This thesis is dedicated to my parents, my father

Amrik Singh and mother Surinder Kaur, and the

Almighty Dhan Shri Guru Granth Sahib (Sikh

Holy Book)

The Masquerade: Indian Punjabi Sikh Women and the Renegotiation of Boundaries and Body Identity in Australia

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree

of

Master of Philosophy

at

The Australian National University

by

Jasdeep Kaur

Department of Arts and Social Science

School of Cultural Inquiry

July 2012

Declaration

This thesis is an original work. None of the work has been previously submitted by me for the purpose of obtaining a degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary education institution. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis does not contain material previously published by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed   .

Jasdeep Kaur

Date...2.3.-.4-.13........................

Acknowledgments

This thesis could not have been possible, without the support of my supervisor, Dr Catherine Summerhayes. Her encouragement and confidence in me was invaluable and without her I would have not achieved my goal.

Education is very important. I learned this while growing up and it has been a long journey but worthwhile, and I am very grateful to my parents who never had the opportunity to obtain an education. Nonetheless they knew the value of it and gave me every support they could. They worked hard and had faith in me and were always my biggest inspiration whenever I encountered challenges. I always looked to them to give me the courage to go on. I would see my mother's smile and her dream of me being an educated, confident, and independent young woman that she never had the opportunity to be.

Coming to Australia as a young girl without knowing anything and having dreams, I faced times of fear and struggle, ups and downs, but finally making it to the Australian National University. Pursuing this topic has been a dream come true for me, and I could not have asked for more. I owe everything to my parents; thank you Mum and Dad. I hope that I can make them very proud parents one day!

I would like to thank my very good friend, Suzanne Manness; she is an angel to me. I am very grateful to her because without her assistance, I would have never been where I am today. I will always appreciate your role in my journey.

To my auntie in India, Punjab, Balbir Kaur, I thank you and for your support and encouragement over the years. We may be far in distance but her words of wisdom and love were always near me.

Abstract

This thesis argues that Sikh women in Australia experience the burden of protecting the cultural traditions of their religious group. Here an analysis is made of their attempt to construct a new boundary or a new space for themselves. Sikh immigrant women in Australia are what Spivak termed, and other post-colonial writers have also noted, the "third-world displaced woman", caught between tradition and modernisation. Sikhs, a religious cultural group from Punjab, India, have for centuries proclaimed the equality of the sexes in their faith. Yet, Sikh women are tied to their cultural religious boundaries even when they have left the homeland of Punjab and sought to renegotiate their boundaries and body identity elsewhere. I argue that the religious culture of the Sikhs carries the same meaning and weight to them as any ethnic identification so that whatever geographical area they emigrated to, they usually set up enclaves to distinguish themselves from the wider population. My theoretical and analytical framework for studying how Sikh women in Australia renegotiate their cultural boundaries and body identity in order to find a space for themselves in the new culture, draws on concepts of culture and cultural boundaries, post-colonialism and body identity. The study incorporates a qualitative phenomenological methodology that seeks to understand the lived experience of Sikh women who have either migrated to Australia from Punjab or who have been born to parents who emigrated from Punjab. The study's findings will help to determine how Sikh women renegotiate boundaries and identities in order to live successfully in two cultures. The elements included in this study are a theory-based discussion of the issues, field work, researcher's notes and observations, and analysis of the data.

How well you live comes down to how much you love.

The heart is wiser then the head.

Honour it. Trust it. Follow it!

ANU Ethics clearance received: Protocol number: 2010/430

Table of Contents

Glossary of Terms

The following words represent significant cultural terms for Sikhs. Definitions for these words are given here in order to further the reader's understanding of Sikh culture.

- *Gurdwara.* The word *Gurdwara* comes from the following terms: firstly, 'guru' which means enlightener or the guide from darkness into light; and secondly, 'dwara' meaning doorway or portal. In Sikhism the word *Gurdwara* refers to the Sikh place of worship. The *Gurdwara* houses the Guru Granth Sahib, which is Sikhism's sacred scripture and everlasting guru of the Sikhs. Divine instruction contained in kirtan or hymns of Gurbani sung from the Guru Granth Sahib offer the means to enlightenment. Thus whoever comes to the *Gurdwara* to worship enters the door or gateway of the guru.[1]

- *Izzat, laaj* (honour). This is very important especially for young women because they are expected to honour their fathers' Pride and Honour, and not ruin their parents' *laaz*. For example, running with a man (i.e. colloquial expression for dating a man) or going out with boyfriends behind their parents' backs, is perceived as disgraceful behaviour. It can bring lasting shame to a family and for succeeding generations. Punjabi Sikh boys/sons have more freedom than young Sikh women; they can marry outside the community and still dishonour the family but it is not as big a crime when young Sikh

---

[1] Gurmukh Singh, Research into Sikh Presence and Relationships in the Region for East of England Faiths Council, 2010, http://www.faithneteast.org.uk/pdf/Sikh%20Survey.pdf (accessed April 21, 2012).

women do it. Overall, *laaz* is vitally important in Sikh culture; if the family loses this they basically lose everything.[2]

