

GENDER STEREOTYPE AND GENDER-BASED SOCIALISATION: AN EARLY AGE DEVELOPMENT OF HABITUS AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN BAPSI SIDHWA'S ICE CANDY MAN AND WATER

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at exploring the practise of gender-based socialisation of girls for stereotypes in two of Bapsi Sidhwa's novels "Ice Candy Man" and "Water" through Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1988; 1992). This notion is adopted to analyse the role of habitus in formation of early age socialisation for gender-based stereotypes. The study is carried out by following the method of textual analysis and close reading of both the novels. The findings of the study can be seen in two ways. First, girls are trained for stereotypes in the very early age. For this, their parents, family, society and culture play an important role. The practise of different roles for men and women in societal order enhance these stereotypes associated with one's gender. Agents are socialised for certain practises according to their gender i.e. girls are trained at an early for married life, by feeding sweetened speculation in their minds. They are taught their womanly roles i.e. being domestic, doing household chores, being submissive, which due to their consecutive practise and internalisation becomes part of their habitus. Secondly, the study finds out that certain time agents transform and change their habitus even the field promotes stereotypical behaviours. Sidhwa has presented the women who try to break their structured and socialised habitus according to their approach and activate their habitus according to their logic of practise.

Keywords: *Stereotype, gender, socialisation, habitus, early age practises*

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INTRODUCTION

The early age is an ideal time to raise practices in children's mind, which acutely establish their mindset for their upcoming life. Gender is one of the first social categories to which children become aware of at their very early age. It is the earliest lesson that parents provide to the children; one child's birth, the first question they normally ask -is it a boy or a girl? (Crespi, 2003; Leaper, 2013; Martin, 2013; Halim & Lindner, 2013). Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003) explain that along with parents, the society equally brings about the discrimination to constitute the gender. Children start to build what Hanish & Fabes call "gender identity" (2013, p.1) in their infancy and in words of Halim and Lindner, they become "gender detectives" (2013, p.1), perceptually distinguishing males and females. Moreover, nature (biology) and nurture (environment) contribute reciprocally in the further development of gender-based socialisation.

Crespi (2003) defines socialisation as "the process, through which the child becomes an individual respecting his or her environment's laws, norms, and customs" (p.04). Gender socialisation is a more focused form of socialisation in which children of different sexes are socialised into their specified roles and taught what it means to be male or female. Thus, "children learn about the social expectations, attitudes and behaviours associated with one's gender" (Martin, 2013, p. 01). These expectations may also occur regarding their personality traits (e.g. men are owners), abilities (e.g. women are good at household chores), activities, and roles (e.g. men are powerful and women are submissive). According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) gender is not something we are born with and not something we have, but something we do— something we perform. The performance is all that one learns from society and gives in return. It follows that the force of gender grouping is fixed in society, which makes it impossible for individuals to move through their lives in a non-gendered way. Thus, the persistence of "gender categories depend on reinforcement in day-to-daybehaviour" (p.33). In gender socialisation, the discrimination is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, actions, beliefs, and in our desires, that it appears to us to be completely natural, hence it becomes gender stereotype.

Traditionally, there are settled gender stereotypes; individuals are socialised for dominant and dominated practises which are firmly structured in the social order. Men are recognised to be adventurous, agentic, coarse, hard, assertive, aggressive, independent, task-oriented and strong. However, women are tended to be sweet, delicate, submissive, passive, communal,

weak, and interdependent. They have to do home cooking, cleaning, and caring for children (Hetherington & Parke, 1999 cited in Crespi, 2003). Such perceptions are the outcome of gender-based socialisation, which is essentially the desecration of gender equality. The term gender equality stands contrary to gender stereotype, which asserts that “men and women are essentially alike” (Fletcher, 2002, p.86).

