

Chapter-3

Caste and Class In Gay Subculture: A Reading Of *The Boyfriend*

Pushpesh Kumar in his article “Queering Indian Sociology: A Critical Engagement”, states that:

In Khoemini's Iran they booked you for being gay, sodomised you in gang rapes at the police station all night, dragged you out at dawn, shot you in the yard, and sodomised the warm body one last time! Ah justice!(1).

The outcaste gay identity is surrounded by the issues of class, caste, race, ethnicity, gay rape, Section 377, AIDS, MSM (men having sex with men), gay, bisexual, pansexual, binary oppositions between *koti/panthi*, active and passive dichotomy, suppression of women in gay subculture and various neurotic disorders. They are deprived of their class, gender, race and sex. Foucault argued that ‘where there is power, there is resistance’, that power depends for its existence on the presence of a ‘multiplicity of points of resistance’ and the plurality of resistances should not be reduced to a single locus of revolt or rebellion. So power elicits its own resistance. And in this marginalized gay subculture there forms an analogy between the oppressor and the oppressed and thus it forms numerous power structures within. This hegemonic structure of power has been displayed in R. Raj Rao's *The Boyfriend*.

Homos are no different from *Bhangis*. Both are Untouchables. So why should I have a problem eating your *jhootha*?’

‘But you are a Brahman, aren’t you?’

‘No, I am a homosexual. Gay by caste. Gay by religion.’

I don’t understand what you’re saying.’

‘What I am saying is that homosexuals have no caste or religion. They have only homosexuality.’

‘How can that be?’

That’s how it is. Straight people are Brahmans, gays *Shudras*. So you see, both you and I are *Shudras*. That’s why we are best friends. (*Boyfriend* 81)

Caste is rarely discussed in queer movement. It is very rare to find any literature or empirical study which talks about non- heterosexual sexuality and caste. Nivedita Menon’s(2007) volume on *Sexualities* does contain a section on ‘caste and sexuality’ but it does not touch upon caste beyond the realm of heterosexuality despite the fact that majority of the essays in the book are concerned with queer issues. Ashley Tellis’s (2012) deconstructionist reading of queer movement also point towards the absence of analysis from the view point of caste but fails to move beyond this broad recognition.

Even the dalit perspectives also challenges the notions of ‘purity’, ‘untouchability’ and ‘materialist’ dimension of caste but it never accounts the dimensions of ‘sexual outcastes’. They are never taken into consideration. ‘A’ from rural India narrates ‘his’ story as a ‘low caste’ and a ‘non-heterosexual’ youth. He begins his story with spatial segregation of caste settlements in his

village. He is addressed by his caste name- '*chambhar*' by an upper caste landlord and by his own principal in the school - the latter himself being dalit. But 'A' has also experienced a sexual violence which he finds difficult to articulate. He is raped and sexually assaulted. His fault was that his anatomical sex and his masculine gender mismatch with his same- sex erotic desire. His gesture does not correspond to his masculine gender and he fails to conform to the local homosociality. He cannot look for community support when his body is violated unlike a woman of his (dalit) community. He prefers to keep quiet and silent to retain his family existence within family and community.

The upper-caste queer in rural and semi-urban spaces are invisibilised. Gay, lesbian and bi-sexual identities are mostly articulated in metropolitan spaces. Probably, respectability articulated through upper-caste norms and lack of anonymity in rural and semi urban spaces invisible upper caste homoerotically inclined persons. In certain senses, metropolitan cities provide anonymity and individual space creating conditions for certain westernized queer identities to emerge. This has happened due to diasporic connections of South Asian queers along with NGOs led initiatives towards eliminating AIDs/HIV stigma since early 1990s.

No wonder the liaison between dalit Miland and Yudi has been depicted by the author as a panacea for annihilating the caste and class discrimination. Hence, the differential treatment that they get at the hands of the society as a sexual minority makes them come together as a cohesive unit and consequently among themselves the differences on the basis of class and caste get mitigated. So

the margins within themselves get dissolved and in a very complex fashion their subservient identity works as a potent tool to dissolve the existing powerful hegemonic structures of class and caste.

May I kiss you on the mouth? Yudi asked him.

It was his way of demonstrating that he cared two fucks if Miland was a Brahmin or a *Bhangi*, whose ancestors cleaned the shit of others.

