



Evolving Approach of Representation of Disability in Women from the 20th Century to the 21st Century in Indian Hindi Cinema

Zahra Ahmad

Independent Researcher.

zahra02ahmad@gmail.com

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4030-6322>

<https://doi.org/10.66376/criterion.v17.n2.52>

Abstract:

Impairment arises from physical or psychological causes such as accidents or genetics, while social prejudices and the exploitative attitudes of the able-bodied shape disability. It deprives the impaired of identity, creating layers of oppression through discrimination, patriarchal norms, and the male gaze. Families, too, may suffer stigma and exclusion. Medically, disability is considered a disease, but theology often interprets it as divine punishment. In contrast, the social model promotes inclusion, autonomy, and a shift in perceptions by reducing barriers. Cinema, as an audio-visual medium, plays a crucial role in raising awareness, shaping attitudes, and addressing stereotypes. The portrayals of disability in film evoke pity, empathy, admiration, or discrimination, reflecting challenges while also providing entertainment. This paper analyzes cinematic representations to examine stereotyping, stigmatization, and the intersection of gender and disability, while tracing the evolution of depictions of women with disabilities from the 20th to the 21st century.

Keywords: cinema, disability, feminism, gender, intersectionality, Critical disability theory (CDT)

Introduction

Cinema is an audio-visual medium using multimodal discourse to impact the minds of society as well as reflect the dominant views at large. It creates mindsets and perceptions, thus bringing change and spreading awareness. The actors and actresses are considered role models, impacting lives. “Bombay Hindi cinema reflects the thoughts, aspirations, and attitudes of millions of Indians as it has larger outreach than any other cinema in India”(Grover, “Problematizing Sight” 13). It reaches a large audience, empowering people, and the message is easily conveyed even to the uneducated. It helps in understanding society as well as inculcating learning in society. “Media representation can provide a powerful ... an effective tool for changing people’s perceptions and uprooting social stereotypes”(Mahaseth, par. 1). “Cinema continues to be a powerful medium to reflect the happenings in society which has transformed it into a medium caught between the real and the surreal”(Dawn 6).

Disability denotes exploitation and subjugation. The term shows marginalization, prejudices and judgement of people with impairment by the able-bodied society. Impairment is a physical or psychological defect and may be due to genetic reasons or caused by an accident. Disability has a more nuanced meaning as it involves inhuman treatment and the denial of human rights as well as identity to those with impairments. They are the ‘other’ in the able-bodied society, representing affliction and misfortune. The family and community mistreat people with disabilities in various ways, such as abuse, neglect, infantilization, and ostracization. They are often left behind during calamities like war, starvation and earthquakes. Their physical appearance is exaggerated to a grotesque image that links them with animal-like features. The disabled characters portrayed in 19th and 20th century American literature, namely Stephen Crane’s *The Monster* (1898), William Faulkner’s *The Fury* (1928) and John Steinbeck’s *Of Mice and Men* (1937), are apt examples.

According to the Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation of India (2016), around 2% of people are disabled, and females are a little less than males. Ghai says, “within the Indian cultural context, disability implies a ‘lack’ or ‘flaw’ leading to a significantly diminished capability” (“Disabled Women” 51). He further talks about a Hindi phrase “Women with disabilities” (*Ek to ludki oopur se apahij*) which implies that she is a girl and that too disabled means double liability. He adds,

This intermingling of disablement and gender in such phrases marks the reality of a woman with disability in India. Consequently, both congenital and acquired disabilities for the female child are seen as additional rather than initial liabilities. Additionally, opportunities for improving the quality of life of a disabled girl are virtually non-existent (Ghai, “Disabled Women” 53).

There are three ways of viewing disability- the medical model, the spiritual model and the social model. The medical model considers disability as a disease and tries to cure the patients medically to solve issues. It ignores social and religious aspects, focusing on the disease and medicine aspect of disability only, so it's problematic. The spiritual model considers disability as punishment by the gods due to the wrongs done by their ancestors in a past life. Though the theological perspective has importance due to belief in god's intervention and prior transgressions, this model is also problematic since it ignores social, medical or personal issues of disability. The social model believes that disabilities are social constructs caused by oppression, discrimination and hostility present in society. It caters to the problems and challenges of those at the periphery due to their handicap. It tries to find solutions by reducing hindrances and changing the mindset of society. Thus, this model works on providing autonomy and human identity to disabled people, helping us understand their needs better. Due to its inclusive approach, it has gained popularity recently.

Disability studies have greatly contributed to critical studies over the recent past. It is considered not only a disease but also connected to identity issues (bodily identity). The media has portrayed disability in varied ways, ranging from evoking sympathy to othering and exploiting them. The portrayal is significant since it impacts how the general public perceives the disabled and stereotypes those who are physically challenged. As Ghai said, “Disability in most Indian films is used as a meta-narrative, thus allowing the viewer to create meaning within the larger, scattered, melodramatic filmic space”(“Disability and Postcolonial Theory: ‘Third Space’ and the Possibilities of Transgression” 90).

Fraser, in his *Disability Studies, World Cinema and the Cognitive Code of Reality* (2016), talks about the treatment of disability in different cultures globally by the dominant able-bodied. While Ranjita Dawn’s *Role of Culture and Media in Disability Studies: A Medium of Social Construction of Disability* (2019) depicts the importance of Indian literature, religion and cinema in creating awareness and consciousness about disability. According to Fraser’s *Cultures of Representation: Disability in world cinema contexts* (2016), cinema is very engaging, providing authentic appeal, “a reflective mirror, a productive expression or theoretical ground for the integration of perceptions and concepts that informs our socially negotiated understanding of disability”(7). The media plays a significant role in influencing society to form perceptions and attitudes. According to Hosking (2008), Critical disability theory (CDT) examines disability issues to make society more inclusive for them. Feminist film theory explores how cinema constructs gender roles, focusing on the issues of power and representation of women. It critiques patriarchal narratives and stereotypical portrayals of women. It also explores female subjectivities, identity and the intersection of gender with race, class and sexuality. Crenshaw’s (1991) concept of ‘intersectionality’ highlights the unique experience of marginalization arising from multiple intersecting sites. Devika T. R’s *The Politics of Representation: The Portrayal of Women in Malayalam Cinema* (2023) focuses on

the victimization of females disabled by patriarchy, stereotyped gender roles, and able-bodied individuals in Malayalam Cinema.

