

Representation of Postcolonial Feminism in Noonari's Black Bird in a White Cage

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ABSTRACT

The research attempts to depict Azhar Noonari's work, Black Bird in a White Cage, and marginalization of women in Pakistani society. The research is carried out under the shed of postcolonial feminism. This idea is proposed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her essay, Can the Subaltern Speak. The study follows qualitative approach and Textual Analysis Method. Azhar Noonari has presented the ugly picture of male-dominated society particularly Pakistani society before and after its partition. The women of Pakistan have been suffering in every walk of their lives. They are not allowed to marry with their consent, they are compelled to serve their masters, and are being slaughtered in the name of honor and so on. This suggests the meaning that men in the postcolonial society of Pakistan are practicing their power to suppress women. Thus, women become an easy prey to their men and social taboos. So, the researcher has examined and deconstructed the plight of Pakistani women in the novel, Black Bird in a White Cage.

Keywords: Postcolonial feminism, Subjugation, Postcolonial Pakistan

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INTRODUCTION

Postcolonial writers like Bapsi Sidhwa, Hanif Qureshi, Mohsin Hamid, Nadeem Aslam, Uzma Aslam Khan, Kamila Shamsie, and Bina Shah are among the Pakistani writers listed in Manoj, K (2013)'s "Brief survey of Pakistani Novels in English." They are well-known for their immortal works such as Sidhwa's "The Crow Eaters," Qureshi's "The Buddha of Suburbia," Hamid's "Moth Smoke," Aslam's "Season of the Rainbirds," Uzma's "The Story of Noble Rot," Shamsi's "A City by the Sea," and Bina's "Where They Dream in Blue" (p. 16-22).

The new Pakistani shining literary star, Azhar Noonari, opened his eyes and brought up in a rural village nearby Rohri, Sukkur in Pakistan. He is enlisted in the youthful spirits of fiction. He attended elementary schooling at a local school in his, completed his matriculation at G.H.S Kandha, and accomplished his FSc from Boys Degree College, Sukkur. Noonari graduated from the University of Sindh Jamshoro with B.A. (honours) and M.A. in

English literature. He is employed directly as a lecturer at Sukkur's Islamia Arts and Commerce College (Naz, 2018).

The current study is undertaken on the novel *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016), written by Azhar Noonari in the backdrop of the study of Naz (2018). Her study analyzes the novel with respect to gender disparity in relation to symbolism and Postcolonialism. Additionally, this study, through the framework of postcolonial feminism, investigates relevant elements in Noonari's book. It depicts a bleak picture of Pakistani society where women are under the influence of patriarchy in postcolonial era. The influence of colonialism in postcolonial era can still be traced after the emergence of Pakistan. In Pakistan, women are restricted to their homes and are found inferior to their male authorities. In Pakistani society, women are deprived of social, economic problems, and are viewed as responsible to nurture children, to tend buffaloes, to work in fields and mainly to serve male heads of homes. Azhar Noonari (2016) supports the view of equality of both genders without disparity.

Problem Statement

In Pakistan, the traditional dogmas are still practiced by people to control women. Women are degraded and they are treated as the matter of honor. They are being killed by male authorities. They cannot gain their due rights because of their different biological instincts. Women are used as sex tools, and they are not allowed to marry with their consent. They cannot go outside without the assent of their masters. On the other hand, men enjoy every comfort of life with zeal and zest. The current study, with the help of theoretical framework, gives the depth insight of postcolonial Pakistani society in terms of male who patronize women in every aspect of life. The study presents Azhar Noonari's portrayal of sufferings of double marginalized women in Pakistani society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In his paper *Post-colonial Feminism and Pakistani Fiction*, Ahmad (2013) puts the spotlight on this feminist concern. Gender imbalance is among the key issues that women face in non-western societies. Women are considered as second-class citizens due to their limited positions in society, and "still awareness to be brought to such countries that women's roles, even if accepted, do not deprive them of this fundamental right. They should not be treated like slaves of their husbands" (p.8).

