Journal of Social & Organizational Matters

Vol 4 No 1 (2025): 733-746

Is Feminism a Saviour Ideology for Post-Colonial Pakistani Women in Global Age? Intersections of Colonialism, Orientalism and Globalization

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Keywords: *Feminism, Postcolonial, Colonial, Oriental Pakistan, Women, White and Neoliberal Feminism, Contested term, saviour, hybridity, subaltern, Global Age, Globalization*

DOI No: https://doi.org/10.56976/jsom.v4i1.395

The experiences of colonialism and its enduring postcolonial formations continue to shape feminism as an ideology in contemporary Pakistan. Feminism, particularly in its globalized forms such as white and neoliberal feminism, remains a contested concept within postcolonial societies, where it is variously perceived as a tool for women's emancipation or as an extension of Westernization. These divergent understandings reflect the multiplicity of feminist interpretations embedded in Pakistan's colonial histories, Orientalist representations, and global power relations. This paper adopts a qualitative, theoretical, and critical approach, by employing theoretical and discourse analysis methodology, drawing on postcolonial and feminist theory. It engages with the works of Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Partha Chatterjee, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty to analyse how colonial and Orientalist frameworks inform contemporary feminist discourse and representation in Pakistan. The analysis demonstrates that global feminist discourses, rooted in colonial and Orientalist assumptions, often construct homogenized and reductive representations of Pakistani women. White and neoliberal feminisms reproduce binaries of civilized/uncivilized, active/passive, and Western/non-Western, marginalizing intersectional realities shaped by class, race, caste, and ethnicity. These representations privilege certain women as "saviours" while rendering others as subalterns, thereby reinforcing internal societal divisions rather than ensuring gender equality. The study argues that feminism cannot be understood as a singular or universal saviour ideology for postcolonial Pakistani women. Instead, feminism operates as a contested, contextual, and localized framework shaped by colonial legacies and contemporary global forces. While feminism is not inherently emancipatory, it holds emancipatory potential when grounded in local social realities and attentive to intersectional and postcolonial complexities.

1. Introduction

The experiences of colonialism, and postcolonialism as its outcome, impact feminism as an ideology in contemporary Pakistani society. The purpose of this paper is to underscore the fact that holding varying opinion about feminism as a useful ideology or a redundant extension of westernization is depiction of multiplicity of comprehension of the concept of feminism in post-colonial Pakistan. The paper explores feminism, in its contemporary forms as white feminism and neoliberal feminism are considered as contested concept in post-colonial Pakistan because these are rooted in the oriental and colonial ideologies. It is argued that these feminisms entail western values about women rights as an ideal which are derived from the colonial superiority of West. Resultantly, feminism, instead of ensuring gender equality creates more discrimination, as was produced through colonialism and orientalism. For this purpose, colonial theories are analyzed to explore the ways different groups of people are created in post-colonial societies who have varying ideologies of empowerment, and the similar is applicable to feminism. I have examined theory of Frantz Fanon, which offers a concept of bifurcated community between the civilized and the uncivilized, the bourgeoisie and the people who are deprived. This theory informs about the difference between those who implement feminism (white/neoliberal) and those who challenge or deny this feminist ideology. By reviewing these divides, I will demonstrate in this paper the existing societal splits about feminism in Pakistan. The study of the paper will further depict how the voice of the developed is constructed for underdeveloped postcolonial Pakistan in the age of globalization.

Furthermore, the paper incorporates concept of Orientalism delineated by Edward Said that explains the binary of European and non-European through oriental interpretations by the west that result in representation of the non-European as ‘others’, establishing superiority of White\West over non-white\ non-Western communities. It is argued that the approaches to creating an Oriental and Occidental demarcation in colonial times within the indigenous society are similar to the global ideas that represent an oppressive image of Pakistani women. Furthermore, Spivak concept of white Saviour and subaltern is discussed to decipher how some women act as Saviour while others are unable to speak for themselves. In the end Bhabha’s theory of hybridity is discussed where he transcends strict dichotomy of orient and occident to expound the concept of colonial mimicry, which offers identity of colonized based on negotiation instead of negation. While analyzing these theories, in this paper, I argue that the global representation of Pakistani women is fundamentally based on Orientalist assumptions rooted in colonial tradition. Resultantly, the feminist discourse about women rights in Pakistan produces homogenized description, thus denying the intersectional realities of postcolonial communities constituted by class, caste, and other colonial concepts. In short, these representations through the lens of white feminism with colonial and oriental roots obscure the complexity and diversity of the experiences of Pakistani females. The underline concepts of colonialism and postcolonialism are discussed to establish a platform that shows how the postcolonial in the global age is linked to the colonial in multiple ways – ontologically, epistemologically, politically, historically, geographically, and most importantly ideologically.

