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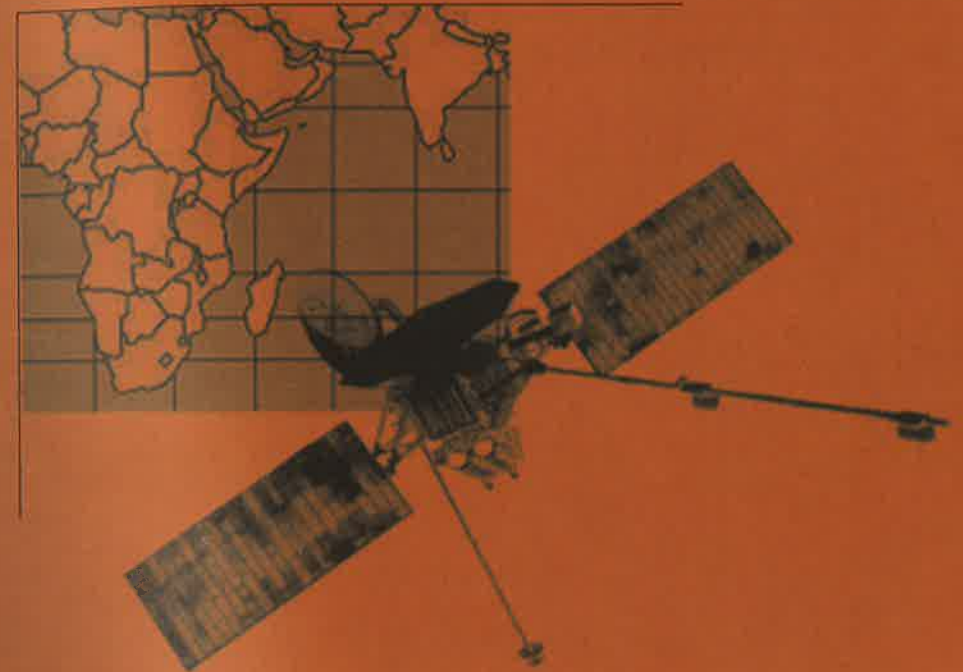


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Global Heritage: Tradition and Innovation

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RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG KÖLN

Schizophrenic conditions, difficult transitions

Joana PASSOS

Tradition is the transmission of habits, beliefs or values from one generation to the next, providing references to integrate younger generations. From a feminist perspective, tradition represents the perpetuation of patriarchies, the continuity of sexist social references. Thus, questioning gender roles implies a re-interpretation of tradition. The dilemma stands between the drive to integrate comfortable and efficient aspects of modernity while resisting homogenisation/westernisation. The aim of this paper is to look at several narratives by women writers who decided to deal with these subjects in their texts, reflecting on the importance and hold of traditions, their adaptation to the influence of technological modernity, and the social tensions that changing role models and aspirations create inside families and in the relationship between couples. This sample of voices from different societies intends to highlight affinities in the comments of writers from different locations, demonstrating that all of them feel it is necessary to rethink traditional cultural heritages if one is to live within the frame of one's traditions, but in a healthy and fulfilling way. If globalization creates a certain degree of homogenization and cultural uniformity after a western model, then, one has to understand that to rethink tradition, as these women writers do, amounts to a form of counter-hegemonic resistance, because it invokes and reasserts specific elements from one's local culture, only it is a creative and flexible memory of tradition, that does not deny a greater awareness of human rights and women's entitlement to self-esteem and autonomy to make fundamental choices in their lives.