The issue of socialisation for gender-based stereotype is a universal feature of the world generally, and of the developing countries specifically. Focusing on the practise of gender stereotype in their *habitus*, for man and woman in subcontinent, the present study analyses a Pakistani female writer Bapsi Sidhwa’s two novels *Water* (2013) and *Ice Candy Man* (2015) in Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, *Theory of Practise*, applying his notion of *habitus* to analyse early age socialisation for gender-based stereotype (herein the word *habitus* is italicised because Bourdieu has used it in this way).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present paper attempts to explore how a Pakistani English female fiction writer represents the gender-based socialisation of individuals in subcontinent through her two novels. The study also explores collective *habitus* of society (class *habitus*) to build up and encourage gender-based behaviours at the early age of individuals. This study is an endeavour to bring attention to the socialisation of girls, for the practise of gender-based distinctions adopted at home and in the environment. It also aims to highlight the acquiescent situation of women in the subcontinent. Moreover, to explore impacts of the gender-based socialisation based on Bourdieu’s framework is also one of the objectives of the study.

Research Question

The study is based on following main question which is further divided into sub questions,

1. How does Sidhwa portray the socialisation for gender-based stereotype in *Ice Candy Man* and *Water*?

Sub Questions:

- How does the *habitus* of girls and boys develop in their early age for practicing and reinforcing the stereotypes for nuptial life in both novels?

- How do the parents and environment help to build up girls' *habitus* for nuptial life in the novels?
- How does the *habitus* of women; the dominated agents, transform?

Development of *Habitus* through Early Age Socialisation

The notion of *habitus* is of the great use in explaining how the gender stereotype functions and strengthens through early age socialisation. *Habitus* is explained as a “scheme of perception, thought and action” which is established in regular practises and reproduce the disposition of individual, which is the sum of all his experiences (Bourdieu, 1988 p.782; 1992; Thompson, 1991). Agents' behaviour and dispositions are built up and made firm in early age, which continue to practise throughout the life, with certain alteration, according to time and need (Bourdieu, 1990 a; Lo & Stacey, 2008). Berenbaum and Beltz (2013) have a similar view as that of Bourdieu in saying “gendered characteristics develop across time and socialisation effects may vary with children's developmental status” (p. 02). In Bourdieu's theory, this early life *habitus* formation of agents is their socialisation. Through this, agents learn to survive, maintain, develop even break their *habitus*. In *habitus*, change and choice are important aspects, even though the choice is limited by the social structure (Shahriar, 2015). In addition to this, in the slow and unconscious altering of *habitus*, early socialisation plays an important role, because it alters the primary disposition of agent (Swartz, 2002). Established practises of society play an important role in the formation of slow and unconscious, never the less durable *habitus*. This form of *habitus* formation is a method, rather than an idea (Bourdieu, 1985 cited in Mahar, 1990) which is both structured structure and structuring structure, though formed in during early life practises, but keeps on restructuring without intentional or conscious effort (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, unconscious process shapes the basis of individual's thinking, perceptions, and actions which become disposition of agents throughout the life (Bourdieu 1977; 1992; Ernste, 2006).

Confirming with early age socialisation, agents adopt certain dispositions from the society which result in inequality and gender disparity. These dispositions are so strongly embedded in the social order that they become natural and inevitable, and agents accept this status quo without questioning its legitimacy. In this connection, Bourdieu (1992) writes that internalising of the externality allows external forces to exert themselves. Once dominant and structured *habitus* is adopted, it protects itself in agents' lives and then

individual's *habitus* becomes the class *habitus*, where individuals have a common scheme of perceptions and conception. For example, men's dominance in the social structure is adopted as a fact. When a woman internalises this dominance and accepts this as natural without questioning its legitimacy then this duality and inequality go on. Thus, it turns from her individual *habitus* to class *habitus*. The society has developed the particular *habitus* i.e. for men, to be dominant, and for women, to internalise this dominance and become dominated, such *habitus* is developed in agents' mind since childhood and then the practical world motivates for what is already realised and present in surrounding (Bourdieu, 1992). The whole set up is developed to follow the established process and paths. Furthermore, the behaviour of agents in that established system builds up their *habitus*, which is structured in practical conditions; the knowledge that agents get is already structured in the system which develops and further reinforces in their disposition. It is reciprocal relationship: behaviour affects structures and structures affect behaviour. Agents' habits, preferences, and beliefs develop in response to their experience of socialisation, and "to the extent that the social order structures their experience" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

Though started at infancy, gender-based up bringing of *habitus* does not end with childhood. It continues to transform as agents grow up. It renovates with their change of relations – when they become sisters and brothers, wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers, etc.,. With their age, agents maintain to establish new ways of being men and women (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003) which form their stereotype.