(Boyfriend 74)

R. Raj Rao's *The Boyfriend* is a story of same-sex love between middle aged, middle class educated Brahmin Yudi with a working-class, illiterate dalit boy, Miland. So the above conversation is between Yudi and Miland and hence the power structures are dismantled here and various hegemonic patterns are reformed. Yudi, on one hand had superiority on the basis of class, education and caste but Miland on the other hand is a dalit and he successfully plays card throughout the text. It explores the problematic use of homosexuality as an essential identity for men who experience same-sex desire in 1992 Bombay, several years before the city is renamed Mumbai. Homosexual identity is difficult to locate in Bombay at this time because of the adaptable constructions of queer spaces necessary response to the government's use of Section 377 to persecute people who engage in same-sex relations.

The Medical sciences on gay activism is the way it has hijacked queer movement by extrapolation of AIDS as an incurable fatal disease and categorizing M.S.M (man having sex with man) as the most vulnerable category. And the

worldwide propaganda that AIDS is being synonymous with homosexuality and once again the most vulnerable group is working class due to the lack of knowledge, inadequate medical facilities and child abuse. Thus the oppression on account of AIDS epidemic is far more accentuated in working class and it makes it doubly marginalized. In the first chapter Gentleman when Yudi came to Churchgate, not to see his mother today as his mother hadn't been to town for over a week, but the reason to be there was Churchgate loo.

The gents' toilet at Churchgate provided a twenty-four-hour supply of men;

the amount of semen that went down the urine bowls was enough to start a sperm bank. (*Boyfriend 2*)

But Yudi rarely had any success here because Nalla Sopara, his place was too far away from Churchgate and people usually deny going too far as they fear being robbed. But today as his mother was away and her flat would be in use so he thought for a while to go into the loo and gave it a check. Seeing two working class men indulges in unprotected sex Yudi cries furiously:

Idiot haven't you heard of HIV?

Kucch nahi hota hai, nothing will happen,' the chap replied, waving him away.

Fools,' Yudi thought to himself. 'They will never learn. (*Boyfriend4*)

Like in the text Yudi pays for the sexual rendezvous with Miland and it becomes mutually beneficial for both of them.

In his place Miland has found a sugar-daddy!

That was what gay men all over the world looked for anyway: Sugar daddies.

So why should Yudi be surprised or sad. (*Boyfriend*113)

Similarly on another occasion when they both have beer at a nearby café and Miland pretends to pay;

Yudi told Miland not to be silly and put away his wallet. This was the first and the last time such a thing would happen; henceforth it would be assumed that Yudi was the treasurer with an endless supply of easy money(*Boyfriend*80).

Citing another example of classless assimilation of the same-sex union, quoting Dollimore, R. Raj Rao speculated that queer sexuality, when genuinely subversive or transgressive, among other things, inverts the notion of same and difference, “What is similar/same in non-transgressive sexuality is different here, for example, age and class. On the other hand, what is different in non- transgressive sexuality is same here, for example, gender”.

Hence the need for the ‘other’ is satisfied in these relationships on the basis of the differences in the age and class for unlike the heterosexual

relationship, here the constant 'other' on the basis of gender is altered and becomes 'same'.

On one of the occasions Gauri questions Yudi that why he has such a fascination for working class? The romantic notion of the working class 'other' is heightened so much in Yudi's mind that he goes on the extent of writing a sexually surcharged poem on Chinchpokali. When Miland was missing he on the suggestion of Guari went to Chinchpokli to see him whether he is there at his home or not. So he immortalized a poem on the working class area of Chinchpokli:

At Chinchpokli, once I return in the evening,

I plot seductions and rapes, plan masterpieces

Of evasions. The loudspeakers blare at me.

Bed bugs bite me. Cockroaches hover about my soul.

Mice scurry around my metaphysics, mosquitoes sing around my lyrics.

Lizards crawl over my religion, spiders infest my politics.

I itch. I become horny. I booze. I want to get smashed.

And I do. It comes easy at Chinchpokli,

Where like a minor Hindu god, I am stoned

By the misery of my worshippers and by my own

Triumphant impotence. (*Boyfriend162*)

In fact the otherness is not there on account of class and age; Yudi finds it in physically challenged men too. He calls them unusual men. Therefore this hierarchy is not only on the basis of lack of availability of the partners due to heteronormativity and recognizing themselves as larger marginalized gay identity with the distinctions of class, caste and age gets dissolved, but there is deep rooted need for the other in the sexual relationships.