Schizophrenic conditions, difficult transitions

Current senses of tradition, deriving from expert anthropological or sociological definitions of the concept, invoke the transmission of habits, beliefs or values from one generation to the next, perpetuating a set of ideas and life style across significant spans of time. This amounts to say that tradition provides references for the younger generation, helping them to integrate in their own societies. Tradition is then, a collective product with normative impact on the individual that is looking for his/her place in the group. At the same time, tradition gains strength and cohesion through the successful integration of individuals that accept and revere the pedagogic discourses tradition offers them, conforming to the dominant mentalities and life styles traditional world views promote. Tradition is thus, a social discourse, a collective, taken for granted set of references that assign certain roles to individual people and organize social life. It provides continuity and stability to the group, legitimatising certain forms of authority. Finally, it is important to note that while some authors underline the rigid, fixed character of tradition, recent studies have discussed the opposite, that is to say, the way tradition mutates and follows historical changes naturally, adapting to new epochs.

In this paper, I want to discuss interpretations of "tradition" from a feminist perspective. The connection between a discussion of traditional heritage and feminism is, I think, obvious. If tradition is received knowledge, sanctioned by the experience of generations, usually formalised through habit, religion and law in order to become normative, then traditional cultural heritages have supported patriarchy as the almost exclusive form of social organization, in different peoples, across different geographies. To question the hold of tradition, its value, its legitimacy, is to question patriarchy.

Let's reflect on Judith Butler's wise words (Ore 2000) concerning the social construction of gender. In the context of this paper, gender, as a conceptual tool of analysis enables you to think through the impact of tradition on, say, conceptions of family organization, the propriety of feminine behaviour, sexual control, definition of *tabu* and dominant moral values, all

of these related instances of issues that established traditions try to regulate.

According to Judith Butler, the social construction of gender determines “[...] expectations of how women and men are supposed to act” (2000:110). The problem is that these expectations contributed to establish gender inequality in many societies, and, considering this fact, any discussion of tradition is, inevitably, a discussion of gender inequality, of the process that led to a generalized “devaluation of ‘women’ and the social domination of ‘men’” (*ibid.*):

[Gender inequality] has social functions and social history. It is not the result of sex, procreation, physiology, anatomy, hormones, or genetic predispositions. It is produced and maintained by identifiable social processes and built into the general social structure and individual identities deliberately and purposefully. The social order as we know it in Western societies is organized around racial, ethnic, class, and gender inequality. I contend, therefore, that the continuing purpose of gender as a modern social institution is to construct women as a group to be the subordinates of men as a group. (2000:111)

Considering Butler’s remarks, any study of tradition has to recognize that the gradual definition and consolidation of traditional heritage has never been neuter. It promoted certain behaviours while repressing others, it sanctioned certain mentalities making them normative and dominant, it valued some individuals above those that intended to make subservient or dependent.

Women tend to be assigned the most conservative attitude in most societies because women are supposed to preserve home from chaos, granting continuity to daily routines, passing on tradition to the younger generations and keeping the honour of their family. Besides, the organization of family cells and the sexual control of women are two central social structures, closely linked to the organization of social hierarchies, to the demarcation of different castes, to the cohesion of ethnic

groups. Whenever there is ethnic diversity or caste/communal rivalry, traditional heritages are used as markers of difference and of the community’s worth, becoming even more problematic for the individuals that have to fit highly demanding expectations. Any deviation from the appointed script is not a matter of individual choice. It is the whole family, or even community, that risks losing face. Hence the particularly demanding connection between patriarchy, the preservation of the identity of the group and the definition of collective expectations regarding men and women’s social roles, with the difference that, as we shall see, women’s lot, is, traditionally, the harsher.

Developing the analysis

Another guideline for the reflection carried out in this chapter intersects the analysis of traditional heritage (considered from a gender sensitive point of view) with modernity. Nowadays, to think in terms of tradition immediately brings to mind the conflicting nature of a heritage defined through continuity and the spirit of modernity marked by the pace of fast change.

