

Voicing the Unvoiced : A Study of Bapsi Sidhwa's *The Crow Eaters*

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Abstract

The present paper follows "Theory of Practice"; a sociological theoretical framework given by Pierre Bourdieu which includes habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 1988, 1992) to analyse Bapsi Sidhwa's novel *The Crow Eaters* (1990). The findings of the research highlight the upbringing of habits of female characters as dominated and voiceless as per their field and capital the way these are exercised in their social surrounding. The study used textual analysis and close reading technique and find out that the female characters in *The Crow Eaters* are mostly trained for to be voiceless and subordinate in social surrounding. The woman such as Putli, is regarded as a "Devi and saint" (Sidhwa, 1990, p.163) due to obedience and meekness in her character. Her husband exploits her for his business benefits. Whereas, there are some other female characters in contrast to Putli, like Yasmeen and Tania, who are more empowered and strong. They can resist and voice their grievances openly without any fear.

Keywords: silence, unheard, voiceless, *habitus*, socialisation, domination, field, capital.

Introduction

This research study takes a theoretical framework of a French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to understand certain significant social issues discussed by him in his sociological theory. He gave a renowned theory named as Theory of Practice, which includes three basic concepts; capital, field and *habitus*. Present study is based on an analysis of the role of field and capital in society to make women voiced or voiceless. The importance of women's voicefulness or being voiceless cannot be better discussed, but under Bourdieu's theory. There are already

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settled rules in our society for man or women, thus they have become part of internalised socialisation. Woman is not born inferior or submissive rather she is made (Bourdieu, 1989) like that and she is defined as dominated. With the constant practices, women have “embodied the historical structures of the masculinity” which are predetermined and set in their “unconscious schemes of perception and appreciation” (Bourdieu cited in Dillabough, 2004, p.489).

Following Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice*, this study takes his triad; *habitus*, capital and field as tools to analyse Bapsi Sidhwa's novel *The Crow Eaters* (1990). The main concern of the study is on upbringing of women's *habitus* as dominated and silent. Following the upbringing of *habitus* of women, the study will further analyse the role and impact of women's field and capital. There are two types of women in the selected novel, i.e., those who are dominated, voiceless and docile, and other are those who alter their *habitus*, and come up as empowered and voice their plights.

Problem Statement

In Sidhwa's novel *The Crow Eaters* (1990) most of the women remain silent and suppressed. In order to understand the plight of silent women, it is important to discuss their position against men in society. The study also discusses the change and transformation in female characters' mood and temperament in the society where they survive. Moreover, the research also depicts how men empower and reinforce their power by raising their capital, for which they use women as a channel and source to increase their capital.

Objectives of the Study

1. To depict the field of the female characters in *The Crow Eaters*.
2. To analyse the process of *habitus* formation of women in their field.
3. To analyse the ways of men's power to use women to raise their capital.

Research Questions

1. How does the writer depict the *field* for women in the novel *The Crow Eaters*?
2. What is the process of *habitus* formation of women in their respective field?
3. What are different ways by which men use women to increase their capital?

The Crow Eaters: An overview

The Crow Eaters is a lively and humorous work of Bapsi Sidhwa written on the lives of Parsee community. The novel highlights the foibles and celebrates the achievements of Parsees. The setting of the novel is pre-partition time wherein Parsees interact with the rest of communities in India is highlighted especially with Hindu and British. The main character of the novel is Faredoon Jungewalla (Freddy). With the help of Freddy, Sidhwa has recreated the picture of Parsee culture, its origin and development. Moreover, Freddy, his wife Putli, and rest of their family members are the observer of the events happening during India's partition.

The novel also highlights the lives and relationship of male and female characters with their roles in their home and outside. Keeping in view the distinct roles and relationships of the characters this study focuses on the position of the characters in their field.

