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FUGITIVE FEMINISMS AND NATION-STATES

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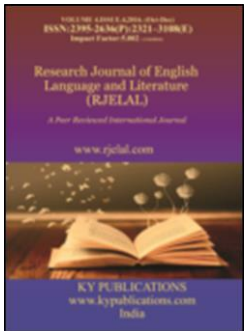

ABSTRACT

Beginning with a look at Saswati Sengupta's novel *The Song Seekers*, this essay examines when and how abduction and fugitiveness have figured in feminist discourses. Government in most democracies until the twentieth century rested on the public relationships of the similarities of the people. In colonized India, the purpose of colonial democracy was to make differences, including that of women, secret. Indian first-wave feminists agitated against the abduction of and the secrecy of differences under colonization. The arguments of Sarojini Naidu are examined in relation to those of Mary Wollstonecraft and Simone de Beauvoir. Subsequent to Independence, the question that was asked was whether the Indian space was a fugitive space without the violations and abductions of individuals and groups, and whether it was free in negotiating the terms of global integration for locals. Indian second-wave feminists struggled for the self-ownership of differences as well as the public linkages of similarities and differences. The outlooks of Vandana Shiva and Madhu Kishwar are considered along with those of Betty Friedan, Hélène Cixous and Alice Walker. After the arrival of liberalization under globalization, the segregation of national space and of legislative and public spaces of differences figured in public discourses of fugitiveness and of the violent intrusions of public conflicts into private life. Indian third-wave feminists endeavoured for globally uniting segregations and collaborations at work and in private life. The ideas of P. Sivakami, Meena Kandasamy and Kavita Krishnan are assessed with those of Jennifer Baumgardner, Amy Richards, Naomi Wolf and Chandra Talpade Mohanty.

Keywords: Indian feminism, feminism, democracy, *The Song Seekers*, abduction, fugitiveness

INTRODUCTION

The 'pishi' (aunt) of the Chattopadhyay family in Saswati Sengupta's novel *The Song Seekers* (2011) says as she gasps for breath on her deathbed: "It is easy to forget. Simpler. Sometimes to love and sometimes to live. But remember her, remember".[i] The aunt's appeal to the Chattopadhyays, who can trace their genetic lineage to Dvija Neelkantha – a poet in the novel who composed a song for the goddess Durga and her other incarnations (avatars) titled *Chandimangal* that boosted the view of women as goddesses of the nation and as the nation yearning for freedom when it was printed during the Swadeshi movement in Bengal[ii] – to remember her grandmother's sister who was killed by Neelkantha when she was his seven-year-old bride because she was not a "kulin" (pure) Brahmin, is an appeal that raises questions that the Chattopadhyays as well as the nations, states, nation-states and the planet – India, Britain, British India, United Kingdom,

Bangladesh, the Earth – in which they find themselves must tackle: Should one have only a rosy picture of ourselves to live and love? When can and should one remember the violations and the damages imposed by others and ourselves in the past? How should one remember them? How is such remembering related to escape? And to punishment?

The green-eyed pishi is the granddaughter of a sister who witnessed the murder of "Di", a sibling slaughtered because she was the alleged descendant of a Brahmin woman who had been abducted and "sullied" by Portuguese traders in Chittagong.[iii] The abduction and rape in the past cannot be part of the memories of the families who are related to her or had known her; it has to be a secret – there are objections to its existence as it signifies to the "kulin" (one with a pure line of descent in keeping with religious principles) that the so-called purity of caste before colonization will not return. But the body-text of abduction appears from time to time in subsequent generations through green eyes as the fugitive body-text that shows the traces of abduction. Its escape from past secrecy into the secrecy of the present from the past is also significant for the European colonizers as it signifies that despite the so-called development they brought to Bengal, the "impure" had to be returned to their own family so that the "bringers" of so-called development remained "pure".

The secret of the murdered Di is connected to the secret of the rejected wife in Chittagong who looks after her mother-in-law while the son of Di's murderer (Neelkantha) and the owner of the Ganges Press that publishes Neelkantha's *Chandimangal*, Shashishekhar, works in Calcutta and marries Haimanti, the daughter of the man who gave the press to him as part of the dowry. While Shashishekhar identifies Kolkata with culture and vigorous nationalism and Chittagong with rustic barbarism and feeble "pie-dog" separatism,[iv] and while Shashishekhar and his friends seem to be uncomfortably against the recollection of the place of Muslims in nationalist discourses, especially in relation to the view of woman-as-goddess – there are no Muslims in *The Song Seekers* – Sengupta's novel turns our attention to the signifiers and discourses of abduction and fugitiveness[v] that might have to be studied in understanding feminism, national, local and global. This is not to say that the discourses treat abduction and fugitiveness as metaphors that are unconnected with the real existence of abduction and fugitiveness. These discourses are also not to be considered unconnected with discourses of hybridity and creolism that have proved very useful to postcolonial studies.[vi]

Abduction results in fugitives, mental and real, from the ordeal of violation/forced change, from its social shame, from its irreversibility, from its risk of disclosure, from its physical marks/ embodiments and from the pain of inability to punish the abductor (the last is often the case). A group's imagination of its identity also cannot unjoin itself from discourses of abduction and fugitiveness. This essay will examine when and how abduction and fugitiveness figure in feminist discourses and their relationships to nationalist/citizenship discourses.

Government that made differences "secret" and fugitiveness

Ideas of time appear because there is an acknowledgement of change. The violent integration of all the areas of the globe under colonization in the past few (in comparison to the age of the planet) centuries is not a change that was unaccompanied by contesting but not unrelated discourses of the impetuses or forces of change. Emerging with such competing discourses was the idea that colonizers had not only violated the bodies of individuals and peoples but that they had violated the predetermined trajectories and space-time of individuals and peoples and that it was the purpose of individuals and peoples to turn into fugitives from such abductions.

According to colonial discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was the Europeans who brought development and democracy to India. It was argued that Indians had always been used to the rule of monarchs and that the government of the monarchs was not based on the people's right to direct themselves through government but on the monarch's right to direct as many people as he could control. So it was argued

that European colonization did not destroy the tradition of autocratic government that already existed in India.[vii]

Democracy in Europe was also seen to be a relatively recent development unless one turned to ancient Greece. Democratic discontinuities seen in Europe would not have been perceived to be new to India if the Samitis, Sabhas and village assemblies (Rashtrakutas) of Rig Vedic Aryans were taken into account. But colonial discourses not only ignored such former institutions but also the existence of village government in colonized India, with popular assemblies that could be considered contemporary manifestations of earlier such institutions,[viii] in claiming that India was used to despotic colonizers, even if unwanted rulers had been frequently overthrown by other candidates *supported* by their violent followers. So how did the British patent on colonial democracy abduct the trajectories of Indians and their bodies and what fugitiveness surfaced in the discourse of election?

John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jeremy Bentham tower in the European discourses of the liberal capitalist democratic state that both colonized and led to the arrival of many postcolonial states, including India. Locke had argued that a people had to agree to govern themselves by laws regarding the ways in which they may lead their lives and the manner in which punishment will be awarded to those who do not observe the laws of the group.[ix] According to Rousseau, the formation of groups, of a people(s), was found to be necessary to prevent the extinction of human lives and human freedom.[x] Jeremy Bentham had made the case for happiness/pleasure/utility as a sculptor of a people or group.[xi] The exclusion of women from Locke's laws, Rousseau's freedom and Bentham's pleasure/utility was justified by offering 'functional' reasons – women's role in the production and care of human children and their alleged lack of ability to act outside the household. Considered to be the sexual/reproductive property of men, women had no role in government at all. But their identity as the private and secret property of men was meant to be recognized or communicated by a government representing all (male) citizens.

