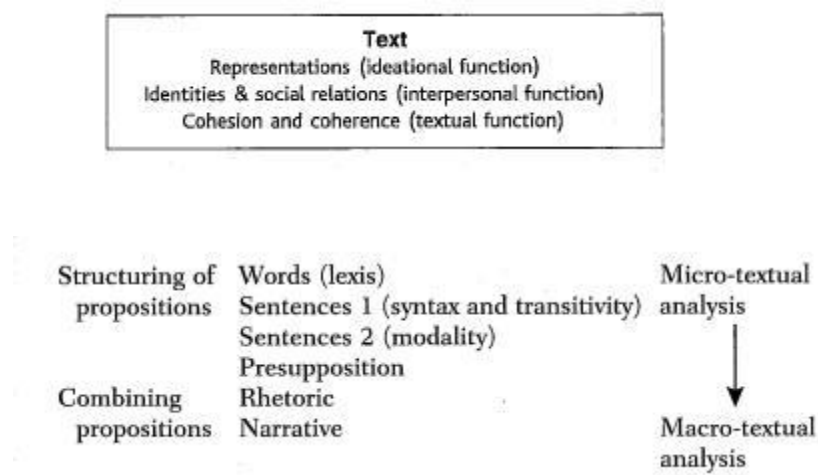


Figure 3.2: Fairclough’s Textual Analysis. Source: Richardson (2007, p.38)

²⁷ For example, whether a woman is identified in relation to her work or in relation to her father or husband explains aspects of women’s representations in the text.

This study applies this dimension to the news text by not only focusing on the words, but also the assumptions that the logic of a news report assumes and explains the dominant narrative that comes out of that. It performs this operation on three aspects: 1) stereotypes identified with the colonial times (negative attitude towards gurus and towards Khawajasiras' traditional occupations), 2) the contemporary notion of welfare under the keyword 'mainstreaming,' and 3) the Khawajasira identity and gender roles related discourse. The reason for choosing these three dimensions is explained later in this chapter.

The second dimension involves an analysis of discursive practices. Richardson (2007) argues that it is at this stage of Fairclough's model that the discourse becomes discourse analysis. It looks into text production and consumption aspects. On one end, it analyzes the institutional structures that lead to the coding of news in a certain way, which then affects and shapes the beliefs of its readers (Fairclough, 1995). On the other end, it also requires analysts to understand the consumer, the reader's psyche to understand how s/he decodes the news and how that in turn impacts the news producer (*ibid*). The reader's level of trust in the producer of the news²⁸ and the producer's perceived audience also impacts and complicates the process of production and consumption of the news (Cotter, 2001). The figure below provides a simplistic view of the encoding and decoding of the news between producers and consumers of the news.

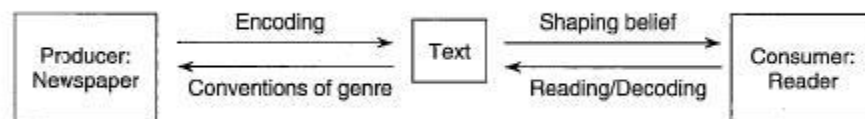


Figure 3.3: Fairclough's Discursive Practices Analysis. Source: Richardson (2007, p.39)

²⁸ Richardson (2007) argues that the reader is likely to decode a news from a newspaper that s/he trusts very differently compared to how s/he would decode the same news, if s/he had read it in a newspaper that s/he does not trust as much.

An important point here is that this level of analysis is not to show news as an outcome of a discourse, but rather as a process. Cotter (2001) argues that “process- or practice-oriented approach would allow new insights into the integrated examination of news practice, news values and audience role” (p. 428).

The institution or producers’ professional practices are influenced by the broader socio-cultural relations. This is what the third dimension of Fairclough’s model focuses on – the social practices. It is at this dimension that the discourse analysis becomes critical discourse analysis. The analysis at this stage requires the analysts to contextualize the text within the broader socio-cultural power relations (Fairclough, 1995). The analysis of the news text thus leads to a better understanding of the broader societal practices i.e., the power relations. Richardson (2007, p.42) argues that analysts at this stage should broadly focus on the following questions:

What does this text say about the society in which it was produced and the society that it was produced for? What influence or impact do we think that the text may have on social relations? Will it help to continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help to break them down?

The figure below summarizes how society connects with the texts and how in a two way relationship each supports and/or resists the other’s influence.

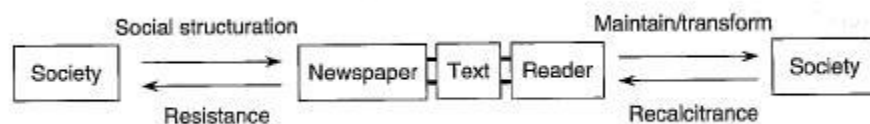


Figure 3.4: Fairclough’s Social Practices Analysis. Source: Richardson (2007, p.42)

The Fairclough's model as explained above helps us understand what to study and how to study it for critical discourse analysis. However, when it comes to what to expect from the analysis, i.e., what should be the hypothesis, Fairclough's model only gives a broad hypothesis that the text reinforces a power structure. To state the hypotheses more sharply, the societal context of Khawajasiras in Pakistan needs to be theorized more sharply. This is done in the following section:

3.2.3 Theorizing the Societal Context of Discourse on Khawajasiras in Pakistan

First of all, many studies conceptualize and/or infer an element of colonial path dependency in the context of post-colonial societies. The concept of path dependency theory suggests that events of a particular point or a critical juncture in history tend to influence the succeeding events (Page, 2006). According to Marx (1852, p.1), "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past." Path dependency, under the broader notion of historical institutionalism, suggests that once institutions are set up they tend to regulate individual and societal behaviors in a way that it becomes difficult to bring about radical institutional changes. This is primarily because under asymmetrical power relations, those who benefit from the institutional structures tend to influence or control and adapt to the institutional change, because it brings them greater benefits (North, 1990). North (1990) divides institutions – rules of the game – into formal and informal institutions. Williamson (2000) argues that an institutional change at the informal institutional level can take up to centuries, while at the formal level, it can take decades to occur. However, formal institutions become sustainable only when they are underpinned by the informal ones. Though institutions do evolve and change over time, a level of predictability remains because the elite stakeholders adapt to the changing situations.

They utilize their resources to impose restrictions on rivals and alternatives to uphold the status quo (Pierson, 2004). Such institutional practices result in an ideological and cultural hegemony. Gramsci's concept of hegemony is relevant here. Gramsci (1971) argues that among other things, (capitalistic) elite upholds its control via ideology. They create a hegemonic culture which promulgates values and norms that tend to appear as rationalistic and 'common sense' to general public, but in reality they serve the interests of the elite. Through these values and norms, the dominant class coaxes the dominated classes to accept the status quo i.e., the power structure. It is important to remember that such ideological dominance of the elite appears "as a property of the system of relations involved, rather than as the overt and intentional biases of individuals" (Hall, 1982, p. 95). Gramsci (1971) further argues that things that people take for granted in their everyday routine contribute to the upholding and dominance of the hegemonic ideology. Thus, the hegemonic elite rely on the support of dominated classes too.

In the context of Khawajasiras, path dependency on an institutionalized hegemonic culture leads to a question regarding the continuation of stereotypical and stigmatizing colonial discourse – the discourse which led to their criminalization in the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Before the colonial times, their lives were not as strictly regulated, but the colonizers regulated and marginalized them. The above stated framework leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: The discourses on Khawajasiras are likely to be path dependent on colonial discourses and show a continuation of colonial stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community. Chapter 4 examines this hypothesis.

However, at this point the question is how could the colonial stereotypes and stigmas continue even after 2009 Supreme Court verdict, which aims to lift up the well-being of Khawajasiras. Here, it is important to note that the key to a hegemonic culture is a national discourse that

regulates people's behavior and convictions and gives them a sense of unity and belonging (Hall, 1997). However, deviations from what is portrayed as the 'norm' remain extant, which results in limited inclusivity. The national hegemonic discourse then tends to stigmatize those who deviate from the normative cultural practices (*ibid*). Goffman (1963) argues that an unwanted polarity among individuals or groups incites stigmatizing perceptions regarding the individual or group in the popular culture. Therefore, stigmatization of the non-normative reinforces the dominant cultural status quo, thus becoming central to the creation and upholding of social order (Parker and Aggleton, 2003). In the production and consumption of the news, an aspect that is relevant to this point and highlights the importance of the second dimension of Fairclough's model is the source of the news. Sigal (1973) and Gans (1979) argue that reporters tend to be highly dependent on their source. Official sources are considered very important, but their dominance leads to a 'source bias' in the news, i.e., it creates an official sources led hegemonic national narrative.

Khawajasiras have been the symbol of gender diversity in the context of Pakistan. The above theorization leads to a hypothesis that the (re)production of social order in the post-2009 world of Khawajaisras (i.e., after Khawajasiras' legal recognition) would have likely continued to stigmatize those aspects of Khawajasiras' lives that do not align with the normative cultural practices to try and bring them to the normative culture rather than accept them for their differences.

Hypothesis 2: The welfare developments after 2009 for Khawajasiras' welfare are likely to be based on a hegemonic national discourse that would stigmatize their non-normative lives rather than create acceptance and tolerance for them. Chapter 5 puts this hypothesis to test using the findings from the news text.

The dominant culture tends to stereotypically put individuals and groups into a gender binary, and assigns them gender roles, accordingly. At this stage, the dominant culture takes the shape of 'hegemonic masculinity.' Hegemonic masculinity is understood as the pattern of social, cultural and political practices that allow a certain notion of masculinity to dominate over other genders (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the vicious cycle of hegemonic masculinity, a gendered view of men and women leads to unequal distribution of power, which (re)produces a patriarchal society and leads to the dominance of some men – hegemonic masculinity – which then again increases the rigid socialization of gendered views and hence, the cycle continues (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Not all men depict the same level of masculinity; the discourse of hegemonic masculinity is only the privilege of some elite men. Rest of the men could either be complicit or subordinated to the hegemonic masculinity. The gendered socialization within hegemonic masculinity can be further understood through the works of Christine Delphy. Delphy (1993) reviews the historical evolution of discourse on sex and gender and theorizes that the discourse remains underlined by two unscientific and irrational presuppositions. First, it pre-supposes that things exist only in their binary opposites and those opposites are what distinguish them. She argues that such a discourse fails to acknowledge that while distinction comes from differentiation, but that differentiation need not be the opposite, rather it can be of multiple variations. Second, there has been a causal presupposition that sex precedes gender i.e., a person's biology is a determinant of his/her psychology and hence, a determinant of his/her capacity too (*ibid*). Furthermore, the capacity defines roles and roles imply social status which would mean that sex determines a person's status in the social hierarchy (*ibid*). Thus, such a discourse despite challenging one gender's²⁹ subordination,

²⁹ Delphy (1993) focuses on women's subordination only. However, the same theoretical understanding can be applied to Khawajasiras too.

because of its social institutional constraints, continues to reinforce the mythological presupposition of sex being a factor that determines gender and gender roles. And hence, the dominant culture's subconscious need to regulate leads to stereotypical categorization of individuals into binaries and in accordance, the assignment of gender roles.

In the context of Khawajasiras of Pakistan, this theorization argues that even the post-2009 discourse regarding the lives of Khawajasiras is likely to reinforce a hegemonic masculinity driven gender binary structure as well as the notion that sex determines gender and hence, the gender roles of Khawajasiras.

Hypothesis 3: The post 2009 discourses regarding Khawajasiras are likely to reinforce hegemonic masculinity oriented discourse that results in Khawajasiras' categorization based on the notions of gender binaries and gender roles. Chapter 6 puts this hypothesis to test using the findings from the critical discourse analysis of news reports.

Summary of the Section

Fairclough's model basically requires studying text in its social structural context to see whether the text reinforces the existing power structures or challenges it. The conceptual framework leads to three hypotheses for understanding the discourse regarding Khawajasiras. First is the colonial history of Khawajasiras and its influence in post-colonial Pakistan; the second is the (re)production of hegemonic normative cultural practices in the modern societies and how that impacts the discourse on non-normative groups such as Khawajasiras of Pakistan; and third, it is patriarchal notions that lead to binary based gendering of even the non-binary groups too. Media, as the primary tool of enforcing and reinforcing the discourse, remains at the center stage. The thematic analysis that follows in the next chapter is based on these three points of analysis and

news reports are used to apply Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis. In the following section, the research design and sampling is explained.

3.3 Methodology, Method and Design of the Study

Every research is based on some philosophical – epistemological as well as ontological – assumptions. Epistemology means the study or possibility of the study of a reality while ontology means nature of the reality. This study follows interpretivism as its epistemological philosophy. Interpretivism, in contrast to the scientific approach of positivism which seeks to explain human and institutional behavior, aims at understanding it. It aims to understand the necessary and sufficient conditions on which the reality stands. It also looks into the structures and limitations of reality (Bryman, 2012; Steup, 2018). Therefore it takes a rather more exploratory take on events of the study (ibid). Since the current study aims to understand the narratives around which Khawajasiras' lives are strangled, therefore, interpretive epistemology becomes suitable option. On the other hand, the study takes constructionism as its ontological philosophy. Constructionism accepts an interactional role between social phenomena and the social actors, contrary to objectivism, which assumes that the former can exist independent of the latter. According to Bryman (2012), constructionism asserts that “social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in constant state of revision” (p.33). The current study also assumes that the nature of reality – news discourse on Khawajasiras – is deeply rooted and strongly influenced by (and holds an influence in return on) the societal context. Therefore, constructionism becomes the suitable ontological assumption of the study.

To apply this philosophical approach, the study employs inductive methods using qualitative research approach. Bryman (2012) argues that philosophical assumptions of research ought to

connect with study's methods and strategies, and interpretive research philosophy can be employed convincingly through inductive research methods under qualitative research approach. McLeod (2008) argues that qualitative research strategies are more general and inquisitive since they tend to rely on words rather than statistics. However, they tend to have a level of subjectivity, which brings in important points for ethical considerations as well as research limitations, which are explained later in this dissertation.

Qualitative research can be conducted through various means. This study applies narrative research design for conducting the research. It aims to study the news content. The specific tool employed for applying the narrative research design is Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, which has been delineated in the previous sections of this chapter. The news content on Khawajasiras is studied in depth to examine how the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community in the news are reinforced. In other words, the study looks into the dominant discourse around the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the Khawajasira community through discourse analysis strategy under qualitative research approach. The study relies on primary data of news archives. The sampling process is explained in the next section.

However, as argued above, the idea is to identify the dominant discourse regarding Khawajasiras in the Pakistani newspapers. But what classifies as dominant discourse? The dominant discourse could be identified by looking into what narrative appears more repetitively. However, to ensure the reliability of such statistics, data on newspapers readership i.e., what percentage and which section of the society reads which newspaper is also required. The reason is that a particular narrative can only be taken as the dominant one if the newspapers in which it is appearing carry the majority readership. Because if only a small minority is the recipient of a narrative then it cannot be classified as a dominant discourse. However, such statistics are not available for

Pakistani newspapers. Therefore, the criteria employed for finding the dominant discourse is that if a narrative (in its lexical choices, syntax, logic and/or presuppositions) occur in at least six newspapers (with at least three from each language) that are being reviewed for this study in the given context then the discourse would classify as the dominant discourse regarding Khawajasiras.