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Bourdieu's Theory of Practice(*Habitus*, Capital and Field)

For portraying the plight of unvoiced and subordinate people of society, Bourdieu's conceptual framework is adopted. Since the theory mainly focuses on the predicament of the underprivileged people in their field, therefore, the value of their socialization can be properly understood by its association to structure and agency. In this regard, Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* tries to stable both the structure and agency. This theory has three main tools; *habitus*, capital and field which are called "thinking tools" (Grenfell & James, 2004, p. 518) to brighten the social world. The idea of Bourdieu behind building this theory was to bring together the social and the cognitive patterns of agents. For him, social realities remain twice in our life, at one hand it is present in the objective world outside, and at the other hand it remains in our minds. Hence, social reality remains inside as well as outside of agents (cited in Husu, 2013, p. 30).

Habitus has an important place in the triad. There has been extensive studies carried on *habitus* such as Gaddis, 2013; Papacharissi & Easton, 2013; Lo & Stacey, 2008. Bourdieu (1992) has defined *habitus* as "a scheme of perception, thought and action" (p.53) which is made from early life experiences which later on becomes one's *habitus*. The early life habits become the disposition which is actually the experience of social agents (Bourdieu, 1988). Yet, *habitus* has a speciality that it is dynamic; it transforms, changes and evolves during agents's life regardless of major influences of early socialisation.

Moreover, the subsequent practices of life gained from social surrounding always play role to strengthen, structure and restructure the *habitus* (Jenkins, 1992; Reay, 1995). During this whole process of making a *habitus*, "trace of an entire collective history" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.91) comes from family and class in which individual's collective *habitus* is formed.

As a notion, *habitus* has been repeatedly employed for investigating the regular interactions of underprivileged agents and their constant struggles for survival. The *habitus* of individuals residing in the similar field has harmony and conformity. Hence, in order to understand the individual attitude of agents, it is very important to understand their collective *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990). It is important to note that agent's *habitus* is not just an individual thing rather it socialised subjectivity. It is strongly bound with society of agents. It plays pivotal role in its development (Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Though *habitus* is raised in the social structure, yet individual can have their choice and agency respectively in building their *habitus*. In *Theory of Practice* (1977, 1990) Bourdieu has brought a connection between agents and their social structure. When we apply *habitus* as a method, it gives a wider and deeper analysis of the structures in the social world. This study uses trio (*habitus*, capital and field) to get Sidhwa's devices and tools to analyse the suppression of female voice in *The Crow Eaters*.

Along with *habitus*, another notion which has a central value is capital. It is noted that depending the type and amount of capital, agents' *habitus* is builded as dominant and dominated, weak or strong (Bourdieu, 1991). There are various kinds of capital as social, economic, linguistic and cultural. Individuals' possessions and influences describe the kind of capital. The agents having considerable amount of capital remain dominant and exercise their *habitus* on those who possess comparatively less amount of capital. Thus, it has a leading role in the social structure. It produces double standards for the agents having more or less amount

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of their capital. The agents with an unrecognised and less amount of capital are compelled to internalise the things which are happening in their social surrounding. Thus, it determines their relation to their capital. Moreover, different types of capitals are related with various values in different fields. It is not just individual's dominance that makes them overriding but it also depends on the field in which it is exercised.

Field is the third notion in the *Theory of Practice*. It is basically a social construction and particular environment in which agents live and show their individuality (Bourdieu, 1986). Each field accepts and approves some capitals and *habitus*, and discards others. Thus, the situation of an agent is understood on the basis of the earlier experienced and accepted rules of the field on which the *habitus* of individual is based. Field decides the social place of individuals or societies (Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2003 cited in Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Social reality exists twofolded; one in minds and other in things, that is in field and in *habitus*, within and outside agents. This can be better understood with an example of fish. When *habitus* is practiced in the surrounding in which it is produced it is like a fish in water. Fish does not feel the load of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted (Ozbilgin and Tatli 2005, p.866).

After analysing these three notions (*habitus*, capital and field), it is established that they have a strong and delicate relation in building agents' life practices. Agents' certain behaviours, practices, and the kinds of capital which they possess are valued and also devalued in certain fields and these are the things that differentiate agents' kind of fields (Reay, 2004; Wacquant, 1989; Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, each field varies from other because it is creation and also creator of the *habitus* in a specific field (Jenkins, 1992; Grenfell & James, 2004).