Socially excluding the impaired by completely ignoring their presence and stigmatizing their family is commonly seen in India as well as other countries worldwide. This is portrayed in most of the classic Indian movies. However, the treatment of the disabled is much better in Western countries compared to Eastern countries. Chib's autobiography, *One Little Finger* (2011), portrays contrasts in her experiences in the West and East. She talks about the humane treatment and disability-friendly environment in the West, which allowed her to live a better life compared to India.

Theoretical Framework

The study is grounded in an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that draws upon Critical Disability Theory (CDT), Feminist Film Theory, and the concept of intersectionality to analyze the representation of women with disabilities in Indian Hindi cinema.

Critical Disability Theory (CDT), as articulated by Hosking, challenges the traditional understanding of disability as merely a medical condition and instead situates it within a socio-political context. It emphasizes that disability is constructed through social barriers, cultural norms, and institutional practices that marginalize individuals with impairments (Hosking). CDT advocates for inclusivity, autonomy, and the dismantling of ableist structures, making it a crucial lens for examining how cinema either reinforces or resists such ideologies.

In addition, this study employs Feminist Film Theory, which critiques how cinema perpetuates patriarchal values and constructs gendered identities. Drawing on Laura Mulvey's concept of the "male gaze," the framework explores how women with disabilities are often objectified, infantilized, or rendered invisible within cinematic narratives. Feminist film theory

also enables an examination of power relations, agency, and the representation of female subjectivity, particularly in the context of marginalized identities.

Furthermore, Kimberle Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality provides a critical tool to understand how multiple axes of identities, such as gender and disability intersect to produce unique forms of oppression. Women with disabilities experience compounded marginalization, as they bear both ableism and patriarchy (Crenshaw 1241). This framework helps analyze how these overlapping structures of power shape their representation in films.

The study also engages with Louis Althusser's theory of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) to examine how dominant cultural narratives are reproduced through cinema. Films often function as ideological tools that normalize societal hierarchies, including gender roles and able-bodied superiority (Althusser). Similarly, insights from Freudian psychoanalysis are used to explore the repression or erasure of sexuality in disabled female characters, a recurring theme in earlier cinematic portrayals.

By integrating these theoretical perspectives, the study critically examines how Hindi cinema has historically constructed and transformed the image of disabled women from passive subjects of pity and marginalization to more complex individuals asserting agency, identity, and rights in contemporary narratives.

Analyzing some movies

Cinema has an inclusive approach, creates awareness and helps to diminish social issues caused by disability. It covers a wide range of portrayals, from emphasizing their difficulties to depicting them as heroes. It evokes pity and sympathy, provides inspiration, as well as focuses on fun and enjoyment. It brings the disabled to the mainstream by showing their lived experiences, corporeal reality and social functionality. Thus, it aims to bring them from the periphery to the centre, making them heard and gaining a human identity. According to Pal's

Will Barfi! change the way Bollywood treats disability? (2012) dependence, discrimination, and euthanasia are common in the depiction of the disabled in Hindi cinema despite undergoing a sea change.

This article uses the lens of feminist disability studies (a branch of Critical Disability Studies (CDT)) to trace the evolving approach to the representation of disability in women from the 20th century to the 21st century and shows the innumerable issues associated with these depictions. It will analyze the portrayal, taking into consideration aspects of stereotyping, stigmatization and the intersectionality of gender and disability. The article also depicts the participation and rights of disabled women in social, economic and political aspects of society. The theme, storyline, dialogues, visual portrayals, news articles, and interviews helped in the analysis. The study combined Althusser's Theory of Ideology (2001) and Sigmund Freud's (Hey) position on sexuality. Several Bollywood movies analyzed here are- *Koshish [Effort]* (1972), *Satyam Shivam Sundaram: Love Sublime* (1978), *Sadma [Trauma]* (1983), *Black* (2005), *Lafangey Parindey [Cheeky Birds]* (2010), *Margarita with a Straw* (2014), *Kaabil [Capable]* (2017) and *Chhapaak [Splash]* (2020).

***Koshish* (1972)**

Koshish is the first movie portraying a disabled woman in a lead role. Directed by Gulzar, it features Haricharan Mathur (Sanjeev Kumar) and Aarti Mathur (Jaya Bhaduri) as speech and hearing-impaired characters. Based on the Japanese film *Happiness of Us Alone* (1961), it explores the couple's love story and the societal challenges they face due to their impairment. Both face ridicule and social exclusion, with terms like *gunga* (dumb) and *bhera* (deaf) used to mock them. Similarly, *Anuraag [Attachment]* (1972), depicts disabled women with demeaning terms like *bechari* (helpless), *abhagan* (unfortunate), *andhi* (blind), *manhoos* (ominous), *phool jisme khushbu na ho* (a flower that lacks fragrance), reinforcing low self-

esteem. Haller et al. support this: “Even something as mundane as the words used to refer to a group are important because they have ramifications both for the self-perception of people with disabilities and what the general public believes about disability” (62).

The disabled female, Aarti, is often shown in traditional, domestic roles; such as caring for her husband, child, and home; while Haricharan is foregrounded, reflecting male privilege shaped by Althusser’s Ideological State Apparatus. Aarti is portrayed as illiterate, unaware of public utilities, while Hari is educated and teaches her. Initially, Aarti evokes pity, as even her brother, Kanu, exploits her financially. Thus, even kith and kin take advantage of disabled women. He is eventually punished; he loses a leg and becomes disabled. In one of the scenes, while shopping, Aarti is pushed by a passerby and rescued by a disabled man, highlighting the abuse disabled women face. In another scene, when she tries to follow Hari’s footsteps and whistles to attract a shopkeeper’s attention, he scolds her, saying, “Girls do not behave like this” (*Ladakiya aisa nahi kiya karti*) (*Koshish*). Aarti’s ignorance of basic tools like a bicycle or a pay phone contrasts with Hari’s familiarity, further emphasizing her dependence. She doesn’t know sign language, limiting her communication. Hari persuades her mother to enrol her in a school for the disabled; thus, the movie promotes sign language. However, the dependence of disabled females on males is evident throughout. Similar themes of dependence on the male, of disabled women, are seen in *Anuraag, Jheel Ke Us Paar* [*On the other side of the lake*] (1973), *Athmakadha* [*Autobiography*] (2010) and *Dosti* [*Friendship*] (1964). In another instance, Hari helps Aarti understand music through vibrations when their child is enjoying music. Thus, a disabled man is knowledgeable and accepted in society, while his female counterpart is not. Gender bias and patriarchal gaze are visible throughout. However, Aarti is doubly marginalized due to the intersection of gender and disability. Even though she is given some autonomy; freedom to name her son; she remains secondary.