Thus, the units of analysis³⁰ - which according to Bryman (2012) are the collected data points on which analysis is done – for this study are the topic as well as content of the news reports. With Fairclough's model, the units of analysis have already been explained thoroughly. With the idea of understanding the discourse in its societal context, the model requires analysts to study by text by studying: a) the lexical choices, b) the pre-suppositions in the text, which then leads to, c) the macro narrative that the text reinforces. Additionally, these units are studied across English and Urdu language newspapers as well as across time (from 2009 to 2017), making language of the newspaper and year of news report additional units of analysis that serve the aims of comparative analysis. Author's proficiency in both English and Urdu language helped perform the analysis on both type of newspapers with equal expertise.

The findings from the news reports are analyzed thematically. The conceptual framework had provided three hypotheses. These three hypotheses set the basis for three broad themes, which connect structurally to help understand and analyze the narratives. The structural and contextual connection of the themes is the key point in justifying the narrative approach to the study. The themes identified, are: a) continuation of colonial discourse, b) stereotyping and stigmatizing Khawajasiras' traditions for their mainstreaming, and c) discourse of reinforcing gender binaries and gender roles. Each theme has sub-themes. The sub-themes review the relevant findings and contextualize them to understand the discourse in its societal context which would affirm or

³⁰ Also known as units of data collection (UDCs)

reject the hypothesis for that theme. The findings are then discussed in chapter 7 for broader theorization of discourse on Khawajasiras in Pakistan's newspapers.

3.4 Sampling

The study employs non-probability convenience sampling approach for collecting the relevant data for the study. Qualitative studies rely on non-probability sampling techniques (Bryman, 2012). Within non-probability, there are options of purposive, convenience and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling is one in which sample is drawn from that part of the population that is readily or conveniently available. Pakistan's national level newspapers, both English and Urdu, are conveniently available at the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's online news archive website where they upload news on different categories in separate folders.³¹ HRCP collects print newspapers from 3 cities (Lahore, Rawalpindi and Karachi) and uses their scanned copies from there to update their online news archives. The news stories are reviewed from 2009 when the Supreme Court's judgment was passed to the first quarter of 2017 only (when the data for conducting this study was collected). Bryman (2012) cites multiple studies that took all relevant and available news reports for analysis. This study takes similar approach. Therefore, from 2009 to 2017, all conveniently available news reports on Khawajasiras are analyzed for the purposes of this study. The reason for starting from SC's 2009 verdict is to take the most contemporary discourse because 2009 verdict is generally cited in literature as a turning point in the lives of Khawajasiras. Therefore, taking this as the starting point would limit the discourse analysis to the most contemporary lives of Khawajasiras where their well-being and welfare is an important matter of debates and actions. HRCP's website has a separate category for third gender news by the title of "Transvestites." In this category, all the news on

³¹ The link to the website is: www.hrcparchive.com

Khawajasiras from 2013 to 2017 is available from 14 to 17³² nationally published Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers and magazines. The list of these newspapers is given in Table below. The news stories from before 2013 are available in the “population category,” so one will have to search through the population database for transgender news from years before 2013. The keywords used to search the news will include: 1) Third gender, 2) third sex, 3) eunuch(s), 4) transgender, and 5) transvestite.³³ The identification of these keywords has been done by the IT representative at the HRCP office. The information regarding the date of news, newspaper name and page number is also provided on the website with each news clipping. In total, 770 news items have been reviewed of which 296 were from Urdu newspapers and 474 from English newspapers.

English Newspapers	Urdu Newspapers
Dawn	Aaj Kal
The Express Tribune	Jang
The News	Express
Pakistan Today	Khabrain
Daily Times	Nawa-i-Waqat
The Nation	Pakistan
The Friday Times	Mashriq
	Nai Baat
	Dunya
	Din
	Masawat

³² The reason why this figure is not fixed is that over the years some new newspapers have been added to HRCP’s database. For example, Dunya newspaper was added to HRCP’s database in 2014.

³³ It is important to note here Khawajasira or other Urdu/Punjabi keywords are not searchable in the database because the news clippings are added with English keywords only.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in an academic study need to be taken into account from data collection to data analysis stage. Due to newspapers being public data, anonymity does not become one of the ethical considerations. However, it is important to understand that this study is neither tries to attack media freedom, nor does it try to single out any newspaper when identifying a stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse. The study's findings rather support a more constructive and inclusive role of media in the lives of marginalized groups. That brings to a critical ethical point: the researcher's bias. Qualitative studies tend to suffer from researcher's subjectivity. In CDA, Fairclough's model also shows that readers tend to decode the news text based on their socio-cultural influences. However, this question is dealt with validity and reliability test of the research. With CDA, validity test is basically the logical coherence of the findings and argument (Rapley, 2007). And reliability is in its comparability with the existing literature (ibid). The study maintains logical coherence as well as connects well with the previous studies.

Chapter 4

Continuation of Colonial Stereotypes and Stigmas

4.1 Overview

Colonial discourse on Khawajasiras, as identified in the literature review, was quite stereotypical and stigmatizing. It was noticed that colonizers considered Khawajasiras and their public activities (dancing and begging) as a threat to the normative social order. They also believed that the gurus force their Chelas into an ‘immoral’ life. Then, based on the path dependency theory, it was hypothesized that the news discourse is likely to show a continuation of the colonial influences. This chapter examines the hypothesis of colonial path dependency. First, it descriptively analyzes visibility of the discourse on Khawajasiras in the newspapers since 2009. Then, it analyzes the text on an important colonial stereotype, the negative discourse on Gurus. The section after that reviews news reports related to Khawajasiras’ traditional occupations such as begging and dancing. Then, the final section reports findings on Khawajasiras’ sexual behaviors. The analysis show whether the news reports tend to reinforce the colonial stereotypes in the post-2009 lives of Khawajasiras too.

4.2 Visibility of the Discourse on Khawajasiras

With the aim of maintaining a normative social order, colonizers tried to make the non-normative gender socially invisible. Any Eunuch, as they called the non-normative individuals, seen in public was to be arrested and jailed for two years. Their social invisibility in Pakistan had made its way to the newspapers discourse too.³⁴ However, after the 2009 Supreme Court verdict, one of the ways in which the tables turned around was that Khawajasiras’ visibility in the discourse started to increase. Once the visibility increased, their issues and plight began to be

³⁴ This statement is based on author’s personal examination of news archives prior to 2009. However, since pre - 2009 era is not within the scope of this research, therefore, this cannot be discussed in further detail in this study.

seen and noticed. From 2009 to 2016, the annual number of news stories on Khawajasiras increased 5.2 times at an average annual growth rate of 26.85%. For English newspapers only, the increase is 8.5 times while for Urdu newspapers only, the increase has been only 3.1 times during the same time period.

Table 4.1: Visibility of Khawajasiras in Pakistan's Newspapers since 2009						
Year	Total	Growth	English	Growth	Urdu	Growth
2009	53		21		32	
2010	55	3.77%	41	95.24%	14	-56.25%
2011	59	7.27%	45	9.76%	14	0.00%
2012	79	33.90%	59	31.11%	20	42.86%
2013	27	-65.82%	23	-61.02%	4	-80.00%
2014	40	48.15%	14	-39.13%	26	550.00%
2015	87	117.50%	33	135.71%	54	107.69%
2016	280	221.84%	179	442.42%	101	87.04%
2016 (Jan-Mar)	30		11		19	
2017 (Jan-Mar)	90	200.00%	59	436.36%	31	63.16%
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)						

While statistics show an increase in the overall visibility of Khawajasiras in the country's news reports, it is noticeable that English newspapers compared to Urdu newspapers have contributed more in increasing Khawajasiras' visibility. Of the 770 news reports reviewed for the study, 474

(61.5%) were from English newspapers. Knowing that from 2009 to 2017, HRCP has maintained news archives on 7 English newspapers and 11 Urdu newspapers, news reports per English newspaper come out to be 67.7, while news reports per Urdu newspaper come out to be 26.9, which is less than half of the coverage that an English newspaper on average provided to Khawajasiras during these years. These statistics raise a question as to why have English newspapers given significantly greater coverage to Khawajasiras compared to Urdu newspapers. A number of reasons could be hypothesized to answer this question. First, it could be because English newspapers and their reporters have greater access to Khawajasira circles. Second, it could be that English newspapers generally have a policy in support of marginalized communities. Third reason could be that contrary to Urdu newspapers, English newspapers place themselves as players in the global discourse rather than just the national or cultural discourse. Therefore, due to rising global visibility of non-binary groups, English newspapers have found it pertinent to give greater coverage to Pakistan's non-binary groups as well. Similarly, other hypotheses could also be formulated to explain this difference in English and Urdu newspapers. However, with the review of news reports on Khawajasira identity in chapter six, it is shown in the discussion in chapter seven that the third reason is more likely to be true than the first and second one. At this point, this sets forth an important point for understanding the newspapers institutional practices i.e., that English newspapers tend to find their place and hence, reinforce a narrative that is globally acceptable while Urdu newspapers tend to reinforce a culturally acceptable discourse regarding Khawajasiras.

The increasing visibility nevertheless, has meant that wide ranging issues regarding Khawajasiras have been highlighted in the news text. Primarily, the actions that the news reports have focused on include the state led actions for Khawajasiras apparent welfare, including,

Supreme Court's verdicts as well as the actions of Social Welfare Department, NADRA, and other executive and legislative branches of the state. However, lately, particularly since 2016, the discourse has also been highlighting issues that Khawajasiras face in their everyday routine life which range from sexual harassment and rape to murder and police or other state actor's abuse. Even though Khawajasiras' issues are far from being resolved yet, the growing visibility of their issues in the newspapers discourse is a step away from colonial strategy of making Khawajasiras socially invisible.

However, visibility in the discourse is not enough in affirming or rejecting the hypothesis for this chapter. The question is, has the increased visibility in the newspapers' discourse led to a reduction or a reinforcement of the stereotypical and stigmatizing notions regarding Khawajasiras that originated in the colonial times. Are Gurus, who are like fathers in the Khawajasira culture still seen as 'evil' figures? Does the discourse continue to see dancing and begging, the traditional occupations of Khawajasiras, discriminatorily? Does the stigma of sexual deviants continue to be attached with Khawajasiras? These are pertinent questions regarding the continuation or dis-continuation of colonial stereotypes and stigmas that need to be examined to argue comprehensively whether the discourse on Khawajasiras continues to be path dependent. The following sections examine these questions one by one.

4.3 Gurus: 'The Bad Guys'

The review of literature showed that the colonial discourse on Gurus was rather discriminatory. Pakistani newspapers in the post-2009 era seem to have carried on with that discourse. The idea that gurus are not a 'positive' influence appears repetitively in the news discourse. Textual analysis of the news stories shows persistence of the idea that Gurus 'force' their Chelas to do 'immoral' activities. Some of the examples shown in the table below show the different ways in

which the idea of Gurus' exploitative character appears in the discourse. Gurus force their Chelas into prostitution, exploit money from them, forcefully castrate them are some of the themes around which the Guru-Chela relationship is described in the news. The lexical choices that describe the Guru-Chela build up a narrative that shows Chelas to be helpless at the hands of exploitative Gurus. Words like "merciless pimps" (Dawn, 2017, p.3), are used even in 2017 to talk about Gurus in relation to Chelas.

English and Urdu both newspapers tend to show the similar discourse on Gurus. For example, Dunya news (25 Feb 2016), an Urdu newspaper, reports that a number of non-normative gendered people are forced to become Khawajasiras (assumption here is that Khawajasiras are just castrated male) by their Gurus. Similarly, Express Tribune (07 Sept 2015), an English newspaper, reports that a Guru was arrested for forcing his Chela to become a eunuch. Therefore, English and Urdu newspapers despite showing very different levels of coverage to Khawajasiras, tend to reinforce similar colonial stereotypes and stigmas regarding gurus.

Table 4.2: Gurus as 'The Bad Guys' in the Discourse		
Date	Newspaper	Discourse on Gurus
16 June 2009	Dawn (p. 2)	Cannot leave their gurus and compelled to do whatever ordered against their will.
15 July 2009	Dawn (p. 2)	Gurus ... abuse them instead of providing them the opportunity to get education
11 July 2009	Aaj Kal (p.3)	*The court ordered social welfare departments of each province to prepare a report on living conditions of Khawajasiras and report whether they are living with Gurus voluntarily or under coercion, and whether Gurus oppress them in any way.
19 July 2009	Nation (p. 11)	Illegal activities of Bobby were increasing day by day and he was presenting himself as their 'Guru' and extorting money from eunuchs in Rawalpindi.
31 May 2010	The News (p.13)	A young and beautiful looking eunuch – Munir alias Cheemo – started 'begging' as directed by the

‘guru’.		
14 Nov 2011	Dawn (p.4)	Abandoned to the world of merry makers ... handed to gurus ... forced into prostitution
24 Feb 2015	Mashriq (p.3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ *Khawajasiras’ sale/purchase [by the gurus] exposed ▪ *I bought <i>Pari</i> in exchange for Rs.30,000/-, Guru Suni’s confession
07 Sept 2015	Express Tribune (page not known)	A eunuch [Guru Nargis Mian] was arrested ... for castrating a man without his consent.
25 Feb 2016	Dunya (page not known)	*133 [Khawajasiras] were forced [to become Khawajasiras by their gurus]
21 Feb 2017	Dawn (p.3)	Some so-called gurus who act as merciless pimps, exploiting disoriented young people instead of behaving as the protective adoptive mothers
*Author’s translation from Urdu Newspapers		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

However, a parallel discourse that presents a socially acceptable image of Gurus also exists in Pakistan’s newspapers. It presents Gurus as the father figures in relation to their Chelas. It is pertinent to mention that the notion of Gurus as fathers appears only at the point of registrations, documentations or when the question of National Identity Cards (NICs) arises. In response to state authority’s question on Khawajasira’s father in registration documents, many Khawajasiras wished to have their gurus’ name written as their fathers. Newspapers reported these instances which gave rise to the importance of Gurus in the lives of Chela-Khawajasiras. From just being cited as father figures, over time this notion has developed substance too in the sense that the discourse elaborates on what it means to be a father (Guru) in Khawajasira circles. It is mentioned that Gurus raise their Chelas, take responsibility of their bread and butter, and impart them values and important survival lessons. Therefore, this aspect of the discourse on Gurus, attempts to present a non-discriminatory fatherly side of Gurus [see the table below for examples of such discourse].