Gender Stereotype

The gender stereotype according to the Report of United Nation's Human Rights Commission (2014) is a "generalised view or preconception about attributes or characteristics that are or ought to be possessed by women and men or the roles that are or should be performed by men and women". Further, it explains gender stereotyping as "the practise of ascribing to an individual woman or man specific attributes, characteristics, or roles by reason only of her or his membership in the social group of women or men" (p.01).

A gender stereotype is a psychological trait which comprises beliefs about the mental behaviour, characteristics and the activities suitable for men or women. This influences conceptualizations of men and women and

establishes social categories for them (Brannon, 2002). Its impression comes with the first question asked about their gender at the birth time and its practise starts when children come at the age of three (Martin & Little, 1990 cited in Brannon, 2002). “They become capable of forming and maintaining elaborate stereotypes for men and women, they also become more willing to make exceptions to the gender rules they have learned” (p.166).

In view of that, stereotypes form the basis for discrimination and these are shaped according to individual’s culture as studied by Cuddy et al. (2010) culture shapes “the contents” (p.02) of gender stereotypes. The culture forms specific gender-based roles-men are stereotyped as agentic, independent and goal oriented, while, women are as interdependent, communal, and oriented toward others. These contents are accepted as persistent and universal and are endorsed by both men and women across cultures.

The endorsement of gender stereotype is embedded in one’s life, as Marinova (2003) deems that these are so deeply preserved by society in children’s mind in the very early age that children start to internalise them. Girls receive those stereotyped roles from their mothers; who are “contaminated” (p.03) by the same stereotypical thinking, they teach them first lessons; playing with dolls, learning to prepare food and washing clothes and doing everything else which is related to “women’s duties” (p.03). Thus, for upbringing of such *habitus* of individuals; parents, family, society and culture play an important role. They all corroborate in maintaining and reinforcing this *habitus* to the extent that this *habitus* becomes an inevitable part of individual’s life. In turn, the individual customarily internalise it.

Keeping in view the literature review, the present study will analyse the early age socialisation of girls’ *habitus* in both the selected novels, for gender-based stereotypes, which become part of their life as they grow women.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to carry out research on these two novels (*Ice Candy Man* and *Water*), the study focuses on early age *habitus* development for establishing gender stereotypes. This paper uses the method of textual analysis which is usually used for research on the contents of literature (Bobbie, 1996; Neuman, 1992). Textual analysis enables for the close reading of the text, which is a suitable method to obtain textual understanding (Cuddon, 1999) of the both novels *Ice Candy Man* and *Water*. For this, reading of source material will be carried out to draw proof from that material to be used in

order to support a point of view (Beringer, 1978). The focus of researchers will be not only on the words, actions and characters in both the novels, but it will also focus on the tone, symbols, and point of view of the novelist. The textual analysis of the novels enables the researchers to carry out analysis to fit according to the theoretical framework. For this, the researchers use Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* which is a part of his *Theory of Practise*, which contains, *habitus*, capital, and field (Bourdieu 1988, 1990a, 1990b).

Early Age Socialisation of *Habitus*

According to Bourdieu (1988, 1990a, 1990b), *habitus* of individuals is developed and shaped in their early life day-to-day interactions, where agents' dispositions are formed through socialisation which is influenced by family, parents, and friends. It is also persuaded by agents' education and playground (see also Swartz, 2002; Crespi, 2003; Reay, 2004). Gendered based *habitus* of agents in *Water* (2013) and in *Ice Candy Man* (2015) develops from their very early age. Sidhwa portrays that agents experience and practise discriminations and stereotype since their birth. They are trained, moulded and dealt with in such a way that they may fit with the established norms of the society. The girls like Lenny, Chuyia, Parveen, Khadija are trained from very early age for their nuptial life, being dominated, suppressed, silent. Whereas, the boys like Adi, Narayan, Ranna are raised to be independent, owner, proprietor and dominant. Additionally, both the novels propose that in the early life socialisation of girls, there is an important role of parents, peers, society, environment and culture. They usually support to maintain the established practises of the society.