2. Feminism as a Saviour Ideology in the Global Age and Reception of Feminism in Pakistan

Feminism has reformed itself into development discourse and an ideology of globalization that modernize the women belonging to developing countries. It is best manifesting itself through globalized development schemes and the neoliberal projects of girls' empowerment (Khoja-Moolji 2015). The main claim of feminism is to improve the lived conditions of women at global level, to eradicate gendered inequalities laid down by patriarchal structures (Phoca, 2006; Hodgson-Wright, 2006; Finlayson, 2016). As an ideology, it challenges frameworks of oppression derived from patriarchy and its outcomes, like sexism, and misogyny (Gamble, 2006; Phoca, 2006; Finlayson, 2016; Manne, 2018). Patriarchy through unequal power-relations produce injustice practices where men exercise their authority in a way that women are oppressed systematically through misogynistic norms (Manne 2018; Finlayson 2016; Hodgson-Wright 2006).

Feminist praxis attempts to disrupt the patriarchal system and emphasize on solidarity of women to challenge suppression. However, in Pakistan, it is common to find women who advocate greater gender rights, yet disassociate from being called as feminists, generally to avoid anti-male sentiments and aggression associated with the feminist ideology (Awan, 2022). This perception is further complicated when feminism is interpreted as a Western construct that encounters the Islamic norms and traditional values of society (Akhtar et al., 2021). This discernment has generated anti-women rights sentiments in Pakistani, for gender equality is considered an extension of feminism which is a foreign ideology not an organic justice movement for gender equality in Pakistan. The public, who prefer adhering to regional values, believe that feminism introduces Western notions of sexual liberation. The discourse on feminism in Pakistan is framed as an interculturally incompatible ideology with religious traditions that creates a false dilemma between devotion to Islamic principles and pursual for gender equality (Khushbakht & Sultana, 2020). Resultantly, Pakistani society is polarized between extremist segment and liberals 'anglicized' women (Zubair & Zubair, 2017). This bifurcation lead towards emergence of multiple form of the interpretations of women rights and of feminisms, where some forms of feminism are considered the 'respected' kinds as these conform with social norms and the others are known as 'real feminism' because of its authentic expression that challenges status quo (Tarar et al., 2020). The understanding of feminism as an ideology within contemporary post-colonial Pakistan is complex phenomenon, because it does not carry a monolithic definition in global age. As a concept, feminism is a 'contested term' (Gamble 2006) and in Muslim countries it is perceived.

The scholars of Global South often criticize the concept of feminism, for its ideals are euro-centric that suppress the unique expressions of other societies and is based on white supremacy. This White feminism demonstrates itself exclusive to the other kinds due to its Western roots (Khoja-Moolji, 2015; 2017; 2019; Zakaria, 2021). Together with neoliberal ideology, white feminism transforms into neoliberal feminism that focuses on individual advancement, instead of the collective practice of 'sisterhood' appreciated in previous types of

feminism. However, the scholars of Global South often reject White Feminism, for it focuses on privileged lived experience of western white women of developed countries. These scholars discard the ideology of white feminism as it neglects the unique perspectives, different needs and diverse struggles of women in the Global South while focusing the experiences of Western women (Hussain 2019; Handl et al., 2022), Moreover, there is hegemonic dimension of white feminism conforming with colonial discourse, that rather than challenging the structural inequalities, reframing the rights of women through a similar power lens that reinforces the existing inequalities and structural imbalances (Mohanty, 1988). The critiques from the scholars of Global South underscores the on white feminism inevitably propagate Eurocentric ideals and Western influence on the position of women of Pakistan. This leads to disregarding the intersectional complexities of the lived experiences specific to the women of Global South regarding class, race, and colonial past (Seppälä, 2021). In short, according to feminists Scholars of Global South, Western feminism often assumes a universal female experience that leads to neglecting the unique politico-social as well as economic contexts defining the lives of women in the Global South (Struckmann, 2018).