Table 4.3: Discourse of Gurus as Fathers		
Date	Newspaper	Gurus as Fathers
20 Jul 2009	Dawn (p.4)	Four eunuchs wrote Guru as their father.
26 Jan 2012	Nation (p.9)	The eunuchs wanted to write down the name of their Guru who grew them instead of their father's name on CNICs
9 May 2012	Khabrain (p.8)	*Not being allowed to write guru's name halts registration process.
23 Jul 2013	Pakistan Today (p.5)	Yes my parents abandoned me but this is where I belong! My Guru Parveen is everything to me. She taught me to recite Quran, educated me...
07 Feb 2016	Dawn (page unknown)	We leave our families and we are looked after by our gurus
15 Apr 2016	Dawn (page unknown)	Some are rejected by their fathers and so want the CNICs to carry their guru's name
15 Apr 2016	Pakistan Today (page unknown)	We spend all our lives with the guru. They give us shelter, feed us and raise us. They are our real fathers
29 May 2016	The News (page unknown)	speakers said eunuchs had to take refuge with their Gurus who provided them with bread and butter and other facilities to live
05 Mar 2017	Dawn (Page not known)	It is Gurus who raise us and protect us, yet CNICs want to see the father's name who has thrown us out on to the streets.
*Author's translations from Urdu newspapers		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

One possible explanation could be that the different perspectives about Gurus might be a reflection of difference in different newspapers or time/year in which the perspective appeared or dominated. However, it can be noticed in the above cited examples too that both the perspectives have had parallel existence in multiple newspapers over time. For example, Dawn (on 21 Feb 2017) used the words “merciless pimps” to describe the some Gurus’ relation with their Chelas. The same newspaper on 05 Mar 2017 while citing a quote from a Khawajasira wrote that gurus’ “raise us and protect us.” Clearly, the two very different discourses can neither be explained through difference in time nor through the producer of the news. Therefore, the two types of discourses ought to be analyzed together.

Put the two perspectives on Gurus together, and multiple things can be noticed. First, the discourse of gurus as fathers is context dependent, i.e., it appears only when a news talks about their registration matters, but the negative discourse on Gurus is more general i.e., it becomes of relevance whenever Guru-Chela relationship is being reported in general. So, the dominant discourse remains filled with unacceptability, while some context specific discourses could highlight acceptable notions about Gurus. Second, the first discourse – of negative image of Gurus – originated with a branch of the state as the source of the news i.e., newspapers carried this discourse while reporting on Supreme Court's 2009 verdict for Khawajasiras' welfare. However, the discourse of Gurus as father figures originated with activists, particularly Khawajasira activists' becoming source of the news. The relevance and importance of source of the news is discussed further in chapter seven after combining relevant related points from other themes as well.

Third point is that despite originating from different sources, the two types of narratives on gurus have continued to co-exist over the years. That means, in the dominant discourse, presenting Gurus as fathers does not necessarily imply building a non-discriminatory image of gurus. In the broader narrative, it could only be furthering the discrimination against Gurus with the assumptions that Gurus as fathers tend to play a rather regressive role than what is generally expected from fathers/guardians. So, the fact that Gurus are accepted as persons who not only take responsibility of the bread and butter of children abandoned by their biological parents, but also as people who later force those children into prostitution, only leads to an inference that the dominant discourse sees Gurus' guardianship actions as filled with ulterior motives too.

Thus, the negative influence of Gurus on Chelas translates into Khawajasiras' professions that are generally viewed negatively in the discourse. These professions include begging, dancing and

prostitution. In the following section, textual discourse in the Pakistani newspapers regarding these professions of Khawajasiras is examined to see whether that too shows a continuation of colonial stereotypes and stigmas.

4.4 Discourse on Khawajasiras' Traditional Occupations: Begging and Dancing

There are multiple ways in which discourse focuses on dancing and begging as professions of Khawajasiras. First, dancing and begging is presented as 'what Khawajasiras do' i.e., their historically opted occupation. Dancing and begging at birthdays, weddings and even on the streets is understood in the news text as their historically chosen occupations. However, despite accepting it as their traditional occupation, it is not accepted as equal in rank with other occupations; it is given a rather lower rank. Lower rank does not necessarily mean that lower within the acceptable occupations. At times, the discourse also pushes dancing and begging beyond the boundaries of acceptable occupations by putting it with words like 'vulgarity,' 'immoral,' and 'indecent' [see table below]. Once the activity is given a lower or an unacceptable rank, the person performing the activity also starts to be perceived in the discourse as lower ranked. From that, the discourse follows that no human likes to be seen as a low rank individual in the society. Therefore, Khawajasiras who dance or beg, do so because they are forced to do it. Who forces them? According to the discourse, as stated in the above section, Gurus force them.

Table 4.4: Discourse on Begging/Dancing of Khawajasiras			
Date	Newspaper		
18 Jun 2009	The News	(p.14)	Dancing is the main source of earning bread and butter for eunuchs.
15 July 2009	Dawn (p. 2)		Compelled to lead an immoral life by offering themselves for dancing or prostitution
26 Feb 2013	Daily Times		More to offer than begging or dancing at weddings.

	(p.12)	
04 July 2013	Express Tribune (p.5)	Dancing and other vulgarities
13 Oct 2013	Khabrain (p.2)	*Rejected by the society, Khawajasiras condemned to dance and beg
11 Dec 2013	Express Tribune (p.4)	In a bid to get noticed, some protestors broke into dance
22 Sept 2014	Nawaiwaqt (p.12)	*We will start <i>thumka</i> protest from Lahore
13 Apr 2015	Nawaiwaqt (p.12)	*Police's raid on Khawajasira's birthday where they were dancing with sumptuous clothes on... action taken against immoral activities: Police
02 Aug 2015	Mashriq (p.8)	*We are forced to beg
02 Aug 2015	Jang (page not known)	*Khawajasiras' protested ... in a unique way, they started dancing in the middle of the road.
26 Nov 2015	Pakistan Today (page unknown)	Indecent dance performances
29 Nov 2015	Jang (page unknown)	*When we beg, police arrests us
29 Nov 2015	Nai Baat (page unknown)	*Khawajaisras' clap and dance from press club to Mall road in protest
30 Dec 2015	Express Tribune (page unknown)	No one wants to dance in streets or beg for alms
*Author's translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

This whole logic is built on the following assumptions: a) dancing and begging are low rank or immoral occupations, b) a person's chosen occupation determines his or her overall character, i.e., if the activity is 'decent',³⁵ the person is of 'decent' character and vice versa, c) any socially perceived indecent activity is only adopted under coercion, and d) the person blameworthy of coercion is naturally the immediate guardian. However, these assumptions cannot be backed by any empirical or scientific evidence. Rather they reflect society's general beliefs and practices,

³⁵ The word "decent" here is used in the normatively acceptable sense, which is why it is put in quotation marks too. The assumption underlying such terms in normative discourses seems to be that there are some predetermined supernatural standards of decency that human beings are supposed to follow.

which appear to have origins in the colonial discourse. Both English and Urdu newspapers seem to reinforce similar logic with similar assumptions regarding dancing and begging. Similarly, from 2009 to 2017, very negligible drop has occurred in this discourse. In 2009 about 35.8% of the 53 news reports had a reference to dancing, begging or both which was based on the aforementioned logic. Of these, 53% were from English newspapers while 47% were from Urdu newspapers. Comparatively, in 2017, such references appeared 31.1% of the times, of which 48% were from English newspapers and 52% from Urdu newspapers. Over the course of eight years, only a 4% decrease, given the amount by which the annual number of news reports has increased, does not appear to be significant decrease. Thus, the textual analysis of reports on dancing and begging reveals persistence of a narrative built on assumptions (with no empirical or scientific evidence) which results in a stigmatizing discourse regarding Khawajasiras that is similar to what had been identified in the literature review on colonial discourse on Khawajasiras public professions.

4.5 Sexual Behavior of Khawajasiras

Another colonial stigma was to view Khawajasiras as sexual deviants. The notion of sexual deviance is visible primarily in the context of prostitution. Sometimes it is put under the vague category of “vulgarity” too. Discourse on prostitution is similar to the discourse on begging and dancing. However, unlike the discourse on begging and dancing, which keeps shifting between an acceptable low ranked act and unacceptable immoral act, the discourse pertaining to prostitution remains consistent and the act remains within the boundaries of what is considered immoral or unacceptable.

Table 4.5: Discourse on Khawajasiras as Sexual Deviants			
Sr	Date	Newspaper	
1	16 June 2009	Dawn (p.2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Save them from a life of shame ▪ Ignominious merry-makers ▪ Forced into Prostitution
2	15 July 2009	Dawn (p. 2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ignominious merry-makers ▪ Compelled to lead an immoral life by offering themselves for dancing or prostitution
3	19 July 2009	Aaj kal (p.3)	*Residents of the area alleged that all three Khawajasiras do indecent/immoral activities which hold a negative impact on the young men.
4	19 July 2009	Daily Times (p.1)	Accused of running a prostitution den Residents ... stated that eunuchs were ruining the environment and causing various crimes due to their illegal business
5	19 Aug 2009	Jang (p.12)	*Most of the cases against Khawajasiras fall under indecent/immoral practices
6	24 Nov 2009	Aaj Kal	*Some choose this occupation for pleasure while others join because of poverty or unemployment.
7	26 May 2010	Nation (p.2)	Charges of unnatural sexual offence against the accused [man-eunuch couple]
8	11 Jun 2012	Express Tribune (p. unknown)	Man 'marries' eunuch in Muzafargarh
9	14 Jun 2012	Express Tribune (p.15)	[ASWJ] says She-male association is spreading vulgarity in society Involved in shameful acts
10	5 Dec 2012	Nation (p.13)	Officials found many eunuchs involved in crimes, including prostitution, mugging and drug pushing.
11	06 May 2013	The News (p.4)	In a conservative country such as Pakistan, where homosexuality is illegal, the struggle for equal rights for transgenders is far from over.
12	13 Apr 2015	Khabrain (p.3)	*Birthday of Khawajasira, dance, vulgar activities
13	15 May 2016	Jang (p.22)	*Young man marries a khawajasira, both beaten up by residents of the area
*Author's translation from Urdu			
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)			

Textual analysis of the news reports shows two aspects that relate to Khawajasiras' sexual moralities. First aspect employs the same assumptions and logic as for begging and dancing. By categorizing it as immoral, it infers that no one opts for such a profession by choice and hence, Khawajasiras who prostitute do so under the pressure of their gurus [see news number 1, 2, 5, and 10 as examples of this narrative in the table above]. Second aspect looks at prostitution as a pleasure or monetary gains oriented choice of individuals [see number 6, 7, 8, and 12 news cited in the table above]. This aspect partly appears because of the (evidently false) assumption that people who join Khawajasiras' cultural circles are mostly homosexual men [see news number 7, 8, and 11 in table above]. And since homosexuality is not understood as a natural tendency, but rather as a choice and deviation from the normative path, indulgence in it results in stigmatization of such individuals. Therefore, such a narrative not only views Khawajasiras as 'sinful' individuals, but it also leads to blaming-the-victim discourse. That is because, when Khawajasiras are perceived a disturbance to the social order [see news number 3 and 4 in the table above], they are marginalized, the blame for which is put on Khawajasiras themselves with justification for it being in their "vulgarity."

Once again, both English and Urdu newspapers follow similar discourse on Khawajasiras' sexual behaviors. It is also notable that this discourse too, just like the discourse on dancing and begging, has shown very little decline from 2009 to 2017. In 2009, 13.2% of the news reports – 57% of which were from Urdu and 43% from English newspapers – had a reference to Khawajasiras sexual behavior with the above mentioned line of argumentation. In 2017, after 8 years, with minor drop, 11.1% news reports – with 50% from each, Urdu and English newspapers – continued to reinforce similar discourse on Khawajasiras sexual behaviors.

Therefore, neither from English to Urdu newspapers, nor from 2009 to 2017, a significant change can be seen in discourses on Khawajasiras' sexual behaviors. A possible explanation could be in absence of alternative explanations in our societal practices to understand Khawajasiras' dancing, begging and sexual behaviors. Chapter seven delves into this aspect further.

The analysis of the news reports thus, affirms the hypothesis that the post 2009 lives of Khawajasiras are also strongly entrenched in the stereotypes and stigmas of the colonial era regarding Khawajasiras' dancing, begging and sexual practices. However, the hypothesis could not be confirmed regarding their social invisibility. Furthermore, in the colonial times, this whole discourse had led to their criminalization through the CTA 1871. But the post 2009 dominant discourse, despite all these stereotypes and stigmas does not see Khawajasiras as criminals, but rather as victims in the society. This is what the next chapter elaborates on while analyzing the discourse on Khawajasiras' mainstreaming.

4.6 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter put the path dependency hypothesis to test by analyzing three important colonial stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras which are: the stigmas attached to gurus, the negativity towards traditional occupations of Khawajasiras, and the discourse of viewing Khawajasiras as sexual deviants. The logical flow of the discourse in these three aspects, separately as well as collectively present cogent evidence for inclining towards affirmation of the hypothesis that the news discourse on Khawajasiras continues to be path dependent on the colonial stereotypes and stigmas. However, the 2009 Supreme Court verdict was for the welfare of Khawajasiras and many state actions have apparently supported Khawajasiras' welfare through the notion of 'mainstreaming.' If the colonial discourse is persistent, the question is how

path dependency does influence the notion of ‘mainstreaming’ and where and how it continues to reinforce stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras. The next chapter reviews relevant news reports to answer this question.

Chapter 5

Mainstreaming the Khawajasiras

5.1 Overview

The second hypothesis which is built on Goffman (1963) and Parker and Aggleton (2003) argues that the dominant discourse aims to uphold a social order and for that, it is likely to stigmatize the non-normative to systematically force them into the normative rather than accept them for their non-normativity. Some elements of such a discourse have been observed in the previous chapter as well, which is evidence that even the modern discourse of Khawajasiras' welfare is not independent of the stereotypical and stigmatizing colonial discourse. However, this chapter examines this hypothesis in greater detail, particularly in reference to the post 2009 developments for Khawajasiras' welfare. First, it identifies different keywords using which usually the idea of Khawajasiras' welfare is generally portrayed in the news texts. The word 'mainstreaming' is the umbrella term that for the discourse of Khawajasiras' inclusion in the normative. The section after that examines how the premise of mainstreaming is built on the idea that under the traditional structures, Khawajasiras are victims of harassment, violence and exploitation. Therefore, that leads to building of negative attitudes towards their traditional practices. From there, the last section then completes the logic or narrative of 'mainstreaming' as presented in the news reports.

5.2 'Mainstreaming' keywords in the Discourse

The idea of ensuring better lives for Khawajasiras appears in the textual discourse in many different ways. The umbrella term for their inclusion appears to be 'mainstreaming.' However, different variations of this keyword are also used in the newspapers which explain the

assumptions that the term ‘mainstreaming’ entails. Table 5.1 presents the different lexical choices under which the idea of mainstreaming appears in the newspapers.