Mahajan (2016), critically evaluated the novel *Ice Candy Man* (1988) written by Bapsi Sidhwa. The novel is the reflection of both societies, Pakistan and India. Portrayal of both cultures is prevalent, and how the women are depicted in both countries. The patriarchal mindset is dominant, a female is deemed as a puppet, she is objectified, and compelled to lead her life according to the will of a man. Women's discrimination is usual owing to superior complexity of a male member and it has been happening since centuries, when there was no India and Pakistan. The current scenario is completely opposite, subjugation is reversing, and women from all over the world are awakened and have stood against such oppressions. They need their life that is purer and without intervene of male dominant mind-set. She craves for her life to lead independently and desires equality in patriarchal based society.

In Pakistan, women are considered as worthless creature and they are objectified as pet animals. Media plays vital role to bring change in any society. But Pakistani media

manipulates women. In commercial trades, women are used to grab the attentions of clients. They are treated to tempt sponsors. The depiction of women through media signifies that men are brave, worthy, and determined. They talk about economy, politics, law, and other national and international affairs. Opposite to men, women do domestic chores and other activities lighter in nature. Women are also sexually harassed by males on social media with help of fake accounts and so on. This kind of misrepresentation of women on media gives notion that women are ill doers (Huda & Ali, 2015).

Tavassoli and Mirzapour (2014), conducted the research on the novel, *a Passage to India* (1924) written by E M Forster. It is the portrayal of postcolonial feminism. In the subcontinent, non-western women were victimized by both Britain and their own male oriented societies. At the Bridge party, Indian women, wearing Purdah are considered disgusting by western women. They regard Purdah as a symbol of inferiority. At the same time, non-western women are victims of their own male dominant society. Dr Aziz, while talking to Mr. Fielding shows the picture of his dead wife and comments that she was not beautiful and educated. He also puts the picture away and shares that she is dead and of no use. Dr Aziz's view signifies the gender discrimination.

Heidari, et al. (2011) critically examined the novel, *Clear Light of Day* (1980), written by Anita Desai. In her novel, she strengthens the voice of suppressed women against the patriarchy. The female character Bim and Aunt Mira break the shackles of Indian intricate norms and struggle to seek their existence in the context of hybridization. For instance: Bim, a hybrid character shoulders myriads of responsibilities as a bread winner of her home. She looks after her mentally disabled brother, Baba and also runs other businesses of home. She adopts different habits of Baba like playing cricket and reading poetry. She also rejects to be a puppet in the hands of males, hence avoids marrying Dr. Biswas. Another female hybrid character, Aunt Mira struggles to face hardships of life. She is accused of her husband's death who went abroad to receive higher education and died of extreme cold in England. She is considered to be a wicked woman in male based society. However, Aunt Mira stands like a man and tends Bim and her siblings after the death of their parents.

Arundhati Roy, in her novel, *The God of Small Things* (1997), depicts the bleak picture of male made society in southern part of India. It represents the emergence of masculinity as powerful creature. In the novel, women are regarded feeble creature on the earth with respect to man. They are portrayed as 'the Other'. Social taboos, family and rigid political concepts play a paramount role against the freedom of women. It is owing to social fabrications which build patriarchal system in southern India. The major character of the novel is Ammu who is the mouthpiece of the writer. Everyone in the home is of the view that she is disgraced daughter who rejects the arranged marriage and seeks for divorce. At the same time she is not permitted to study further. However, Chacko enjoys life and also permitted to further studies in Britain. His marriage is a love marriage and ends in divorce. Roy's novel openly challenges this rigid belief made by society (Hariharasudan & Gnanamony, 2017).

Habib et al. (2013) carried out research on the novel *My Feudal Lord* (1995). The novel is an autobiographical and written by Tehmina Durani. The aim of the novel is to highlight recurrent issues confronted by women in third world countries like Pakistan. In third world countries like Pakistan, women are regarded slaves of their masters. Men control

women in every domain. She shows her depressing matrimonial life with a politician, named Ghulam Mustafa Khar who notably admires democracy but snatches due rights of her wife. He snubs her wife and does not permit her to launch protest about fundamental rights. She is not even permitted to read newspapers. Khar also scolds his mother to eat up when she loses her appetite. Durani uses her novel as a weapon to strengthen oppressed women in the male-centered society.