Use of Bourdieu's Framework

Bourdieu's theory has been widely applied throughout the world in different contexts and cultures. It has been adopted in different disciplines irrespective of confines of time and space. It shows that this theory is not bound for any specific type of institution but it can be applied to any type of research. It has been applied in literature, art, cultural studies, gender studies, educational and social contexts, etc. Rind (2021) has applied Bourdieu's Theory of Practice on Sidhwa's fiction from sociological perspective. Shahriar (2013) also applied the triad in South Asian context to understand the position of females in their daily life. Different researchers like Fowler (2006, 2009, 2012) and Sapiro (1996, 2002) have applied it in literature. Fowler applied the theory on British drama of 1960s showing up new cultural studies in literature. For gender studies, Kraus (1993, 2006) used Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* from Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination* to understand gender studies.

Moreover, researchers have also conducted various studies merely to understand and explain Bourdieu's concepts. For example Reay (1995, 2004a, 2015) and Crozier et al. (2008) carried studies just to demonstrate the concept of *habitus*. In order to understand psychosocial development of various aspects of life, Reay (2015) analysed the impending role of *habitus*. She deems *habitus* as a window to peep into psychosocial characteristics of life. Furthermore, institutional *habitus* has also been a widely discussed concept, researchers like Cookson and Persell (1985), Falsey and Heyms (1984), Lamont and Lareau (1988), McDonough (1997), Reay (1998), Reay, Ashwin (2009), Smyth and Banks (2012) have conducted studies on it.

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Many educational researchers have also used this theory. Lin (1999), Dumais (2002), and Reay (2004b) have applied *habitus* with cultural capital. Another researcher, Dumais used *habitus* to investigate cultural participation of male and female students of school and involvement of their parents in making their *habitus*. Reay also carried an educational study to analyse the involvement of parents in schools. Dillabough (2004, p.489) examined the theory for feminist analysis. The notion Field has also been widely used by different educational researchers, like Lareau and Horvat (1999), Deer (2003), Naidoo (2004) and Marginson (2008).

Bourdieu's theoretical framework plays a vital role in this research paper. This study carried three concepts *habitus*, field and capital to analyse and understand silent and unvoiced position of female characters in Bapsi Sidhwa's novel *The Crow Eaters*.

Literature Review

In Pakistani English literature, the works of female writers have remained in limelight (Shah, 2010, Shamsie, 2009, 2011; Sidhwa, 1984, 1993, 2013, 2015; Durrani, 1995; Hosain, 1979 etc.). Among those famous female writers Bapsi Sidhwa has remained as the harbinger and carrier of female voice, that is why she is known as the champion of female rights (Shamisa cited in Ahmed, 2012, p.121). Her fiction has been researched and analysed from different viewpoints. Most commonly researchers have carried her fiction from feminist perspective. Whereas her fiction has also been analysed from Marxist, colonial, postcolonial, partition, diaspora and cultural view (Khan & Ahmed, 2019 and Lodhi & Mehmood 2019).

Younus and Ghani (2015) carried a study on *The Crow Eaters* to find out communicative and discourse situation. The study demonstrates the communicative connection of the author with her readers. The researchers emphasised the value judgment on the basis of Irony, Tone and Distance by adopting the model of Narrative Discourse (1981) given by Leech and Short. The findings show that the novel uses "Situational" irony to make the story exciting for the readers, and characters' Tone is generally "Polite" and "Humorous", yet it also becomes harsh sometimes according to the situation. Lastly, the study finds out that there is a very rare "Distance" present in the text.

Female victimisation has remained a widely discussed topic for Sidhwa's fiction. Sheela (2014) discussed female characters in Sidhwa's five novels: *The Pakistani Bride*, *The Crow Eaters*, *Ice Candy Man*, *An American Brat* and *Water*. She asserts that the novels are actually showing the protest against the victimisation of women. Therefore, in some or other way Sidhwa reacts by enabling her females to stand against the norms and raise their voice.