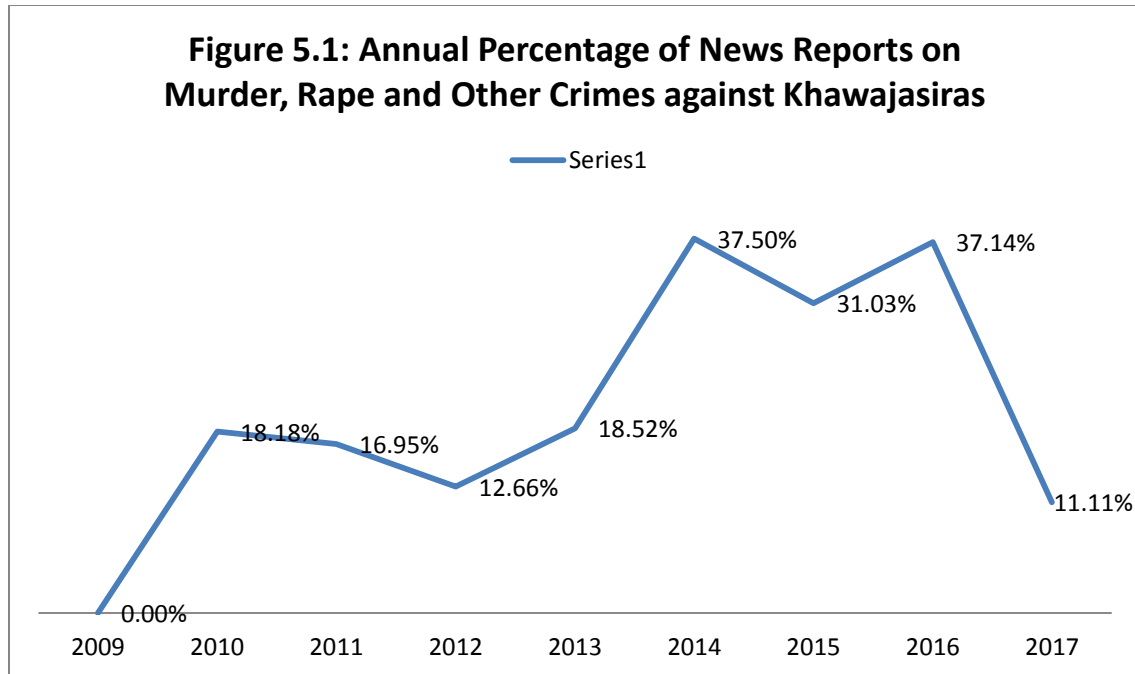
Table 5.1: Keywords for Mainstreaming in the Newspapers	
English Newspapers	Urdu Newspapers
Mainstream	<i>Qaomi Dhara</i> (*National Fabric)
Living Life in Respectable Manner	<i>F'aal Tabka</i> (*Abled Section of the Society)
Productive Citizens	<i>Mufeed Shehri</i> (*Useful Citizens)
Respectable citizens	<i>Kaaramad Shehri</i> (*Productive Citizens)
Citizens of Pakistan	<i>Pakistan kay Shehri</i> (*Citizens of Pakistan)
Useful Citizens	*Author's translation from Urdu
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)	

The aim of mainstreaming Khawajasiras is to ensure their welfare and give them equal rights. Whether these are basic human rights or Pakistan's citizenship rights, Khawajasiras' access to them should not face any limitations. However, what means are portrayed as optimal for reaching the goal is where the discourse becomes stereotypical and stigmatizing. Keywords like ‘productive citizens,’ ‘respectable citizens’ and ‘abled citizens’ do hint at what processes the ideals of inclusiveness entail. It assumes that they are currently not capable as individuals or as a community to manage their welfare, therefore, their mainstreaming requires making them productive enough because by being productive citizens, they can achieve equal or higher well-being for themselves. The first step in the overall discourse of ‘mainstreaming’ is to popularize that Khawajasiras are victims in the society, living a marginalized life. The next section elaborates on this aspect of the news discourse.

5.3 Discourse of Khawajasiras' Victimhood

The mainstreaming discourse is underlined by several factors, the most critical of which is accepting that Khawajasiras are victims. Accepting Khawajasiras as victims rather than criminals, as was portrayed under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, is one crucial dimension in which news text attempts to offer resistance against the colonial influence in the discourse. The news stories on harassment, violence, and exploitation that Khawajasiras continue to face have increased over time and hence, increased the victimhood narrative regarding the community in the discourse. The origin of such a discourse can be traced back to the news reports that reported on the 2009 verdict of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which accepts them as victims. Of the 770 news reports reviewed for this dissertation, only 24 (3%) news reports reported on a criminal activity of Khawajasiras.³⁶ Therefore, they do not constitute the dominant discourse. The dominant discourse is constituted by 97% of the news reports, each of which shows an underlying assumption of acceptance of Khawajasiras' victimization in the society. However, that does not explain, how Khawajasiras are victimized i.e., what kind of crimes are committed against the community members. Discourse on specific ways of Khawajasiras' victimization has built over time. In 2009, not a single news story directly focused or highlighted any particular aspect of their victimhood. After that, gradually reporters started reporting such news. And as we move to 2017, the stories of rape, murder, and other problems faced by Khawajasiras become part of everyday news. The graph below shows the annual percentage of news reports on murder, rape and other crimes committed against Khawajasiras from 2009 to 2017.

³⁶ These 24 reports do not include begging, dancing and sexual performances of Khawajasiras, which can also be labeled as criminal activities since many laws forbid adopting such practices. However, the reason for not including those reports here is that news reports use Khawajasiras' begging, dancing and sexual practices to show that they are marginalized and victimized in the society.



The graph shows an overall increasing trend in the percentage of news reports that focus on how Khawajasiras are victimized in Pakistani society. Thirty seven percent of the news reports in 2014 as well as in 2016 reported criminal behavior of some normative persons against Khawajasiras. The rising victimhood discourse on Khawajasiras appears to be a crucial step away from colonial influences. It is worth reminding here that 11.11% in 2017 is only from the first three months of the year. The rising trend in previous years shows that with data from all twelve months of 2017, one would likely see a much higher percentage of news on Khawajasiras victimization. The table below some relevant news stories that reported on crimes like murder and rape of Khawajasiras. A news story in 2017 even headlined “another transgender murdered” (Nation, 2 Feb 2017, p.13), where the word ‘another’ highlights the routineness of the occurrence.

Table 5.2: Khawajasiras as Victims of Harrassment, Violence and Socio-economic Exploitation		
Date	Newspaper	
No report focused on this in 2009		
25 Jan 2011	Express Tribune (p.15)	3 eunuchs raped ‘by wedding guests’
26 Sept 2010	Nation (p.4)	Eunuchs protest killing of colleague
27 Nov 2010	The News (p.13)	Eunuchs protest killing
08 May 2013	The News (p.14)	Young eunuch raped at gunpoint
08 Jan 2014	Khabrain (p.12)	*Khawajasira kidnapped
18 May 2014	Nawaiwaqt (p.12)	*Karachi: Khawajasira gangraped by 4 persons, shaved her head too
29 Sept 2014	Jang (p.12)	*Unknown individuals killed Khawajasira by hanging him on gallows
22 Jan 2015	Express (p.unknown)	*5 women, 2 Khawajasiras raped
05 Jul 2015	Jang (p.unknown)	*Hijra killed in factory area
02 Aug 2015	Nawaiwaqt (p.12)	*Khawajasira protest outside Punjab assembly for their demands
07 Jan 2016	Express Tribune (p.unknown)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transgender person shot, injured in Peshawar • According to Kamal, the hospital administration’s attitude towards Adnan was “transphobic and discriminatory
23 May 2016	Express Tribune (p.unknown)	45 transgender people were targeted in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa since January 2016 alone.
2 Feb 2017	Nation (p.13)	Another transgender murdered
*Author’s translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

Such news reports have shown some effectiveness in challenging the status quo too. For example, the lack of cooperation of doctors with Khawajasiras in the hospitals is an important health related issue that the discourse has highlighted. The 2016 incident of Alisha’s murder and the reoccurrence of the following sentence in several English newspapers’ reports accentuated

the plight of the community: “The doctors kept asking the injured Alisha if she danced only and how much charged whereas the blood laboratory guy asked them if their blood was HIV positive or not” (Dawn, 25 May 2016). Such discourse highlights Khawajasiras are not culprits, but victims. This resistance against the status quo has primarily been dominated by the English newspapers. However, it has been effective to the extent that it led to several policy decisions particularly in the province of KPK where Alisha’s murder took place.

While the victimhood discourse is crucial in highlighting Khawajasiras’ marginalized position in the society, it also serves as the perfect building block for the dominant discourse of mainstreaming. After accepting them as victims, the discourse connects with the colonial stereotypes and stigmas – explained in the previous chapter – and argues that Khawajasiras’ activities and their occupations need to change to prevent their victimization. Mainstreaming requires Khawajasiras to change in a way that their lives could become normative enough for the normative society to accept them. This is how the discourse of mainstreaming Khawajasiras works. The following section delineates this discourse using evidence from the news texts.

5.4 Mainstreaming Discourse

Along with the Khawajasiras’ victimhood, the discourse brings in negative attitudes towards their traditional occupations such as dancing and begging. At this point, the newspapers reinforce the stereotypical and stigmatizing colonial discourse. The table below shows some specific examples in which the negative attitude towards traditional occupations is linked with the idea of Khawajasiras’ welfare which is what mainstreaming seeks to achieve. Therefore, just as hypothesized using the theory of Goffman (1963) and Parker and Aggleton (2003), the news text stigmatizes the non-normative practices to uphold the normative social order.

Table 5.3: Discourse on Khawajasiras Traditional Occupations		
Negative attitudes towards Traditional Occupations		
15 July 2009	Pakistan (p.1)	Government should help Khawajasiras monetarily to get respectable jobs like other citizens
15 July 2009	Dawn (p. 2)	Compelled to lead an immoral life by offering themselves for dancing or prostitution
30 Dec 2015	Express Tribune (page unknown)	No one wants to dance in streets or beg for alms
4 Jan 2017	Pakistan Today (p.10)	A myth seems to have formed that they cannot do any work except for sing and dance.
Need to Protect them from the Life of Crime		
16 June 2009	Dawn (p.2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Save them from a life of shame ▪ Ignominious merry-makers ▪ Forced into Prostitution
24 Nov 2009	Aaj Kal	*Some choose this occupation for pleasure while others join because of poverty or unemployment.
*Author's translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

Upholding the normative social order goes one step further too. It involves an attempt to replace Khawajasiras' existing occupational practices that are presented as socially unacceptable with socially acceptable ones. Once the victimhood is combined with negative attitudes towards their current occupations, it follows that their occupations need to change. Mainstreaming driven notion of welfare then argues that the government or even the NGOs need to provide them with better occupations. However, before that, these state and non-state actors need to know Khawajasiras, and be able to identify them. For that, Khawajasiras must become registered citizens of the state. Thus, registration becomes the first step towards the change that the news text tends to describe as "historic." That is why since 2009, every registration related step (survey, identity cards, inclusion in the census) has been presented as a positive step forward in the lives of Khawajasiras in the news text (see Table below). However, registration comes with further stereotypes and stigmas related to Khawajasira identity, which the next chapter examines.

Once the registration process is passed, the next and the most crucial step for the mainstreaming of Khawajasiras becomes their participation in the formal labor force. That is why the discourse uses the term “mainstreaming” interchangeably with “productive citizens,” “abled citizens” and/or other such terms identified earlier. So, from accepting Khawajasiras as victims, the discourse moves to discriminating against and labeling their traditional occupations, and then to emphasizing the need to register them and instate them in the formal labor force. That is how the notion of mainstreaming in the news discourse simply becomes a combination of stigmatizing the non-normative lives, and emphasizing on the need to bringing Khawajasiras into the normative life lived by participation in normative workforce. But the inclusion of Khawajasiras in the formal labor force has its own stereotypes and stigmas. This aspect is also examined in the next chapter.

Table 5.4: Discourse on Mainstreaming		
Date	Newspaper	
15 Jan 2012	Dawn (p.2)	Transgenders need to be accepted into mainstream
Registration/ID Cards/Documentation/Census Enumeration		
17 Jun 2009	Khabrain (p.2)	*Social welfare secretaries are ordered to survey and register Khawajasiras across the country so that they can be protected and crime can be ended from the society.
24 Nov 2009	Aaj Kal (p.3)	*For their welfare, SC had ordered registration of Khawajasiras.
15 Jan 2017	Daily Times (p.6)	Mainstreaming of transgenders ... while recognition through the census is the first step, work should not be stopped here
Participation in Formal Labor Force		
21 Nov 2009	The News (p.9)	SC directs gender-based registration of eunuchs Provide incentives to transgender individuals such as ... respectable jobs
23 Feb 2011	Express Tribune (p.3)	Historical Move: NADRA gives jobs to eunuchs
16 Dec 2010	Nation (p.5)	NADRA to provide jobs to eunuchs ... to engage them as

productive citizens of the society
*Author's translation from Urdu Newspapers
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)

However, after accepting Khawajasiras as victims, there is another discourse too that runs parallel to the colonial discourse of stigmatizing the Khawajasiras: it is the discourse of accepting that the families who abandon them, the society that harasses them, and the state, particularly, the police that refuses to allow them access to justice as the characters of the society that need to change for Khawajasiras to have better lives and well-being. Table 5.5 shows how families, society and police started being seen as the problematic factors of Khawajasiras' lives in the news text.

Table 5.5: Discourse on Society/Families/Police in relation to Khawajasiras		
Date	Newspaper	
17 Jun 2009	Khabrain (p.2)	*Criminal elements [of the society] use them for their ulterior motives
08 Jul 2009	Jang (p.2)	*Police harasses us
10 Dec 2010	Khabrain (p.8)	*Khawajasiras need to be protected from the police
10 Dec 2010	Nation (p.3)	Eunuchs are also human beings but they are seldom respected or accepted in the society and people look down upon them.
02 Jul 2011	Dawn (p.21)	Eunuchs stages dance protest against police
31 Oct 2011	Nation (p.3)	Eunuchs are a reality that is largely ignored and often shunned by the society
13 Oct 2013	Khabrain (p.2)	Society is not ready to accept us; parents kick us out of their houses.
10 Dec 2015	Express Tribune (page unknown)	My own family has refused to accept me. What can I expect from society?
15 Apr 2016	Pakistan Today (page unknown)	If the society wasn't full of sexual predators who preyed on us, we wouldn't have to live our lives for the entertainment of others
13 Jun 2016	The News (page unknown)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transgender leader urges society to treat community members as humans

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the society doesn't accept us as human-beings
16 Jul 2016	Daily Times (Page unknown)		We have been victimised by many segments of the society while even our family members and loved ones not accept us. Where must we go for justice?
06 Sept 2016	Express Tribune (page unknown)		The petition stated due to their gender, they were either expelled from their homes by their parents or were forced to leave due to harassment and mental torture by family members, neighbours and society
11 Jan 2017	Nai Baat (p.1)		*Including our society, they are considered a stain in most societies
8 Feb 2017	Dawn (page unknown)		Our own parents throw us out of our homes
*Author's translation from Urdu			
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)			

However, this notion does not build further in the discourse as the colonial stereotypes and stigmas overpower the dominant discourse regarding Khawajasiras' mainstreaming. In the less popular discourse, this notion could be understood as a way to challenge the reinforcement of stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras. However, the dominant discourse does not require much change in parents or society at all. Having established that mainstreaming is simply another word for moving Khawajasiras from a stigmatized non-normative and unacceptable lifestyle to a normative and acceptable lifestyle via registering (categorizing) them and bringing them into formal work force, the discourse implies that parents and society does not need to change because under this notion of mainstreaming, it is Khawajasiras who would change and become part of the normative. Once they are part of the normative, police, parents and society's behavior would automatically 'change' in that they would not need to discriminate against Khawajasiras because after mainstreaming the normative social order would be upheld by them. Therefore, it affirms the hypothesis that the dominant discourse's need to uphold a normative social order stigmatizes the non-normative despite accepting their victimhood (which brings in

victim-blaming attitude in the discourse). This stigmatizing is part of the welfare discourse of Khawajasiras under the notion of ‘mainstreaming.’ In other words, this chapter shows that even the post 2009 welfare discourse on Khawajasiras reinforces several stereotypes and stigmas.