There is another dimension of the whole issue of class dynamics if we view it from the perspective of male prostitution and then the utopian world of classless and casteless gay world seems to crumble. Miland, when he was thrown out of the job goes to the extent of becoming a male prostitute for aging rich elite gay man in the guise of A.K Modelling Agency. There is a description of the male brothel and the amount of exploitation that youth poverty ridden boys have to bear.

Besides being gay or bisexual, all the clients were wealthy, with huge disposable incomes. The customer profile of the agency revealed that most of them were men in their fifties and sixties. About one half were married, while the others were bachelors. Ninety percent of them were businessmen. They alone could hire boys at prices ranging from one thousand to ten thousand rupees a night, depending on the overall smartness and the dick size of the boy in question, of which the boy got to keep 25 percent. (*Boyfriend180*)

The notion of active/passive dichotomy and falsified notion of masculinity follows the reverse module and makes the whole issue more eclectic as opposed to the unilateral power structure of the ruler and the ruled. As seen in the gay culture, due to the patriarchal notion of masculinity, the passive is considered womanly and the active can resort to his manly pride by virtue of being a penetrator and than being penetrated. The writer describes gay prostitution as:

On the whole, penetrators had to pay much more than penetrates. As the agency's CEO has a penchant for hunks (rather than queens, he had to put up with the hostility of those who were made to perform 'womanly' acts in the bed. (*Boyfriend*180)

A survey, which showed that most of his boys didn't think they are abnormal or perverted as long as they are 'active'. They couldn't care less whether what they inserted their organs into was a man's back side or woman's front side.

As Manohar Shitole, one of the gay men interviewed by R. Raj Rao's *Whistling in the Dark*, asserts that masculinity is prevalent everywhere and there is a perennial insistence on being a 'top only guy'. This leads him to conclude that there are only few men who are genuinely gay for a real homosexual this dichotomy should not be part of his scheme of things. For homosexual man in India especially working class being a gay and that too of passive variety is synonymous with being eunuch. As the reversal of power dynamics, Yudi (an upper class educated Brahmin) has been as a 'passive' as opposed to Miland (dalit), who is an 'active'. Miland always feels superior at the thought that it is he

who fucks (active) and hence is less effeminate and more masculine and it lessens his internalized homophobia.

In the marriage scene also the privileges of active is seen when they both decide to delve into a mock marriage at Yudi's home.

They lit a fire in a fucking room, and were about to go round it seven times, and were about to go round it seven times, when a major dispute arose between them. Each wanted to be the engine as they encircled the fire. Each had a strong case. Miland's was that he was 'active'... Yudi's was that he was a breadwinner. In the end of course Yudi capitulated.
(Boyfriend67)

He got out chiffon that his mother had once left behind draped himself in it and became the bride. In fact whenever miland feels overpowered and subjugated on account of Yudi's class and education he consoles himself by assuring himself that it is he who fucks rather than being fucked.

The notion of being 'passive' as effeminate and hence being condemnable has deep rooted cultural biases and conditioning emanating from slave tradition where slaves by and large were seen as passive sex objects to their masters.

Paul Veyne argues that utter scorn was heaped on the free born adult male if he was a homosexual of the passive variety '*impudicus*' or '*diatithemenos*.' Hence, in ancient Rome the passive homosexual was not rejected on account of his homosexuality but for his passivity, a very serious moral, or rather political infirmity. In India the relationship between Malik Kafur (the castrated passive

gay) and his master Ala-ud-din Khilji is a classic example where Kafur, who was forcefully castrated to become passive gay (it was an accepted norm,) the reference to which we find in John Keay's *India : A History*. Thus an egalitarian paradigm is established by reversing the pattern when Yudi, the provider becomes passive and this enables Miland to counter his homophobic hatred. In fact whenever Yudi picks up strangers and takes them home, he gladly offers them the active role for his years of experience has taught him that as long as men are allowed to penetrate there was no fear of their returning afterwards to demand money or beat you up. Some even thought it beneath their dignity to accept cash from someone they had buggered.