3. Methodology

In this paper, I have incorporated Theoretical and Discourse Analysis as a qualitative research methodology for the rigorous investigation of existing conceptual frameworks and theories of colonial and postcolonial feminism to find an intricate relationship between the power dynamics within the social context of Pakistan. Theoretical Analysis, in this study, has established the theoretical foundation to gain methodological clarity in social investigation (Reid 2016) about feminism as a saviour ideology in Pakistan in the global age. On the other hand, the Discourse Analysis scrutinizes the ways power relations are embedded within the theoretical discourse and how these influence reception and perpetuation (Zajda, 2020) of the concepts within these theories. The paper explores the connection between various colonial and post-colonial theories and their influence on feminism through theoretical discourse as an analytical framework to understand complex social phenomenon (Sparre, 2016) of feminism in Pakistan in the age of globalization. This theoretical analysis reveals the underlying power structures and social identities (Putri, 2025; Lypka, 2017), and the relationship between the social context, and power dynamics, through which these theories are contested, constructed, and communicated is examined through discourse analysis (Feltham-King & Macleod 2016; Mohammadi et al., 2017). With such an approach has assisted in delving into the underlying social ontology that shapes the meaning within the theoretical framework (Briguglio, 2019).

4. Feminism: Intersections of Colonialism, Orientalism and Globalization

4.1 Postcolonial - an Outcome of Colonialism

To comprehend global feminist discourses and contemporary practices of these global ideologies, along with their acceptance or rejection in Pakistan, it is imperative to decipher the concept of postcolonial and colonial. Several scholars confirm that it is difficult to explain the term postcolonialism as a singular concept (Childs & Williams 1997; Loomba, 2015; Gandhi, 2019; Young, 2016). For some, postcolonialism is just a continuation of the colonial legacy

and another stage of political history contesting the continuing Western oppression caused in the colonial era (Ivison, 2022; Young, 2016). For others, it is a *temporal marker* (Gandhi, 2019, 3), which is a continuing historical era after colonialism (Childs & Williams, 1997). For Loomba (2015, 16) postcolonialism is a *contestation of colonial domination* intertwined with *legacies of colonialism.* Hence, a concoction of confrontations and qualifications may be implemented on the condition of any country or a person from the external world or employed internally. Despite all of these differences, it is agreed that there is more to postcolonialism than geographic location or historical temporality which involves identity and meaning for its better understanding (Childs & Williams, 1997). In other words, postcolonialism is a complex analysis of material, analytic, and epistemological conditions that emerged as a result of colonization (Gandhi 2019; Young, 2016), and has to be analyzed theoretically (Gandhi, 2019; Prakash, 2001) with reference to colonialism to comprehend the economic supremacy of the Global North over the Global South (Young, 2016).

4.2 Colonialism – a Discourse of Power through Divide

Colonialism is a theory and practice of domination (Prakash, 2001; Young, 2016; Loomba, 2015; Fischer-Tiné, 2022), and oppression (Gandhi, 2019) through the economic and political exploitation of the West over the rest (Fischer-Tiné, 2022). However, it is instituted with the mission of civilizing (McEwan, 2009; Young, 2016) the local people by *un-forming and re-forming* their culture (Loomba, 2015). Thus, indicating white supremacy of the West, which transforms the social knowledge and structures, such as gender norms, of the colonized native society (Fischer-Tiné, 2022). The construction of new paradigms of knowledge and disciplinary boundaries (Prakash, 2001) in the age of colonization involved intellectual authority fixated on the racial superiority of the colonizers (Childs & Williams, 1997; Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016). For this reason, postcolonialism emerged as a movement of resistance by the colonized people (Childs & Williams, 1997; Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016). The cultural analysis (Fischer-Tiné, 2022; Haq & Khan, 2024) of colonial practices as a form of control assists in recognizing the reconstruction of the identities of colonized people because colonialism is a relationship of reciprocal antagonism and desire between the colonizer and the colonized (Gandhi, 2019). This marks postcolonialism as ontological and epistemological in nature that defines the being and existence of an individual. For this reason, it is significant to address the meaning of postcolonialism vis-à-vis colonialism, which may vary from individual to individual (Aurangzeb et al., 2024; Childs & Williams, 1997). This understanding of the concepts of colonial and post-colonial assists in comprehending the multiple identities of Pakistani women, which are result of the colonial division manifested in the post-colonial Pakistani society in global age.