The film avoids exploring Aarti's sexuality, although she bears children, reinforcing the dominant ideology of asexuality among disabled women. The sexuality of disabled women is still considered taboo in India ("Sexuality and Disability in the Indian Context"). The challenges of a disabled mother are highlighted when her first child dies. However, the couple finds a solution to raise their second-born with help from a blind friend who tugs a rope tied to Hari's leg when the baby cries. So, according to Critical Disability Theory, this shows their resourcefulness and acceptance of disability.

In the last part, when Haricharan's boss offers her disabled daughter in marriage to Haricharan's able-bodied son, the son refuses initially. This shows how marriage remains elusive for disabled women. A similar theme is depicted in other movies, like *Shanti* [*Peace*] (1965), *Thokar* [*The Kick*] (1974), *Sachaa Jhutha* [*Honest and Liar*] (1970), *Naan Vaazha Vaippen*, [*I will sustain you*] (1979), *Bhairavi* [*Awe-inspiring*] (1996). So, a disabled woman is denied agency, forced into marital compromises, and expected to depend on men. Gender bias, able-bodied dominance and patriarchal norms continuously shape and stereotype their representation, and disability compounds these challenges.

***Satyam Shivam Sundaram* (1978)**

Satyam Shivam Sundaram, directed by Raj Kapoor, portrays Roopa (Zeenat Aman), whose face is partially disfigured by burns from spilling hot oil as a child. The movie explores themes of beauty, love and societal attitudes towards the disabled girl. The emotion of disgust and repulsion is seen, rather than pity. One of the scenes shows her reflecting on her image in the mirror, on her undesirability and changed identity due to her scarred face. She uses a veil to cover half of her face when she is moving around in the normal ableist world to avoid humiliation and discrimination. According to Critical disability theory, she accepts her condition and manages it. Rajeev, a handsome man, unaware of Roopa's disability, falls in love

with Roopa after listening to her melodious songs and wants to marry her. Fascinated by her singing, he fails to realize the reason behind Roopa covering half of her face. The whole village is shocked by the love of an able-bodied man with a disabled, ugly girl. The social model of disability is missing. According to Snyder and Mitchell's *Cultural Locations of Disability* (2006), the disabled body came to be seen as biologically deviant, causing tension and sensation. This is reflected in the representation of Roopa's scarred face and associated apprehensions. Roopa's disability is also considered the cause of the family's misfortune and the father's bad luck. Her disability becomes her only identity, negating all other skills. The societal prejudice instils self-doubt in her, making her believe she is unworthy of Rajeev's love. She says, "I do not deserve you" (*Main aapke laayak nahin hun, babuji*) (*Satyam Shivam Sundaram*). Rajeev is shocked when he sees the burnt half of her face after marriage. He feels disgusted and cheated and looks around for the beautiful Roopa. His repulsion and disgust towards the scarred girl make him compare her to death. The horror of a scarred face is juxtaposed with human vulnerability. Mulvey's essay *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* (1975) talks about how the patriarchal society and male gaze objectify and dehumanize disabled women, showing disgust and repulsion towards them, as seen in the case of Roopa. Althusser's essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (2001) justifies the marginalization and subjugation of minorities by the dominant class of minorities. Similarly, other movies, for example *Arzoo* [*Desire*] (1965), *Mann* [*Respect*] (1999) and *Guzaarish* [*Request*] (2010) portray disability as a disease and inherent deficiency.

***Sadma* (1983)**

Sadma is a Hindi romantic movie, directed by Balu Mahendra, starring Kamal Haasan (Somu) and Sridevi (disabled Nehalata / Reshmi). It is a remake of the Tamil film *Moondram Pirai* [*Third Crescent*] (1982). The movie shows that a modern educated girl, Nehalata, after an accident, suffers from amnesia and regresses to a childlike state. Her disability adds to her

vulnerability and exploitation, causing her to land in a brothel. Somu, a schoolteacher, rescues and helps her regain her memory. However, despite her disability, he falls in love with Nehalata. However, the movie mostly highlights pity and sympathy for the disabled girl. She is depicted as a patient needing a cure, showing mostly a medical model of disability. Nehalata, as a disabled character, is portrayed as dependent on Somu. She is often an object of mockery as one of the scenes shows her talking to a dog, asking its name. In another instance, Somu's friend discourages him when he tries to help Nehalata. Even his neighbour, whom he calls grandmother, rebuked him for bringing Nehalata home, as she was a stranger as well as mentally deranged, so society might question (*Ladki ka aage pichhe kuch maaloom nahi ... uski dimaag ka thikana nahi ... Log kya bolenge*) (*Sadma*). It very well portrays the negative connotation and attitude of neglect that society bears towards disabled women. Thus, Althusser's theory of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus comes into play, showing the discrimination and subjugation of minorities by the dominant class. Moreover, Nehalata interacted with Somu only after a slight engagement with the grandmother. Since no other participation with society is depicted, clearly, the social model of disability was missing. The sexuality of the disabled girl is absent in the movie, as if sexuality has been suppressed or there is a state of asexuality, according to Hey; Bogaert; Prause and Graham.

The popular songs in the movie *Aye zindegi gale lagaa le* (embrace my life) and *Surmayee ankhiyon mein* (in my black eyes) further cause pity and sympathy towards the girl (*Sadma*). In the end, Nehalata recovers from her disability and becomes able-bodied and empowered. However, the representation of a disabled female character is rooted in dependency, pity, and a lack of agency. It can be critiqued for reinforcing the stereotyping of disabled women as dependent, pitiable, and lacking agency.