Government in the discourses of European democracy from the seventeenth century is the medium or channel of communication as well as the message that forms a people too. While the sovereignty of the nation-state and its government rested on the formation of consent among people based on the realization and/or arrangement (planning) of public relationships among individuals,[xii] the endurance of the state and its government was perceived to be dependent on the ways in which *public relationships of similarities* could make *differences secret, private and not necessary* for the communication that was government. By the nineteenth century, the sovereign state or government in Europe no longer had mystical power or had only limited mystical power to be special or extraordinary – it attempted to display its similarities with the similarities of the people. Whereas women's opportunities to impact the ruler depended on their secret and private powers in their families and those of their husbands', brothers', fathers' *private* (and individual) affiliation to the extraordinary ruler before the (re)emergence of post-sixteenth century European democracy, women's opportunities in the new European nation-states with a public system of electing the ruler initially depended on their similarities as private properties owned by male citizens. With the colonization of India, and the imposition of European democracy as a force of development on the body-in-space and the space-of-body of Indians, the change of the violation of the bodies of Indians and the body of the people resulted in a position of fugitiveness from that abduction in which it was the public linkages of unique similarities "concealing" differences that featured in anticolonial discourse. The colonizer's objective was to provide an education in keeping differences secret; the objective of the anticolonialist was to prove that an escape from the violated body-in-space and space-of-body of colonized India/Indians was necessary. As the private properties of colonized men and as a part of their secrecies, Indian women too were abducted bodies-in-space and part of the violated space-of-body of Indians.

Today, many theories of democracy do not claim that Europe owns the copyright to it.[xiii] Anticolonial activists seeking freedom and escape from the body and space of abduction could not hope to achieve a complete return to the "past" before European colonization because the comparatively recent abduction was unalterable although fugitiveness and a new future seemed possible. Nor could anticolonial activists escape the claim that abductions before European colonization may have taken place between different groups of the Indian people. The pishi of Sengupta's novel *The Song Seekers* whose green eyes are the physical indicators of an abduction that cannot be erased and whose people inflicted the violence of murder in seeking to escape the abduction by European traders who became colonists, asks, "This blood, this purity of blood that you talk about constantly, let us stir it then and see what we find in it?".[xiv] Wasn't the murder of the sister of the pishi's grandmother by Neelkantha an act as violent as colonization, an act that abducted the trajectory of her family by blaming the victims of violence for abduction? "But for his father [Neelkantha] my life may have been different", says the pishi.

Anticolonial activists had to imagine a trajectory that would provide an escape from abduction while permitting a recollection of abduction[xv] – something that could work discernibly in opposition while making the forced change of abduction obvious but that could also ensure the safety of self-directed change or fugitiveness without nostalgia for a precolonial past that was not devoid of the blemish of having permitted abduction and of having been stained by abduction before. Even if abduction may also have happened before European colonization, to protect their fugitiveness, individuals and the people would have to trouble the borders between similarities and differences. Anticolonial women also shaped these borders either as spouses/daughters/sisters of the nationalist patriarchs[xvi] or as activists whose work had an impact not only on feminist but also on nationalist/citizenship discourses. Indian feminists have continued to focus on this issue in the post-UN era and have attempted to shape publicly functioning linkages between similarities and differences. In looking at anticolonial and postcolonial Indian feminist arguments in this essay, I will also study other feminist discourses since European colonial and post-UN citizenship/nationalist discourses did not lack intersections with other feminist discourses.

In *The Song Seekers*, Shashishekhar thinks he is reinforcing the Swadeshi movement after the partition of Bengal (1905) in publishing his father's *Chandimangal*, a song for Devi, the mother goddess, who becomes a symbol of the nation even as the space of Bengal is perceived to be violated for the second time by the British. Shashishekhar positions the goddess in the song as antagonistic to the Christianity of the British and also is blind to the Muslims of the eastern province who did not worship the nation as the mother goddess although their attachment to the nation might have been emotional: "Swadeshi was in fashion. You did not have anything like the militant mother goddess in Christianity. It would help state how alien the British were to this country".[xvii] His views are inspired by his wife Haimanti's questions: "Should the people of the country not know about her goddesses? I thought you were saying that swadeshi means 'of one's own country'?".[xviii] So the implicit British classification of body-in-space and space-of-body of Bengal through partition as western Hindu and eastern Muslim seems to be regarded positively by Shashishekhar and Haimanti. Shashishekhar's second wife thinks the British have protected her family against the forgotten first wife and polygamy[xix]: "The partition of the province meant that the other woman of her husband would now be on the other side. The gods worked in strange ways and this time they had chosen the British who were unlikely to revoke the drawn line. […] A thanksgiving was in order".[xx] Shashishekhar plans to edit his father's manuscript so that references to low caste devotees and manifestations are removed from the text: "Social reform was one thing but anarchy? […] Expunge what the new nation should not play with".[xxi]

Does abduction result in the Stockholm syndrome of Haimanti and Shashishekhar or does it indicate an inability to bring into being a fugitiveness that provides a better escape from abduction? The moderates among the nationalists were criticized for

not having confidence in the possibility of fugitiveness. As many literate Indians are aware, Gopal Krishna Gokhale had had doubts about the capacity of the majority of Indians to imagine themselves as creators of future alterations as they could not understand the transformation that came with colonization.[xxii] The more radical nationalists, including Lokmanya Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and others, advocated the production of indigenous "swadeshi" products and a ban on British manufactures, and a determination to escape foreign rule.[xxiii] The differences between the moderates and the radicals were ventilated often during the Swadeshi movement that commenced during the campaign against the partition on Bengal.[xxiv] The body-in-space and the space of the body of Indians had been irrevocably changed by colonization and partition and an escape into the future that could never return to the precolonial past had to be imagined. In planning fugitiveness from violated bodies-and-spaces, attachments between future bodies and spaces had to be encouraged. And to prevent a future in which discourses of precolonial abductions would provoke further abductions, as recording abductions through new technologies (especially of mass media) made fugitiveness more difficult and the globe became violently integrated, more permanent attachments to spaces and bodies perhaps had to be made easier. So how did the discourse of fugitiveness in India change as far as volition existed? Many Indian nationalists, like Shashishekhar of Sengupta's novel, envisaged India as a mother to all religions but identification of the mother nation with the Hindu goddess Devi made such symbolism unpalatable to non-Hindus as well as to low-caste Hindus and early-origin communities[xxv] whose worship of the goddess differed from that formed by Brahminical rituals. Gandhi, whose policy of *satyagraha* (quest for truth), *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *swaraj* (self-control or government of the mind)[xxvi] inspired more Indians than that of any other nationalist, especially from the second decade of the twentieth century, conjured up an image of India that would have to include all Indians who were resident in India and attached to the land and the people – he included all "abductors" of the past and present, all categories of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and other religious groups and envisioned India and Indians as a land and a people that could welcome foreigners who "merged" with it. So Gandhi asserted the view that a nation could protect itself against ruination by "the introduction of foreigners" if it had the "faculty of assimilation".[xxvii] But was this an argument in favour of allowing abduction and the inability to conceptualize fugitiveness? Gandhi also argued that the "Indianization" of Englishmen would permit Indians to receive them in their homes with warmth; otherwise they would find themselves incompatible with the bodies-in-space and the space of the bodies of Indians and would have to eject themselves from India.[xxviii] The terms "assimilation" and "Indianization" imply a gentler and less abusive merger than the takeover of colonization and also a separation of bodies-in-space and spaces of the body of India from other spaces and bodies in the British metropole. They further suggest an emphasis on volition and bonding that is missing from the abductors' discourses of colonization.

As unwilling Satis or as embodiments of the mother goddess Devi, Indian women figured both in discourses favouring colonization and those of nationalism.[xxix] The violation/abduction of women's bodies and of their lives before and after British colonization were part of the discourses of abduction and fugitiveness in colonial India. Not part of the public similarities of the government of British India, they agitated to build public linkages between differences, to participate in government.