5.5 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has first shown that an important achievement of the news discourse in challenging the colonial path dependency is by accepting Khawajasiras as the victims of society, parents and police. However, rather than enforcing a discourse that the society, parents and police’s attitudes need to change, the mainstreaming discourse seeks to change Khawajasiras’ lifestyles in a way that the normative social order could be upheld. It adopts the colonial discourse of stigmatizing their traditional occupations and argues that they need to be included in ‘respectable’ work force. And for that, Khawajasiras need to become registered citizens of the state as well. Registration as well as the notion of ‘respectable’ or ‘productive’ employment attempts to change Khawajasiras rather than change the normative social order to make it more inclusive of the non-normative. Therefore, the developments for Khawajasiras’ welfare after 2009 Supreme Court verdict tends to reinforce normative social order based stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras. The next chapter delineates on how the discourse of Khawajasira identity (and registration) and their inclusion in formal labor force reinforce gender binaries and gender roles related stereotypes and stigmas.

Chapter 6

Gendering of Khawajasiras

6.1 Overview

Once the focus becomes jobs, the next step questions what kinds of jobs. At this stage, the discourse enters a new arena of stereotyping, which this study calls ‘gendering.’ Gendering³⁷ in this context can be defined as a way of reducing Khawajasira identity such that the male and female oriented binary notion of sex and gender and gender roles is reinforced, and their non-normative existence is abridged if not eliminated completely, which ultimately reinforces hegemonic masculinity in the normative space. From Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) and Christine Delphy’s (1993) theorization, the hypothesis here is that the post-2009 dominant discourse is likely to reinforce the notion of gender binaries as well as the notion that sex (biology) is an antecedent of gender (psychology). The chapter examines this hypothesis in continuation of the point made in the last chapter regarding Khawajasiras’ occupations – where the discourse emphasizes the need to change their occupations for their mainstreaming. The section tests whether the dominant discourse is more likely to reinforce gender binaries through the new jobs assigned to them. The section after that examines how the broader notion of Khawajasira identity keeps on being redefined in the discourse but continues to reduce the broad Khawajasira identity down to a narrow sexual (not gender) identity. Such gendering then limits their acceptability as well, which is what the section before summary of the chapter examines.

6.2 Jobs for Khawajasiras

Khawajasiras welfare as pushed forward under the notion of mainstreaming requires jobs. In the news discourse, reference to about three different kinds of jobs can be found. First is the job of

³⁷ This term has been adopted with some modifications from Sanders (1991) whose work is included in the literature review.

retrieving loans from defaulters. This particular job was recommended to the government by the Supreme Court (following India's example). Newspapers have described this job for Khawajasiras as a match to their 'skill set'. One newspaper referred to it as using their "talent" (Daily Times, 28 Jan 2010). Which skill set or talent do these news texts refer to? The underlying idea was that Khawajasiras' lifestyles are unacceptable for the normative persons to the extent that people cannot stand to be around them. Therefore, to avoid being seen with them, they will quickly payback or commit to paying back their loans/taxes. The news texts cited in the table below are evidence to this point.

Table 6.1: Discourse on Jobs			
Date	Newspaper		
Outstanding Dues Recovery Jobs			
24 Dec 2009	Jang (p.1)		*Government should consider hiring Khawajasiras (hijras) for loan recovery following India's footsteps
26 Dec 2009	Daily Times (p.3)		Some of the transvestites showed enthusiasm ... and said they would rush to the doors of bank defaulters in a group, and start clapping, singing and dancing in their traditional way to ask them for paying back the government loans.
28 Jan 2010	Daily Times (p.2)		So that their talent could be utilized in recovery of taxes and outstanding dues.
03 Jul 2014	Dunya (p.3)		*To control high prices in Ramadan, Khawajasiras have been employed, They kept scolding shopkeepers
03 Oct 2015	Nawaiwaqt (p.12)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *"What trouble has come home?" In Karachi, soon after Khawajasiras arrival, people start paying their outstanding taxes [to get rid of Khawajasiras from their doorsteps] • *As soon as they open their doors, they feel ashamed and say take them [Khawajasiras] away.
*Author's translation from Urdu			

Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)

However, people's negative attitudes towards Khawajasiras' existence is exactly what the notion of mainstreaming initially identifies as the problem, as shown in the previous chapter. But jobs like these and a supportive news text reinforces the stigmas regarding their lives because the eligibility criterion for this job is their stigmatized existence. Further stigmatizing Khawajasiras' current lifestyles to ensure that they do away with the non-normative social practices is what this aspect of the discourse achieves, and that is how it appears to follow the logic of mainstreaming discourse, which argues that they need better jobs.

A second type of jobs (as shown in table 6.2) that the news text refers to is the state or NGOs sponsored jobs. Akhuwat Foundation³⁸ has started a Khawajasira rehabilitation program. Sargodha's³⁹ administration has set up a vocational training center. Similarly, there are a few other similar initiatives for the welfare of Khawajasiras. The news text presents them as important steps towards their mainstreaming. Express Magazine (on 16 Feb 2017) summarizes such efforts as steps towards making Khawajasiras "useful citizens" (p.14). However, the problem with these jobs and training centers is that they attempt to use Khawajasiras' notion of 'feminine soul' to reinforce gender roles. These centers train or employ Khawajasiras for occupations that are commonly perceived as feminine in the normative discourse. And the news supporting them reinforces the stereotypical notion of gender binaries⁴⁰ and gender roles⁴¹. In this way, Khawajasiras would not only be mainstreamed i.e., their welfare would increase, but the masculine patriarchal space (the hegemonic masculinity) would also be protected. Because the discourse on dues recovery jobs shows that the Khawajasiras' presence in what are perceived

³⁸ A non-profit organization in Pakistan

³⁹ District of the province of Punjab

⁴⁰ By employing the idea of 'feminine soul' in the normative sense

⁴¹ By restricting their roles to normative feminine space only

as masculine spaces is seen as something harmful to the social order. Therefore, giving them feminine jobs limits them to the perceived feminine spaces only and thus, their mainstreaming and social order maintenance can go hand in hand.

However, the discourse of jobs in NADRA⁴² stands out as an exception to the stereotypical and stigmatizing jobs. First, because NADRA hired Khawajasiras on data entry related jobs which can be understood as gender neutral even in the normative social order. Second, the news reports on their hiring revealed that there are many well-educated Khawajasiras too, which discards the notion that Khawajasira community is of uneducated persons. However, one problem here is that it continues to keep the discourse predominantly dependent on state actors as the source of the news.⁴³ The sources of dominant discourse tend to reinforce gender binaries and attempts to bring Khawajasiras inside the binary driven normative social order too. This is the status quo that the news text seems to reinforce by portraying many of the state led jobs' narratives as critical steps for Khawajasiras' welfare.

Table 6.2: Discourse on Other State and NGO Jobs		
Date	Newspaper	
NADRA Data Entry Jobs		
16 Dec 2010	Nation (p.5)	NADRA to provide jobs to eunuchs ... to engage them as productive citizens of the society
23 Feb 2011	Express Tribune (p.3)	NADRA has appointed eunuchs as Data Entry Operators ... one of the candidates appointed is doing his LLB, while the other two have a BA and a matriculation degree.
Akhuwat/Sargodha/Other Vocational Training (State or NGO sponsored)		
21 Nov 2014	Express Tribune (p.14)	He [Aslam Khaki] says initiatives like employing them in beauty parlors and clothing stores would go a long way in integrating them in the society

⁴² National Database and Registration Authority of Pakistan

⁴³ As stated in chapter 4 too, the evidence on problems related to source of the news are combined and analyzed in chapter seven in depth.

16 Feb 2017	Express Magazine (p.17)	*To make them useful citizens, get them out of poverty, and protect them from the life of crime ... the training centre will teach them courses in makeup and tailoring
19 Feb 2017	The News on Sunday (p.30)	Sargodha is giving transgender people basic literacy and certain skills to enable them to earn a dignified living
4 Feb 2017	Mashriq (p.3)	*In three thousand we cannot even buy our makeup, Khawajasiras refuse to become skilled [in Sargodha training centers setup for them]
*Author's Translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

Finally, a reference to the pre-colonial socio-cultural and religious roles of Khawajasiras can also be found in the news. The discourse on pre-colonial roles of Khawajasiras tends to have two key characteristics. First, the mention of pre-colonial times appears only in comparison with modern or colonial times. Since the colonial and even modern times are not perceived as times of Khawajasiras' well-being, there is a strong positivity towards the pre-colonial times.

Furthermore, since the discourse perceives colonial and post-colonial times for Khawajasiras as times of marginalization, in comparison, the pre-colonial times appear times of inclusion. However, the text does not clarify exactly what made pre-colonial times better for Khawajasiras i.e., what were their jobs and roles during those times that gave them a better acceptance and social status. On the second, news text in Pakistan's newspapers is not likely to go back in time before the Mughal era nor is it likely to refer to their lives and status in any religion other than Islam in the same manner as it does for Islam.

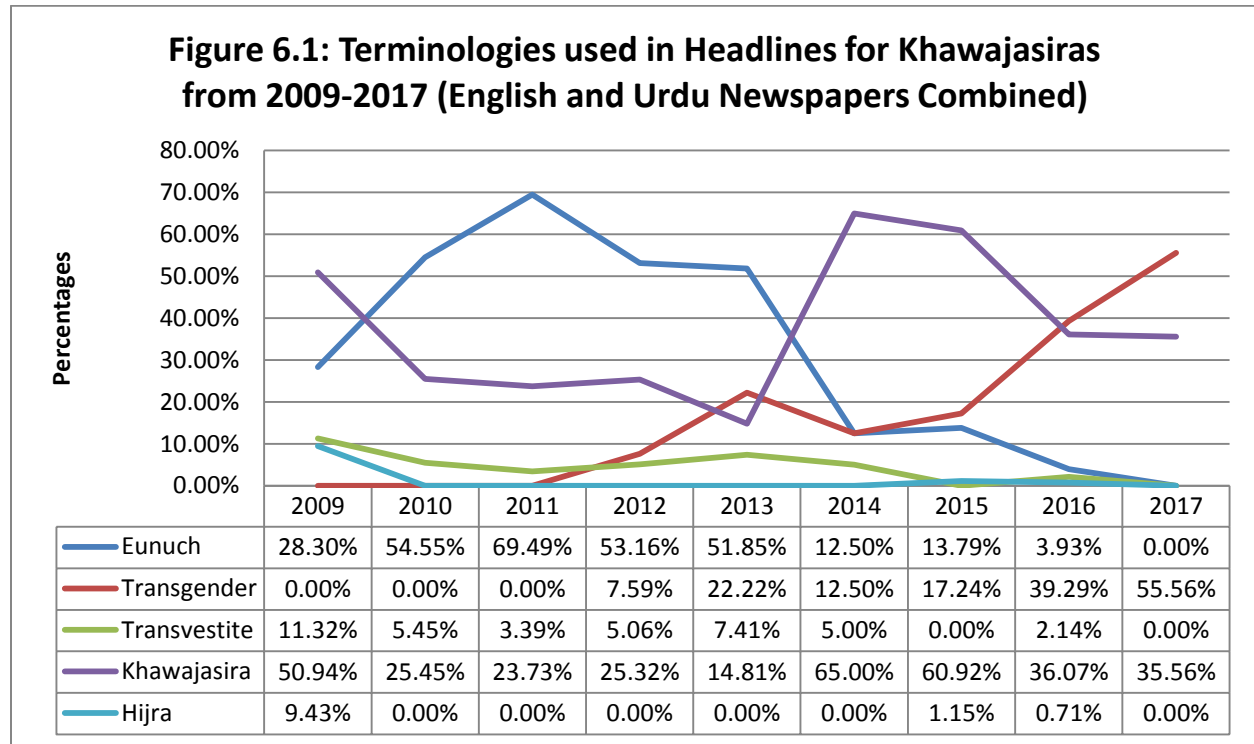
Table 6.3: Pre-Colonial Jobs and Status		
Date	Newspaper	
18 Jun 2009	Jang (p.12)	*During the Mughal era, this section of the society were seen working in the royal courts
15 Apr 2016	Pakistan Today (p.unknown)	During the Mughal era, the transgender community did not have to face societal stigma. They had special roles in royal courts
4 Jan 2017	Pakistan Today (p.10)	During the earliest times of Islam, such people had rights and there are some accounts that state that Holy Prophet's (PBUH) wife Umme Salema had allowed a transgender called Hidh, in her <i>Hujra</i>
21 Feb 2017	Daily Times (p.12)	Cultural hiers of the eunuchs who thrived at the courts of the Mughal emperors
*Author's translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

The literature reviewed on Muslim world's practices and pre-colonial times in the subcontinent showed a broad acceptance of non-normative gender in religious practices and diversity of roles with respectful status in the Mughal era. However, these points are not mentioned in the text. That appears to be because that level of acceptance and that diversity in their roles goes much beyond what the notion of mainstreaming endorses. In other words, traditional times are romanticized only at a general level in the text, rather than being thoroughly endorsed because their roles and status in those times does not fall in line with the modern values, the values that the notion of mainstreaming entails. Thus, the mention of pre-colonial socio-cultural and religious roles is only meant to endorse the status quo of accepting Khawajasiras marginalized lives combined with a notion of mainstreaming that reinforces gender related stigmas and/or stereotypes regarding the lives of Khawajasiras.

6.3 Khawajasira Identity

The colonial influences as well as the notion of mainstreaming in the discourse revolve around an understanding of who Khawajasiras are and what their identity is. The general ambiguity

regarding Khawajasira identity gets reflected in the news text too. The identity markers with which Khawajasiras are reflected in the news text have changed over time. The figure below shows the trend regarding different popular identity related terminologies in the news texts:



These trend lines are based on use of their terminologies in both English and Urdu newspapers, but only in the headlines – in the body of the news, the terminology often change, which is explained in next paragraph. However, primarily, the term Eunuch was dominant initially in the English newspapers, while Khawajasira and Hijra were competing terms in Urdu newspapers. The Supreme Court had used the word ‘eunuchs’ for Khawajasiras in its 2009 verdict, which reinforced the colonial understanding of Khawajasira identity. English newspapers adopted the term as such. The term is used even today, though mostly its use has been replaced with the term ‘Transgender,’ which is now considered a more appropriate and politically correct terminology in Pakistan. Urdu newspapers however, rely on cultural terms, the popular one of which in 2009

was Hijras – a term that is now considered derogatory in Pakistan’s culture⁴⁴. However, very quickly, use of the term Khawajasira became the norm and use of the term Hijra or Khusra⁴⁵ became a rare occurrence. However, neither of the two derogatory Urdu terms has been completely eliminated from the discourse.