Black (2005)

Black, directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali, stars Rani Mukerji (as a deaf-blind Michelle McNally) and Amitabh Bachchan (as teacher Debraj Sahai) in lead roles. It is based on the movie, *The Miracle Worker* (1962), which portrays Helen Keller's life from isolation to self-realization with the help of her teacher. Michelle, as a child, loses her eyesight and becomes deaf due to an illness which makes her disabled. Michelle, with multiple sensory disabilities, undergoes dual marginalization and stereotyping due to the intersection of gender and disability. She is initially depicted as lonely, irritable, and misunderstood because society views disabled women as pitiable or lacking something. She struggles for dignity and agency within her family and society, which can be justified by Althusser's essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. According to Bolt's *The Metanarrative of Blindness* (2014), 'metanarrative of blindness' is "the story in relation to which those of us who have visual impairments often find ourselves defined, an overriding narrative that seems to displace agency" (10). The able-bodied marginalize the disabled as they have a prevalent narrative that is reductionist and perceives disabled bodies in essentialist terms. The movie *Black* shows essentialist binaries of lightness and darkness. The movie begins with Michelle pitying herself, thus falling into the 'metanarrative of her blindness'.

Debraj Sahai helps her overcome the adversities of disability by disciplining and teaching, thus transforming her from a nuisance to a fine lady. According to Chatterjee, "the Victorian patriarchal concept of 'angel of the house' is maintained as Michelle's teacher decides to turn her into a 'fine young lady' by conditioning her free spirit"(6). Debraj educates her and helps her realize her latent potential by awakening her differently functioning senses. The film uses education as the means of liberation, propagating postcolonial democracy. He acquaints her with the outside world, teaches sign language, and helps her get admission into the knowledge system. She becomes the first deaf-blind student at her university and gains

autonomy. The movie tries to portray disability realistically, though the patriarchal notion of male heroism of helping disabled women is also highlighted. Michelle's graduation speech shows how her world changed, and the word 'black' denoted courage and dreams. She learns to use sign language and a stick to communicate, making the world inclusive. According to Critical disability theory, the movie depicts overcoming disability rather than embracing it in life. Michelle's achievements are celebrated only because she follows able-bodied norms. Michelle, as a grown-up woman, visits Debraj in a hospital suffering from Alzheimer's. Her life takes a full circle when she adopts the role of her ill teacher. She becomes an educated, independent and compassionate person. It can be called a bildungsroman of disabled women. The movie does not explore the sexuality of disabled women, unlike recent trends. Despite a few limitations, the movie challenges dominant ideologies and stigma, highlighting disabled women's capabilities in overcoming barriers and achieving success with proper guidance. It also depicts their right to be educated and its positive impact on them. The movie also serves to create mindsets and perceptions in society regarding the inclusion of disabled women.

Lafangey Parindey (2010)

Lafangey Parindey, directed by Pradeep Sarkar, is a romantic film starring Neil Nitin Mukesh (Nandu) and Deepika Padukone (blind girl Pinky). The film is inspired by the American movie *Ice Castles* (1978) and the Tamil film *Thullatha Manamum Thullum [Even the heart that does not bounce, will bounce]* (1999). Pinky Palkar's dream of a skating career through a television show seems shattered when blinded by a car accident. The movie portrays a disabled single girl with the skills to achieve her career goal. However, the journey is not easy; her perseverance and effort pay off. She tries to fix her shoelaces alone without any outside help. During the initial days of her training, she collides with a chair and other things, and gets injured, but is not discouraged. Every time she apologizes and smiles, trying to improve her wrong moves in high spirits. In another scene, on a rainy day, she falls in the mud

but does not accept help from her friend. According to the critical disability theory, there is acceptance of her impairment, and she manages things herself. Moreover, the depiction of the barriers and difficulties of a blind person on the streets makes the public aware of their needs and helps find solutions. Nandu encourages disabled Pinky to develop her other senses. He helps her to practice throwing stones in the direction of sound, and she achieves it with her determination. A later scene also shows her teaching skating to Nandu, which is a stark development in the representation of a disabled girl. She has mastered her art and taught others, reflecting her autonomy. According to critical disability theory, she accepted her disability, manages life on her own, and shows empowerment. However, the movie depicts the male protagonist helping her achieve success. Privileging the male and depicting his heroism could be explained as the impact of the dominant class through Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus. Another important aspect of the movie is representation of the inclusive attitude of society. The disabled Pinky takes part in pleasure and entertainment just like an able-bodied person. The film depicts her going to the cinema, walking near the sea, riding a motorcycle with Nandu, attending clubs and participating in public dances. She is very much a part of society and supportive friends. There is a changing social attitude towards the disabled, with everyone ready to help them achieve their goals. Moreover, she is applauded for her skilled skating performance, while her disability is ignored by the audience. Thus, the human rights of the disabled girl have been acknowledged. It gives a positive message that disabled girls can also become athletes. There is an inclusive attitude showing a social model of disability. This type of representation can lead to more acceptance of women with disabilities, providing greater support to society. In another scene, Pinky is helped by a policeman to cross the street, and an older man helps her find directions. These depictions help shape perceptions of society on the right way to treat disabled women.

***Margarita with a Straw* (2014)**

Margarita with a Straw, directed by Shonali Bose, portrays Kalki Koechlin (Laila), a teenager with cerebral palsy. The film addresses disability, sexuality and queerness through disabled women characters. Laila, the female disabled character, has social acceptance and autonomy, reflecting the social and human rights model of disability. A Delhi University student, she is an aspiring writer and music composer for her college band. The band's music wins an award for lyrics written by Laila. She is applauded for her intelligence when she defeats others in chess. Laila is depicted as independent and confident, preferring to do things herself. When the campus elevator fails, and she is carried in her wheelchair, she is visibly uncomfortable. According to Critical disability theory, the disabled girl has accepted and adjusted to her disability.