Although there is no record of female participation in village assemblies at the time of British colonization, female monarchs had ruled parts of India occasionally (for instance, Razia Sultana, Durgavati, Ahilyabai and many others). The Upanishads mention women's participation in public debates (for instance, Gargi)[xxx] and the work of women poets such as Meerabai too was accessed by a large number of people. So when Indian women nationalists contributed to nationalist discourses, their arguments on fugitiveness too were arguments for escape from all abductions, precolonial and colonial.

The legislature of the Madras presidency granted the right to vote to women in 1921. Only

the wealthiest Indians, whether male or female, had the right to vote at this time. Many women nationalists argued not only in favour of the granting of the right to vote to all Indian women but also for the formation of and the necessity to fortify emotional bonds between all Indians. Sarojini Naidu was more outspoken than many against the violation and abduction of Indian women under colonization and of their work for freedom and an "Indianization" that could be a fugitive from all abductions. In a speech delivered in 1915 on the models that were to be cherished by young Indians, Naidu, who was not a radical feminist, formulated one of the functions of citizenship as that of moulding a nation (not a country) that could engage in the global exchange of knowledge ("enlightenment") and skills ("experience") that came with the integration of the world.[xxxi] But Naidu also focused in 1917 on the existence of more than one nation in a country under British colonization in a speech on self-government – she aligned herself with Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* in arguing that it was because of the British insistence on ruling and residing in India without becoming a "part and parcel of the Indian race"[xxxii] and because of its project to enslave Indians in their own land and to control but not to belong to India that the nation was not united. Naidu conceptualized a Mother India who was the daughter of an older Mother India and a new mother who would have in her a space of sanctuary for all, for the cultures and viewpoints that were "Iranian, Semitic, Christian, Muslim".[xxxiii] That the English could not be considered Indianized because they declined to accept Mother India as their new mother is also the implication for her audience.

Naidu, who supported democracy and home rule, had claimed in 1915 that "national regeneration" could only be achieved through collaboration between men and women.[xxxiv] One of the causes given for the separation of a government of similarities from the differences of women transformed into secrets as the individual properties of men in modern European democracies and their colony adaptations or translations was that in emergencies such as war (Indian men served in the First World War on behalf of the empire), women would not have the physical strength required in conflict and would need male protection. But even the non-radical Naidu did not delink war/violence/attempted or real abductions from women – she asserted that it was impossible for a man to become a "successful soldier" without the emotional support and the informal training provided to sons by women. Without the right to franchise, women could hardly be involved in the right kind of partnership between men and women necessary for a nation in a catastrophe. "Man must recognize that he and woman come to the door of death to create a nation," she said. An Indian woman had to be permitted to participate in decision-making through the vote because "[l]ike the right of man, hers is also the right to see how her nation shall live, how her nation shall sacrifice and how her nation shall uphold its honour".[xxxv]

Visualizing a future fugitiveness for women, Naidu conceded that escape from violence and the abduction of body and life trajectory had been discontinuous for Indian women (as it had been in the case of Indian democracy), but argued that they were now attempting to become "an integral part of national life" again.[xxxvi] Women, Naidu argued, were performing magnificently at universities and other educational institutions, in literature and music, as administrators and managers of properties, as well as in philanthropy and political movements.[xxxvii] It was irrational to prevent access to voting to women such as Pandita Ramabai or Swarna Kumari Ghoshal or others such as the Purdahnashin who had to come across similar throngs during religious excursions, said Naidu.[xxxviii] But would the franchise enable the making foreign of violence by a fugitive people/nation through the similarities of their government?

Naidu criticized the colonial government of India for the crimes it had committed against women in Punjab after martial law was imposed when she went to London in 1920 to demand the franchise for women. During a speech delivered at the Kingsway Hall, she alleged that the English who valued the "honour and the chastity of your women"[xxxix] and their imperial wealth did not wish to retaliate against the violence experienced by the women of Punjab under martial law.[xl] Colonial

Englishmen were unable to provide protection to (Indian) women who inhabited the same country as Englishwomen, she said, thus restating what she had said earlier about the multi-national condition of colonization, as the women "stripped naked," "flogged" and "outraged" under martial law were her sisters but not those of the English.[xli] She also asserted that a totalitarian nation [such as the British colonial nation] would never be able to provide the right form of democratic government as it would be in thrall to its totalitarianism and asks: "Would you hold your Empire by a dishonour on the womanhood of another race or would you rather lose your Empire out of chivalry for the honour and chastity of another nation?"[xlii] Englishwomen too would finally become sufferers because of the violence inflicted by the British colonial government. Thus as long as women were not part of the government, the violence imposed on women who were not part of the similarities of government whose aim was to prevent or defend against violence could imply that violence was woman, was difference. Only with participation in government, along with Indian men, would public linkages with women and difference be permitted.

While visiting Kenya and South Africa in 1924, Naidu compared the English settlers' and British colonials' outlook with that of Indian settlers, some of whom had reached Africa before the Europeans. In a speech delivered to the East African Congress, she contended that East Africa [Kenya] was "one of the earliest legitimate colonial territories of the Indian Nation, going so far back, […] to the first century of the Christian era, going back so far as even hundreds of years before that".[xliii] But instead of comparing the imperialism of the British empire with the imperialism of ancient Indian states in detail, she constructed arguments regarding possibilities of fugitiveness from all past and present and future colonial attempts. Indians in Kenya at the time were fighting racist immigration and segregation measures (for instance only the English could live in the Highlands of Kenya). Naidu advocated self-reliance to all Indians (this was antonymous to the relationship of dependency between the British colonies and the metropole) in Kenya and declared that Indians should not "betray" Africans by handing over their rights.[xliv] She recommended the building of a "new heaven and a new earth" at a town hall meeting in Durban, South Africa, and a sincere movement away from "expediency" following the First World War towards justice, by "coolie" nations, including those with colonial governments held captive by their desire for colonial profits. She even cited Cecil Rhodes whose racist views included considering the Anglo-Saxon race to be the pioneer race of the world and mentioned that Rhodes's dream of turning every community into an "asset" would be realized in the future.[xlv] Naidu had spoken earlier to Indian women on 9 March 1924 and appealed to them to reject the Class Areas Bill of 1923 regarding segregation in housing and business for Indians in South Africa. Counseling them to resist being "put away as something unclean" under the segregation bill, she also suggested that they would have to reimburse their obligations to South Africa by "lifting the status of the Native and the coloured people" and by "a common motherhood" and the education of children.[xlvi] By advising Indian women immigrants to Africa and their descendants to see themselves not as Indian exiles – she asserted that they need not discontinue all ties with India – but as citizens of the countries where they had settled, Naidu argued in favour of a fugitiveness that was different from a European/British colonization that was seeking a metropole and an abduction for a metropole that could not be replicated anywhere else.

As an early first-wave women's rights activist and nationalist, Sarojini Naidu thus advocated bringing "secret" differences into public view and directed attention to the violence done by and for the concealment/secrecy of such differences under colonization.[xlvii] In doing this, first-wave feminist discourse(s) in India also showed some ties with first-wave European feminism. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which positioned itself as oppositional to the dominant paradigm of education aimed at women, argued not only that women were capable of being educated for a variety of professions but also that women were like soldiers in their understanding of their relationship with other members of society. They "were taught to

please, and they live only to please",[xlviii] indulging in activities related to physical pleasure and ornamentation while not attempting to develop their faculty of reason. The ["national"] education of both boys and girls, Wollstonecraft asserted, is to be used to encourage sentimental bonds between members of society and warm attachments between family members.[xlix] She claimed that women and soldiers would stop their absorption in the "blind obedience" that is needed by autocrats if they had mental robustness.[l] Only a good education could teach "rational affection for their country, founded on knowledge".[li] Wollstonecraft thus seemed to maintain that both soldiers and women would be instruments of just government if they were not merely involved in upward communication with despots, in "blind obedience" to superior officers, officials or husbands, but were permitted the fugitiveness of horizontal communication that builds national sentiments through education.