The parents and family play fundamental role in the process of early socialisation of *habitus*. Most part of *habitus* development, for the gender-based socialisation occurs within the family because family is the first context the child gets in touch with. Within the family, parents are the first socialisation agents to whom a child comes in to contact (Crespi, 2003). It is true in the context of agents in the both novels in the study. Sidhwa sets before our eyes the role of family, especially parents, for training gendered based stereotypes to their children. Set in the cultural context of the subcontinent, the girls in both novels are socialised for their nuptial and subordinate roles from very early age. In *Ice Candy Man*, when Lenny's (polio-afflicted girl of eight years, protagonist of the novel) parents take her to doctor Col. Bharucha for treatment of her polio-affected leg, the doctor tells her parents that do not worry about her leg, she will be quite well enough to "marry- have children- lead a carefree, happy life" (Sidhwa, 2015, p.15).

Doctor gave this judgment to form Lenny's early *habitus* about her future marital life. She was made to realise that she is born only for the purpose of marriage and producing children. It affirms the structured stereotype in society i.e., marriage is the only women's potential and recognised quality. Lenny's parents need not worry more because she will be quite fine for her potential role; as wife and mother. The doctor, being an educated person practises his stereotyped socialisation and is stereotyping Lenny for the same. Consequent to doctor's remarks, Lenny thinks that doctor has "sealed [her] fate" (p.15), by deciding ultimate end of her life: to get marry. In broad terms, this is doctor's stereotype socialised *habitus*, which he has been earning since his childhood and now maintains and reinforces it. In addition to doctor's comment, Lenny also notices that people around her either at home or outside, are more worried about her marital life; they compare her with her brother Adi, who is fair and she is dark, for the sake of her marriage. She describes "everyone say- it's a pity- Adi is a boy anyone will marry him" (p. 83). Thus, she is made to feel that she must worry about her beauty because she has to marry. This socialisation is based on the colour/complexion stereotypes of agents which is one of the criteria for the selection of girls for marriage.

This socialisation for nuptial life is practised not only in the city life of Lahore, but the same, even in a worse situation, is observed in Pir Pindo village (Sidhwa, 2015). When a Sikh *Granthi* (an elder from neighbouring village) sees Khadija and Parveen (eight and nine years old, respectively) the first thought came in his mind was about their marriage. He observes that their height has "grown taller", he notifies to the girls "We'll have to think about arranging your marriages soon" and suggests their father Dost Muhammad that this is the time when "their hands were painted yellow" (symbolical to get married). The girls remain silent; rather feel shy on the word "marriage", their younger brother, Ranna listening to this discussion jumps up and taunts his sisters as "married women, Ho! Ho! married women" (p. 55-56). It is a sort of stereotype and socialisation that girls remain shy and modest while boys (even if they are younger to sisters) can jump and taunt them on the name of marriage.

The same is the case with Chuyia in *Water* (Sidhwa, 2013). Her mother Bhagya considers her "only a guest who never belonged to the house into which she was born" (p.08). She encourages Chuyia for marriage and puts fancies in her mind about the benefits of marriage. When Chuyia demands fish for eating, Bhagya tells her that she will get as much fish as she wants at her husband's house. She fills her mind with fancies like, "don't worry; he'll

fill your lap with mangoes and almond taffy” (p.10). Furthermore, Bhagya trains Chuyia how to behave in front of elders, especially her mother-in-law. When Chuyia gives instant response to mother’s talks, she warns her not to talk back like this to her mother-in-law otherwise, she will bring shame for not bringing her up well. Bhagya is more concern about Chuyia’s rearing up for her in-laws. After Chuyia’s marriage at the age 6, she was allowed to live with her parents till puberty period. Herein she lives a care free life, jumping and playing. Her mother strictly instructs her do not run here and there your mother-in-law will not like this. Along with mother, Chuyia’s father, Somnath, tends to be more “rigid in his expectations” (Leaper, 2013, P. 02) in his daughter. He asks her to keep *dupatta* (scarf) on her head. He was rather worried about arranging her marriage, therefore, married her off at the age six, at the age when still she was playing with flies and pets.