Wendell in *The Rejected Body* (1997)) says people with disabilities often feel shame and self-hatred for not matching ingrained dominant ideals. So, Laila struggles to be considered normal in the able-bodied society. She edits her wheelchair-bound photo on Facebook while striving to appear normal. Despite an invitation, she is excluded from Nima's birthday celebration. Althusser's theory of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus explains this marginalization by the dominant abled-bodied male of the minority disabled female.

However, her sexual activities defy ableist norms. She is shown masturbating to pornographic audio, becomes intimate with a disabled boy, Dhruv (Hussain Dalal), and has a crush on the band's non-disabled singer, Nima (Tenzin Dalha). However, when she distances herself from Dhruv, he retorts, "befriending normal people does not make you normal (*Margarita with a Straw*). The film counters stereotypes that disabled women are either asexual or hypersexual. On scholarship at New York University, she finds the West far more accommodating. She is attracted to Khanum (Sayani Gupta), a confident, queer, visually

impaired activist. Their relationship challenges the desexualization of disabled women. Khanum's self-assurance helps Laila realize her bisexuality and she tries her first alcoholic beverage. When Khanum asks about dating, she responds, "Why would anyone date me?" (*Margarita with a Straw*). Khanum chastises her for low self-esteem. Their differing confidence levels reflect cultural contexts- Khanum is from New York, Laila from India.

Jared (William Moseley), Laila's creative writing helper, assists her in the toilet, including undressing her. The Central Board of Film Certification (CBFC) censored the scene, suppressing what Mikhail Bakhtin called the 'carnavalesque' - the body's disorderly, raw nature. The status quo is often maintained through subtle means, such as censorship. Ableist culture avoids reminders of human vulnerability and mortality. When Laila confesses her love to Nima, he recoils in disgust, leaving her alone in her wheelchair (Grover, "To Stare or Not to Stare").

Khanum gives Laila the confidence to pursue a sexual relationship with able-bodied Jared. This aligns with Butler's (1990) concept of gender being performative- that behaviours are shaped more by cultural scripts than biology.

Laila initiates most of her short-lived romances on her own terms. She considers herself equal to her able-bodied peers. The film subverts the asexual narrative and affirms sexual rights for disabled women. When Laila's mother confronts her for browsing pornographic sites, she snaps, "How dare you! This is my privacy", asserting sexual agency (*Margarita with a Straw*). Her public life is normalized, reflecting an inclusive attitude towards disabled queer women. Her journey navigates the intersection of disability, gender, and sexuality across cultural spaces.

Khanum criticises Laila for having sex with Jared, "So by fucking you, he made you feel normal?" (*Margarita with a Straw*). Laila replies, "No, it's because Jared could see her", wounding the blind Khanum and asserting her personhood (*Margarita with a Straw*). Laila discusses with her mother, both her relationship- with Jared and Khanum. Despite the diasporic

setting, traditional Indian values persist. Her mother is protective of Laila's chastity. The Crip theory by McRuer (2006) explains how dominant norms marginalize disabled and queer identities. The film depicts Laila's exploration of her sexual identity and the realisation of her bisexuality.

The film defies patriarchal expectations, rejecting asexual portrayals of the disabled. Laila's mother treats her equally to her able-bodied brother but resists her sexual identity. Even a judge praising her lyrics calls her not normal, a label Laila challenges. When a shopkeeper ignores her, she shocks him by laughing and asking for a vibrator. According to Althusser's theory of Ideology, there is discrimination against disabled females; however, the formation of a counterculture of disabled, queer women is also seen. By the end, Laila becomes more independent and confident, and embraces her individuality over societal norms by creating space for alternative expression of beauty and love.

Feminist scholar Cixous's *Laugh of Medusa* (1976) urges women to reclaim and write through their bodies. Luce Irigaray critiques how language marginalizes women but does not address disabled women. According to Wendell, a disabled woman is a 'rejected body', who is sexually inadequate and ugly. Morris in *Feminism, Gender and Disability* (1993) critiques beauty norms,

Living in a sexist and a heterosexist society as we do, all of us, nondisabled and disabled women, find that our behaviour and appearance is policed by men.... As Liz Crow writes in *Encounters with Strangers*, we need to put back the experience of impairment into our politics (14–15).

This feminist film highlights that disabled women have equal sexual rights. A paradigm shift in cinematic portrayals is evident from *Koshish* to *Margarita with a Straw*. The pity or medical model is absent; the social and human rights model of disability dominates. According

to Critical Disability Theory, Laila demonstrates acceptance and embraces her identity. *Margarita with a Straw* echoes views in Chib's *One Little Finger*, "I do not want to be normal!... I only know me. I like me"(198). She cares for her ailing mother, and after her death, gains confidence to go on a solo date.

While the movie, "was held as a path-breaking attempt to demystify and celebrate the sexuality of women with disabilities, it was also critiqued as an elitist film that glossed over the real and present dangers of sexual objectification and exploitation of vulnerable women with disabilities" (Vaidya 142).

***Kaabil* (2017)**

Kaabil, directed by Sanjay Gupta, stars visually impaired Hrithik Roshan (Rohan Bhatnagar) and Yami Gautam (Supriya Sharma). The film portrays Rohan's revenge after his wife Supriya commits suicide following rape. Despite being blind, Supriya is portrayed as financially independent, confident, and socially respected. One of the scenes shows Supriya evaluating Rohan's suitability for marriage, stating she has a job, and asserting her independence. The movie acknowledges and affirms the human rights of disabled women. Supriya is being presented as equal to able-bodied individuals. She is seen dancing, shopping at a mall, buying heels, and enjoying an amusement park. Someone suggests starting music for Supriya's dance, thus highlighting the normalization and growing acceptance of disabled women in public spaces. The film reflects changing societal attitudes, moving beyond the outdated image of the 'weak and dependent' disabled woman.