For understanding the persistence of colonial divide in postcolonial construction of the identity of Pakistani women, the primary focus of this paper is on Frantz Fanon's idea of the social divide in the colonial era, which is based on the Manichean world. This concept will assist in comprehending the concept of the national bourgeoisie who rules the natives after the colonizers has left, which will further assist in exploring how feminists in post-colonial

Pakistan are considered as bourgeoise. Similarly, those who do not consider themselves as feminists are deemed ordinary or those who are ordinary do not want to be feminists. Secondly, I have engaged Edward Said's theory of Orientalism to comprehend the concept of 'othering'. Thirdly, Gayatri Spivak's notion of the subaltern is explored to explicate the process of representation to measure the freedom exercised by the ordinary postcolonial woman. In addition, the discussion of theory will explore the concept of 'saving of brown women'. Furthermore, I will briefly give an overview of Homi K. Bhabha's concepts of hybridity, mimicry, and ambivalence to suggest that the individuals within a postcolonial society may have varying personalities and ideologies, which challenges the monolithic identity of the local people.

4.3 Frantz Fanon's Manichean Divide of Colonialism

Frantz Fanon's theory of colonialism and de-colonialism offers an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of the socio-cultural, political, and economic divide in the colonial and contemporary world. Fanon argues that a colonized world is divided into two Manichean halves (Fanon 1968; Loomba 1991), the uncivilized-colonized, and the colonizer who is civilized (Loomba 2015), bowing to the race, color, and economy. The theory relies on the colonizer-colonized divide and the ways the colonizer manipulated and exploited the colonized to feature the process of 'othering' (Fanon, 1968; Childs & Williams, 1997; McEwan, 2009; Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016). The comprehension of the colonized and colonizers about themselves and others bisects them as '*two different species'* (Fanon, 1968). The colonizer views through the lens of racism and superiority which results in the marginality of the colonized people on their own land. Moreover, the colonizer constitutes a heterogeneous society (Jinadu, 1973) by introducing dichotomies and binaries to significantly control and manipulate the culture of the colonized (Childs & Williams 1997; McEwan, 2009; Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016). Resultantly, the colonized identifies itself as a self-alienated inferior being and a meaningless creature (Imran et al., 2024; McEwan, 2009). The colonial restructuring of society, during colonization, was grounded on the differentiation of colonizer and colonized vis-à-vis race, color, and gender. After decolonization, the nation-state formed by the colonizer further divided the society into fragments where the colonized are divided into identity groups irrelevant to their culture (Shehzad et al., 2024; Young, 2016, 291). The most conspicuous division which Fanon indicates is between the '*national bourgeoisie'* and the '*other ordinary people'*, which reflects the desire to be similar to the bourgeoisie and resist being the others. Colonized men have a constant desire for lactification, which is an urge to be white like the colonizer (Fanon, 1970; Christopher, 2020). The colonized transforms itself in its actions, economic status, and manners to perform like a white person (Fanon, 1968) if it cannot change its color into white; For rich is because of being white, and white is because of being rich (Fanon, 1968). The false identity of the bourgeoisie class develops an urge in them to civilize their other countrymen, thus separating both the groups into the superior who mimic the colonizer and the inferior who do not. The other method, according to Fanon, which causes a split in society and creates a microcosm of colonial control, is to convince native women of the righteousness of the norms of a colonizer, especially through the practice of veiling and

unveiling (Christopher, 2020). The urge of colonized men to be like the white colonizer, to have possessions of the colonizer, and even to have their white women (Fanon 1968, 39), convinces native women of the infidelity of their men. Thus, the local women get convinced to believe in the infidelity of their men and admire the values of the colonizers. These differences in class and gender are foundational in contemporary ideologies, activism, development projects and processes accompanied globally by the developed world.