Women are exploited physically and mentally by the hands of male-centered society of India. In the early age, they are exploited in child abuse form and in teen age are forcefully sent to brothels for earning. Sometimes, they are tortured by early arranged marriages. They also suffer in reproductive stage when they face domestic plight. Media also subjugates women in the form of advertisement. Moreover, the beauty of women is used as an advertisement in media to grab the attentions of consumers. Researchers elucidate that women sufferings are grave problems for their psychological disorder and physical torture. They proclaim that ignorance, domestic violence, and insecurity against women are key issues threatening to the country (Bag & Roy, 2012).

Lodhi & Siddiqui critically evaluated the aspect of feminism in 2014. They believed that Islamic and international laws are organized to support the rights of women on the earth. However, traditional beliefs have been proved obstacles in their paths. Women mainly face traditional dogmas in different countries like Pakistan. They are considered the matter of honor and prestige in Pakistan. If women disobey their masters, they are slaughtered mercilessly by the hands of male dominated society. Women are also being killed when they refute decisions of matchmaking made by their heads of family. This type of killing is said to be honor killing. These killings usually take place in rural area of Pakistan and are termed as karokari. The main concern of honor killing is to restore honor of family.

Women are badly affected by the male dominated society and old traditions. Vani (also called Swara) is a burning question in Pakistani society and is one of the fundamental causes of deprived women in Pakistan. This is practiced owing to lack of education, misrepresentation of religion, and so forth. It is a settled practice mostly in Pathan tribe. Vani means to hand over a girl in marriage to other party in order to resolve blood. This stereotypical attitude of men to women can be broken by imparting good education to all genders without differences (Munir & Akhtar, 2014).

Umer et al. (2016) analyzed the Education and empowerment which play a significant role in the development of any nation. It is obligatory for male and female to get fundamental rights of education and empowerment simultaneously. However, women in rural areas of Baluchistan are deprived of these rights. Balochi men are popularly known to be brave, callous, and powerful. And women are represented feeble and weak. They deem women an honor and pride for the tribe. Due to these elements, women are humiliated, disgraced, and not facilitated for education along with empowerment.

The above discussion signifies that women are subjugated by male-centered society mainly postcolonial countries and they try to chant slogan for their survival. So, the researcher analyzes the postcolonial feminist view, in the novel *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016) by Azhar Noonari. By reviewing previous literature, the researchers have clarified that the gap of postcolonial feminist analysis of Noonari's work is untouched. Therefore, the current study

analyzes the postcolonial sufferings of women displayed in by Noonari in his work, *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Postcolonial feminism deals with awareness of socio-economic, political and other basic rights of women in patriarchal society. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak wrote an essay *Can the Subaltern Speak* in 1985. Spivak prefers the term subaltern to the third world countries. She shares her view that women in third world countries cannot communicate and are divided on the basis of gender, race, social, educational grounds, and so on. These divisions are obstacle in their path to be united. She presents the portrayal of women's sufferings in the whole world. She is of the opinion that women are doubly marginalized in the society. She further elucidates that colonizers merely used women in order to strengthen themselves in the colonized states. Spivak talks about Sati which is a rigid and intricate ritual in Hindu community. In the ritual Sati, women are burnt alive with their dead husbands and are regarded as hapless. She argues that the practice of Sati was abrogated by the British in the subcontinent for their personal gains merely to exercise their power and to dominate Indians (Spivak, 1985).

Young (2005) illustrates post-colonial feminist thought in detail. Feminism in the post-colonial era is still not treated as a distinctive element. It is constituted of nonwestern feminisms that strike a deal with the political objectives of naturalism, socialist feminism, liberalism, and ecofeminism with the sociocultural struggle of regular patriarchal mechanism, which is typically endorsed by legislative and institutional unequal treatment in the form of violence against women, sexual assault, unwanted sex and molestation, extrajudicial killings, and dowry related - deaths.... (p.11)

METHOD

The research is descriptive in nature and has been carried out through the qualitative method. The research has been done on the novel, and researchers have examined the postcolonial feminist aspects in the novel. The study follows textual analysis method, in which the researchers have adapted the strategy of simple random sampling in order to collect the primary data. The data are textual taken wisely from Noonari's novel, *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016). The textual analysis is done descriptively. The researchers have also taken secondary data from the internet, books, articles and so forth. The Textual data have been evaluated under the light of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's essay *Can the Subaltern Speak* as a theoretical frame work.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Women subjugation is not a new issue in the world. Women have been facing this issue since the inception of the world. They are exploited by males in all ages. They are deprived of their basic rights in male dominated society. They are not even allowed to talk in a high tone and are asked not to look in the eyes of men. They are being asked to do anything or any action according to the assent of men. Noonari (2016) represents same issues of women rights which are faced by women even after colonization times. He is of the opinion that women are marginalized in Pakistan by male dominated society. They are badly treated

and killed in the name of honor which is not a lawful act, but it is fallacious norm which is made by androcentric society.