The line of reasoning in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949), a transitional text between first- and second-wave European feminism, intersects at some points with Sarojini Naidu's first-wave Indian women's rights discourse. Beauvoir argued that the human male subject becomes conscious of himself in relation to an other – the female object – that is not indispensable unless she is the dependent of the male.[lii] Every subject attains liberty by bringing a change or an effect on the rest of the universe, by acting rather than merely accepting its dissimilarity with the rest of the universe. Since women become conscious of themselves only as the objects or targets of male action, and do not have the freedom to design their escape from "immanence" or what is given when they come into existence, Beauvoir asked whether women would ever be able to become subjects with the power of "transcendence" or fugitiveness from "immanence".[liii] Here abduction is not about a forced change in the space-of-the-body or the body-in-space[liv] but about the inability to transform either on independent terms although a woman is not happy with it – women are, Beauvoir said, always controlled by the male view of their existence. Even after the franchise was granted to Frenchwomen in 1944 and they voted for the first time in 1946 and although women were permitted to work (they could work without their husbands' consent only from 1965), Beauvoir insisted that "to be a complete individual, equal to man, woman has to have access to the male world as man does to the female one, access to the other".[lv] What Beauvoir averred was that women should be permitted the responsibility or power to alter their existence,[lvi] to escape what is given and appears to be an abduction from their wishes, to be a fugitive to equality with men.

"Failed" refugees and voters owned by men

What happens when one is abducted while on the move or in transit to fugitiveness?[lvii] That was the action that cut into India's escape to independence from Britain and many second-wave feminists in India focused on the failure of fugitive refugees who were abducted during the Partition that accompanied independence. Jasodhara Bagchi, in 2002, took a look back at the Partition and the alteration, she argued, it had brought to Kolkata and especially the way in which *it* had modified women's lives in Bengal during the period between Indian (and Pakistani) independence and the Bangladesh war of 1971.[lviii] Abducted women formed the nucleus of the Indian nation's autobiography, Bagchi claimed. She examined the rage aimed at both the domination of one religious community by another and the means by which the bodies of abducted women were used as "an exclusionary boundary" against what was thought to be the pollution of a community in Jyotirmoyee Devi's novel *The River Churning* (1967). She also cited a poem by Jyotirmoyee Devi, "We are the valueless price"[lix] on the lives of refugees who were described as the worthless tokens used to gain independence for two countries. Jyotirmoyee Devi's poem conveys the howls and wails of refugees who were scrutinized for "Bengali", "Hindu" and gender authenticity [the last as the men could not "protect" the women and the women were "abducted en route"] when the label of "refugee" was given to them. The poem states that refugees have been deserted by Mother India: "there is not an inch of land/Which we unclad and unfed,/Can call our own". When they are integrated with the Indian people through the assignment of land outside Bengal because there is not enough space for them in Bengal, they meet

people who are as intolerant as western Bengalis of those who escaped from another nation to an India trying to escape into a post-colonization age-and-space: "But just as you [people in the Indian state of Bengal] hold us in contempt, so do they – these sons of the soil at Dandakaranya [a refugee settlement in present-day Chattisgarh]". The poem asks what refugees would have to do to blend with Indians who have labels of "sympathy" for disadvantaged Indians such as "Harijans, Islamis, Tribals, Scheduled Castes", who are protected by the Indian state's constitution which the Indian nation often ignores – "That we have any religion, any racial unity, nobody admits […] Which country do they belong to?/And which do we?" As per Bagchi's argument, it could also be argued that the refugee communities in India merged with advantaged communities of the Indian nation by removing "failed" refugees such as abducted women (if they survived) and other "defective" people who were now classed with the disadvantaged Indians listed earlier who would have to be attended to by the state through positively discriminatory laws and actions.

"Failed" refugees such as abducted women thus formed the boundary wall between two nation-states seeking fugitiveness from British colonization but with different ideological objectives – a secular[lx] or a non-secular state. Their existence was sometimes not merely a reminder that "they" – the other nation – had violated "us" (the equally hostile nation of the violated woman) but also produced the discourse that "their" ideology promoted that abduction/violation or that "they were like that" and that fugitiveness from "them" as well as the British must be realized.

The Constitution had granted voting rights to women at the beginning of the contemporary Indian republic but was the new nation-state really different from that of the British and that of the neighbour existing by partition? Was the Indian space really a fugitive space without abductions and violations of individuals and groups and was it free in international relations, in negotiating terms of global integration? Just as refugees had found that the new Mother India spoke many languages and that she had many children who spoke many languages but did not always act to make each other or their mother happy,[lxi] there was a realization that Indian identity should not be determined by the ownership of Mother India's land alone but also by the communication of all the languages, cultures, groups of India through government – that is by an increase in the public linkages of similarities and differences. There was also cognizance that Indians would have to escape the subjugation of their government and their people by that of other nation-states in international interchange/contact. Whether women would find the fugitive space that they desired in India was also a concern.

The Indian Republic had adopted a socialist model for its economy while giving equal rights to men and women in politics and freedom of opinion formation in the public domain. Some laws reforming gender relations in the areas of marriage and property inheritance and discrimination against "untouchables" or Dalits[lxii] were also approved in the first few decades after independence. Government ownership of certain heavy industries such as steel and electricity and the weight given to large projects such as dam construction and thermal power stations as well as the strength applied in favour of education and literacy in the first few decades seemed to offer evidence of India's assimilation into global networks of interchange through decisions made by a government in a fugitive space from British colonization and non-secular statehood. But with the continuation of low agricultural productivity until the beginning of the first Green Revolution, unemployment, inflation and other economic problems, the "fugitiveness" of India seemed to signify the need for the import of technology from Western democracies, the absence or ignorance of local resources for local problems and a slavish dependence on decision-making by national and international elites. Second-wave feminist Samita Sen has argued that the hope that women would be able to escape from the violence of male domination in the democratic Indian nation-state also "foundered on the 'hard rock' of Indian patriarchy".[lxiii]

The Committee on the Status of Women in India published the *Towards Equality* report in 1974. The 1970s constituted a decade in which the Indian nation-state was apprehensive that its escape into

nation-statehood could dissolve. Although the Bangladesh War of Liberation helped the Indian state to assist the quest for nationhood of a neighbour, more refugees arrived from a place that Indians associated with the violation of particular religious communities. A few years later, most constitutional rights were suspended as an "internal emergency" was imposed on India. 1975 had been declared the International Women's Year by the United Nations (and 1975-1985 the United Nations Decade for Women) and the publication of the *Towards Equality* report was another instance of the self-examination in the thick of allegations of failure that was taking place in India. Dowry deaths, forced sterilizations, female foeticide, religious differences in the application of family or personal law, custodial or prison rape, environmental and concomitant occupational violence and caring for refugees were some of the concerns of second-wave women activists from the 1970s. Although one of the public linkages of differences in India permitted by its Constitution was actualized through the vote given to women, the real status of women remained that of voting citizens owned by men. I would like to focus on the increase in the internal violence in families or domestic violence on account of the changing similarities of the people and also the inadequacy of the public linkages of differences in government with reference to the prevention of violations/abductions of differences by differences. Indian women were still expected to be mouthpieces and puppets of the patriarchs within the family – the patriarchs did not think women could have an opinion or should be allowed to be anything but yes-women in decision-making.