Nevertheless Miland's indulgence in male prostitution dismantles this privileged superiority of active over passive. He suffers from severe anxiety and even being 'active' is no solace:

Yet Miland was pissed off with himself and with everyone around him. He hated his work, was 'sick and tired' of it, as he frequently told himself, in English. No matter how many Esteems he rode in, his self-esteem was annihilated. He thought of himself as a *dhandewala*, a whore, and in his scheme of things it was women who were whores, not men. In other words, he was doing womanly work, like of sewing and cooking, not manly work as his brothers did. So what if the men he served spoke in passive voice and gave him a chance to speak in the active? It didn't take away from the fact that he was selling his body (*Boyfriend201*).

Eugenics or false science has also contributed a great deal to the perpetuation of the guilt complex regarding homosexuality specially in Indian context. Whereas the 'disease' model of homosexuality has been dismantled by American Psychiatric Association long time back in 1973 when they removed homosexuality as an illness from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, in contrast the Indian Medical Establishment followed the WHO system of classification of mental and behavioural disorders known as ICD-10.

This classifies homosexuality into two groups- ego syntonic and ego dystonic homosexuality. This system considers ego dystonic homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder. In ego syntonic disorder they are comfortable with their sexuality and thus no treatment is warranted whereas in ego dysyntonic. They are not comfortable with their sexuality and hence treatment is required. The upper class on account of more internalized syntonic sexuality and liberal attitude is prone to embrace ego syntonic sexuality whereas the working class on account of persistent guilt complex suffers from ego dystonic homosexuality.

Freud's interpretation of same sex desire has given an impetus to psychiatric abuse. He has seen homosexuality as the result of domineering mother/ absent father and a pathological condition to be cured. It was one of Freud's followers Sedor Rado, who initiated reparative therapies, which are designed, which are designed to change the sexual orientation of the patient. Reparative therapies are aimed at changing the sexual orientation of the patient through a variety of techniques, including the administration of 'nausea-inducing' drugs, 'shock therapy' and 'behavioural therapy'. In fact the guilt complex is so

intensified in Miland that throughout the text he has been as someone who is constantly depreciating himself to homoerotic passion. When Miland comes back after his job with A.K Modelling Agency and faces various questions about his job and whereabouts he thinks: “Could he tell him that he was busy doing *randibaazi*, being a whore for six months? They would say he was better off dead”! (*Boyfriend203*)

Yudi who is an ego syntonic homosexual and despite being comfortable with his sexuality has gone through these therapies, though symbolically, when he has been constantly chased by Gauri who thinks that forced heterosexuality can cure him to homosexuality. It represents Sandor Rado’s nausea- reducing therapy, for he reacts to her advanced by vomiting constantly and it has been cleared by Gauri with her bare hands.

She opened her hand bag fished out a roll of tissue and passed it on to Yudi to clean himself up. She also parted with her bottle of mineral water... Gauri cleaned up her man friend. She freely used her tissue roll to wipe off the specks of vomit on the tinted class. (*Boyfriend57*)

Yudi calls this as ‘a cathartic discharge’ and when he was longing for Miland and vomiting in the wash room, Gauri rang,

He was in the loo, vomiting into the shit pot when Gauri rang. He managed to, hobble towards the instrument and picked it up. ‘Are you all right’ Gauri asked, and Yudi wondered what karmic connection the lady bore to his vomiting. Many months ago she was present when he threw up

in horny educator's car. Now when he was sick she was there again.
(*Boyfriend55*)

In fact he always makes fun of her efforts to cure him of his homoerotic passion. She thought of him as his future husband. At times even the usual depression faced by gay, as any other straight man would suffer, is misjudged as an ego dystonic homosexuality and in the process at times creates anxiety in the mind of a gay man who is otherwise comfortable with their homosexuality. Even the medical sciences also endorse heteronormativity and by proving it unnatural perpetuates guilt complex and internalized homophobia. When Yudi and Miland went to a doctor to get the treatment of S.T.D. he was disgusted.

The doctor to whom Yudi and Miland jointly went for treatment was disgusted. How could two men be so shameless as to openly admit they has contracted the warts through anal intercourse"? No unnatural sex, no warts, he kept telling them as he injected them, assuming the manner of a high school master. (*Boyfriend152*)

The lower class becomes more of its victim on account of embedded guilt complex along with larger hostility at uneducated working environment and it's these difficulties which make them more prone to medical abuse as Ankleswaria, one of the gay man interviewed by R. Raj Rao in *Whistling in the Dark* avers:

If there were therapies that could cure or rid me of my homosexuality, I'd be the first one to enroll for the treatment. Being a homosexual is messy. It leads to

unnecessary problems, and to needless pain and suffering for all concerned. It's a curse to be born homosexual, and I wouldn't wish it for anyone.