Current modernity is frequently defined as the era of globalization. Globalization means that enterprises in the west, namely Western Europe and North America, are moving their production to countries in the South hemisphere, where they can exploit local labour force for obscenely low wages, without paying proper insurances, welfare and health care. At the same time, globalization refers to a certain “homogenising effect” replicating across the globe patterns of western culture. In fact, the expansion of consumer markets has implied significant changes in life-style for non-western cultures, and may even have brought about an erosion of the credibility of local philosophical systems, of its dominant mentalities, its spiritual beliefs, intricate codes of politeness and refined moral codes. My claim is that this erosion may be less of a straight loss but more of a negotiation between keeping tradition and accommodating innovation, improving a society’s set of answers to several social issues like women’s status and their unnecessary

violent oppression. This transition between "old ways" and "new ways" is certainly unsettling and problematic, but not necessarily bad, and it may amount to a significant improvement on a society's respect for human rights, making it kinder and more welcoming to women.

On the contrary, the generalization of the idea that there is an opposition between modern times and the survival of tradition creates the impression that fundamentalist reactions may be justified as the only possible solution to protect facets of one's cultural identity from extinction. These fears incite conservative views, the more repressive and demanding from women, and since women are considered the "holders of tradition" in many societies (balancing the masculine need to be exposed to modernity in order to make business in the frame of the opportunities of globalization), any reasonable demand to ease women's burden is resented as the beginning of a sell out to the west.

The aim of this paper is to look at several narratives by women writers who decided to deal with these subjects in their texts, reflecting on the importance and hold of traditions, their adaptation to the influence of technological modernity, and the social tensions that changing role models and aspirations create inside families and in the relationship between couples. The plot of their narratives and the characters they construct are the means to carry on an analysis of the misogynous aspects of several traditions, deconstructing them. I intend to expose and compare their perspectives.

This sample of voices from different societies intends to highlight affinities in the comments of writers from different locations, demonstrating that all of them feel it is necessary to rethink traditional cultural heritages if one is to live within the frame of one's traditions, but in a healthy and fulfilling way. If globalization creates a certain degree of homogenization and cultural uniformity after a western model, then, one has to understand that to rethink tradition, as these women writers do, amounts to a form of counter-hegemonic resistance, because it invokes and reasserts specific elements from one's local

culture, only it is a creative and flexible memory of tradition, that does not deny a greater awareness of human rights and women's entitlement to self-esteem and autonomy to make fundamental choices in their lives.

Women narratives

I have been doing research in literature written by women from India, Mozambique and the archipelago of Cape Verde. The relevance of the comparison between these geographically distant voices comes from the similarities in their concerns with women's issues and the repeated possibility of violence against women connected to some traditional ideas in different cultures. They express a negative view of the paralyzing effects of tradition, but, at the same time, these writers also represent tradition under a positive light, as a provider of useful collective referents to communicate with others, as proved common-sense wisdom, and as a women's heritage of informal knowledge, passed on from generation to generation.

In order to ground my comments on their texts, I will discuss some texts from the selected group of women writers, outlining their representation of tradition on a specific, located society. The selected texts will be from Nayantara Sahgal's *Rich like Us* (1983), Paulina Chiziane's *Ventos do Apocalipse* (1999), Ghita Hariharan's *The Thousand Faces of Night* (1992) and Orlanda Amarílis' short story *Prima Bibinha* (1982).

1. Nayantara Sahgal and Ghita Hariharan

Nayantara Sahgal is a key figure among the women writers of India, praised and repeatedly studied by critics. Her novels set a standard for committed fiction, entwining stern social criticism with aesthetic achievement. She wrote *Rich Like Us* in 1983, as a comment on the Emergency Period of India (1975-1977) and the successive violations of human rights that took place under Indira Gandhi's regime. Simultaneously, Sahgal wrote a powerful book to discuss some of the most negative facets of Indian traditions.

Previously, in the 1930s and 1940s, in the context of the self-assertion of Indian identity to fight for the independence from British rule (1947), the strategic denial of colonial servitude was dependent on the popular recognition that it was important to keep "Indian ways", "returning to mother India" promoting a counterpoint to deconstruct British colonial ideology. Colonial prejudice interpreted colonised cultures as uncivilised: either decadent, as the Indian one, or primitive, as some African societies were called. In either case, colonised local societies were regarded as unfit to rule and develop themselves, needing colonial presence to be organised and optimised. These colonial ideologies were so convincing that western public opinion accepted the project of colonisation as a necessary evil, and the elites of colonised societies, usually mobilised to attend British colleges, started to believe that their "improvement" as people would depend on their ability to become replicas of their British colonisers (Viswanathan 1995). The necessary reversal of colonial Anglophilia was the spirit of the "Swadeshi movement" started by Gandhi, the aim of which was to *indianise* India, promoting Indian made, not only in terms of goods but also in terms of cultural revival and renewed reverence for Indian traditions.