The *Towards Equality* report argued that "the equality of women is necessary, not merely on the grounds of social justice, but as a basic condition for social, economic and political development of the nation" and that both working women and housewives had to be supported by the state by the recognition and improvement of their economic conditions.[lxiv] The violence against women's bodies both in the parental home as well as in the marital home was recounted in the report, which stated that the relay of daughters as property from the father to the husband meant that parents deprived girl children of food, healthcare and education. Daughters were not permitted to provide financial help to their parents after marriage by in-laws or under dominant religious practices. Some tribal or early-origin communities that practised the taking of bride price did not show prejudice against girl children but the women were dependent on husbands for resources and land after marriage just as women of other communities were.[lxv] The abduction of women's voices and their misuse in violent domestic or familial relations of and between differences was admitted in the report. An escape from the hierarchy of differences was its objective.

One of the changing similarities of the people shown by the government until the 1970s was in agreeing to socialist economic growth which focused on state-approved industrialization and Western technology. As livelihoods of men changed, the work done in the domestic sphere by women owned by men for men's livelihoods and to support their families changed – in fact, rapid technologies that changed the nature of work done in India without providing women owned by men with the collateral education and decision-making power necessary for that work meant that women no longer had a role in the primary sector of the economy whereas they had earlier never had a role or had had hardly any role in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

Second-wave feminist Vandana Shiva has argued that this change affected women, peasants and tribals/early-origin groups such that a culture of need fulfilment and life production/sustenance changed into a culture of profit accumulation and death. If the primary force behind employment is to absorb people into a global chain of production where resource use creates not self-sufficiency and ecologically safe interdependence but dependency on and a craving for ecologically unsafe profit-driven resource specializations, then local needs are ignored and lives are driven by the benchmark of ranking on the hierarchy of differences which are the inevitable result of neocolonization. Whenever the terms of global development did not take into account local needs, it led to destruction with national elites taking the role of the former colonial powers. Shiva argued that "maldevelopment" could be overcome by "the recovery of the feminine

principle", which she explicated as "an ecological and a feminist project which legitimizes the way of knowing and being that creates wealth by enhancing life and diversity".[lxvi]

The violence done to women's bodies by their abduction from their former important role (although male-dominated) in the primary sector of the economy and their confinement to the role of consumers (if they had access to any money at all) and that of invisible as well as unpaid "service sector" workers was evident in the continuing increase in the number of dowry and rape cases in urban as well as rural areas in the 1970s. The rape of Mathura, a tribal (indigenous or early-origin girl), in police custody in 1972 and the subsequent denial of the validity of the rape charge in the Supreme Court had meant that agents of the law and therefore government as the channel and message of the Indian people were also distrusted. The *Towards Equality* report as well as second-wave feminists such as Vandana Shiva tried to address this issue of the 'internal' violence that seemed to prevent the fugitiveness of the Indian republic into justice, equality and liberty from the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s. Another second-wave feminist Madhu Kishwar[lxvii] argued that to prevent the dowry deaths that were the consequence of the ownership of women by fathers and husbands which turned daughters into carriers of property with which they were connected but which they did not own under dominant religious practices (they could be deprived of parental property as well as control over their dowry by husbands and in-laws), daughters should be provided with the same employment-oriented education as sons and should be permitted to inherit a portion/all of their father's property under the law (while preventing access to it by the husband or the in-laws) and to live in their parental home, if required. In addition, fixed deposits in the daughter's name could be more useful to her than cash as dowry, Kishwar said. Self-ownership of differences in private life along with the public linkages of similarities and differences in government was the objective of many second-wave feminists.

The troubles of abduction and escape/fugitiveness that had to be tackled in feminist discourses of the second wave in India are partly related to those found in the discourses of second-wave feminists such as Betty Friedan, one of the founders of the National Organization for Women in the United States. In *The Feminine Mystique* which is credited with catalyzing second-wave US feminist discourse, Friedan contended that the "problem that has no name" that US women citizens confronted was not that of "loss of femininity, or too much education, or the demands of domesticity".[lxviii] Whereas the dominant image of women in popular culture channels such as women's magazines in the years following the Second World War had been that of happy educated housewives who needed recreation and tips on running their households, taking care of their children and protecting their marital relationship, Friedan claimed that by the 1960s, many women in the United States were no longer happy with their position as only housewives and wished for additional achievements and other means of reaching contentment. The New Woman heroines of the stories that were published in women's magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's, Good Housekeeping* and *Women's Home Companion* before the Second World War had been career women who also had romantic relationships with men. But Friedan said that by 1949, the number of career women who were the main figures in stories published in women's magazines was one in three and those women too wished to give up their careers and convert themselves into housewives. Following the Second World War which allowed the entry of women into many occupations while men fought in the conflict against Nazi Germany whose organic slogan for women was "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche", US women apparently "chose" to leave even those lines of work which had been theirs before the war and by implication to adopt the Nazi slogan as theirs. Friedan noticed that the "new housewife readers" after the Second World War, in contrast with the New Woman readers before the war, also read numerous articles about "the victims of blindness, deafness, physical maiming, cerebral palsy, paralysis, cancer, or approaching death" with whom "they can identify completely".[lxix] What seemed to be suggested was that the violence of the

Second World War and the violence faced by people who could not escape the abduction of their trajectories and the harm done to their bodies on account of illness, physical or mental abilities and the attitudes of others had turned women sympathetic towards the view that women who could not fight in the war had to detain themselves at home and turn their other aptitudes into martyrs for the sake of their private lives. Friedan argues that to become "fully human",[lxx] women would have to find a way to turn fugitive from the imprisonment imposed by the dominant discourses on the function of their sexual and reproductive organs and find ways of using their other abilities.

The French second-wave feminist Hélène Cixous resembled Friedan in that she urged "woman" to escape the past and to write herself "into the text – as into the world and into history – by her own movement".[lxxi] While focusing on writing and not speaking, Cixous wrote both about the physical act of writing for publication, which could provide a more permanent record of women's contributions to discourses of the community than ordinary speech could, as well as in more extensive terms about the act of making an impression on the world around one. It could also be argued that the printed word is a more neutral medium than the voice, recorded or otherwise, which reveal the sex/gender of the speaker and immediately bring the "sex cops" who repress them in their presence. At the same time, writing is about writing the body at the individual level and to mark women's "shattering entry into history, which has always been based on her suppression".[lxxii] Arguing that writing has been the writing of reason, which is "self-admiring, self-stimulating, self-congratulatory phallocentrism", Cixous uses words such as "insurgent", "more than subversive" and "volcanic" to describe women's writing which cannot be "enclosed, coded" in patriarchal discourse.[lxxiii] Positing difference not as the consciousness of impassable boundaries enclosing contents that are to be violated or dominated by perforation but as the engulfment or swallowing up of the other that makes one aware that a part of one is not completely one, is always new, Cixous claimed that was how "she [woman] goes and passes into infinity".[lxxiv] She criticized the individual or individuality that thought that its fantasies were merely secret properties – "the colonized peoples of yesterday, the workers, the nations, the species off whose backs the history of men has made its gold" – permitted by the similarities of government; these secret properties were differences that could not have the properties of the individual or individuality entirely.[lxxv] Cixous argued that the writing of women could "invent Other love".[lxxvi] Such love is not directed by retribution or money or distress, it seeks everything in the universe, all life in the universe, and works to ensure the survival of life.[lxxvii] Can such love ensure fugitiveness for women [and nations] from the threat of being "taken" or abducted?[lxxviii] What it can achieve is the underlining of life, of the neutralizing of death, of gender, by aiming to make life infinitely new.