Another form of subjugation from which the gay subculture suffers is on account of the implementation of Sec 377, which makes two adults having consensual sex, a criminal offence. Ashwani Sukthankar has argued in *Facing the Mirror* that the ec 377 is applicable only to male homosexuality for it considers only penetrable sex as an offence; lesbianism by and large does not come in its purview. Here is also the *koti* (the ones that have the mannerisms of a more effeminate kind and look explicitly gay) are more prone to such oppressions as compared to *panthi* (the more masculine kind and whose physical features don not betray their sexuality). That's why Yudi is always in fear of being locked up and bashed up by police. When Dnyaneshwar for the first time had sex with him and then he tries to black mail and loots a huge amount from him. But Yudi turns tables and reverses the stereotype by making the gay queens ravish Dnyaneshwar's modesty at gay bar:

Dnyaneshwar looked like Gulliver in the land of Lilliput. While his friends manhandled the chap who'd blackmailed him scarcely twenty four hours ago, Yudi sat on "The Wall" and smoked cigarette after cigarette in hailing the refreshing sea air. (*Boyfriend95*)

He dismantles the power structure and making a mockery of Sec 377, Dnyaneshwar, the homophobic blackmailer is shown being bashed up by 'gay queens'. The reference to sitting on the 'wall' is suggestive of 'Stonewall

Movement'. Yudi contemplates at the end of the episode that operation Stonewall was a spectacular success.

The police advantages on the fears of the queer community of being outed as well as the deeper societal homophobia to blatantly subject queer people to all forms of harassment and violence. That is why when Dnyaneswar states that he will spill the beans and tell everyone at his workplace it does not bother Yudi as much, for he has been an open gay. Thus being *panthi* and open gay have obvious advantages in gay subculture from the point of view of police atrocities.

No wonder Boyfriend is saturated with working class lingos whereas since upper class Yudi is comfortable in his skin there is hardly any trace of coded language in conversation. There are numerous references to coded words such as *koti/panthi* or cat and pigeon or plug and socket for active and passive dichotomy. To quote from the text:

“Yudi knew all the slang of working class homos. ‘*Dhakka start*’ was gay. ‘*Biryani khaega*’ was rimming.” (Boyfriend107)

In the same fashion another tool used by homosexuals for the social hide-seek is projecting themselves as a quintessential comic caricature which is the result of deep-rooted psychological conditioning. One such example is ‘crazy old queen’, the figure that constantly pops up in jokes and music hall acts. At times to counter the extreme hostility of the heteronormative world, they carefully cultivate these humorous traits as a survival and adaption technique, for by doing so they make themselves more acceptable to the straight world.

The oppression of women in gay sub culture gives a twist to gender and sexual dichotomy. Though gay men are themselves a sexual minority yet in the patriarchal society even straight women are subjugated by them. Thus the position of victim and victimizer interchanges here as despite being homosexual in hostile heteronormative society gay men are capable of ostracizing straight women and hence in these cases sexuality trumps over gender and makes the notion of unified gay subjugation problematic. In an *Interview with R. Raj Rao* by Kuhu Chanana states that

Gay men, married women do not come across as women (gender-oppressed etc), but as heterosexuals. Adultery and deception, as I suggest in my Introduction to *Whistling in the Dark* are very queer and non-normative issues, and are actually advocated by queer theory. I say there in tongue-in-cheek fashion that the word ‘adultery’ actually incorporates the word ‘adult’. Monogamy and fidelity, on the other hand, which are required by marriage as we know the institution, have very much to do with heteronormativity. As for Gauri in *Boyfriend*, she really comes across as a fag-hag- a straight woman who is comfortable pursuing gay men.

As throughout in *Boyfriend* Gauri has been shown as a caricature who is all out to entice Yudi and she has been portrayed by Yudi as someone who takes great relish in even clearing Yudi’s puke with bare hands for it gives her an opportunity to be with Yudi. She has been seen as a competition and has been constantly mocked at. There is huge fun of eco-feminist society. He has gone to the extent of

calling her nymphomaniac. Yudi describes her as someone who is all out to hook Yudi and even tries to look masculine to catch his fancy.