The Crow Eaters has been analysed from feminist perspective by Singh (2012). She shows various ways of invisible female subordination. Her study highlights family as the main institution to nurture the nature of females for their subordination. It is their family which impacts, controls and authorises this subordination. Secondly, living in that nurturing, females are fascinated with various relationships such as being mother and wife. These relationships have been so glorified in the minds of women that they deem their destiny to be wife and mother. Thus they remain ready to sacrifice everything for these relations. The best example is Putli. Consequently, women remain in the hands of their destiny as wives and mothers, and cherish patriarchal values. Such females in turn train their next generation for the similar role that they have been playing.

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Research Gap and Significance of the Study

Keeping in view the literature review (on Bourdieu and Sidhwa) this paper can be considered as a solo study conducted on the *The Crow Eaters* in the context of subcontinent from sociological perspective. The study examines the worth of women's voice and their expressions keeping in view Bourdieu's *habitus*, capital and field; elements of Theory of Practice. *The Crow Eaters* has mostly been analysed as a humourous and satirical novel but this study analyses it through sociological perspective wherein the character's relationships and their impact are depicted through Bourdian perspective.

Research Methodology

To examine the social structure and the ways in which women's voice is suppressed, this paper adopts Bourdieu's theoretical framework which includes *habitus*, capital and field. Following methods are used for the data collection of current study.

Textual Analysis and Close Reading of the Selected Novel

The researchers have used textual analysis method to carry a close reading of the novel *The Crow Eaters* (1990). This method helps to explore different patterns and ways (as Sidhwa depicted) used by society to suppress female voice in the novel. Since it is a content based study and taken from a literary piece, therefore this method is adopted. Hence, keeping in view the worth of literary material it is a suitable method to obtain textual meaning (Neuman, 1992; Bobbie, 1996; Cuddon, 1999) from the selected novel. While close reading of the text, it helped to grasp the connotation of the text of novel by focusing on its specific words, signs, manner, characters, sequence of incidents and opinion of the author. According to Burke (2013) close reading is dissimilar from previous traditional approaches of reading. It focuses reader's attention just towards a text. For Burke close reading is careful, thoughtful, critical analysis of a text. Close reading focuses on important details of the text. Baker and Mcenery (2017) consider close reading an investigation of a text with multiple readings. Multiple readings of a text engage reader to analyze thorough meaning of a text, to focus on key details of a text and to evaluate arguments present in a text. Fisher and Frey (2015) have the view that the main purpose of reading is just to unlock the meaning of text which can be done through merely one time close reading as well as three times close readings.

With a close reading of the text of the novel, the researchers understand, assess and study the conducts, disposition and expressions in *The crow Eaters* and the narrator's tone of speaking.

Analysis and Discussion

Making Silent *habitus*

The rules and regulation in the field are already set for women. The practice of suppression of women's voice is already part of social *habitus*. The *habitus* of women's being unheard is already exercised in the field of the novel *The crow Eaters* (1990). This practice is structured and strengthened in women's field through their environment in order to maintain their bounded culture and trend. In this novel, Sidhwa portrays that the field compels its agents to practice various already settled *habitus* for women. Different *habitus* are already settled for women in their field for example, stay silent, not talking or arguing to elders especially with

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men, not showing any wish or choice in any matter of life, not even for marriage, stay silent and be obedient to whatever is decided for women's life and then never complain. Thus, its persistent practice in the field has made it a collective *habitus*. As it frequently exercised in the field, mostly women have internalised it. Consequently, these women shift the same *habitus* to their children. specially, they prepare the minds of their daughters to accept and adopt already settled *habitus* without questioning its authenticity.