It is the production of infinite newness that is also seen in Alice Walker's "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens", which asserts that African American women who are "gifted" or talented and have been able to find fugitiveness from the abduction of their body-in-space and the space of the body by proscriptive patriarchal discourses of citizenship and nationhood, have "fugitive" genes that enable them to imagine fugitiveness and strive for it in the most unfavourable situations. The mothers and grandmothers (often former slaves) of the contemporary black women – who have the right to vote and enjoy the civil rights that had been denied to their foremothers – had fortified and bolstered their creativity by feats of fugitiveness such as the appealing garden that was cultivated by Alice Walker's mother. It is these feats that reinforced the "muzzled and often mutilated, but vibrant, creative spirit that the black woman has inherited, and that pops out in wild and unlikely places to this day".[lxxix]

Globally uniting segregations and violence among differences

Whether "fugitiveness" means an escape into a segregation of space from the space of violation/abduction or a transformation of the same space of the body or body-in-space was the question that was asked at the end of the second wave of feminism in India when foreign companies were

permitted freedom of investment in India and "outsourcing" units that served as transit/processing points between Western capitalists and consumers commenced functioning. The elite nation-states' contact with Indian citizens was realized apparently only through their elected representatives but was the flow of foreign private capital making the fugitiveness of a people from enslavement to the states of other people by segregating the national space being transformed into neocolonial control resulting from "direct" people-to-people contact? Would the Indian government be able to intervene in export-oriented multinational companies if they provided poor working conditions, for instance, without the fear of losing revenue? Would the globe ever become fully democratic while turning nation-states outmoded? Would women, Dalits, religious minorities and other oppressed citizens in the Indian space consider the segregated space provided by "reservations" in Parliament, workplaces and educational institutions to be successful measures or would they be considered to be measures that amplified the violence against women, Dalits, religious minorities and other oppressed Indian citizens. Would the alleged global unity brought about by the completely "free" flow of private capital result in the natural equality of all without a state? Third-wave feminism in India was also, like feminism in some other countries of the world, asked to justify its existence after "all" the rights had been granted – it was asked whether feminism wasn't a term of apartheid, a fugitive without a desirable cause.

There had been an increase in the public linkages of difference in the territorial space of the Indian nation-state since Independence and the foundation of the twentieth-century Indian republic. But a government not only of communication of similarities and differences but also of acknowledgement of private property was thought to be in danger of leaning towards the making secret of differences again and again through its inability to prevent hostility in the public sphere that was in need of reservation of space for those differences that, if made private, would amount to a violation of human rights. If it was the "return" of the secrecy of history that was feared in the public sphere, "forgotten" abductions that had been considered irrelevant to the fugitiveness of the Indian nation-state now came into view and violent conflict threatened the "globally uniting" borders of the liberalizing nation-state after 1991.[lxxx] Claims about the "abduction" of a Hindu holy site by a Muslim mosque[lxxxi], about the "abduction" of Muslim and Hindu Dalit practices such as the eating of beef by upper-caste Hindus who were against cow slaughter, about the "abduction" of the Indian economy by multinationals who were blind to the needs of the indigent, and about the violation of Indian women through their very presence in multinational workspaces and of marital practices "under" globalization produced formidable violence against Indians during this period.

Maitrayee Chaudhuri, a feminist of the transition from the second wave to the third wave in India has argued that while most feminists opposed a globalization that did not illumine the lives of the poverty-stricken and enriched casteist, non-egalitarian Indians, some Dalits and other oppressed Indian citizens reckoned globalization and capitalism was "the way forward".[lxxxii] She has also accentuated the antipathy to feminism in dominant discourses which corresponded with the repeated fiascos related to the Women's Reservation Bill in the Indian Parliament and the classification of women's discourses into "Western" pro-choice(s) feminism and "Indian" religious feminism (some think that the last category has mutually incompatible terms) – Indian democracy was not seen as a supporter of a non-religious and globalization-resistant Indian feminism during the Third Wave.[lxxxiii] The Women's Reservation Bill, if successful, would have permitted public linkages between differences and similarities through the securing of irremovable, though segregated, spaces of difference in the Indian Parliament and state legislatures. Demands were also made to identify and grant reserved legislative spaces of difference for women of underprivileged communities such as Dalits in the women's general reserved category. Reservations in government jobs, schools and colleges for Dalits, officially called scheduled castes, have been a part of government policy since the acceptance of the Indian Constitution by the republic. However, policies and

laws forbidding the practice of socio-economic discrimination against Dalits such as the Prevention of Atrocities Act of 1989 had been found to be ineffective in preventing violence in the public sphere against Dalits. In fact, interference by the dominant communities in the private sphere of difference had made public linkages of differences and similarities ineffectual.

Globalization appeared to offer the hope that some Dalit industrialists and women entrepreneurs as well as employees who could profit from the increase in jobs would be able to become pioneers in a movement against violence in the public interaction of differences. For Dalits, the absence of reservations in the globalized private sector was an area of concern although entrepreneurship offered an escape route to some. The few opportunities provided by globalization ironically reminded Dalits of British colonization when Tamil Dalits had been provided land called panchami land by the British that had been seized by upper-caste Tamils after independence – was fugitiveness from the violence of abduction of their right life trajectories to be "outsourced" to opportunities generated by liberalization and globalization? The Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front demanded that Dalits be given poramboke (government-owned) and panchami land by the government.[lxxxiv] The Dalit feminist of the transition from the second wave to the third wave, P. Sivakami, argued that women and in particular Dalit women, whose families were poor and who had no access to any property in either their parental or their marital home, would have to be given poramboke land if they were to escape becoming the "targets of murder, sexual violence, battering, being subjected to mental torture". She also argued that the body politics of the third wave of feminism would be unavoidably linked to land politics.[lxxxv]

Third wave feminist poet and activist Meena Kandasamy focused on the ways in which public linkages of differences and similarities in government were affected by control asserted over private practices related to religion and diet that was the consequence of people-to-people contact (also being encouraged under globalization). On 17 April 2012, a beef festival organized by the Dalit students of Osmania University, Hyderabad, was attacked by Hindus whose upper-caste practices do not allow the eating of beef.[lxxxvi] Meena Kandasamy was able to escape physical assault under police protection.[lxxxvii] She argued that beef was a "Dalit food" and that the attack on the beef festival which was organized to declare the rights of Dalits was not meant to start a conflict between Hindus and Muslims (the latter are allowed to eat beef) or to damage the campaign of Telengana for statehood within the Indian nation-state. She noted that nobody could be "force-fed" beef and that minorities, including Dalits, were deprived of the security of life provided to cows considered sacred by upper-caste Hindus.[lxxxviii] Kandasamy also argued that it is not merely through public linkages of difference that the objectives of the Indian nation-state, as promulgated in the Indian Constitution – freedom, equality and justice – might be fulfilled. That also requires the discrete efforts of individual citizens in their interactions with others to end the caste system which survives because privileged groups preserve their group identities and assimilate only those who will erase their past and "former" group identity. Kandasamy has claimed that "we can militate against caste only if each of us make it a personal rebellion, a conscious choice to defy that oppressive, self-defeating system" and that "the real looking-ahead can exist only when there is no reason for looking back". The obliteration of the caste system is also a feminist action which would prevent the assault of women's minds and the domination of their sexuality, and permit them to take measures against the violations of all bodies and lives.[lxxxix]

The real and metaphorical abduction of Indian women, equated with the "abduction" of Indian culture and of Indian families, and the violation of private practices, including marital practices, as well as the economic exploitation of women by the internationalized workplace figured in the discourses of all feminists opposed to government policies pertaining to globalization during the third wave. Kavita Krishnan, a third-wave feminist who has also figured in the current transition from the third wave to the fourth wave in India, has argued that the globalized workplace does

not merely attempt to control the private lives of employees but also uses that intrusion to assume the parental role of their real-life parents just as the former colonialists had attempted to do. It also appropriates traditional Indian codes to "Indianize" its parenting, while ensuring that employees, particularly underprivileged female employees, are deprived of the empowerment that comes from the organization of labour under trade unions aiming for fair wages and an appropriate work environment.[xc]

Globalization was held responsible when women employees of foreign multinationals were abducted and raped in company-rented transport by drivers or by other employees.[xci] The foreign response to such accusations was to focus on India's attitude towards women and the government's as well as the media's collusion with dominant discourses of Indian womanhood which blamed the victims who desired the globalized workplace for economic empowerment.[xcii] The personal, marital and sexual freedom enjoyed by a few women whose economic empowerment coincided with globalization was also called un-Indian by groups opposed to "Western" dating and social interaction. Feminist campaigns such as the "pink chaddi" (pink underwear) campaign and others against such groups failed to have an impact and it was not until the Nirbhaya rape case of December 2012 (in which a physiotherapy student was raped by a gang of men on a bus in her boyfriend's presence) which marked the transition to the fourth wave of feminism in India that technologically and digital social networking savvy women organized mass protests to bring about an immediate change in rape laws in India.