Thus, with this early age socialisation, slowly and gradually girls internalise the ways which they have been taught and when they grow up, they practice the same as they have been taught because “children learn through imitation” (Crespi, 2003 p. 07). Chuyia practices what she listens from her mother. Girls’ knowledge and acquaintance with similar gender (as that of their mothers or aunts etc.,) motivate them to be analogous to that of the same gender which is distinct from the other gender (Eckert& McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Halim & Lindner, 2013). Therefore, when Chuyia plays with her dolls she imitates similar gender; she becomes Bhagya and her dolls Chuyia; lining up the small clay cooking utensils which served as a make-believe stove, she asks her dolls that she will cook turnips for them, she uses the “same words and tone” (Sidhwa, 2013, p. 12) as her mother uses.

Moreover, in the socialisation of *ahabitus* for the nuptial life, girls are taught to do home chores; which is considered as the most important duty for a woman (Eckert& McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Ababa, 2008). The girls in Pir Pindo village perform household works like their mothers and aunts, “busy with chores, baskets of grain stuck to their tiny hips, they scuttle about importantly” (Sidhwa, 2015, p.4). Mothers are the role models and encourage different behaviours and activities in their children (Leaper, 2013). They tell their girls that they have to do these duties throughout their life; therefore, they must be skilled in the household tasks from an early age. Hence, girls develop *habitus* of working and even looking like elder women. At the age of eight and nine, Khadija and Parveen were looking like “miniature women” (Sidhwa 2015, p. 55); much older than their age due to responsibilities they have been given. They are taught to behave and act like elders. Their *habitus* is developed for manners like elder women at home “they reflect the

mannerisms and tone of their mothers and aunts” (p. 54). Likewise, Bhagya also plies her daughter with sturdy home chores fetch the water, carry the firewood, sweep the yard, feed the cow. Chuyia helps her mother in removing the grit and small stones from the lentil, picking up her brothers’ dirty clothes for the wash and rolling up the bedding (Sidhwa, 2013).

Thus, the girls are mentally prepared to adopt “structured *habitus*” (Bourdieu 1992, p.53) which is embedded in all settings and intricately organised at every level of experience, in which paths and processes are already set by their mothers, and girls follow those made processes which have already become stereotype in social order. Their *habitus* is socialised in early life to adopt the inherited stereotyped “*habitus*” absorbed from [their elder] village women” (Sidhwa 2015, p. 56) which they had inherited and adopted since their childhood, likewise this chain goes on. Accordingly, when everybody around an individual is stereotyping a certain group, then there are chances for the individual to conform to the group and do the same (Crespi, 2003).

Categorically, Sidhwa confirms Bourdieu’s concept of early socialisation of *habitus* through the description of girls’ *habitus* development for nuptial life. From their early age, girls are made aware of their big roles, as to be wives and mothers. Thus, since their birth they develop stereotype *habitus* bound to pursue an austere moral code of conduct.

Practise of Early Marriages of Girls

The girls in both novels of the study are trained (see Bourdieu 1988 for training agents) for nuptial life in their early childhood because it is deemed that a girl is destined to leave her parents’ home early otherwise she will bring “disgrace” to it (Sidhwa, 2013, p.06). She is considered secure and happy only in her husband’s care. Chuyia’s father, Somnath, mentions the role of a woman by saying that a woman has no recognised existence if she is not married. Her only role in life is to get married “that is why she is created” (p.07). Thus, they are married soon in their very young age to avoid any disgrace as a “girl carried within her the seeds of dishonour” (p.07). Moreover, girls are married at a very young age without their consent and choice as they are regarded interdependent. It is observed in both novels that the marriages are decided by the elders (especially men), wherein infantile girls are married to elder men (See table 01).

Chuyia	⇒	at age 6	⇒	44 years old Hira Lal
Papoo	⇒	at age 11	⇒	44 years old <u>Tota Ram</u>
Kalyani	⇒	at age 6	⇒	60 years old man

Table No 01. Age of girls and their elderly husbands

Chuyia at the age six is married to forty-four year aged man Hira Lal; who is already a grandfather and on the verge of death. Kalyani is also married to an elder man when she was only six (then she became widow and is forced for prostitution to run the matters of Ashram). Papoo (daughter of a servant at Lenny's house) at the age of eleven is forcefully married to forty-four years old Tota Ram.