However, it is important to note here that use of the term transgender in English newspapers or Khawajasiras in Urdu newspapers does not necessarily mean that the news text understands Khawajasira identity. There are two things important here: a) who does the news text refer to with these terminologies, and b) what does the news text mean by these terminologies. To the first part, these terms are only used as the broad umbrella terms to incorporate the diversities within the non-binary groups in Pakistan. For Urdu newspapers, the broader term has been quite clear. That is why once it shifted from the use of Hijra to Khawajasira, the latter continued to be used as the broad umbrella term. However, for English newspapers, the clarity has been lacking. Initially, it adopted the term ‘eunuch’ as the broad umbrella term and used to use terms like ‘transgender’, ‘hermaphrodite’⁴⁶, ‘transsexual’ and ‘transvestite’⁴⁷ within this broad category. In the second phase, transgender became and still continues to be the broad umbrella term, as evident from the graph shown above. The evidence of transgender being accepted as the broad term can also be seen in the Transgender Persons Protection of Rights bill of 2017 in which a transgender is not just defined as a person whose socio-psychological identity does not match the biological identity, but also as a eunuch and intersexual person.

⁴⁴ In India however, the term hijra is not considered derogatory. The reason has its roots in the times which the non-normative relate to in the pre-colonial era. In Pakistan, because of the influence of Islam in the discourse, relating to Mughal era positively is preferred, that is why the term Khawajasira became a culturally acceptable term. However, in India, pre-dominant discourse looks back at the ancient – the hindu – times in India. That is why the term Hijra continues to be an acceptable term. This aspect is beyond the scope of this study; therefore, it will not be discussed further.

⁴⁵ Khusra is also considered a derogatory term

⁴⁶ Derogatory term for intersex

⁴⁷ Derogatory term for cross-dressers

However, newspapers' understanding of these terminologies does not show a general clarity in the news regarding the Khawajasira identity. Both English and Urdu newspapers, have very often equated Khawajasiras with intersex persons. This is because the social practices within which the news text is located tend to accept only intersex persons as the true Khawajasiras.⁴⁸ And when such practices employ the broad umbrella term to refer to a very specific group within it, the news text tends to give any clarifications. For example, in 2016, when a group of clerics issued a fatwa that a mard-Khawajasira can marry an aurat-Khawajasira and vice versa,⁴⁹ clerics understanding of Khawajasiras was limited to intersex persons only, but they used the broad term Khawajasiras. While reporting this news, Urdu newspapers used the term Khawajasiras as done by the clerics, but the English newspapers translated it to transgender and eunuch. That gave rise to a lot of confusion within the Khawajasira circle, which some newspapers did report. Still, no newspaper except one tried to clarify that the fatwa was not applicable to all Khawajasiras. The table below shows how from headline of the news as the text delves into explaining the Khawajasira identity in the body of the news what kind of terminologies are used.

Table 6.4: Discourse on Identity		
Date	Newspaper	
15 Jul 2009	Dawn (p.2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supreme Court orders equal benefits to transvestites • Effeminate men • Hermaphrodites • Transgender children
07 Aug 2009	Khabrain (p.3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *Hijra is also called Khusra or Khawajasira and Zenana or Zenkha is a different category.
24 Dec 2009	The News (p.unknown)	SC advises govt to recover loans through eunuchs (khusras)

⁴⁸ The real versus fake Khawajasira divide in the news discourse is analyzed in the next section.

⁴⁹ This fatwa has been explained in the literature review too.

16 Jan 2012	Dawn (p.2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Her long interaction with women and biological deficiencies made her feel like one of them. • The fact that I have children is a proof that I am a complete man, biologically, though my heart is of a woman.
20 Nov 2011	Aaj Kal (p.12)	*Some chose to be registered as <i>mard khawajasira</i> and some as <i>aurat khawajasira</i>
03 Dec 2011	Express (p.8)	*Male hijras should spend their lives as males and female hijras as females: [religious scholar] Ibtisaam
21 Nov 2014	Express Tribune (p.14)	Transgender citizens – hermaphrodites, transsexuals, eunuchs, transvestites.
02 Mar 2016	Express Tribune (p. unknown)	transgender and intersex, a term used for people who biologically do not conform to male or female
04 Jan 2017	Pakistan Today (p.10)	By biological means a transgender takes on female identity choosing to publicly dress and behave like women.
*Author's Translations from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

Although, attempts at clarifying Khawajasira identity have been rare in the news, but whenever it happens, the Urdu newspapers tend to show greater clarity. Because whenever an Urdu newspaper has tried to explain any Khawajasira sub-group, it has used a Khawajasira person as a source, which has increased the level of accuracy in the reporting on this particular issue. But that has affected the level of scientific or political correctness negatively in the Urdu newspapers. However, English newspapers rely on English terminologies, which make it difficult for them to get a local Khawajasira – who generally tend to be less aware of English terminologies – as their source to explain to them the specifics of Khawajasira identity. That is why, it is not just the colonial terminologies like ‘eunuch’ and ‘effeminate men’ that have repeatedly appeared in the news text, it is also the idea that being transgender is a choice, or people become transgender by biological means, or that being a transgender or being an intersexual are the same things that

keep reappearing in the dominant discourse via English newspapers particularly. It can be inferred that the news text continues to reinforce the status quo of a limited acceptability of the diverse non-normative sex/gender groups. Ambiguous understanding of Khawajasira identity, and/or categorization and limitation of Khawajasiras to intersex only gives rise to the term ‘fake’ Khawajasiras.

6.4 Discourse of ‘Fake’ Khawajasiras

The lack of awareness combined with the need to draw boundaries leads to gendering of Khawajasiras. That has also resulted in the rise of the notion of ‘fake’ Khawajasiras in the news discourse which has further reinforced and strengthened the notion of gendering of Khawajasiras. Just like the idea of ‘true’ Khawajasiras, the understanding of ‘fake’ Khawajasiras has also evolved in the discourse. Initially, the news text used the term ‘fake’ in reference to the idea that some people appear to be Khawajasiras to earn money through professions that generally Khawajasiras adopt – dancing and begging. However, Supreme Court’s verdicts hinted at Khawajasira identity as having to do with the biology of a person only. Therefore, soon the Khawajasira identity started to get limited to intersex persons only. That is why NADRA’s identity cards for Khawajasiras, which initially required medical examination, reduced the Khawajasiras to intersex persons only. Whoever failed or opposed the test would be categorized as ‘self-made’ or fake Khawajasira in the news discourse. The notion did not just remain limited to identity cards, it seeped into the general discourse too. In 2016, for example, news of the death of Khawajasira appeared. Later, a newspaper said that it was not a ‘eunuch’ but a ‘male’ (Nation, 2016). It happened because of newspaper’s lack of understanding or acceptance of the dead’s gender identity because it focused only on the biological identity.

Table 6.5: Discourse on “Fake” Khawajasiras		
Date	Newspaper	
24 Nov 2009	Aaj Kal (p.3)	*Registration process for Khawajasiras’ identity cards underway, 92% are male
25 Dec 2009	Daily Times (p.2)	Medical examinations to sort out ‘fake transvestites’
21 Nov 2009	Khabrain (p.8)	*Fake khawajasiras are involved in begging and stealing for money.
27 May 2010	The News (p.3)	Gay marriage [man-eunuch couple]
8 Dec 2010	Nation (p.3)	The self-made eunuchs have opposed the medical test to verify their gender for registration
14 Dec 2010	Dawn (p.3)	Gender column added to CNIC forms for transvestites, SHC told
26 Apr 2011	Aaj Kal (p.3)	*Do men and women have to get a medical certificate too for verifying their gender: SC asks
12 Mar 2016	Nation (p.unknown)	Killed eunuch turned out to be male
19 Feb 2017	Express Tribune (p.9)	Census should list ‘true transgender persons’
*Author’s translation from Urdu		
Data Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)		

The notion of ‘fake’ Khawajasiras continues to reappear in the news on and off. Interestingly, at times, the source of such term has also been Khawajasiras. For instance, Express Tribune (2017) while reporting on Khawajasiras’ inclusion in census reported a Khawajasira demanding that “census should list ‘true transgender persons’” only (p.9). It shows the divide within the Khawajasira community regarding their identity. Although, it cannot be stated what belief is popular with the majority of Khawajasiras regarding their identity, the historical evidence as stated in the literature shows that Khawajasira identity has been a general acceptance of all non-normative sex/gender groups. But the notion of ‘fake’ Khawajasiras denies that acceptance. In other words, the news text shows that the hegemonic masculinity driven gendering of Khawajasiras limits the acceptability of groups within the Khawajasiras in the discourse.

6.5 Summary of the Chapter

This evidence affirms the hypothesis that the news discourse reinforces the hegemonic masculinity oriented gender binary and gender roles structures. It reinforces the idea that sex precedes gender and hence, tries to assign gender roles to Khawajasiras that are stereotypical and stigmatizing. An understanding of Khawajasira identity limited to intersex persons only and the use of the notion of ‘feminine soul’ of Khawajasiras in the hands of the patriarchal forces continue to make the mainstreaming process for Khawajasiras full of stigmas and stereotypes. This also gives rise to a true versus fake Khawajasira concept in the discourse, which tends to limit the acceptability of many subgroups within the broad Khawajasira term.

Chapter 7

Trap of a Stereotypical and Stigmatizing Discourse

7.1 Overview

Previous chapters thematically presented the evidence from newspapers on stereotypes and stigmas on Khawajasiras. Each theme separately affirmed the relevant hypothesis regarding discourse on Khawajasiras. There has been hints that the three themes are not independent of each other, rather they connect with one another to complete a picture of the trap of stereotypes and stigmas in the discourse of Khawajasiras. This chapter aims to collectively study the three themes and discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the findings. First, the analysis of the three themes is put together to unfold a multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas. Then, the chapter explains the role of source bias – state led narrative – in enforcing and strengthening the trap. The fourth section of this chapter brings in an analysis on the role of religion in upholding the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse trap. The section after that thus breaks notion of Khawajasiras' welfare as simply a narrative of popular words covered with stereotypes and stigmas. The next section after that delves into a small discussion (important for future studies) on role of dominant class in Pakistan in reinforcing stereotypes by attempting to deculturalize the lives of non-binary groups in the country. Finally, before the summary section, the chapter also delves into developing a broader understanding of how different eras interplay in formulating the contemporary discourse on Khawajasiras.

7.2 Multi-Layered Trap of Stereotypes and Stigmas

The discourse on Khawajasiras has multiple layers. Putting together all three themes identified in the previous chapters in one picture shows several self-reinforcing stereotypical and stigmatizing elements in the discourse.

The discourse on Khawajasiras is built on the basic premise that Khawajasiras, as a socio-cultural group, are marginalized and victimized. This is perhaps the most crucial step away from colonial stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community that is gaining increasing space in the discourse. However, the question arises who is to blame for their marginalization and victimization. The discourse tends to have two kinds of answers. First, a discourse that puts the blame on Khawajasiras themselves, particularly the gurus, for living a 'life of shame' finds popular place in the news text. This discourse argues that Khawajasiras' activities are 'immoral' and hence a threat to the normative social order. Khan's (2016) point that Khawajasiras often see themselves as 'sinners' too and feel ashamed of their activities reflects on the strength of such moral policing oriented discourse that it penetrates the lives of Khawajasiras living in their culture too and makes them have negative attitude towards their own cultural practices. This discourse assumes that immoral activities are performed under coercion of the gurus. Therefore, there is not only a negative attitude towards Khawajasiras' traditional occupations, but also their overall cultural guru-chela structure. It falls in line with the arguments of Reddy (2005), Pamment (2010) and Majeedullah (2016) regarding the continuation of colonial discourse in the contemporary Pakistan. Therefore, despite accepting Khawajasiras as victims, the discourse of victim-blaming reinforces stereotypes and stigmas. This is layer one of stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse.

In resistance to the colonial discourse, the other discourse that the news text brings forth is of putting the blame on the normative society, parents and police's attitudes towards the non-normative. However, this discourse lacks sustainability for two reasons. First, because it does not build it further as to what and how the society, parents and police need to change. And because of that, the discourse of 'change' is built in continuation of the colonial discourse. That

eventually leads to an expiry of the aforementioned resistance since it loses its importance. This last point will become clearer later in this section.

How does the discourse build on the colonial stereotypes and stigmas? It builds a notion of modern development and welfare – with equal citizenship rights to all – for Khawajasiras. This discourse takes on an umbrella term of ‘mainstreaming’ of Khawajasiras. Mainstreaming involves ‘knowing’ Khawajasiras as its first step i.e., its pre-requisite is registration of and identity cards issuance to Khawajasiras. The reason for registration is that those who are registered with the state can have access to all kinds of state’s welfare programs. However, the process of registration takes the discourse into the second layer of reinforcement of stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras because it takes reductive understandings regarding Khawajasiras and attempts to register only those as Khawajasiras who fall in line with their categorization. The reduction is stereotypical because it aims to accept Khawajasiras only as an intersex person or a eunuch, and stigmatizing because it understands intersex and eunuch identity as ‘effeminacy’ and/or ‘biological deficiency’. The study by Redding (2012) shows that such understanding of Khawajasira identity originated from Supreme Court’s verdicts. However, this study traces the origins back to colonial times, which affirms that the state’s narrative was a direct continuation of colonial beliefs and values. Here, the findings of the study connect and add dimensions to Nisar’s (2016) findings that identity cards have although carried significance in the state led discourse because it helps the state increase its surveillance and moral policing role, however, they have not turned out to be very useful for Khawajasiras which is why many Khawajasiras continue to get identity cards under ‘male’ category.

Through the National Identity Cards (NICs), Khawajasiras have been divided into *mard-khawajasira*, *aurat-khawajasira* and *khunsa-e-mushkil*. Initially, each category was based on a

particular type of intersex category. That is why a medical examination was made mandatory for registering as Khawajasira. However, later the condition of medical examination was removed by the state authorities. However, categorization implies putting boundaries around their broad identity i.e., limiting the acceptability of the long unaccepted sexual and gender diversity. As a result, we see rise of the term “fake Khawajasiras” in the news discourse. Fake Khawajasiras cannot become part of state’s welfare oriented Khawajasira mainstreaming program. Thus, they are doomed to continue to be victims of marginalization by being formally excluded from the process of mainstreaming. They will likely continue to adhere to the traditional cultural practice, for which the colonial discourse of stigmas and stereotypes will continue to persist and justify their marginalization. Thus, the discourse reinforces different stereotypes and stigmas regarding the registered Khawajasiras and the non-registered ones. The notion of “fake” Khawajasiras in the discourse thus becomes the third layer of stereotypes and stigmas.

The fourth layer of stereotypes and stigmas’ reinforcement in the discourse comes when the registered Khawajasiras enter the next step of mainstreaming, which is of having ‘decent,’ ‘respectable,’ and ‘productive’ jobs. This is an important characteristic of the contemporary discourse on Khawajasiras that while we accept them as third gender and support their mainstreaming, we tend to view their traditional activities such as dancing and begging for alms at birthdays and weddings as lowly and disgraceful to our modern values. Hence, traditional activities are stigmatized and thus, whoever indulges in them has to live a stigmatized life.