Indian third-wave feminists' discourses on the violence appearing in public linkages of difference and the effects on private lives of individuals have found some reverberations in third-wave feminist discourses in other countries. Third-wave US feminists Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards, like many Indian feminists, have given prominence to the substantial potentiality of infinitesimal "individual and personal action" in the execution of the project of "social justice". They have also acknowledged that problems in a globalized world might be manoeuvred with fewer difficulties if local problems are not abducted but confronted first.[xciii] Their argument is propelled by their trust in the capacity of individuals to engage in "compromise and mutual creation" and to stimulate others to carry out similar "acts of sisterhood".[xciv] They have also contended that individuals might become "change agents" by "disseminating information" and "collecting and making connections" all over the world.[xcv] The US-based second-wave to third-wave transitional feminist of the Indian diaspora Chandra Talpade Mohanty has analysed the unequal relations between differences in public feminist discourses where Western feminists define their unity as challengers against the Western patriarchal order by positioning themselves with respect to Third-World women and feminists, whose positions are impacted not only by Third-World patriarchs but also by Western feminists under Western patriarchy. A universal view of Third-World feminism is invalid but helps to shore up a general view of Western feminism.[xcvi] The violence among differences in the public sphere and in the public linkages of differences and similarities in government and the investment in such violence can be liquidated only, according to Mohanty's logic, by "a renewed politics of hope and solidarity" between female workers all over the Third World as well as between female workers all over the world.[xcvii] The violence among differences in the public sphere has impacted not only private life but has itself been shaped by the use of some of the markers of private life – sexual desirability and sexual compatibilities – to judge the performance of women in a public area such as a workplace. The third-wave feminist Naomi Wolf has regarded the "professional beauty qualification [PBQ]"[xcviii] ideology that conditions and abducts women's professional success as identical to the views of physical attractiveness that regulate men's private decisions regarding spouses and girlfriends. This "beauty myth" also produces conflict between women that is related to their rank in the PBQ hierarchy. It is by employing "a reinterpretation of 'beauty' that is noncompetitive, nonhierarchical, and nonviolent" that women can collaborate at work and in private life after "changing our prejudgments of one another".[xcix]

Conclusion

The Song Seekers concludes its story in the 1960s, with the pre-death pronouncements of the pishi who says that Neelkantha's *Chandimangal* "smothered so many too, the goddesses of women and lower castes"[c] by propagating the idea of a Mother India that was the fantasy of that kulin Brahmin patriarch just as Neelkantha had smothered the "impure" (non-kulin) Brahmin sister of the pishi's grandmother.[ci] The technologies with which contemporary fourth-wave feminists have sought the arrival of peace among the linkages of differences in public and the prevention of violent intrusions of public-into-private have been set in motion simultaneously with the growing attraction of what would have been seen earlier as its polar irrational and homogeneous opposite – religion and spirituality. Perhaps the fourth wave will be able to effectuate peace by using technology and religion/spirituality.

It has been observed that much of the change that naturally takes place in the universe is violent and takes place without human volition. Whether a future fifth wave of feminism will be able to contribute heroically of its own will to change in the universe and the discourses which will shape such change cannot be avowed yet. Such contributions would also need to beware of deliberately or unintentionally abducting others' bodies or lives and would need to exert themselves for allowing fugitiveness from abduction to all differences.

Notes

[i] See Sengupta 344.

[ii] See Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*.

[iii] See Sengupta 339. The phrase used in Sengupta's novel is "taken by" which can signify that one of Pishi's female ancestors had been captivated by a Portuguese trader who had anchored his ship near the port of Chittagong. However, given that Sengupta's novel also uses the word "visitation" – which could mean "unwelcome visit" as well as "divine punishment" in the context – soon afterwards to describe the act, and given that it is also mentioned that "she [Pishi's ancestor] was one amongst many [who were taken]", one could conclude that the woman was held captive and "sullied" [a word used in the text to indicate "damage to the purity"] by the Portuguese man. Some Portuguese traders in slaves and other objects did marry locals but that is not the case in the novel. The cruelty of all the Portuguese and Arakanese involved in the slave trade at Chittagong has been examined by several historians.

[iv] See Sengupta 170-75.

[v] I use the term "fugitiveness" deliberately and against the more common meanings that it has today of an escapee from legal and democratic police custody or of ephemeralness to indicate that fugitiveness is a state or an undertaking to escape a condition of hostage-taking and of being held against one's will in a space or situation according to the abductors' anti-democratic "law".

[vi] See Homi Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders", Robert Young, *Colonial Desire* and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History".

[vii] See Ram Sharan Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*.

[viii] See Steven Muhlberger, "Ancient India". He has said that British officials knew of the existence of such assemblies.

[ix] See John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*.

[x] See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*.

[xi] See Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.*

[xii] In his analysis of the "rise" of the masses and democracy, the postmodern theorist Foucault says in *Society Must Be Defended* that "power both binds and immobilizes, and is both the founder and guarantor of order". Georg Simmel ("The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies") had argued that:

In the nineteenth century, however, publicity takes possession of national affairs to such an extent that the governments themselves publish the official data without concealing, which no government would earlier have thought possible. Accordingly, politics, administration, justice, have lost their secrecy and inaccessibility in precisely the degree in which the individual has gained possibility of more complete privacy, since modern life has elaborated a technique for isolation of the affairs of individuals […] that which in its nature is public, which in its content concerns all, becomes also externally, in its sociological form, more and more public; while that which in its inmost nature refers to the self alone – that is, the centripetal affairs of the individual – must also gain in sociological position a more and more private character, a more decisive possibility of remaining secret. (468-69)

He also discussed secret societies which were part of the secret affairs of individuals if their motives were against those of "central powers". (472)

[xiii] See Ewan Harrison and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, *The Triumph of Democracy and the Eclipse of the West*.

[xiv] See Sengupta 286.

[xv] Their aim was not to indulge in abductive reasoning like detectives looking only to solve the past.

[xvi] Mary E. John has argued that an analysis of patriarchal constructions in India would reveal the presence of "unequal patriarchies and disparate genders" in "Feminism in India and the West: Recasting a Relationship".

[xvii] See Sengupta 191.

[xviii] See Sengupta 163.

[xix] A famous text of abduction in Hinduism is the *Ramayana* where Ram and Sita have a monogamous marriage and Sita is abducted by Ravana. The marriage of Shiva and Parvati is also celebrated for being monogamous in Hinduism but no abduction other than patriarchal exploitation features in their story.

[xx] See Sengupta 162.

[xxi] See Sengupta 192.

[xxii] See Bipin Chandra, Amales Tripathi and Barun De, *Freedom Struggle*, 67. It is a part of the syllabi of many schools and undergraduate colleges.