She is also shown to have a keen sense of smell, detecting attackers even before hearing them. When Rohan shows her their under-constructed home, she visualises and discusses the furnishing. The proposal scene depicts Rohan kneeling before Supriya, even though she cannot see, demonstrating love and respect. Rohan praises her confidence and independence and is

impressed by her talents in dancing and piano. When he requests to meet daily, she mentions playing the piano thrice a week for dance students. Rohan jokes and praises her artistry, “you actually make people dance on your fingers?” (*Kaabil*). He later says she has enlightened her dark world. The language surrounding Supriya is filled with admiration. This shift, from portraying disabled women with pity or discrimination to respect, illustrates the emergence of the social model of disability, as inclusivity is seen. Also, according to Critical disability theory, the disabled girl embodies acceptance and adjustment to her impairment.

Moreover, depicting the lovemaking scene challenges long-held beliefs about the asexuality of disabled women. This scene is juxtaposed with a comment questioning how a blind couple would have sex. The need for intimacy and desire is clearly depicted. However, the narrative soon turns to expose the vulnerabilities of disabled women. Supriya is raped by a street assailant. Khalifeh et al. note “people with disability are at increased risk of being victims of domestic and non-domestic violence” (1). Nosek et al. add, “disability introduces additional vulnerability for abuse in women’s lives” (178). When the couple reports the crime, police dismiss Supriya’s testimony, mocking her reliance on smell as proof. Although she is asked to get clinically examined, she fails to do so because of police corruption and the rapist’s power and influence. This systemic failure and oppression by dominant forces align with Althusser’s theories on Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses.

While Rohan’s anguish is depicted, Supriya’s trauma remains unexplored. After being raped again, Supriya hangs herself, revealing the compounded horror of being both a woman and disabled. The intersectionality of gender and disability takes place as patriarchy and ableism converge. Tragically, her suicide note mentions not her own suffering but her inability to see Rohan in pain. The story concludes with Rohan avenging her death, while the disabled girl fades from the narrative. The critical disability shows there was a shift from traditional stereotyping initially. However, even after death, the disabled female motivates the male

protagonist. Dominant ideology showing the supremacy of males is reinforced, aligning with Althusser's theory of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, where the woman remains secondary, and audiences are subtly conditioned to accept this role.

***Chhapaak* (2020)**

Chhapaak, directed by Meghna Gulzar, stars Deepika Padukone as Malti, an acid attack survivor, inspired by real-life activist Laxmi Agarwal. The female disability is portrayed as a lived reality caused by violence, stigma, and resilience and not as an inherent deficiency. Due to Malti's facial disfigurement caused by an acid attack, she is othered, ostracized, prejudiced and rejected from jobs despite required qualifications. The behaviour of the dominant class towards minorities can be explained by Althusser's theory on Ideology, Ideological State Apparatuses and Repressive State Apparatuses. The movie shows that acid violence is targeted at women, and thus, the intersection of gender and disability occurs due to patriarchal notions of female beauty, compounding the discrimination. Basheer threatens her, "Neither your beauty would stay, nor you would take pride in it" (*Na tumhari khoobsurati rahegi, na tum uspe ghamand karogi*) (*Chhapaak*). The attackers commit a heinous crime by targeting the woman's face, breasts, and vagina, highlighting patriarchal control over her body. The victims, like Malti and many other women, due to emotional and physical horrors, appear as monsters to the able-bodied world. One of the scenes portrays a kid screaming on seeing Malti's face when she goes for a counselling session. Basheer, the attacker, avenges her by distorting her face, which is the notion of beauty, and giving her a new identity of 'other'. While visiting the market with her friend, Amol, onlookers stare at her as she disrupts the status quo. Earlier, Basheer is attracted towards her, but later the public looks down on her. A woman's body is always defined by social constructs like beautiful or ugly. The perpetrator aims to subdue and induce fear among women. The victim struggles to deal with her new identity.

The movie portrays the transition in the representation of disabled females over the years. Thus, apart from depicting Malti's victimization, the movie also brings her to the forefront, empowering her. Her journey of ordeal and misery transformed her into a dignified activist with agency. She fights for the rights of acid attack survivors and campaigns for justice and legal reform. Thus, Malti subverts the dominant ideology which stereotypes disabled women as helpless. The movie also portrays solidarity among victims; Malti finds solace with other women. They are represented as courageous and happy rather than isolated and pitiable. The movie challenges the beauty notion propagated by patriarchy through Malti's gradual self-acceptance. Initially, she is depicted as coping with ableist norms of beauty, struggling with her appearance, discarding her favourite clothes, unable to wear earrings after losing her ear, and using a veil over her face in public. She is kept away from the mirror in her house after the incident. Acid attacks are similar to sexual violence, which ruins her and her family's lives. The use of a veil to hide her face is similar to that of Roopa from *Satyam Shivam Sundaram*. Hochschild's concept of 'emotional labor' in *The Managed Heart* (1983) explains this, as it discusses the turmoil one goes through to meet the demands of society. The disabled characters of Malti and Roopa undergo emotional labour when they veil their face to appear normal to the public (able-bodied). Similarly, in *Margarita with A Straw*, Laila crops her wheelchair-bound picture to appear able-bodied. Malti regains her confidence, removes her veil and wears earrings in the undamaged ear when she wins the case against the perpetrators of the acid attack. She redefines the notion of beauty by accepting her appearance, which helps her to regain control over her body and identity. The movie challenges the hegemonic ideology that perpetuates oppression. It critiques and highlights the neglect of authorities and the lack of legal, medical and social support for victims. There is no sensationalism in the movie; rather, an empathetic portrayal of the realism of living with a visible disability. The feminist and social

model of disability is seen, as it highlights empowerment and social change, and challenges societal prejudices rather than depicting only exploitation.

Conclusion

There has been great evolution over time in the depiction of disability in movies, with a greater effort to move beyond stereotypes and myths. In the 20th century, disability in movies evoked pity, comedy, and disgust. However, in the 21st century, the social model is seen. “Gone are the days when Bollywood used to follow more of pity, charity or medical model of disability, forgetting the social and rights model of disability” (Biswal 71). Acharya (2016) supports him while exploring the sexuality of disabled women in Bollywood. While analyzing movies from 1972 to 2020, we have observed remarkable changes in the portrayal of disabled females.