One of the reasons that can be adduced to this hatred for to this hatred for women is that they are competition for gay men, for both of them are vying for the attention of the straight men. Gauri is shown as a friend to Yudi and someone who hints at experimenting with lesbianism.

‘You know, here you go on and on, I have started feeling attracted to women!’

‘I am not joking,’ Gauri continued, her face growing serious. ‘I mean it. For starters, how about introducing me to Miland’s wife? I’ve even done a painting depicting four of us.’

‘Perfect arrangement’, declared Yudi. ‘While Miland entertains me, you can humour his wife! Keep her busy so she won’t miss her husband. (Boyfriend232)

Time and again throughout the text Yudi makes fun of heterosexual marriage. When Miland and his brother get married to identical twins Sheila and Leila and since in such cases mistaken identities could be hazardous, he suggests that each girl should inscribe her name on the bed sheet. Mockery of heterosexual marriage is not only a dig at compulsive heteronormativity but also at the revelation of the sad picture of gay world where the non acceptance of gay marriage both by society and law is all pervasive.

And In the end of their marriage ceremony Miland and Yudi have been shown making *rangoli* with cockroach poison. Thus the intentions of the writer in the depiction of this whole scene, and the portrayal of oppressive marriage of Miland and Leela and the dig at Gauri are deliberate efforts to exhibit the non-egalitarian nature of heterosexual marriage and to expose the dubious market forces or a manifestation of inherent hatred and consequent subjugation that women receive in gay subculture, are debatable. Because when a gay man is married especially in a lower class the kind of treachery and falsehood these women suffer is unimaginable and the writer very effectively draws attention to it when Miland gets married to Leela. In one of the episodes after his marriage he asks the perennial question, whether she is virgin and he returns the question with compliments:

Miland was in a fix. Did men who sleep with men lose their virginity, or was virginity merely a thing between men and women? He wasn't sure. After pondering the question for a whole week, he decided he was a virgin and said so to Leela. To his way of thinking, then, all that he had done at the A.K. Modelling Agency hadn't killed his virginity. Nor had his affair with Yudi. (Boyfriend 222)

Thus the issue of adultery and cheating does not crop in his mind. Again when his wife asks him to take help from his rich friend, he goes to Yudi's home and takes money from Yudi for sexual favours because after his assignment at modelling agency he will not allow anyone to touch his body for free. "Not even his wife who paid for it by doing his cooking and washing." When he returns

home, he decides to keep all the money for himself and even thinks that if she is so desperate for money she should wash dishes at some one's home and get fucked by the owner of the home.

Many gay men in heterosexual marriage do not think their homosexual encounters as adultery and consequently cheat their wives without an iota of guilt. Thus whether it's a heterosexual man or gay, women are suppressed by both and thus sexual minority trumps over gender identity.

It is difficult to jam homosexuals into already existing hegemonic structures of heterosexual framework, it provides paradoxically ambivalent fluid power patterns that dismantle one kind of privilege over others and the monolithic dynamics of the ruler and the ruled dichotomy is constantly negotiated on the basis of age, race, ethnicity, caste, active/passive, bisexual/ gay and hence creates a perennial flux. Thus in one way it provides an entirely different sort of egalitarian framework and negates the absolute kind of 'economic determinism' as is somewhat apparent in the case of Yudi and Miland. Apropos of this Ruth Vanita remarks that in cross-class relationships, it is not always... the subordinate who is exploited. When the social superior is single and the subordinate married, heterosexual privileges may trump over class privilege and result in a transition that is mutually useful but that downgrades the gay person.

According to R. Raj Rao, anal penetration is a symbolic act of resistance against oppression of vaginal penetration. To him "anus is a political site, with all its implication of entry, surrender and feminisation of the male body." Thus the

identities of the oppressor and the oppressed are constantly interchangeable and hence problematic. Obviously the polyvalence in gay sub culture on the one hand contests the established power-patterns and on the other constantly re-establishes new hegemonic structures which are at times absent or less visible in heterosexual matrix and provide a unique tool for critiquing the monolithic power operations of heteronormative society.

Works Cited

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