"No, no, you don't come, you are a girl, Dildar once squealed to his sister."(Noonari, 2016, p.9)

Dildar got his higher education from University of Sindh. After completing his education, he got job in the police department. He is well educated but never changes his biased nature towards women in his life. He strictly follows old rusted tradition. In his early life, he enjoyed with her two sisters while playing together. They climbed up the palm tree and plucked reddates. When girls grew up then they came to know about the rigid traditions like not to talk to boys even though cousins. Dildar squeals her younger sister, Abida, when she wants to go with her brother and cousins to climb up the trees. Dildar learns these ill practices from his father and his father learns from forefather. Thus, androcentric rituals clearly depict the marginalization of women in the novel, *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016). In this way, old traditions transfer from generation to generation. It suggests the meaning that women are exploited by their males in society. Women are restricted to their homes and they are objectified by male-oriented society.

"A period when fathers became traffic signals giving green for boys, red for girls." (Noonari, 2016, p.11)

The above line shows the discrimination and subjugation of women in the world. A girl is not permitted to do anything extra ordinary. Moreover, boys are allowed to do anything according to their wills. Noonari (2016) tries to highlight this type of evils in his novel *Black bird in a White Cage* (2016). He condemns this discrimination where girls cannot enjoy their life as compared to boys. He rejects the divisions in society where differences are mainly made for prejudice and contempt toward women.

"Ada sell me somewhere, but don't kill me I shall tell no one that I was your sister I shall leave for away I shall never return" (Noonari, 2016, p.29)

Above lines are uttered by Jannat when her brother, Raza holds her to kill. Her entreaties are merely to seek sympathies from her vicious brother. He never listens to her because of honor of the family. He believes that forgiveness in this regard is a matter of disrespect for entire family. In these lines, the writer tries to convey the theme of women subjugation. The writer clearly displays innocence and the fear of women in their heart. The role of man is depicted as a demigod towards women, and lives of women are in the hand of men. In the novel, Noonari (2016) portrays the picture of women as a blaze of God who is treated as the poorest creature, and they are not allowed to take breath without the permission of men and their wishes are controlled by men. The writer tries to say that the existence of men in the universe is nothing without women, but yet women, in the society do not possess their worthy status. The above discussion clearly explains the marginalization of women as it is mentioned in the novel. She is like a wanderer and spends her life, obeying the commands of men. She fearfully spends her life in the hand of men. In androcentric society,

women are used as play cards. Thus, the current research with the help of theoretical framework has evaluated the concept of marginalization from the aforementioned lines which have been cited from the novel of Noonari, *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016), where it is clearly displayed that men secure his hollow respect, killing the innocent girls and they maintain their hollow respect in the society.

"They are Begairats, pimps; their own sister spat on their face."(Noonari, 2016, p.30)

Jannat married her relative, Irfan with her own wish. However, Jannat's brother, Raza kills her out of the honor, and considers that elopement with distant relative is against their family honor. He notices different comments given by people around the village. Some people call them "*Begairat*" and other label them "Pimps". Jannat is badly affected by the old rigid tradition which is termed as "*KaroKari*". It is actually not a sin for women to marry someone with their consent. However, men do everything they want but women are even not permitted to marry anyone with their wish. This bleak picture is portrayed in above line which is the concrete evidence of subjugation of women by the patriarchal society. The writer has paradoxically portrayed characters in his novel where he tries to show the fallacious norms of society which is created under supervision of men.