[xxiii] See Chandra et al. 80.

[xxiv] See Chandra et al. 83.

[xxv] The term "indigene" may be a troublesome replacement for the term "tribal" as many "impure" Aryans could also be considered indigenous.

[xxvi] See M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, 118.

[xxvii] See Gandhi 52.

[xxviii] See Gandhi 73-74.

[xxix] Lata Mani's "Contentious Traditions – The Debate on Sati in Colonial India" examines the use of Hindu scripture and practices by both the British and Indians to oppose and support Sati.

[xxx] See Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian*, Chapter 1.

[xxxi] See Sarojini Naidu, "The Ideal of Civic Life", *Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu*, 39.

[xxxii] See Naidu, "Speech at the Calcutta Congress" (1917) in support of a resolution on self-government, *Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu*, 154.

[xxxiii] See Naidu, "The Hope of To-morrow", 128.

[xxxiv] See Naidu, "Women in National Life", 56.

[xxxv] See Naidu, "Indian Women and the Franchise", 196-97.

[xxxvi] See Naidu, "Indian Women and the Franchise", 203.

[xxxvii] See Naidu, 204.

[xxxviii] See Naidu, 205-206.

[xxxix] This could be seen as a reference to one of the incidents that preceded the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 13 April 2016 when an English missionary Miss Marcella Sherwood was attacked by a mob in Amritsar on 11 April 2016.

[xl] See Naidu, "The Punjab Tragedy", *Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu*, 247.

[xli] See Naidu 247-48. In a letter written to Montagu by Naidu, one of the statements that was made by a victim of violence under martial law was alluded to: "Passage from Statement 582, page 867 – […] while the men were at the bungalow, he rode to our village, taking back with him all the women who met him on the way carrying food for their men to the bungalow. Reaching the village, he went round the lanes and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village Daira. The women folded their hands before him. He beat some with his stick and spat at them and used the foulest and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face. He forcibly uncovered the faces of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his own stick.

He repeatedly called us she-asses, witches, flies and swine, and said: 'You were in the same beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the village constables.' He gave me a kick also, and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms round the legs while being bent double.

This treatment was meted out to us in the absence of our men, who were away at the bungalow".

[xlii] See Naidu 248.

[xliii] See Naidu, "Address to the East African Congress", 393.

[xliv] See Naidu 401.

[xlv] See Naidu, "Speech at Durban Town Hall", 416-33.

[xlvi] See Naidu, "Address to Durban Indian Women", 408-11.

[xlvii] Even bills passed by the majority in a legislature would be examined by people with a different opinion or by people classified as "different" in an ideal democracy.

[xlviii] See Mary Wollstonecraft, "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman", Chapter 2.

[xlix] See Wollstonecraft, Chapter 12.

[l] See Wollstonecraft, Chapter 2.

[li] See Wollstonecraft, Chapter 13.

[lii] See Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 26.

[liii] See Beauvoir 37.

[liv] See Beauvoir 26-27 – Unlike women, Jews, blacks, indigenous people and other minorities were once "independent", Beauvoir said.

[lv] See Beauvoir 813-18.

[lvi] See Beauvoir 860. Later, on 862-63, Beauvoir uses the problematic phrase "brotherhood" between men and women to describe the emancipation of women, perhaps thereby erasing any possibility of "sisterhood" becoming the equal of "brotherhood".

[lvii] It is possible to argue that every moment is a moment of transition because there is change. But when discussing abduction and fugitiveness, I am referring to the cohesion of moments experienced and planned/imagined to form a weighty Moment that is thought to be the trajectory of an individual or a group.

[lviii] See Jasodhara Bagchi, "Freedom in an Idiom of Loss".

[lix] See Jyotirmoyee Devi, "We are the valueless price".

[lx] What Indians understand by the term secularism is the neutrality of the state and the government towards all religions. The term is not used in the sense of the absence of religious belief among people.

[lxi] Many refugees also learnt that as Indians they could no longer officially speak the dialects of their place of origin in areas belonging to East Pakistan (which is now Bangladesh).

[lxii] Dalits, officially called scheduled castes, were considered "untouchables" by upper-caste Hindus until the acceptance of the Indian Constitution by the republic. Social reformers tried to rid Indians of prejudices against Dalits but were not successful outside the law even after independence.

[lxiii] See Samita Sen, "Toward a Feminist Politics?**",** 25.

[lxiv] See the *Towards Equality* report, 8.

[lxv] See the *Towards Equality* report, 58.

[lxvi] Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*, 1-13.

[lxvii] Madhu Kishwar, "Dowry – To Ensure Her Happiness or to Disinherit Her".

[lxviii] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 32.

[lxix] See Friedan, Chapter 2.

[lxx] See Friedan, Chapter 3.

[lxxi] Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa", 875.

[lxxii] See Cixous 880.

[lxxiii] See Cixous 879 and 888.

[lxxiv] See Cixous 889.

[lxxv] See Cixous 888.

[lxxvi] See Cixous 893.

[lxxvii] See Cixous 891.

[lxxviii] See Cixous 890.

[lxxix] See Alice Walker, "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens", 231-43.

[lxxx] The globalization launched from 1991 in India was seen by its supporters to be antonymous to the earlier violent integration of the globe under colonization.

[lxxxi] The Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, India, was located on a hill known as Ramkot, which, Hindus claim, used to have a temple marking the birthplace of Rama (a Hindu god) that was destroyed by a governor appointed by the Mughal emperor Babur. The demolished structure has figured in many court cases and violent rows between Hindus and Muslims.

[lxxxii] See Maitrayee Chaudhuri, "Feminism in India: The Tale and Its Telling", 19-36.

[lxxxiii] See Chaudhuri, "'Feminism' in Print Media", 263-88.

[lxxxiv] See S. Dorairaj, "Rally for Justice".

[lxxxv] See P. Sivakami, "Land: Woman's Breath and Speech".

[lxxxvi] It is to be noted here that Mangal Pandey, a Brahmin, had become the symbol of the rebellion against violation of religious freedom by the British in refusing to use cartridges greased with cow fat and pig fat (the latter was prohibited for Muslims) – this started the First War of Indian Independence in 1857 but many oppressed Hindu communities such as the Dalits have traditionally been beef-eaters as well as nationalists. The nationalist chairman of India's Constitution Drafting Committee, who was appointed by the Constituent Assembly, Dr B.R. Ambedkar, was born a Dalit Hindu and later converted to Buddhism.

[lxxxvii] See G.S. Radhakrishna, "Attack on Beef Fest against 'Food Fascism'".

[lxxxviii] See Meena Kandasamy, "A Cowed-Down Nation".

[lxxxix] See Kandasamy, "The Future of Caste: We Can Look Forward".

[xc] See Kavita Krishnan, "Has Docility Become a Job Requirement for Women?".

[xci] See "Safety Issues in BPO Sector to the Fore" and "Pune BPO girl rape and murder case".

[xcii] See Rianna Starheim, "India's Media Has a Rape Problem".

[xciii] See Amy Richards and Jennifer Baumgardner, "Still Manifesting Feminism: Ten Years and Counting", *Manifesta*, ix.

[xciv] See Jennifer Baumgardner, "Introduction to Jennifer", *Manifesta*, xix-xxv.

[xcv] See Amy Richards, "Introduction to Amy", *Manifesta*, xxvii-xxxiv.

[xcvi] See Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses".

[xcvii] See Mohanty, "Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts: Ideologies of Domination, Common Interests, and the Politics of Solidarity".

[xcviii] See Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, 27.

[xcix] See Wolf 286-87.

[c] See Sengupta 341.

[ci] It should also be noted that works like the *Chandimangal* were printed in standard Bengali, which had to forget for the most part the numerous spoken dialects of Bengali, including that of Chittagong.

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