If the traditional practices are not ‘decent’, the question is: what is a ‘decent’ job, and who gets to define the term? First, the state’s idea is that a decent job is one that brings Khawajasiras into the formal economy. But since, their traditional occupations are not perceived as ‘decent,’ the state would not invest in bringing those into the formal economy. Rather, it starts to find new

roles for them. Here, the state uses its patriarchal privileges in assigning them new roles. In the past, it has used them in two ways. First, it used Khawajasiras stigmatized existences for loan/dues recovery from defaulters. Under Supreme Court's verdict, it was recommended that Khawajasiras be hired for loan recovery (following India's example). The underlying idea was that since people cannot stand to be around Khawajasiras, to avoid interactions with them, they will quickly payback their outstanding loans. The news discourse reported this development as a positive step forward. The idea of using Khawajasiras' stigmatized existences for broader benefit of the society – since increase loan recovery would lead to an increase in society's overall welfare is the first dimension of fourth layer of reinforcement of stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras in the discourse.

The second dimension of the fourth layer is not that different either. By using Khawajasiras' notion of 'feminine soul,' the state has also used its patriarchal privileges to engender Khawajasiras' 'decent' roles. A number of state as well as NGO sponsored programs seek to train Khawajasiras only in roles which the discourse perceives as 'feminine' gender roles such as stitching and makeup skills. Majeedullah (2016) appreciates such jobs because she sees it as potential ways for bringing Khawajasiras out of poverty trap. Even if that theorization is true, this study shows fruitlessness of such jobs because the bigger trap – the trap of stereotypes and stigmas is reinforced through such a discourse. Consequently, the state protects its masculine patriarchal space from getting 'stained' by the Khawajasiras and maintains its positive image by reinforcing the discourse of hegemonic masculinity. It also reinforces the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the third gender. However, as far as the state is concerned, it not only puts forth a progressive image of itself, but also uses the news discourse to reinforce the status quo regarding the Khawajasiras.

The fifth and final layer of stereotypes and stigmas in the discourse is in what such mainstreaming achieves for Khawajasiras' welfare. It turns Khawajasiras into a normative person. Thus, mainstreaming is just another word for ending Khawajasiras' non-normative lives and making them normative to be acceptable in the normative social order. On the strategy of simply replacing one word with another as development Karl Marx (1845) said that the proponents of such notions "declare they are only fighting against "phrases." They forget, however, that to these phrases they themselves are only opposing other phrases, and that they are in no way combating the real existing world when they are merely combating the phrases of this world." Therefore, the notion of mainstreaming does not appear to bring about any real change in the lives of Khawajasiras.

It has been noted earlier that the discourse that challenges the colonial stereotypes and highlights for society, parents and police's negative attitudes towards Khawajasiras has weak sustainability. Fifth layer of stereotypes and stigmas explain why the sustainability is weak – because once Khawajasiras cultural distinctness, their differences in gender performance from the normative social order end, and they become 'mainstreamed' there would not be reason for the society, parents and police's negative attitudes to continue because then Khawajasiras would just be like any other normative person living a normative life. Thus, it affirms the theoretical proposition that the literature review showed with the help of Connell (1987), Jolly (2003), Bedford (2005), Gosine (2006) and Cornwall & Jolly (2009) which states that hetero-normative assumptions continue to be an important pillar of non-binary groups' victimization and marginalization. Post 2009 discourse of Khawajasiras' welfare is also built on hetero-normative assumptions which is not only path dependent on colonial discourse but also has a hegemonic patriarchal character to

it. The thematic analysis individually and this collective picture of the discourses on Khawajasiras confirm all three hypothesis of the study.

Furthermore, since it is a multi-layered trap that is built around the idea of well-being of Khawajasiras, it can be predicted that any moment, different non-binary individuals and groups would be at different layers of the trap. That means some would be closer to the ‘mainstreaming’ block compared to the others. The ones closer to being mainstreamed would be able to enjoy state’s welfare opportunities and increase their well-being. This would then create inequality and a harmful class structure within the non-binary groups which could result in stereotyping and stigmatizing of many Khawajasira by some from within the broader Khawajasira circle.

Several studies do touch on one or more aspects of what this study has shown, but putting it all together with evidence from news discourse and highlighting multiple layers of the trap is how this study has added significantly more to the existing literature. Furthermore, theoretically, while hypotheses from Pierson’ (2004) path dependency, Goffman’s (1963) stigmatization, and Connell’s (1987) hegemonic masculinity have been affirmed, the multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas identified in the discourse with state as its key source, not only adds to the existing theoretical understanding of discourse on marginalized groups by combining multiple literature in one picture, but also by adding depth to them. The study has shown that power structures tend to work in a way that the collectiveness of the non-binary marginalized groups is broken by bringing only some of their members inside or closer to the mainstream – a state led notion of non-binary groups’ well-being which tends to eliminate much of the non-normative gender performances by encouraging non-binary groups to embrace, accept and value the normative gender performances like formal labor force and gender binary roles. While some more members stay a step or two behind the mainstreamed ones and many more continue to

struggle on the margins, it creates a class inequality among the non-binary groups and leads to stigmatization from within. This process of stigmatization from within has not been explored in the existing literature, especially not in as much depth as this study has done.

Theoretical Proposition 1:

Discourse tends to trap the non-binary gender groups into multi-layered stereotypes and stigmas in such a way that an end to their marginalization and victimization appears to be possible only if accompanied with an end to their non-normative gender performances. Some members of the non-binary groups accept such a discourse, which results in class divide among the members of the non-binary groups and that leads to stigmatization from within.

7.3 The Source Bias: State led Narrative

The multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas in the news with origins their basis in hetero-normative assumptions driven by colonial practices as well as modern hegemonic state's patriarchal discourse has been delineated on until this point. However, one of the key forces behind (re)production such a discourse is 'the state,' which comes in the news text as official source of the news.

It is well studied that the post-colonial state shows a continuation of colonial structures. A number of legislations in Pakistan follow the foot-steps of colonial era to regulate the institutional behavior and through that the behavior of individuals. Although, the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 does not exist anymore on paper, but its influence has become deep rooted in our informal institutions – the general societal practices – as argued by Pamment (2010) too. The state in this regard, becomes a key player that through its actions reinforce those stigmatizing institutional attitudes. Thus, when a state branch or a state actor becomes the source of a news, the same stigmatizing and stereotypical attitude becomes part of the news text as well.

In the theoretical framework, it was theorized that when contextualizing a news report within the umbrella of broader societal practices, that the journalistic need to report with an official source introduces a source bias in the news (Sigal, 1973; Gans, 1979). In that regard, it has been noted before that in 2009, the revival of Khawajasiras visibility in the discourse started to rise as a result of Supreme Court's verdict. A review of Supreme Court's verdicts from 2009 to 2012 shows that it was the state's judicial branch that with all its authority reinforced much of the stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse. For instance, regarding gurus and Khawajasiras cultural practices, the Supreme Court verdict wrote:

Their right to live with their parents is negated by their own parents as they send them to 'Gurus' at birth to live in the separate society and their right of dignity as enshrined by Quran as well as by Article 14 of the Constitutions is seriously violated. (Khaki v. S.S.P, 2009)

With such assumptions, it was also the SC's verdict which introduced a discourse of the need for actions that could lead Khawajasiras to live in a "respectable manner" by having "respectable jobs" (Khaki v. S.S.P, 2009). Similarly, it was Supreme Court's verdict of 2009 that used the word "gender disorder" to describe the state of Khawajasiras. However, now the Transgender persons rights bill of 2017, such has formally tried to change this narrative by describing being transgender as a person's "self-perceived gender identity." However, that bill has not been passed yet, and how significant would this broad and vague definition turn out to be in countering the existing narrative remains to be seen. Redding (2012) was the first one to analyze the wording of Supreme Court's verdicts and their role in starting a debate on gender diversity in

Pakistan, but still reinforcing the (re)production of a stigmatizing discourse around non-binary gender in Pakistan. However, he focused only on the lexical choices related to the understanding of Khawajasira identity. The thematic analysis of this study brings in the role of SC verdicts as official source of the news in multiple aspects of the trap of stereotypes and stigmas.

Similarly, on part of the legislative and executive authorities such as social welfare department, similar points have been observed in the news text in the thematic analysis. However, it is not just the state actors as official source of the news, but also the legislative practices that introduces stigmas in the news regarding Khawajasiras. There are many laws that marginalize Khawajasiras and stigmatize their culture and cultural values. The presence of laws like section 377 of Pakistan penal code – which has a notion of sexual morality which marginalizes Khawajasiras due to their non-normative sexual performance is an important cause of institutionalized stereotyping and stigmatization of non-normative. Similarly, Dance Act of Pakistan, particularly its section 3 and 4 are often used against Khawajasiras dancing professions. Furthermore, there are laws that prevent beggary in the country under multiple circumstances. Such laws do not support begging as a dignified way of life. This runs contrary to the Mughal era's practices in which Preston (1987) notes that Khawajasiras had an official right to beg and it was not seen as derogatory. Remember the title Khawajasira – which is accepted as a respectable term in contemporary Pakistan for non-binary groups – comes from the Mughal era. Similarly, the thematic analysis showed a positive attitude of news text towards the Mughal era. But the colonial influences and modern values dis-credit pre-colonial practices and allow the discourse only to romanticize that era rather than follow its values and practices. These laws and the normative discourse that the put forward further increase the source bias in the news and give rise to a state led stereotypical and stigmatizing discourse.

The journalistic need for an official source goes to the extent that much of the dominant discourse is put together through official sources. Even in the issues of murder, state's narrative does come into play. For example, in 2016, although primarily, Khawajasiras' murder, rape and other victimhood related issues were highlighted in the news reports. However, while their highlighting came from the increased representation of Khawajasiras as the source of the news, in follow up to that, many news reports would then turn to the state authorities to ask them on their working. This would again turn the tables and place the ball in state's court to not only settle their authority with respect and bring out a positive image of the state, but also put forward a narrative through which the reader would then perceive the Khawajasiras.

Theoretical Proposition 2:

Lack of diversity in the source of the news makes the news discourse biased and hence, stereotypical and stigmatizing of those who do not align with the 'moral' values to which the source of the news adheres.

7.4 Role of Religious Authorities and Khawajasira Activism

The relation between Khawajasiras and contemporary Pakistani Islamic scholars' views on non-normativity appears to be much more complex compared to the rest of the Muslim world as reviewed earlier in the literature review. In Pakistan, Khawajasiras are informally recognized as 'neither male, nor female' and formally issued a separate identity card too after the 2012 verdict by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. However, religious scholars generally view them only as a biological third category i.e., intersexual persons. In 2016, *Tanzim Ittehad e Ummat*, a private collective of Islamic scholars in Pakistan issued a *fatwa* in support of Khawajasiras' right to marriage⁵⁰, right to inheritance, right to funeral, and right to a dignified treatment by other members of the society. However, the understanding of Khawajasiras in their fatwa was limited

⁵⁰ The right to marriage was only for non-ambiguous intersexual persons.

to intersexual persons only. Moreover, the rights identified in the *fatwa* were quite similar to how Cilardo (1986) and Sanders (1991) explain the historical opinions of scholars about intersexual persons in Islam. The lack of recognition for the non-binary gender identity among Pakistani religious scholars is embedded to the extent that the people with only the gender ambiguity are even termed as fake Khawajasiras.⁵¹

However, the vast spread ambiguity about the Khawajasiras, backed by the “game” like activism as theorized by Khan (2014a), has sometimes helped the gender ambiguous people get support from religious scholars too. As required by the law, the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) bill, 2017, was approved by the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), Pakistan, before it was presented in the National Assembly (NA). And as noted earlier, this bill defines transgender persons not just by their sexes but also by their gender identities. Furthermore, although no law or *fatwa* has ever supported sex reassignment surgeries as a treatment for gender dysphoria in Pakistan, in 2008 and 2010, the higher courts of Pakistan allowed sex reassignment surgeries for two individuals under two different cases. Another case has also appeared in 2018; the judgment on this case is still to come. Similarly, even in the Shumail Raj case of 2007, the scientific requirement of sex reassignment was not questioned, rather the question was if the sex has been completely transformed to the binary opposite to address the question of same-sex marriage.⁵² In short, generally contemporary interpretations of Islam do not recognize gender ambiguity with Iran as an exception. However, in Pakistan the debates are a lot more complex and ambiguous than they may seem on paper. Future studies should delve into it deeper and study the role of Islam and challenges created by the contemporary Islamic scholars of the country for the Khawajasiras.

⁵¹ This is true for much of the general population of the country too as shown in the literature review. Moreover, this point will further be highlighted and discussed in the next chapters.

⁵² Same-sex marriage is illegal and punishable under section 377 of Pakistan Penal Code.

Theoretical Proposition 3:

Stringent and inflexible interpretations of religious texts tend to strengthen stereotypes and stigmas regarding the non-binary gender groups. However, it does not erase the gender diversity from social space. Thus, non-binary groups adopt various ambiguity driven collective strategies that could help them gain sympathies from religious forces and escape a narrative that could justify a narrative of their religious victimization. However, such ambiguities also tend to reinforce some aspects of the trap of stereotypes and stigmas regarding the non-binary groups.

7.5 De-culturalization and Re-culturalization of Khawajasira Identity

Both English and Urdu newspapers try to be politically correct in their terminologies, however, the source and impact of their political correctness appears to vary. Urdu media generally looks for its political correctness within the local culture. That is why for Urdu newspapers, the terminological move was simply from Hijra to Khawajasira, and it became politically correct and culturally appropriate. However, it has been noted that English newspapers rely more on global (English) terminologies and has switched from eunuch to transvestite and then to transgender.

The switching from one to another broad term in the English newspapers has meant to capture the diversity as well as remain politically correct in the global sense – which explains that being globally politically correct appears to be important to English newspapers. However, they continue to use the terms ‘transvestite’ and ‘hermaphrodite’⁵³ as acceptable non-derogatory politically correct terms. Therefore, while there is a desire to be politically correct is understandable, the reasons for continuing the use of these derogatory terms cannot be explained with the data available in this research. However, it can be concluded that while Urdu media tries

⁵³ As explained in the introduction, both these terms – transvestite and hermaphrodites – are considered derogatory now.

to be politically correct in national cultural sense, the English media seeks political correctness at the global level.

This has also led English media to have an influence on the Urdu media.⁵⁴ The influence is reflected in a way that by 2017, Urdu newspapers also started using the term transgender rather than Khawajasira, although very rarely. In this way, English newspapers have shown a patronizing capability in relation to news on Khawajasiras. However, it has been noted before too that the term transgender maintains the gender binary image. Moreover, Khan (2014) has argued that this term in Pakistan was introduced by educated middle class of the country; it does not have its origins in the culture of Khawajasiras, nor does it accurately capture the diversity of Khawajasiras. Thus, use of this term for Khawajasiras, although may be politically correct at the global level, is a reductionist view of the non-normative groups. Thus, in a way, English newspaper's patronizing ability tends to de-culturalize the Khawajasira identity. However, this general aspect is beyond the scope of this study.