Upbringing of women in the field

Sidhwa depicts very meticulously every big or small regular activities of women, she shows upbringing of female characters' *habitus* how women internalise their *habitus*. The most frequent lesson taught to girls from their very childhood is that how they should spend their lives with men without raising their voice. Such as in *The Crow Eaters* (1990) Soonmai tells Jerbano "it was their duty to win over their menfolk" (p.73). She tells her the reason for winning their men because they work hard all day out of home and definitely they get tired by the end of the day and become irritable. That is why they need pampering from their women, such as a wife should prepare breakfast for her husband with her own hands, even if she has servants in home, she should press husband's shoulders in the evenings and serve him a cup of tea in his room. Moreover, for woman it is her duty to "agree with his views... After all he was the breadwinner" (p.73). she should "keep everyone happy" without any confrontation and for this she should dance on men's tune (p.73). Likewise, among other duties of a wife, a woman has to prepare herself for being a "salve" (p.86) for family.

Silent *Habitus* of Women

The Crow Eaters portrays many incidents and events where girls/women stay silent and unheard in their lives. Many female characters spend their lives being silent in their daily routines such as Freddy's wife Putli acts and behaves to be an ideal woman for her husband and for her other family members. She did not get this *habitus* of an ideal woman in a day. For this ideal image she was brought up from her early life and subsequently she accepted and adopted that taught *habitus* to be silent and submissive. She internalised the *habitus* to be dutiful to her husband and children which is her first and foremost responsibility. For this cause Putli dedicated her life and proved herself to be the right woman for her husband and children. In her words and actions she is a tradition bound, compliant, submissive woman. A pandit defines her as a "reincarnation of Devi" and "saint" (Sidhwa, 1990, p.163). The reason she is deemed as saint and Devi is Putli's silent, submissive and docile nature and her internalised and meek *habitus* that she has adopted in her daily life routine. In her house she has many maids and servants yet she serves her family herself because she has got this *habitus* of serving her family silently from her upbringing. It is her priority to do all the little things for her husband and for her sons without making any complain about anything in life. Now it has become part of her *habitus* to start her day very early from the dawn and devotedly sings religious songs. She does this happily (p.123).

Due to her complete compliance and silence to every demand and order of husband, Freddy has controlled her and exercises his authority over her. He commands wife by giving different dictates, such as, he becomes extremely tough and rude if his wife does anything that is unacceptable to him. Therefore, due to this nature of her husband, she remains extremely alert

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and extra reverent to his decisions and does not speak. Moreover, it is also seen that when Putli does or plans for doing something which he feels profligate that is actually not damaging, then Freddy directly disagrees and makes fun of his wife in front of crowd. More pathetically, having shown all austerity and stern looks he leaves her free in rest of the matters (p.13). Then definitely Putli could not gather any courage to do anything contrasting her husband's will as a result she remains unvoiced. Thus, with such kind of tactful ways Freddy gets complete control over her psychologically. Whereas Putli is such a descent and docile lady that she remains happy within that limited freedom whatever she could get from her husband.

**Exploitation of Women for Getting Capital
Manipulation of females**

The most precious earning for men is their economic capital. To attain this capital they would do anything and use all resource to get their means. The best example is in *The Crow Eaters*. It is Freddy, who uses all his resource and tactics to flourish his business. He even uses his wife to get all the business benefits. Though he deems his wife to be sober and a housewife who has no interference in outdoor matters but when it comes to his business benefits he takes her to show off. He forcefully takes her to attend business parties of Hindu and English businessmen till late nights. These kind of parties do not suit Putli's meek and silent *habitus* but due to persistence of Freddy she attends these late night parties. Though she is unwilling to go to such kind of gatherings, but the only reason she joins her husband is that with her presence her husband will be easily mingled with other businessmen and their families and will show other businessmen that he is no less than any successful businessman. By doing so her husband's reputation and contact will raise his relations with other reputed businessmen and this way their business will flourish. During these gatherings, certain things are quite unbearable for Putli and she feels helpless, like she hates to show off in front of other men. She detests the trend for women to walk a step before her husband. For her this is "hypocritical and pretentious, and most barbarous" (p.188) action that she has done ever. Freddy does whatever he could do to the utmost level to prove and show in these parties that his wife is up to mark, no less than Englishmen's wives and her *habitus* is same as that of Englishmen's wives. In order to show this off, he pretends many things. This pretending starts from the very entry into the event. As both arrive in the party they practice what they have already rehearsed; Freddy steps down from the tonga, then with a very smiling face he extends his hands towards his wife sitting in the tonga to help her to get down. It all looks like a courtier serves a cherished queen. Then he gestures her to walk before him the way other people do in these parties. In the beginning, this kind of activities were quite difficult and troubling for her. Because she has not seen this thing in her family for a woman to walk before her husband. So initially she even could not walk, looking at her condition Freddy steers and thrusts her. He even poked and pushed her on every step towards the way. Interestingly, nobody in the party could even imagine that the way he puts his arm around her is actually nothing but he is inciting her ahead the way. Throughout her *habitus* upbringing, Putli had learned and practiced a habit that she has to walk three paces behind her husband, and now this action was like a naked walk in public (p.188).