Contrary to this, the situation of boys is different. Parents have a strong preference for sons and “son shave priority for opportunities in every walk of life” (Leaper, 2013, P. 02). In *Water*, Narayan a young man, who has completed his studies and is in his twenties, tells Kalyani that his father is not worried about his marriage because he says “childhood is a time for play, not for marriage [of boys]” (Sidhwa, 2013, p.107). His father still considered him a child and wanted him to enjoy the game of life. When the desired age will come he will be married according to his choice. Whereas, girls' *habitus* is developed tenderly and sophisticatedly for marriage without giving them any choice or even without bothering about the level of their age. They are reared with beautiful speculations about marriage. The definition of marriage in Chuyia's mind is associated with beautiful speculations about food, colourful clothes, and bangles. But when she realises that she will have to leave her parents' home after marriage, she tells her mother that she does not want to get married. But mother tenderly coaches her by saying “marriage and death are not in our hands” (Sidhwa, 2013, p. 15). Later Chuyia asked the same type of question from Shakuntala (a widow in Ashram) she replies “fathers have to give [marry] their daughters away” (p. 78). Hence, Chuyia is socialised that since your mother and all other women are married in their early age having no choice, likewise, you have to follow this stereotype trend without raising any question (See following figure No. 1 showing the stereotypes for girls).

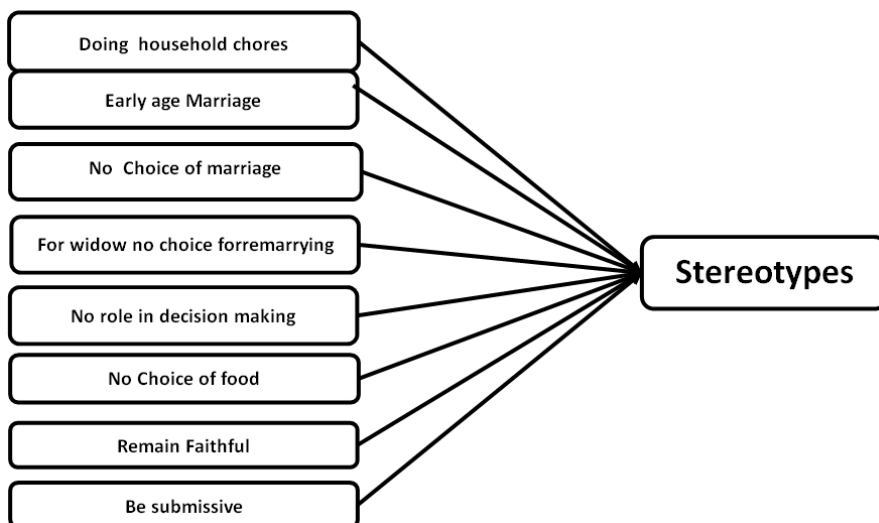


Figure No 1. Stereotypes for girls

***Habitus* Transformation: Altering the Stereotype**

Bourdieu asserts that social agents carry certain logic behind their every practise. The agents inherit their social class (Sayer, 2005a) from an early age, which establish their personal, cultural, social and economic position, but the dominated group of agents can also alter them. Women/girls in this study are well aware of their stereotype position; deprived and dominated. Yet they are in continuous move to rise up in social strata. For this, they adopt “new creative responses” (Reay, 1995, p. 356) and create a *habitus* according to the changing situation. The practises are never entirely conventional, “even when the social actors’ *habitus* (or predispositions) remain more or less the same, given that the unfolding of the practise is highly situational” (Lo & Stacey, 2008, p.745) because “choice is at the heart of *habitus*” (Shahriar, 2013, p. 191). Agents have restricted choice according to their *habitus*. They have a split *habitus*; they behave differently in different environments. Like Lenny’s Ayah (Sidhwa, 2015) behaves differently at home, and different outside in circle of her admirers. Same Lenny and her mother Mrs Sethi do. In Bourdieu’s view (1981) agents make an adjustment between their “subjective vocations”, i.e., their own wish to do something, and their “objective missions”, i.e., what they are expected to do. Agents merge these two forms of conduct, and chose their wish when they can, while