The above movies focus on different disorders. Earlier movies show disabled women as isolated, illiterate, dependent, lacking financial independence and without a specific goal in life. Some also faced disgust and repulsion. They were busy with household work and portrayed as having low self-esteem. Then we see a woman with some ability, a specific purpose in life and socially active. Later, we have *Black*, which depicts the inspiring blind and deaf woman who is shown to be educated, independent and teaches her teacher when he suffers from Alzheimer's. Then we have another one portraying a career-oriented, independent girl with social inclusion. *Margarita with a Straw* again depicts an independent and confident girl. The movie explores sexuality too and shows its normative behaviour, contrary to earlier beliefs. Still, later in *Kaabil*, the woman is represented as independent, working, and who enjoys life by dancing, playing piano and teaching. However, in the end, she faces sexual assault and death. The final movie *Chappak* shows the transition from ordeal to self-acceptance. It depicts the woman getting agency, becoming an activist and punishing the perpetrator legally. It

showcases their journey of seeking justice and reclaiming their lives. According to Critical disability theory, initial movies showed the multidimensionality of disability phenomena. Due to being a woman, disabled and illiterate, she has no social life, deterring other aspects of life. However, later movies show the inclusion of disabled women into society. They are working, which provides them equality with the able-bodied, based on Critical disability theory.

These movies prove that there is a positive change in narrative with advancement towards inclusivity and understanding in the contemporary period. Later representations show the disabled women with supportive relationships and friends. The absence of mockery and indifference to disabled women shows an improvement in societal attitudes in modern times. The disabled women of the 21st century are independent and follow their dreams rather than only looking after their husbands, children and household work. So, we can conclude that the exploration of women with disabilities in these movies highlights a noteworthy transformation in the way society perceives and treats them. The social obstacles have been diminished, and societal perceptions have been altered to give freedom to disabled women. The cultural messages that are propagated through films help form perceptions and mindsets. The social and human rights model of disability (a sub-branch of CDT) is seen now, unlike the medical model prevalent earlier. Disabled women are no longer considered victims but are portrayed as complex individuals with ambitions, aspirations, and personal desires. They emphasize their autonomy and strength, actively confronting and subverting societal biases and stereotypes. Moreover, the depiction of disabled women has become more varied, including different disabilities and intersectional identities. So, these narratives portray unique challenges as well as strive to raise social consciousness, encourage empathy, and advance inclusivity. While coming to the 21st century, we notice lifestyle and enjoyment opportunities also change. The movies portray them visiting malls, movies, and parks, and riding motorcycles with others rather than being engaged in household work only. In *Koshish*, we see the disabled woman

touching the speaker and seeing her son dancing. In contrast, later movies represent disabled women dancing and singing, highlighting greater acceptance in society. This transition shows improvement in the lives of disabled women over the years. Lyotard in *The Postmodern Condition* (1984) described Postmodernism as the incredulity towards metanarratives. This approach challenges dominant ideologies like 'body perfection' to create space for fluid, inclusive, and multifaceted perspectives on disability. Modern movies critique oppressive ideas like Garland-Thomson's normal and Lennard Davis's myth of bodily wholeness. Thus, it emphasizes the social model of disability and critiques ableist ideology (Grover, "To Stare or Not to Stare").

Works Cited:

- Acharya, Abhimanyu. "The Able and the Sexual: Representations of Disabled Women and Their Sexuality in Bollywood, in the Purview of Social Justice." *Feminist Spaces*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2016, pp. 81–88.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, edited by Vincent B. Leitch, W. W. Norton & Company, 2001, pp. 1476–509.
- Anuraag*. Film. Directed by Shakti Samanta, With Ashok Kumar et al., Shakti Films, 1972.
- Arzoo*. Film. Directed by Ramanand Sagar, With Rajendra Kumar Tuli et al., Sagar Art International, 1965.
- Athmakadha*. Drama. Directed by Premlal, With Chempil Asokan et al., Pavithram Creations, 2010.
- Bhairavi*. Film. Directed by Aruna Raje, With Ashwini Bhawe et al., PLUS Films, 1996.

- Biswal, Santosh Kumar. "Representation of Women with Disabilities in Hindi Cinema." *Media Watch*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2017, pp. 66–73, <https://doi.org/110.15655/mw/2017/v8i1A/48925>.
- Black*. Directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali, With Amitabh Bachchan et al., Applause Bhansali Productions, Applause Entertainment Ltd., SLB Films Pvt. Ltd., 2005.
- Bogaert, Anthony F. "Asexuality: Prevalence and Associated Factors in a National Probability Sample." *The Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 41, no. 3, Aug. 2004, pp. 279–87, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490409552235>.
- Bolt, David. *The Metanarrative of Blindness: A Re-Reading of Twentieth-Century Anglophone Writing*. University of Michigan Press, 2014.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990. *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/gendertroublefem0000butl>.
- Chatterjee, Swagata. "Aesthetics of Disability: The Growing Interest in Disability in Popular Hindi Cinema." *Postscriptum: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Literary Studies*, vol. 1, 2016, pp. 11–21.
- Chhapaak*. Film. Directed by Meghna Gulzar, With Deepika Padukone et al., Absolute Productions, Fox STAR Studios, KA Productions, 2020.
- Chib, Malini. *One Little Finger*. Reprint edition, Sage Publication Pvt Ltd, 2011.
- Cixous, Hélène. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs*, translated by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, vol. 1, no. 4, 1976, pp. 875–93.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, 1991, pp. 1241–99, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.