In current Indian politics this revival of Indian traditions is more identified with right wing discourses, but the belief that the consolidation of India is dependent on a perpetuation of traditional views remains powerful, especially in terms of domestic organisation and the roles appointed to women. The advantage in the reception of Sahgal's text is that being a first cousin of Indira Gandhi, and a niece to Nehru, she belongs to the established aristocracies, and given this fact, Sahgal could probably go a bit further than most writers in terms of her criticism towards her own culture, getting away with it without being completely ostracised or accused of anti-nationalism.

In what concerns women's issues, Sahgal discusses ideal brides, memories of sati, and entitlement to own property. She also encourages women to study and work, parting with a more domestic life project. I am going to focus on some key passages related to these topics.

In the plot of *Rich Like Us* there is a moment when the reader is introduced to a bride, a stereotype of other brides, and a condensation of the basic notions of Indian womanhood. It is important to discuss brides because the moment a woman marries, she virtually steps into maturity and adulthood. It is one of the most important rites of passage in most cultures, and one that requires preparation, the learning of new roles. How does Sahgal describe her bride?

Kiran and I followed her into the room where the bride waited, looking like a tent. I couldn't see her face under the crimson and gold sari pulled so low over her forehead, [...] but I was hypnotized by Bimmie's nose ring, the sandal paste dots on her face, eyes downcast, and those manacled hands resting submissively in her red silk lap. [...] She looked up and it was her in the tent and the chains and the dots, nobody else. [...] Busybodies fussed around Bimmie, tilting her head, fiddling with her bangles and chains, stroking her cheek, praising her sweet, docile nature, which made it clear they knew nothing about Bimmie and had captured and tented her by mistake. (1983:54)

The choice of words is very suggestive, emphasizing the expected attributes of a bride: passive, submissive, objectified, docile and sweet. Notice the verbs too: waited, captured, manacled, "tented" (meaning "domesticated", "at home"). The bride is a prisoner. By contrast to this status of prisoner of her own womanhood, one of the main feminine characters in the novel embodies an alternative role model to this bride stereotype: she simply "opted out" of marriage. This is quite an unusual choice according to traditional Hindu culture. To marry one's daughters is one of the pressing duties of a father, and even if displeased with their parents' choice few women would be allowed to "opt out", especially in lower social castes, where there are less opportunities to study and have access to a career, not to mention the complicated dowry negotiations. Sahgal's narrative is not a statement denying the importance of family (on the contrary, though portrayed with irony, it is, unquestionably, the core that structures one's social life) but she

seems worried with the lack of protection for women against the possibility of abuse inside their domestic cells, away from legal, public control. The manacled bride above should be read in this frame of “tented” isolation, which is underlined by other sub-themes of the narrative that illustrate her vulnerability. For example, in relation to the distribution of family assets, even though the Indian law protects widow’s inheritance rights, family arrangements are very distant from courts. Traditionally, widows were dependent on their family’s good will to protect them from destitution and Sahgal suggests that many domestic “accidents” with fire and drowning in wells, may be a convenient practice to shut up any feminine claims to property. Such male oriented notion of justice is a direct consequence of the traditional mentality claiming that after her husband’s death a woman’s life is over. Old sayings, family history, religious narratives, social habit, all of these sources contribute to an informal but coherent conception that women/widow’s inheritance rights are a claim that can be tolerated, but which is not due.