Moreover, as soon as they arrive among people the more painful and worst things happen

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for Putli. As a custom of the party, Freddy starts her introduction to different people in the party and asks her to “shake hand” with them (p.189). Putli is afraid of shaking hand with these strangers. While introduction Governor tries to shake hand with her, but she did not give any response, then Freddy reminded her with a little pinch and then her hand shot out and governor shook her hand three times.

These parties are an opportunity and a source of earning for Freddy. He earns more capital by showing off his wife, so he makes new friends and new relations there. Therefore he could not bear any small negligence from Putli to lose the chance. Once during the party when Putli insisted him to go home, he took her to an isolated place and “patiently spelled out such a dire picture of ruin, disgrace, and business annihilation if they dared the insult the Governor with their abrupt departure that Putli never again tried to get away” (p.190).

Empowering women by giving them voice

Altered *habitus* and voiced women

All the discussion in above sections have clearly depicted the submissive and silent nature of Putli. Contrary to Putli, Sidhwa brings some other characters in order to negate this *habitus*. Sidhwa believes that though women have strong practice of internalised *habitus* and upbringing, yet there are still certain women who are empowered and different from the traditional ones. For this she portrayed other female characters like Yasmeen, daughter of Putli as a big example. Yasmeen is brought up in the same environment; dominated and silent *habitus* of women, where her mother is brought up but she alters her *habitus* after getting married.

Compared to Putli and her mother, Yasmeen is a modern age girl, there is a huge generation gap. She follows the current living standards and acts and behave unlike her mother. After arriving her parent's home after marriage, she pushes her husband aside and rushes forward to greet parents. This thing surprises Putli, but then she thinks it might be due to her enthusiasm to meet her parents after a big gap of four years. But then she notices Yasmeen walking ahead of her husband into carriage. There she could not bear this and she takes Yasmeen aside and reprimands her for this in appropriate action. It is a matter of big concern for her. She worries about her upbringing of Yasmeen. What will her husband and her in-laws think of her upbringing? (p.190) Yasmeen, being a modern girl, protests this behavior of her mother and tells her that this is what her husband wants that way. She explains “it is stupid to walk behind your husband like an animal on a leash” (p.190). Sidhwa shows “generation gap” (p.191) between them. Yasmeen has adopted the current flow of freedom.

Tanya; Putli's daughter in law is yet another strong woman. Tanya is depicted as a contrast to Putli. Tanya's background is strong and she is from a wealthy family therefore she has advantage to live as per her wish. But she did not get all her wishes fulfilled, for that she has to pay much more and sacrifice many a times. From the very beginning of her marriage, her husband, Billy hopes that his wife would be “loving and obedient slave” (p. 231) as it was a common expectation of husbands in his surrounding. His expectation went into vain when Tanya did whatever she wished. By having her wishes, it does not mean she does not love or respect her husband or goes against his wishes. She just did not follow the tradition of submissiveness as other women in her in laws do. She speaks her heart, participates in discussions, argues when she feels anything happening wrong. Thus, she is not among those

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women who let their husbands to suppress their voice. She is always determined to say and do what is right for her. She is the one who stands against other women who suppress her voice. She could not bear constant antagonism of Putli and Jerbano (grand mother in law) in her personal matters. She resists them, but when matters become "intolerable" (p.249) she protests, shares her grievances and complains the behavior of these two women to her father-in-law, Freddy.