4.4 Edward Said's Orientalism and Oriental Representation

In this section of paper, while affirming the divide, I have examined Edward Said's concept of Orientalism to demonstrate its impact on the contemporary world. According to Edward Said, *Orientalism is a rationalization of colonial rule'* (Said 2003). It is a form of discourse in which the West interprets non-Western cultures by re-arranging and re-creating the knowledge of the natives (Said, 2003; Loomba, 2015). Thus, Orientalism is a relationship of domination and restructuring between the West and the Orient where one is powerful and the other needs to be interpreted for its representation (Said, 2003; Gandhi 2019). In other words, Western comprehension, thinking, and reading of the scholarly works of the colonized cultures represent the Orient (Gandhi, 2019) as a relationship between colonial knowledge and colonial power (Said, 2003). The relationship between one who represents and the other who is represented stems from the colonial binaries and creates global divides. Orientalism comprehends the world through the binary of a European self and a non-European (Loomba, 2015) or distinct demarcation of the West/East (Childs & Williams, 1997, 115; Said, 2003). These binaries encourage the process of othering and differentiation. However, the division of the globe does not terminate but rather goes beyond when the limits of Oriental interpretation extend. Resultantly, the Orient is further bifurcated into the Islamic Orient and the other Orient. Thus, generating a trilogy of the prejudiced relationships between the Islamic world, the 'Orient', and European and American imperialism (Gandhi, 2019). The authoritative position of Europe against the Orient (Said 2003) in the cultural and political history of ideas bestows it a superior position, hence, the power to formulate the identity of both parts of the world. Within this context, Orientalism as a Western ideology emerges from a superior position (Said, 2003) that emphasizes domination (Loomba, 2015).

As a discourse, Orientalism creates the knowledge of others to construct an ideology for their practice. Hence, it encourages imperialists to undertake their empowering adventures in the Orient – in the East as well as in the world of Islam. Orientalism as a 'generalization-centered methodology' (Said, 2003) articulates culturally biased ideas about non-Western societies through filtration and distortion of facts (Said, 2003; Loomba, 2015). These Oriental representations by the imperial world, from Great Britain to the U.S.A. (Said, 2003), establish the desire in them of knowing and controlling other cultures (Young, 2016). Resultantly, this generates a discourse of knowledge and power that is not merely political but also cultural, social, intellectual, and moral, which dehumanize the locals (Childs & Williams, 1997) by taking away their agency (Loomba, 2015). The imperial West – Great Britain and France in the era of colonization, and the U.S.A. in the era of postcolonialism and globalization – has

constructed the image of the Orient and global ideology connected to their political power, and ideology (Gandhi, 2019; Said 2003). For them, their Western representation has made the Orient visible (Said, 2003) otherwise the Orient would not have occurred (Said 2003, 120). Nevertheless, these representations are deformations that provide the West with an opportunity to master and control other cultures (Childs & Williams 1997). The discourse of Orientalism is a hegemonic discourse; where the West is superior and civilized with intellectual authority and capability to interpret the 'other' societies. Contrarily, for Orientalism, the non-West is uncivilized, docile, and incapable of comprehension. In short, the knowledge-power discourse that interprets other cultures not only constructs the image of that society but also sets new standards of viewing that society. These standards, through interpretation, provide a code of life for the societies to remodel themselves according to the dominant imperial societies. This creates a double feeling and silencing in the people of the interpreted society by causing ideological confusion and an identity crisis when they comprehend themselves.

4.5 Gaytri Spivak's Subaltern – Saving its Voice

This section attempts to understand two of the concepts delineated by Gaytri Spivak, 'speaking of subaltern' and 'white man saving brown women from a brown man' in order to know the extent to which the subaltern can express itself and from whom it needs saving. In the section which delineated the theoretical concepts by Bhabha, I discussed the possibilities of a new colonial subject whose identity is not a fixed binary. In this section, I will depict that, like Fanon and Said, Spivak is discussing the colonized (and postcolonial) subject are a construction of the colonizer (Loomba, 2015). However, she goes one step further and talks about the representation of the female colonial subject and the problem of silencing through representation in her analysis of the gendered subaltern. The subaltern, for Spivak, is often a female colonial subject who has a *hidden history* (Childs & Williams 1997), and as a female, *cannot speak* (Spivak, 1988). The subaltern is an underrepresented group of people (Childs & Williams, 1997) and are powerless to speak for themselves (Spivak, 1988; Loomba, 2015). Therefore, these are represented by the other group (of women), who are not the subaltern and can speak for themselves. While speaking for the subaltern group, the dominant groups depict themselves as transparent in their representation (Gayatri, 1988), though the representatives incorporate their interpretation in the voice of the subaltern, which is an ethical concern (Morton, 2010). This group comprehends the subaltern on the basis of an elite-subjugate difference (Spivak, 1988). Though this elite group is primarily referred to as the imperials, nevertheless, local elites are included in this group who may perform as an informant of *first-world intellectuals interested in voicing the Other* (Spivak, 1988, 79).