Even though practices like *sati* are officially finished, they remain powerful referents to regard women as less human than men (and, once in a while, a new case is recorded, anyway)¹. But even though widow immolation is banned, Sahgal writes a fictional memory of her own grandmother’s death, deconstructing *sati* as a mere pragmatic device to silence widow’s claims on inheritance rights.

If one overlaps the above annihilating description of a bride — as someone faceless, hiding underneath make-up and sari, who could be mistaken for any other girl — with the two murders of women characters included in the plot of the novel (both because of inheritance claims), then you get a picture of a culture where one sex is more “murder-able” than the other, and I take this as a very serious criticism of traditional Hindu

¹ Eighteen year old Roop Kanwar, in 1987 — see Kumar, Radha (1994), “Identity Politics and the Contemporary Indian Feminist Movement”, in: *Identity Politics & Women Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco — and the cases of Charan Shah November 11, 1999 and Kuttu Bai 6 August 2002, according to India Express Bureau.

mentality, voiced by a writer who is sure to be read and heard, at least among certain aristocratic and academic circles.

If Sahgal were an isolated voice, her comments, put out through her literary work, could be taken as example of one particularly virulent opinion on one’s own heritage, but Sahgal has to be understood in the context of other narratives written by Indian women like Arundhati Roy’s *The God of Small Things* (1997) or Manju Kapur’s *Difficult Daughters* (1998). Moreover, if you go through some of the texts in the anthology *Women Writing in India* (Tharu and Lalita 1993, 1995) the same discomfort with the lack of sympathy bestowed on daughters, daughter-in-law, wives and widows reappears from tale to tale, across time since classical texts, in examples of literature translated from several of the languages of India like Urdu and Tamil.

I would like to conclude this section with a quote from Githa Hariharan, another Indian writer that reflects on the need to reconsider the aggressive dimensions of traditional mentalities in India:

My grandmother’s stories were no ordinary bedtime stories. She chose each for a particular occasion, a story in reply to each of my childish questions. She had an answer for every question. But her answers were not simple: they had to be decoded. (1992:27)

When your mother was a young bride [...] she brought to my house a veena [...]. She played so beautifully, our household came to a standstill as the tears streamed down our faces. [...] She had been trained as a daughter-in-law too, of course, and she played the veena every day after she had finished her household duties. [...] Then one day, my husband [...] couldn’t find a thing he needed. ‘Sita,’ he called, his voice trembling with anger. ‘Put that veena away. Are you a wife, a daughter-in-law?’ [...] She looked up at my husband, her eyes dry and narrowed, and said in a clear, stinging whisper, ‘Yes. I am a wife, a daughter-in-law’. We never saw her touch the veena again. She became a dutiful daughter-in-law the neighbours praised, and our household never heard that heart-rending music again. (1992:30)

Significantly, this novel ends with the girl returning to her mother's house as she listens to her mother, inside the house, trying to play her long forgotten *veena*. The circular structure of the novel suggests to the readers that it is necessary to go back in time, picking up something that has been repressed. What has probably been repressed is woman's entitlement to selfhood, to legal rights, to respect, to careers and to some small pleasures, like playing a *veena*. What you get from the constellation of committed women writers from India is the same recommendation to change tradition, to learn to live within its frame, but negotiating alternative ways. All of these writers are dismissive of western culture. The only thing they take as worthwhile from modernity is precisely the fact that it is open to change, fearless of mutation, prone to adjust to new demands. This is I think the core point in this literature and the main positive contribution from modernity to the survival of traditional cultural heritages. They have to become hybrid products, integrating modernity as the means to improve the aspects that need consideration because voices that had been silent so far found the way to express how painful it feels to live under the rule of misogynous traditions.

2. Orlanda Amarílis

Now, I would like to turn to another powerful source of discourses concerning wifedom and women's social roles: Catholicism. The chosen text to work as a touchstone to guide this discussion is a short story by Orlanda Amarílis, a writer from Cape Verde that has been living in Portugal most of her life, though she lived in India for a while, too. I pick such a writer because she connects Portugal to other ex-colonies, and through colonialism, one recalls the missionary efforts to spread Catholicism, often despotically erasing other cultural references in the name of the consolidation of a new tradition. Again, I want to access the cost of any dogmatic, fundamentalist notion of tradition for women.