She is quite aware of the fact that she is a different daughter in law because she has a strong and empowered *habitus* which is totally unbearable in her in-laws. In order to be strong and raise her voice she faced lot of troubles. Initially she was recurrently offended by Billy's oppressions. She was told and reminded persistently that she has to follow what is accepted in their family. She has to do different things to please her husband but the first and foremost thing to make him happy is her absolute submission to Billy (p. 275). This is very difficult for her to go with. Billy is a different kind of man, the whole house is tyrannised with his endless demands and orders. He uses Tanya to governs house. He controls her through different orders such as, she should not spend money, she should never ask anything, she should not waste time, she must keep minute details of all expenses, she must obey your husband, and jump to his bidding, she should train children to obey and to love father more than they do, she and children should never disturb him (p.278).

Tanya knows her place and value of her voice, being an educated and empowered lady she does not dance on his tunes and does not follow his every order blindly. For example when Billy puts objection on her spendthrift nature she threatens him to write a letter to her father telling him her miseries at in-laws (p. 247). Moreover, she also could not bear her insult in hands of her grandmother and great-grandmother. In order to save herself, even goes to the extent that she becomes abusive. This thing though infuriates Billy, but she could not bear and becomes so critical about Jerbano. She says she would not say anything about her mother in law but she won't be silent on Jerbano. She says to Billy "even if you shut my mouth by force I will say what I have to about her! Look what they have turned you into a little cheap skate and she has the check to criticize my upbringing I will not stand for it!" (p.248).

Results and Discussion

This research study finds out that the *field* of characters where they live in encourages already set norms and rules made for women. Many structured *habitus* for women are already set in their field such as to be docile and silent to every grievance they have, to accept every violence against them, and to be non resistant and behave like a Devi or saint. Such traits are found in Putli who is reared up in that field and she internalizes them. She not only internalizes such traits and *habitus* herself but at the same time she transfers these to her children.

To bring contrast to Putli, Sidhwa depicts some other empowered women who become very much vocal and resist the issues and troubles they come across. Among such women is Tanya and Yasmeen. Though Yasmeen is Putli's daughter have remained under her training but her *habitus* is not same as her mother. She is opposite to the behaviour and expectations of her Putli, such as she walks ahead of her husband. She never bothers for just small things as her mother does. While Tanya, daughter-in-law of Putli, is very much dominant lady who voices her grievances and shares her issues and problems that she comes across. She has ability to

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face and show resistance to the injustices of her husband Billy, her mother-in-law and great mother-in-law Jerbano.

Suggestions for Future Studies

Like all research studies, this study is limited in its scope, there is need of further research. This research uses single work of a single author and is limited to the lives of characters present in the selected novel *The Crow Eaters*. The study applied Bourdieu's one theory, Theory of Practice selecting its main three elements habitus, capital and field. It is suggested that there can be further studies on the same novel from different other perspectives of Bourdieuian theories. These same elements can be applied to other works of Sidhwa and to the works of other national and international writers. Moreover, there also can be comparative studies of different works of different authors from different cultures by applying the model of Bourdieu.

Implications of the Research

This study is a good example for those women who are still following traditional norms blindly and are living under the control of men. The study encourages them to challenge their men, cultural trends and society as Tanya did by her power and willingness. There is just need to take one bold step ahead to earn respect and honor from others and society. This study also sets forth good example and encourages modern women to live happy and harmonious life and see the world beyond the horizons of men. The study gives voice to the unheard women and make them realize that they can be heard anywhere, there is no need to suppress their existence and thoughts.

Conclusion

From the findings of the study it is concluded that the women get pre-set *habitus* from their field to be unvoiced and suppressed. It is analysed that there are two kinds of female characters in the novel; one who adopt and accept the pre set role from their field. Secondly, there are certain other female characters, though they are also suppressed to remain silent, yet they have ability to overcome all these issues with their will. They empower themselves by changing their *habitus* and fix the same *habitus* in their field. Once the *habitus* is fixed in the field, it spreads its roots and becomes strong.

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