The marginalization of women can be understood from the attitude of Jannat's brother who always tries to oppress the wishes of her sister by implementing his commands. The entire evaluation of Raza's character is analyzed with the help of postcolonial feminism, Spivack. Jannat's brother kills her sister because she marries without taking permission from her family. This act of elopement is considered to be against of the honor of family, because her relatives think that women have no choice to select his groom. Though her own brother with the eyes of lust passes smile to other girls, but he wishes that his sister should be saved. So, the hypocritical nature of men has been displayed in the novel. On the other hand, in the novel, her brother wishes to marry Salma which shows that a man has choice to select his bride but his sister has to accept his cousin without the consent of her wishes. Hence, these norms are called as etiquettes of the male dominated society which are only made to suppress the rights of women in the society as it is mentioned in above lines of the current research work.

"... ready to leave Alisha, for he had a strong sense of matrimony that Neelam was not only his wife but also his honor." (Noonari, 2016, p.43)

Shahriyar is a middle-class boy and belongs to educated family. He lives in Hyderabad and he does job in NGO. He is married to Neelam. At the same time he is in extra affair with Alisha, his colleague in an NGO. He uses low cunning to trap Alisha by giving him various presents like very expensive cell phone. He believes that gifts can be helpful in order to cultivate intimacy between two friends. His friendship with Alisha swiftly transforms to sexual feelings. The writer depicts materialistic nature of a man who only thinks about his desires, but he murders the aims and wishes of Alisha who is devoted to him. Though the man in the novel, possesses a cruel nature towards women yet he is honored in the society because he has bridles of society in his hand. The writer in the novel shows the self-interested nature of a

man, and he argues that human beings are innately free and they must spend their lives with their own wishes instead of following others implemented laws. In the novel, the characters of women are never considered as human creature and their bridles of their lives are in the hand men. He considers Alisha as a sex tool and destroys her life.

However, he is very particular about his matrimonial life and her wife is the matter of honor for him. He is ready to abandon Alisha but cannot bear anything about the honor in terms of his wife. Noonari (2016) has portrayed the negative picture of society where women are subjugated and deemed as feeble, as the researcher has mentioned in the theoretical framework of the current research. In the third world country like Pakistan women is matter of honor and object to treat with your own will.

"The main source was agriculture and buffaloes which were owned by men and tended by women."
(Noonari, 2016, p.54)

In above line, the narrator of the novel describes the conditions of women in the village near Larkana city. He expresses that villager's major source of living is cultivation of fields and cattle. Men are the masters of that property but women are ordered to tend buffaloes and are asked to do other domestic chores. The difference between two genders is portrayed here. The difference shows that women are meek and obey their males. The writer depicts the village life, in which all burdens and responsibilities of land and cattle are handed to women without their consent and men only enjoy the benefits which are earned from it. The same features of theoretical framework which is adopted in current research can be justified from discussion. Similarly, the lives of women, in the villages, are full of burdens and they spend their dead lives, accepting the commands of their families which bring nothing but hardships in their lives. They have to accept because without obeying commands their lives always remain in danger. Those women who try to get rid of these social evils they are murdered by their husbands and relatives. Suppression of women can be analyzed from above line where it is displayed that women are born to serve men and their own dreams are shattered if they give voices to them.

The concept of women subjugation is also revolved around it. So, the writer with his keen observation introduces women characters which are hunted in his novel. Noonari (2016) indirectly tries to convey his message by saying that the burden of social deeds should be divided instead of putting on the shoulders of women.

"... Everyone knew the exact time when women could be out in the fields without male-objection. But at odd times each male-eye would scrutinize them, if they were seen in fields or at other places where they were not supposed to be." (Noonari, 2016, p.57)

The above passage tells about the miseries of women who are facing in Pakistan. The narrator of the novel says that dogs, pigeons, and so on are dearer to villagers than women. They are badly affected and suppressed in the male centered society. Noonari (2016) is of the view that women were oppressed and marginalized at the time of colonial era and they are still subjugated. Animals and birds are used here to intensify the pathetic life of women in Pakistani society. Women work in fields with the will of their masters. They spend their whole

day in that laborious talk without the assistance of male. They are not appreciated and admired even after their hard work. This suggests that their talent and hard work is degraded only to control them. Men only believe that women are slave and inferior creatures on the surface of the earth. When they get free, male family members look them with sheer suspense. This is how women are treated in society. The novelist, Noonari has described the mental outlook of masculinity where women are treated like objects by males.