comply with the latter when they have to. Mrs Sethi complies with subjective vocation and objective missions. Her behaviour and role are quite different at home and outside the home. She remains an unpaid housewife; submissive and all time caring for her husband and children. She tries to make her husband smile and giggle, she implores him not to marry, requests him for money to run house matters. Nevertheless, she is quite strong and courageous in the matters of her children, with her servants and in the times of partition turmoil with her friends and neighbours. She supports her Hindu and Sikh friends and neighbours to send them across the border safely. She smuggles petrol for their cars. She arranges a place at her home to manage the “fallen women” (victims of subcontinent’s partition), who do not have home. She helps women to find their families and join them, and those who could not go their homes she supports them to find a better job to live in a respectable way; such as she keeps Hamida as her nanny for Lenny’s care.

The similar is depicted in *Water*. According to Hindu tradition, widows cannot eat fried food. They are bound by the norms to eat only simple and cold meal once a day. But when Chuyia gets the money she buys a Ladoo (a kind of sweet) for Bua (an elderly widow in Ashram) for eating. Bua always remains in fantasies of eating Ladoo. Moreover, according to norm widows cannot remarry, even they cannot think for this, but Kalyani wished to marry Narayan, and for him, she left Ashram. Her *habitus* transforms as she meets Narayan, who opens to her the importance of freedom and tells that keeping widows in Ashram and not allowing them for marriage is an old Hindu tradition. Thus, she leaves Ashram to marry Narayan but when she learns that Narayan’s father has been her client. She prefers to commit suicide rather facing the same humiliation in Ashram. She transforms her *habitus*, triggered by personal predicament in her life.

Women in both novels transform their *habitus*, triggered by some personal or collective predicament in their lives. It is analysed that Mrs Sethi transforms her *habitus* from a submissive housewife to a helping and courageous worker for the cause of humanity. A big change can be noticed in her character from beginning till the end. Likewise, Shakuntala transforms her *habitus* from the only *believer* to the *practitioner* in the reality. Initially, she understands the world only through the scriptures and from the words of Madhumati (head of Ashram) and Sadananda (a priest). But when her belief is shaken due to innocent but logical questions of Chuyia, Kalyani’s suicide, and Gandhi’s speech; a transformation comes in her *habitus*. She tries to find logics in scriptures and started asking questions about the reality of certain beliefs. Subsequently, after Kalyani’s death, she saves Chuyia from the

brutality of Madhumati who sent her to a client for prostitution. Shakuntala destined to save Chuyia left Ashram at night to find her out, and finally, she took Chuyia to the railway station and handed over her to Narayan to take her to the new life. Thus, the *habitus* allows for individual agency and it also inclines agents towards certain ways of behaving (Reay, 1995).

CONCLUSION

This study analysed a Pakistani fiction writer Bapsi Sidhwa's two novels *Ice Candy Man* and *Water* in Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* which he gave in his major framework known as *Theory of Practise*. This study finds out that gender-based stereotypes are brought up in the *habitus* of children at very early age. For this, parents, family, society, and culture play an integral part. In the social structure, there are different stereotypes for men and women. Children at their early age, learn about these stereotypes, social expectations, attitudes and behaviours associated with one's gender. They are socialised for certain practises according to their gender. Girls are trained for early nuptial life, by raising sweetened speculation in their minds. Mothers teach their daughters about their womanly roles i.e. being domestic, doing home chores, being submissive. Thus, due to their consecutive practise and internalisation this becomes part of their *habitus*.

Through textual analysis of the novels, the study finds a dimension which complies with ideas of Bourdieu; that certain times agents transform and change their *habitus* even if they are socialised for stereotypes. Sidhwa has presented the women like Lenny, Mrs Sethi, Chuyia, Kalyani, and Shakuntala who try to break their structured and socialised *habitus* according to their approach and build their *habitus* according to their logic of practise.

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