- Dawn, Ranjita. "Role of Culture and Media in Disability Studies: A Medium of Social Construction of Disability." *Journal of Disability & Religion*, vol. 27, no. 1, Oct. 2019, pp. 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23312521.2019.1673872>.
- Dosti*. Drama, Family, Musical. Directed by Satyen Bose, With Sudhir Kumar et al., Rajshri Productions, 1964.
- Fraser, Benjamin, editor. "Cultures of Representation: Disability in World Cinema Contexts." *Cultures of Representation*, Columbia University Press, 2016, pp. 1–17, <https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.7312/fras17748/html>.
- Ghai, Anita. "Disability and Postcolonial Theory: 'Third Space' and the Possibilities of Transgression." *The JMC Review*, vol. 1, 2017, pp. 74–101.
- . "Disabled Women: An Excluded Agenda of Indian Feminism." *Hypatia*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2002, pp. 49–66, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2002.tb00941.x>.
- Grover, Mansi. "Problematizing Sight: Interrogating the Representation of Women with Blindness in a Select Few Hindi Films." *Rethinking Inclusive Education, Accessibility and Employment Policies in Relation To Persons with Visual Impairment*, Jan. 2022, pp. 12–21.
- . "To Stare or Not to Stare: An Affective Study of Disability Through Select Hindi Films." *Affective World-Making*, edited by Simi Malhotra et al., 1st ed., Routledge India, 2023, pp. 194–213.
- Guzaarish*. Film. Directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali, With Hrithik Roshan et al., Sanjay Leela Bhansali Films, UTV Motion Pictures, 2010.
- Haller, Beth, et al. "Media Labeling versus the US Disability Community Identity: A Study of Shifting Cultural Language." *Disability & Society*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2006, pp. 61–75. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590500375416>.
- Happiness of Us Alone*. Film. Directed by Zenzo Matsuyama, 1961.

- Hey, Wilf. *Sigmund Freud: Psychoanalysis and Sexual Repression*. 1999, <https://www.vision.org/biography-sigmund-freud-psychoanalysis-and-sexual-repression-388>.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. 1st ed., The University of California Press, 1983, <https://www.ucpress.edu/books/the-managed-heart/paper>.
- Hosking, David L. "Critical Disability Theory." [Lancaster University, UK], 2008, 4th Biennial Disability Studies Conference, Lancaster University, UK.
- Ice Castles*. Film. Directed by Donald Wrye, With Lynn-Holly Johnson et al., International Cinemedia Center, 1978.
- Jheel Ke Us Paar*. Film. Directed by Bhappi Sonie, With Dharmendra et al., Bhappi Sonie Productions, 1973.
- Kaabil*. Film. Directed by Sanjay Gupta, With Hrithik Roshan et al., Film Kraft, 2017.
- Khalifeh, Hind, et al. "Violence against People with Disability in England and Wales: Findings from a National Cross-Sectional Survey." *PLOS ONE*, vol. 8, no. 2, Feb. 2013, p. e55952. *PLoS Journals*, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0055952>.
- Koshish*. Film. Directed by Gulzar, With Sanjeev Kumar et al., Romu N. Sippy & Raj N. Sippy, 1972.
- Lafangey Parindey*. Film. Directed by Pradeep Sarkar, With Neil Nitin Mukesh et al., Yash Raj Films, 2010.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Translated by Geoffrey Bennington and Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=The_Postmodern_Condition&oldid=1254657970.

- Mahaseth, Harsh. "The Disability Narrative in Indian Cinema." *Film Matters Magazine*, 5 Apr. 2019, <https://www.filmattersmagazine.com/2019/04/05/the-disability-narrative-in-indian-cinema-by-harsh-mahaseth/>.
- Mann*. Film. Directed by Indra Kumar, With Aamir Khan et al., Shemaroo Entertainment, 1999.
- Margarita with a Straw*. Directed by Shonali Bose and Nilesh Maniyar, With Kalki Koechlin et al., ADAPT, Ishaan Talkies, Jakhotia Group, 2014.
- McRuer, Robert. *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability*. NYU Press, 2006.
- Moontram Pirai*. Film. Directed by Balu Mahendra, With Kamal Haasan et al., Sathya Jyothi Films, 1982.
- Morris, Jenny. "Feminism and Disability." *Feminist Review*, no. 43, 1993, pp. 57–70. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1395069>.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1975, pp. 6–18. *Silverchair*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6>.
- Naan Vaazha Vaippen*. Film. Directed by Yoganand, With Shivaji Ganesan et al., Vallinayagam Films, 1979.
- Nosek, Margaret A., et al. "Vulnerabilities for Abuse Among Women with Disabilities." *Sexuality and Disability*, vol. 19, no. 3, Sep. 2001, pp. 177–89. *Springer Link*, <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013152530758>.
- Pal, Joyojeet. "Will Barfi! Change the Way Bollywood Treats Disability?" *Firstpost*, 13 Sep. 2012, <https://www.firstpost.com/entertainment/will-barfi-change-the-way-bollywood-treats-disability-453938.html>.
- Prause, Nicole, and Cynthia A. Graham. "Asexuality: Classification and Characterization." *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, vol. 36, no. 3, Jun. 2007, pp. 341–56. *Springer Link*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-006-9142-3>.

Sachaa Jhutha. Film. Directed by Manmohan Desai, With Rajesh Khanna et al., V.R. Films, 1970.

Sadma. Film. Directed by Balu Mahendra, With Kamal Haasan et al., Romu N. Sippy & Raj N. Sippy, 1983.

Satyam Shivam Sundaram: Love Sublime. Drama, Musical, Romance. Directed by Raj Kapoor, With Shashi Kapoor et al., R.K. Films Ltd., 1978.

“Sexuality and Disability in the Indian Context.” TARSHI, 2018, https://www.tarshi.net/downloads/Sexuality_and_Disability_in_the_Indian_Context.pdf.

Shanti. Film. Directed by A. Bhimsingh, With Shivaji Ganesan et al., A.L.S. Productions, 1965.

The Miracle Worker. Film. Directed by Arthur Penn, With Anne Bancroft et al., Playfilm Productions, 1962.

Thokar. Film. Directed by Dilip Bose, With Baldev Khosa et al., Movie Temple, 1974.

Thullatha Manamum Thullum. Film. Directed by S. Ezhil, Super Good Films, 1999. *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Thullatha_Manamum_Thullum&oldid=1297887214.

Vaidya, Shubhangi. “(Dis)Ability, Gender and Identity: Crossing Boundaries.” *Women’s and Gender Studies in India Crossings*, 1st ed., Routledge, 2019, <https://www.routledge.com/Womens-and-Gender-Studies-in-India-Crossings/Aneja/p/book/9780367202347>.

Wendell, Susan. *The Rejected Body: Feminist Philosophical Reflections on Disability*. 1st ed., Routledge, 1997, <https://www.routledge.com/The-Rejected-Body-Feminist-Philosophical-Reflections-on-Disability/Wendell/p/book/9780415910477>.