"He knew well that his cousin did not match his sister, but it was enough that he was there cousin and the sister was not going out of family."(Noonari, 2016, p.63)

Raza kills her sister, Jannat when she turns against the decision of her male family members. She was engaged with her cousin, but eloped with her relative. Her brother, Raza knows everything that their cousin is not admirable as she is. Despite of that fact, Jannat is killed because Raza believed that she had brought disgrace to their family. The above line shows that women are not permitted by male members to marry with their wish and they are marginalized by male made society. It is considered to be a sin for a woman to demand for her rights. It also highlights that a woman must follow the old rusted tradition and does practices accordingly.

"Girl is a serious matter, more than a matter of life and death, a serious matter of honor..."
(Noonari, 2016, p.146)

Raza has a negative stereotype about girls. His contradictory personality is also revealed in the novel when he likes his officer's daughter, Salma but murders his sister who has eloped with Irfan out of love. In above excerpt, Raza talks about the honor and prestige in accordance with girls. Thus, Noonari (2016) represents the ugly picture of third world country through the character of Raza. Noonari (2016) highlights that girls are only restricted to honor issue even after the times of colonization. He further describes that Raza kills his sister when she eloped with her distant relative and calls it a suicide to hide the real issue.

DISCUSSION

Unlike previous studies reviewed, this study follows the postcolonial feminist idea in order to reach the findings as women marginalization of postcolonial Pakistani society manifested in the the novel, *Black Bird in a White Cage* (2016). It represents the true picture of the plight of Pakistani women and it also highlights the dominant and cruel nature of men towards women. In the novel, Noonari (2016) has deadly condemned the social taboos and different negative stereotypes in Pakistan by introducing many characters. He is of the opinion that women's plight is not a new issue but it is since many decades.

He further illustrates that women were exploited in the colonial times and yet are facing the same issues. In order to develop the plot of the story Noonari (2016) has introduced different women characters in the novel *Black Bird in the White Cage* (2016). The women characters are namely Jannat, Salma, Abida and, Alisha who are marginalized and suppressed by androcentric society. Abida plays with her brother and cousins in her childhood but she is confined in home when she becomes adult. The character of the novel

named, Jannat is a clear depiction of men's aggression and suppression towards women. She bows down before the old rigid norms and requests her brother that sell her but do not kill her. She further asks him that she will never return his home if he forgives. But Raza kills her sister, Jannat owing to honor killing. The character of Raza is hypocritical in nature; he loves his officer's daughter, Salma and wants to marry her.

However, he does not care about the wishes of her sister. Shahriyar is not criticized in the society which advocates that male centered society vividly strengthen the discrimination of the gender. Women are only used as sex tools and slave by men like the character of Alisha is portrayed in the novel who is sexually harassed by Shahriyar. He is married to Neelam and considers her not only wife but also a matter of honor. Noonari (2016) has represented that Neelam is a wife of Shahriyar who is treated like a slave and her husband is a demigod for her. He uses Alisha for sexual desires and demolishes her life in the society where virginity is considered to be the honor of a woman. A woman who is not a virgin is not worthy to marry someone in the society.

The novelist further illustrates that fathers are green signals for boys and red for their girls. This mainly shows that men are free in their life. They can do anything at any time whereas women are not permitted to do anything against the honor of the family. Women tend buffaloes, serves their masters and work in the fields yet they are badly treated in their houses. Thus, the novelist proposes the idea that women are marginalized, their freedom is snatched, and they are completely dependent on their males. The above discussion with the help of the theoretical framework, the researcher justifies that woman are suppressed; they are deprived of their basic rights, they are killed brutally in the name of honor, they are sexually harassed, and are also controlled by male dominated society.

CONCLUSION

The result of the research showed that women in Pakistani societies are marginalized in the postcolonial society. This sort of subjugation should be eliminated and women should be treated equally in the society. This colonial hegemonic mindset in terms of gender race is the worst flaw of the society which ultimately leads the country backward in terms of cultural, social, political and education advancement. Lastly, this research is not ultimate analysis in its conduct. The upcoming researchers of feminism, postcolonial feminism and can challenge and enhance this study more aptly. The researchers welcome the valid criticism from both, critics and readers.

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