The native representatives of the subaltern are adjusted around the position of the Western intellectuals (Morton, 2007). While being represented by the West, masculine imperialist ideology interprets the subaltern as a collective group (Gayatri, 1988) on its own terms. Spivak interprets (Childs & Williams, 1997) the simplification and homogenization of the gendered subaltern as dangerous (Childs & Williams, 1997) because this approach constructs a monolithic image of third-world women (Spivak, 1988). Contrarily, the subaltern is a

heterogeneous group whose development has been complicated by the imperial project (Spivak 1988). Spivak emphasizes recognizing the multiplicity within the subaltern groups (Childs & Williams, 1997; Spivak, 1988; Morton, 2007). Multiplicity bestows meaning to the subaltern by reflecting their heterogeneous identity, which is not possible in the monolithic homogenous interpretation of the subaltern through imperial worlding (Childs & Williams, 1997). Spivak's concept of the 'subaltern' as gendered (Gandhi 2019) and its 'saving by the white man from the brown man' is intertwined with each other through the notion of representation. The represented subaltern can never speak for itself (Spivak, 1988) and needs someone to speak for it. The subaltern's representation reflects the meaning and knowledge intersecting the power relations (Childs & Williams, 1997) between the subaltern and the imperialist. Knowledge-based alliance politics is appealing to the native bourgeoisie, including women of the local dominant class, interested in 'international feminism' (Spivak, 1988, 83&84).

The subaltern, as Spivak explicates, has a paradoxical relationship with the West and the indigenous elite class. Western imperial culture, on the one hand, marginalizes the subaltern (Morton 2010, 2), and on the other hand, it tends to save the subaltern through progressive approaches such as development policies and ideologies. Similarly, the indigenous elite class is colonialist and is founded on the principles of nationalism and toxic masculinity, which romanticize the pure, loving, and self-sacrificing women (Spivak, 1988). Hence, both are not true representatives of the subaltern despite portraying the issues of the subaltern. The relationship between the two explains the plight of a postcolonial woman of the third world who is entangled in the development discourse constructed by the West and the local nationalistic patriarchy (Gayatri, 1988; Childs & Williams, 1997; Morton, 2007; 2010; Loomba, 2015). Both groups view women as a collective group and focus their perspective while representing the women as the subaltern, which takes away women's agency (Gayatri, 1988) by creating their consciousness. Resultantly, the third-world postcolonial women are silenced, and no one can appreciate their struggles or listen to their voices (Morton 2010). The commonality between Spivak and Fanon is that both focus on resistance. With Edward Said, Spivak shares the focus on imperialism rather than colonialism and the agency of representation.

4.6 Homi K. Bhabha's Mimicry in the Postcolonial World

The representation of the colonized by the colonizer, of the Oriental by the Orientalist, and later of the postcolonial by the global imperialist is comprehendible. However, when the native bourgeoisie represents the ordinary native people, it raises the question of how some natives represent others. To comprehend this phenomenon, it is significant to decipher Homi K. Bhabha's concepts of mimicry and hybridity. Bhabha explores the natives who can speak by incorporating the imitating national bourgeoisie of Fanon. Thus, Bhabha repudiates Edward Said's strict monolithic binary of 'Orient and Occident' (Childs & Williams, 1997; Loomba, 1991) and finds the possibility of hybrid natives who are the same yet different from ordinary, other natives. Homi Bhabha's 'colonial mimicry' expounds on the varying lived experiences of the colonized, thus forming hybrid versions of the native people. He enunciates the

indeterminate and unpredictable performance of colonial disciplines (Prakash, 2001) because the description of colonial identities and connotations are 'almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha 1994, p. 86) for every colonizer. Mimicry is an *ambivalent mixture of deference and disobedience* (Gandhi 2019, 149) that connects and disconnects the mimicking native with the colonizer-imperial and the colonized-postcolonial. It is a position between the *Western sign and its colonial signification*[1] (Bhabha, 1994). Mimicry finds a place for colonized native or postcolonial individuals within the ethical gap between the normative vision of post-Enlightenment civility of the West and its malformed colonial (mis)impersonation of the East or colonized (Gandhi, 2019).