The short story to be discussed here (*Prima Bibinha*²) narrates

² Included in the anthology *Ilhéu dos Pássaros* (1982).

the fear felt by a grandmother for the possible loss of virginity risked by her young granddaughter if she gets a boyfriend. She claims for herself the role of guardian until the young woman is ready for marriage. What the old grandmother and a too busy mother do not understand is that a certain curiosity for the other sex is natural at puberty, and to repress this behaviour without any explanation or demonstration of concern and affection is not the adequate way to initiate a younger generation in the discovery of her own body and sexed self. Fear, silence and repression can only lead to deformed prejudice, unbalanced emotions and superficial bonds. Not a very constructive outcome for any moral model. Ironically, the plot of this tale develops into a tragedy as the horrified grandmother discovers, through a maid that the teenager is pregnant. She failed as a guardian. But there is another bitter twist to this failure. Grandmother and mother were both so effective in cutting the girl off from friends and any inconsequential conversation with boys that she turned to the only man available inside the house: her own brother-in-law. The tale leaves you to consider how destructive any dogmatic interpretation of traditional references is. What is questioned through this story is not the delay in the sexual initiation of the girl until a later stage of maturity. It is the lack of dialogue and sensitivity in the way conformity to tradition is enforced that is totally inadequate. The lack of dialogue with the younger generation and the refusal to make any necessary adjustment between a traditional model and the concrete practice of bringing up individuals can only lead to a schizophrenic conflict between reality and abstract, general models.

3. Paulina Chiziane

Finally, the voice of the Mozambican writer Paulina Chiziane brings another important perspective to this analysis of cultural heritages and the specific weight of misogynous traditions. Chiziane's novel is about civil war in Mozambique, and her novel introduces another term in this reflection: how does the recent global history of de-colonization and the subsequent civil unrest and under-development affect the survival of local pre-

colonial cultural heritages? How does this history of loss, rediscovery and re-invention affect women in a particular way? According to Paulina Chiziane, and following her fictional arguments embodied in her narrative *Ventos do Apocalipse* (1999), the problem is that both the process of decolonization and post-independence civil war have promoted a military point of view on many postcolonial societies. Consequently, when old traditions are recovered, they are often recreated from traces and uncertain memories (note that many African cultures do not have written records keeping an oral tradition that passes on historical record and philosophical meaning through generations) and it is warrior legends and masculine ethnic self-assertion that are readily reinserted into current social practice. Paulina Chiziane claims that originally, rural Mozambican people had a balanced set of masculine and feminine traditions, and groups of women provided complementary power institutions that would protect and help women. Current reinterpretations of tradition lack this balance, and it is the feminine part of a more complex cultural heritage that is being forgotten or misinterpreted.

In the context of urban, capitalist Mozambique, military power has been translated into access to career and business ownership, while women are being pressed into domestic roles again. Simultaneously, in rural Mozambique, old ways have been slow to heal and the younger generation is lost between an urban modern world with its glittering promises and a rural world that seems stuck in time with few perspectives. One thing, however, is salvaged from the disbelief in old ways: the social recognition that men "acquire" women through marriage (there are modern, disguised ways of keeping "bride price", like giving the bride's father nice presents), that they are indulged if they have several families (while women are expected to be "honest"), and that older women are "out" of marriage options. For thousands of widowed refugees from decades of war (1964-1974, independence war; 1977-1992, civil war) to find a new place in society is very difficult. Men simply marry young girls, get a new family circle, and new children. This option is not there for older women, who are left to deal

with loneliness and bitter memories outside of an alternative family network.

Taking into account the voices of the three writers discussed above one can conclude that it was not the advent of modernity that caused these negative comments. It is the education of these women that enables them to voice, from the inside, the necessity to change tradition.