However, the de-culturalization also sees re-culturalization in many ways. First, anecdotal evidence suggests that when Khawajasiras, among each other, when try to use the term transgender, they rather say 'T.G.' This shorter version of transgender does not exist in the normative global discourse. However, it is an attempt to give the term transgender a cultural touch within the Khawajasira circle. Similarly, it has been noted before that the Transgender persons protection of rights bill of 2017 goes much beyond the globally accepted definition of transgenders and includes intersex and eunuchs in its definition too. This is another example of

⁵⁴ Generally, for similar reasons, the English language and its speakers in Pakistan are known to have greater influence and control compared to Urdu or regional languages speaking citizens of Pakistan. Thus, English versus Urdu has created an informal class divide where English speaking despite being few in numbers, become the dominant class.

re-culturalization of the de-culturalizing elements. However, this is also a separate topic that goes beyond the scope of this study.

However, an important point to be noticed here that when we accept that English newspapers follow global discourse while Urdu newspapers follow national discourse, and combine that with the findings from thematic analysis that both English and Urdu newspapers show similar discourse on continuation of colonial discourse, mainstreaming as well as gendering of Khawajasiras, it implies that global and national discourse are not essentially that different in terms of their hetero-normative assumptions and the stereotypes and stigmas that they reinforce. That explains the flexible shifts between de-culturalization and re-culturalization oriented discourses on Khawajasiras.

Theoretical Proposition 4:

There are globalized discourses on non-binary groups. However there tends to be culturally distinct features of different non-binary groups too. Thus, the interaction between global and cultural discourses, with global narrative playing a more imperialistic and hence influential role, tends to evolve as a process of continuous de-culturalization and re-culturalization of the discourse. The smoothness of such a process can be determined by determining the extent to which the global and national assumptions align in regards to the stereotypes and stigmas that they reinforce on non-binary groups.

7.6 Cultural Identity versus National Identity

The notion of mainstreaming of Khawajasiras requires them to transform their lives in a way that they mostly, if not completely, do away with their cultural practices and identity and adopt the national identity to live their lives like normative groups. Their cultural values do not align within the modern national identity status. The differences in the two identities also make the

dominant one – the national identity – misconstrue and discard the dominated one – the cultural identity of Khawajasiras. Thus the collision between these two identities, results in the stigmatization of the dominated identity – the cultural lives of Khawajasiras. As an example, it is worth noting that Khan (2014a) argues that gurus can be changed over the lifetime as many times as one wants. However, if a guru's name gets written on identity cards in the father section, then that guru, under the national identity would be his/her father for life. That is how the culture of Khawajasiras is being undermined under the notion of mainstreaming. The hierarchy in the discourse is that parents, society and the state might have played a negative role in marginalizing Khawajasiras, but the gurus that the chelas live have to live with are worse. That is why it is argued that Khawajasiras would be better off under the state and their parents rather than their gurus. Similarly, ethnographic studies like Khan (2014a) shows that diverse gender performances of Khawajasiras do not allow their categorization into normative gender categories. But with negative attitudes towards much of Khawajasiras' diverse gender performances, and more importantly, with their categorization in fixed categories in national identity cards, the discourse attempts to make Khawajasiras move from a cultural identity to a national identity – an identity which is dominated by normative gender performances. Therefore, there is a continuous collision between Khawajasiras' cultural identity and the national identity, which the mainstreaming discourse seeks to assign them. However, while a theoretical proposition of understanding the progress on Khawajasiras can be made here; future research should study this aspect in detail.

7.7 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter connected three themes from previous chapters into one picture and showed the multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas discourses on Khawajasiras. Then the chapter

examines the role of state and religious forces in upholding the trap particularly by taking the form of the official source of the news. The discussion then also explains the processes of deculturalization and re-culturalization in the making and breaking of discourse on Khawajasiras in the interplay of global and national values. However, then within the national narrative, the chapter divided the discourse on Khawajasiras into two and called it a collision of two different cultures – the national culture and Khawajasiras' sub-culture, where the dominant national culture, the national identity driven culture takes an edge over the other in formulating the discourse on Khawajasiras and their culture.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The study delved into a complex but an important question of examining how news texts reinforce stereotypes and stigmas regarding the Khawajasira community in light of the 2009 Supreme Court verdict and post-verdict developments. Using Fairclough's three dimensional model for conducting critical discourse analysis, the study reviewed news stories on Khawajasiras from 2009 to 2017 from Pakistan's nationally published English and Urdu newspapers to analyze the stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras in the news and how the news text explains the social practices regarding the community. Prior to this study, a number of useful studies on the contemporary status of Khawajasiras have been done. These include Pamment's (2010) critical review of Khawajasira activities in claiming a third space in Pakistan's socio-political space, Redding's (2012) study on how the state trapped Khawajasiras in a stigmatizing discourse through Supreme Court's verdicts, Khan's (2014a; 2016) study on Khawajasiras' activism, Nisar's (2016) study on the impact of state's actions on the lives of Khawajasiras, and Majeedullah's (2016) research on the poverty trap of Khawajasiras. The study has added to the existing literature in multiple ways that has a number of practical implications too.

8.1 Contributions to the Existing Literature

Theoretically, while hypotheses from Pierson' (2004) path dependency, Goffman's (1963) stigmatization, and Connell's (1987) hegemonic masculinity have been affirmed, the multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas identified in the discourse with state as its key source, not only adds to the existing theoretical understanding of discourse on marginalized groups by

combining multiple literature in one picture, but also by adding depth to them. The study has shown that power structures tend to work in a way that the collectiveness of the non-binary marginalized groups is broken by bringing only some of their members inside or closer to the mainstream – a state led notion of non-binary groups' well-being which tends to eliminate much of the non-normative gender performances by encouraging non-binary groups to embrace, accept and value the normative gender performances like formal labor force and gender binary roles. While some more members stay a step or two behind the mainstreamed ones and many more continue to struggle on the margins, it creates a class inequality among the non-binary groups and leads to stigmatization from within. The process of stigmatization from within is one of the important contributions of the study.

In total, the study identifies and combines multiple layers or aspects in which the stereotypes and stigmas regarding the Khawajasiras are (re)produced in the news discourse. These layers are connected in their path dependency on colonial times, the contemporary notion of development, and gender binary driven understanding of gender relations. The trap of multi-layered stereotypes and stigmas is a crucial contribution in understanding the marginalized status of Khawajasiras as well as devising practical strategies out of it.

However, identification of a multi-layered trap of stereotypes and stigmas does not mean that there has been no change in the discourses on Khawajasiras from 2009 to 2017. The study shows that increased visibility of Khawajasiras and through that, the increased acceptance of Khawajasiras' victimhood are crucial steps away from the colonial influences. However, in the absence of the occurrence of a critical juncture, path dependency on colonial stereotypes continues to be strong and hence, plays an important role in defining the path that the notion of 'mainstreaming' of Khawajasiras undertakes.

The study has thus, examined how the post-colonial society, in the name of modern development – in this case, under the notion of mainstreaming – builds on the colonial discourse. The idea of mainstreaming as its first building block has negative attitudes towards Khawajasiras' traditional activities. Stigmatizing the traditional practices are key elements of the contemporary discourse which aims at moral policing and hyper surveillance. Another contribution at this level is that due to colonial influences, the notion of mainstreaming at times turns to victim-blaming too. It happens in a way that although the discourse accepts them as victims, but the attempt to change their traditional practices shows an assumption that Khawajasiras' own actions/choices are to be held responsible for their marginalized and victimized status in the society.

The study has also identified the state as a perpetrator of the discourse of hegemonic masculinity to protect the patriarchal space and reinforce gender roles. The discourse pre-dominantly pushes Khawajasiras towards gender-binary roles and refuses to accept their diversity. The hyper-surveillance connects here with the failure to accept the diversity in Khawajasiras' sub-groups and that gives rise to the 'true' and 'fake' Khawajasiras' concept. Thus, the discourse limits the acceptability of the long unaccepted diversity of sex and gender.

The study has also identified the importance of the source of the news, or discourse in general. State actors tend to be the official source of the news on Khawajasiras, while the community members themselves are not given as much representation. The state thus, holds an important position to either continue or discontinue different stereotypes and stigmas. The history of state's dominance in creating and upholding a discourse goes as far back as the colonial times. It leads to two important implications: a) the state ought to take the lead in reducing stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras, and b) Khawajasira activists should be given more space as source of the news. The different sources of the news present do not necessarily align in their

perspectives. It is a collision between two different identities – the cultural identity of Khawajasiras and the national identity that the modern state accepts. The lack of acceptance of the cultural identity results in state's bias against Khawajasiras' cultural practices.

Furthermore, by understanding stringent and inflexible contemporary interpretations of religion, the study has added by developing an understanding of how religious authorities and activists interact. These interactions try to protect the non-binary groups by keeping the identity ambiguous but that ambiguity also reinforces some stereotypes and stigmas regarding the group and hence, does not bring about any radical changes in the discourse.

Finally, the study shows that there are globalized discourses on non-binary groups. However there tends to be culturally distinct features of different non-binary groups too. Thus, the interaction between global and cultural discourses, with global narrative playing a more imperialistic and hence influential role, tends to evolve as a process of continuous deculturalization and re-culturalization of the discourse. The smoothness of such a process can be assessed by determining the extent to which the global and national assumptions align in regards to the stereotypes and stigmas that they reinforce on non-binary groups.

8.2 Practical Implications

The picture of discourse of Khawajasiras, as shown in the discussion chapter, not only shows five different layers of stereotypes and stigmas regarding the community, but also five different points where the news producers could work on and build a discourse that eliminates the stereotypes and stigmas. The discourse of accepting society and parents' faults needs to be built further and strengthened comprehensively to challenge the status quo. Colonial discourse needs to be put aside. Mainstreaming cannot be of selective Khawajasiras, it has to be holistic.

Therefore, an end to the discourse of “fake” Khawajasiras is essential for a broader and more comprehensive acceptance of gender diversity. Formal economy jobs are likely to improve their welfare and as Khan (2014) shows many Khawajasiras do regularly switch between their cultural lives and a normative lifestyle, but the notion of normative lifestyle needs to be made inclusive of all current non-normative lifestyles as well rather than that the discourse puts a boundary around the notion of normative and attempts to change the non-normative in a way that they could become normative. Finally, the discourse ought to come out of the notion of gender binaries and report with more inclusive and accepting attitude towards the non-binary.

Similarly, the source of the news matters. Journalism strategies should be revised in a way that they become more inclusive by giving more equal weightage to a diverse range of sources for their news. Sources are important as they can anchor the news narrative in any particular direction. Therefore, news on Khawajasiras should try to include Khawajasiras themselves as source more often and rely less on authorities that tend to discriminate by setting forth an exclusionary narrative.

Furthermore, the literature review showed diverse acceptance and tolerance for non-binary groups in interpretations of Islamic texts. However, contemporary interpretations in Pakistan do not adopt the same narrative. Therefore, news reports while reporting contemporary scholars’ restricted understandings of Khawajasira identity, should also report on how traditional scholars of Islam understood and interpreted the non-binary groups to challenge the contemporary scholars’ views. Giving greater space to a more accepting interpretation of Islam on gender diversity in the news text could impact the society’s mindsets in a way that it could introduce them to values of tolerance and acceptance.

Finally, the state policies need to accept gender diversity. The discourse on Khawajasiras is likely to remain as such as long as the state does not accept the sex and gender diversity. If the state policies remain marginalizing, the state will lose its purpose. In this regard, the section 377 of Pakistan penal code, the Dance act, the Anti-beggary act need revisions such that they accept diversity, the accept and respect Khawajasiras traditional occupations. In other words, the state actors need to consciously be less involved in moral policing.

8.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Future studies could consider the following to add more to our knowledge on the subject

- The divide between discourse in English and Urdu newspapers in relation to Khawajasiras needs to be studied in greater depth.
- The collision between the cultural practices and state practices need to be studied in more detail using a suitable methodological approach.
- A more micro-level review of more recent news text could also give greater insights into the discourse regarding Khawajasiras
- The role of NGOs especially the ones that are not being run by Khawajasiras but are working for Khawajasiras at some level like Akhuwat Foundation's Khawajasira rehabilitation program and Exploring Future Foundation's recently opened school needs to be studied in depth to understand their role in reinforcing/eliminating stereotypes and stigmas regarding Khawajasiras.

8.4 Limitations of the Research

The validity and reliability of the study could be confirmed from its coherence and comparability with the existing literature. However, from the philosophical assumptions to the employed research methods and data analysis, the study is not without several limitations that are important

to understand the applicability of its findings. First, the study employs a specific understanding of stereotypes and stigmas while examining the news text. Although, literature does not contradict on the definition of these concepts, however, if a researcher was to employ a definition that contradicts the understanding of these concepts as applied in this study, the approach and findings could change. Second, the study used Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis. With Van Dijk, Fowler and other theorists' models, a number of aspects of analysis could change. Just like Khan (2014) applied Foucault's model for discourse analysis, and has a number of findings that are different, though not contradictory at all, to this study's findings, applying Van Dijk and other theorists' models could bring forward some further insights into the discourse on Khawajasiras. Therefore, the study is limited by the applicability of Fairclough's model. Finally, the data used for analysis is taken from HRCP. HRCP collects newspapers from only three main cities of the country – Lahore, Karachi and Rawalpindi. That means that newspapers that publish newspapers from other cities too would have other 'metro' sections in the newspapers too that could not become part of this study. Moreover, HRCP takes only national level newspapers, therefore, regionally published newspapers and their narratives would not necessarily be the same (although one can expect them to be similar since they are part of the broader status quo too). These limitations should be kept in mind while reviewing and applying this study.

8.5 Final Word

In the early 18th Century, a young boy once noticed a group of third gender individuals dancing on the street. Mesmerized by their dancing, soon he could not resist and started dancing with them. Someone in the public recognized the boy and called on his father immediately. The father, enraged on hearing that his son was dancing in public with inferior people, ran to find the

boy, caught him, and beat him up all the way back home. He told the boy that they belonged to a noble family of Seyyeds and his act had disappointed him and stained the family name. The boy never understood or accepted the concepts of hierarchy between different groups or castes. He went on to become one of subcontinent's well-known revolutionary Sufi poets. His name was Abdullah, and the world remembers him by the name of Baba Bulleh Shah. In response to the words of his father and many like him, he once said: *Kanjrri banya medi izzat ni ghatdi, minnu nach k yaar mana lain de* (Dancing does not lower my dignity, it is how I express my love for my beloved).

Bullah's notion of acceptance of the non-normative gender was to celebrate their existence and treat them and their choices with love, respect, empathy and compassion. The contemporary discourse on Khawajasiras is likely to remain stereotypical and stigmatizing such for as long as the elements of equality driven love, respect, empathy and compassion remain missing from the notion of acceptance and mainstreaming of Khawajasiras. There are many Khawajasiras with us, but we are running short of Bulleh Shahs. Bullah was the symbol of love and compassion. We need more Bullas in our society; we need more love and compassion in our hearts.

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