The approach of mimicking the colonizer assists in transcending the political binaries of colonialism by rearranging the sensibilities of identification (Bhabha, 1994; Gandhi, 2019). Bhabha focuses on *negotiation* rather than *negation* (Bhabha, 1991) to reorganize the existing colonial identities. Resultantly, a *new political being* is formed *which is neither one nor the other* (Bhabha, 1991; Loomba 1991). Resultantly, there is not a singular version of colonized individuals, rather there are multiple forms of 'hybrid' colonizers. For Bhabha, hybridity is one of the enlightened responses to repression (Gandhi, 2019) because hostility results in subjugation through domination. Bhabha explains that hybridity is a necessary result of fixed unifying identities (Bhabha, 1991) existing within the *structure of difference* between the colonizer and the colonized (Bhabha, 1991). Hybridity provides a '*range of differential knowledge and positionalities that both estrange its ''identity'' and produce new forms of knowledge, new modes of differentiation, new sites of power'* (Bhabha, 1994). However, the notion of hybridity conceals the socio-economic and cultural devastation caused by colonialism Loomba, 1991). As a result, the colonized or postcolonial beings who have hybrid themselves through mimicry of the colonizer may survive a life of recognition and peace. Contrarily, those who are unable to mimic and hybrid because of any uncontrollable structural barriers will not be able to speak. Hence, they will be silenced through non-representation or representation by some other, an issue raised by Gayatri Spivak.

5. Conclusion: The Postcolonial Gender

The construction of a postcolonial Feminism in contemporary global is devoid of simplicity because it is developed on intersectional complex of the concepts of race, gender, class, ethnicity, etc. The discourses Western hegemony of feminist ideology, Oriental dichotomies, and development practices are not homogenous in their goals, resulting in the representation, which is neither a direct identity of a postcolonial woman nor is it a singular

[1] Philosophy of sign and signification presented by the philosophers Pierce and Saussure. The sign is a complete concept or identity in the form of an image or a word. The sign is composed of a signifier and a signified (Saussure 1983, 67; Saussure 1974, 67). The signifier is a physical form of a sign and the signified is an action or quality through which the signifier is observed; for example, open is a signifier of some sign and an open door is a signified image of being open. A signifier may be signified with any other signified concept or image. Signification is a complete process of signifying a sign through a signifier. Here, the West as a sign is a complete concept and the identity in itself and the colonizer is signification that it is a signifier which signifies the perfection of the West. Hence, the colonized or colonial carries no meaning without the presence of the West. To be positioned between the sign and signification means to be partly a sign and partly a signifier which signifies. Hence, there are some natives who at times take the position of a sign (a complete concept, image, and identity) in comparison to anticolonial natives. Other times, in comparison to the Western colonizer or native, the colonized native or postcolonial individual is a signifier who signifies some quality of a Westerner.

identity (Mohanty, 1984). Similarly, postcolonial responses construct multiple new forms of gender because these responses vary from the resistance movements to the process of adoption of culture and imitation of colonial traits; for example, a 'new woman' as described by Partha Chatterjee (1993) in his book '*The Nation and its Fragments'*. He discusses the construction of the identity of a modern woman as an image of nationalism who neither resembles a colonizer nor is like a colonized individual, reflecting colonial dichotomy in herself.

The Dichotomy elaborated in the theories of Frantz Fanon elaborates that the postcolonial society of Pakistan is divided into subjects who are either "haves" and imitate the Westerner (being a buffer between the colonial and neocolonial world), and a second group of have-nots in comparison to the previous group. This later group in one sense is critical to the group of 'haves' yet want to be like them. However, these groups are not rigidly divided, rather, there are blurred and permeable borders between these groups. Thus, this provides a chance for the formation of groups of people with multiple intersectional identities which reminds us of the concept of mimicry and hybridity proposed by Homi K. Bhabha. Despite the fact, the postcolonial gender involves heterogeneous, the postcolonial male and female gender are divided into Oriental binaries as elaborated by Edward Said. The above discussion challenges the widely accepted universal category of womanhood within the postcolonial and global society, which is established because of commonality in oppression meted on them globally (Mohanty, 1984). The difference between a Western woman and the postcolonial non-Western woman is based on a passive image of Oriental females and active Western women (Liddle & Rai, 1998). Similarly, the Oriental images of the postcolonial male and female genders as villainous versus passive indicate the colonial dichotomy in the postcolonial society, further strengthening with the contemporary global forces. In short, it is argued that feminism as an ideology is not a monolithic and singular Saviour ideology for postcolonial Pakistani women. Rather it is contest term that operates in contextual and localized framework which is shaped by colonial legacies and global power relations. Thus, feminism is not inherently emancipatory but offers the possibilities of emancipation depending on the local social context and global situatedness of the local milieu.

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