Conclusion

I have discussed the confrontation between tradition as a pedagogic discourse which is to be assimilated (shaping the behaviour and the mentality of the concerned women) and the modern encouragement to think critically, as the rational motivation for action, interfering with historical reality. Secondly, while tradition creates a general, homogenizing standard, modernity has promoted the assertion of private dreams and aspirations which may or may not fit easily the established gender norms. The chosen texts deal with resisting women characters who want to find a way to meet the expectations of their families, but without erasing, at least completely, their own private goals and interests. As the considered set of women characters tries to find their path between the negative and positive impact of tradition, all of the writers compose an alarming display of emotional stress, with high levels of frustration and suffering, caused either by strict, crippling interpretations of tradition or by sheer exhaustion with conflicting undecidabilities (between the emulation of the way things have always been done and the wish that they could be done differently, accommodating private dreams and longings). This conflict is acutely felt by the younger generation of women which is the one trying to settle the contradiction between tradition and historical change. Their mothers may have settled their options long ago, either with pragmatism, fulfilment or bitterness. But for the younger women, the advent of the new, which constantly confronts them through technology and globalization, has to be integrated in the frame of supposedly unchangeable values and models. For the older generation, the tendency is to equate novelty and change with

corruption, and that is when globalization and technology become central topics to think women's identity within the frame of local cultural heritages.

On the other hand, tradition provides important symbolical and cultural references which work as a mental map to define one's identity and sense of position in the society where one lives. The lack of these references would create a very high level of stress as one would not have a script to relate to others or to organize one's life. Tradition gives you an idea of what is to be expected of the future, how others have coped with difficult situations and what functions and roles you are expected to perform. Tradition provides order and structure, and as such, its importance should not be minimised. Besides, cultural traditions have an important pedagogic function being as they are an immense source of advice, knowledge of the ways of the world, survival strategies and self-help mechanisms.

Between the blessings and the evils of tradition one has to find a path that can only be reached through negotiation and adaptation, never enforced. Still, one should be aware that, on the intra-national level, willingness to re-think tradition, making it more appealing and less obsolete, may be misunderstood. As Deniz Kandiyoti (1996) points out:

[...] there is no particular reason to single women out as prisoners of a discourse they share with men. However, their gender interests may, at times, dictate their own demands and produce divided loyalties with men of their class, creed or nation. [...] There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that, for women, the "modern" is perilously close to the "alien", particularly when contemplated codes of behaviour can be identified as an outright betrayal of the expectations of their own communities.

There are many ways of living modernity but no society is yet so perfect has to be ready to dismiss the necessity to improve, and no improvement can be implemented without granting changes some room. Listen to the voices that have endured the most — they know where the wisdom of traditional world views has failed them.

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Tradition and modernity: intertwining strands in Indian women's consciousness

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Shashi Deshpande was born in Dharwad, a small city in Karnataka State in South India. She graduated from Bombay University. After marriage, she moved to Bangalore in Karnataka. These movements between cities are reflected in her novels, as is the movement from parental home to the home after marriage. The metaphor of home plays a large part in her novels, as does that of the crossing of the threshold by a woman as she moves from the protection afforded by the home to the wider world outside it.

My intention is to study some of the novels of Shashi Deshpande as this novelist's works deal with the interlaced strands of the conflict resulting from the encounter between tradition and globalisation, and the consequent impact on Indian women and their search for identity. Ms Deshpande's female characters reflect the reality of the situation faced by Indian women in their daily encounter with their world where tradition conflicts with "modernity".

Background

The present open-door, free market policy of the Indian government has been in place for over twenty years now. There has been an influx of multi-national corporations devouring the multi-dimensional, heterogeneous culture and traditions of India, shaping a bourgeoisie that imbibes occidental notions of culture, feminism and equal rights. The resulting urbanisation homogenizes, creating a pan-Indian culture. A necessary reaction against this has arisen which has, as a negative extreme, led to fanaticism. However, there has also occurred a required rectification, which has taken us back into the