- *Shaam, haja* (modesty). One should not wear revealing clothes in front of elders. It is important to wear *salwar kameez*, which are proper clothes and it is frowned upon for a woman to talk to a man, especially one much older than one's self.[3]

- *Khidmat* (hospitality). If someone comes to your house you should address them properly by bringing them food and taking care of them as much as possible. When girls marry they should do *khidmat* because if they do not they will be considered morally lax and this reputation will rebound on the mother who is blamed for not bringing up her daughter well.[4]

- *Muhabbat* (cordial relations with family, friends and neighbours). Girls should talk politely and lovingly, and not show any arrogance or be perceived to be too assertive.[5]

- *Robh* (influence through wealth, high status or kind nature). The Sikh community is a proud community and usually Punjabis try to demonstrate their material success. Punjabi Sikhs will typically boast that their children go to the best universities, and retain their loyalty to Punjabi Sikh culture by following the Sikh religion and their gurus' teachings.

- *Seva* (looking after elders or doing volunteer work for the community). A girl should do *seva* to her parents; and after she

---

[2] Mines and Lamb (Eds.), *Everyday Life on South Asia*, 451.
[3] Ibid. 451
[4] Ibid.451
[5] Ibid.451

marries she lives with her husband's parents where *seva* obligations

are expected.[6]

---

[6] Ibid. 451.

Chapter 1: Balancing What Was With What Is

> Between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the "third-world woman" caught between tradition and modernization.[7]

This thesis argues that Sikh women in Australia experience the burden of protecting the cultural traditions of their religious group. Here an analysis is made of their attempt to construct a new boundary or a new space for themselves. Sikh immigrant women in Australia are what Spivak termed, and other post-colonial writers have also noted, the "third-world displaced woman", caught between tradition and modernisation.[8] Sikhs, a religious cultural group from Punjab, India, have for centuries proclaimed the equality of the sexes in their faith.[9] Yet, Sikh women have been tied to their cultural religious boundaries even when they have left the homeland of Punjab and sought to renegotiate their boundaries and body identity elsewhere. Enmeshed in the existence of the Sikhs' life is the need to continue the cultural expectations and mores they experienced in Punjab.

Much has been written about ethnic identity and how it protects ethnic groups against discrimination. Sikhs are not a separate ethnic group with their own

---

[7] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 306.

[8] Many post-colonial writers have addressed this very issue of the dilemma faced by migrant women who have left their former geographical space only to discover that they again have been bounded by geography and expectations for their role in society. See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Nira Yuval-Davis & Marcel Stoetzler, 'Imagined Boundaries & Borders: A Gendered Gaze', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9 (2002): 329-344; Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Intersectionality: A recurrent feminist debate', Paper presented at the ESRC seminar series, Warwick University, March, 2003; and Nira Yuval-Davis (forthcoming), 'Transversal Politics and the situated imagination', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

[9] Kanwal, Mandal, "Place, Gender and Power in Transnational Sikh Marriages". In *Global Networks*, 2 (2002): 3.

discrete notion those who live in Punjab are Indians However, the history of the Sikhs in India has been one of discrimination, much like ethnic groups encounter in areas where they are not in the majority. I argue that the religious culture of the Sikhs carries the same meaning and weight to them as any ethnic identification so that whatever geographical area they emigrated to, they usually set up enclaves to distinguish themselves from the wider population. The Sikhs' acculturation into the new culture can be a difficult one since protecting their cultural rules is tantamount to ensuring their continued existence.[10]

The Sikhs' insistence that women remain the holders of family honour has presented a dilemma for Sikh women who now live outside of their cultural boundaries in Punjab. The Sikhs, as a cultural group (i.e. *quom,* defined as meaning one race, one nation), have a personal law and a code of conduct that they follow even outside their homeland of Punjab. When coming to Australia, parents try to hold on to the traditions and cultural expectations in their new homeland and they do that primarily through their female children. The scholar S.K. Rait who is herself of Sikh descent interviewed Sikh women in England. She encountered several difficulties in conducting interviews as some young girls were forced to have their mothers accompany them, meaning in effect that the young women could not really say what was in their heart. In short, they had to maintain the "good" daughter masquerade.[11] Rait admitted to feeling annoyed and unnerved by the limited roles of these women since she herself is a Sikh woman who has discarded her cultural mask

---

[10] See the following articles on the importance of 'ethnic or other identity'. J. Phinney, "When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean?" *American Psychologist,* 51 (1996): 918-27; and Richard M. Lee, "Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination", *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 50 (2003): 133-41.

[11] The topic of Sikh women's adjustment to new cultures has been examined in such works as S.K. Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs* (London: Trentham Books, 2005) and Cynthia Mahmood and Stacy Bradey, *The Guru's Gift: An Ethnography Exploring Gender Equality with North American Sikh Women* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999).

and seeks to situate her place in secular British society. Rait also noted that Sikh men were dismissive of her attempt to hear the Sikh woman's 'voice'.[12]

Concepts Used in this Study

Before arguing how Sikh women in Australia renegotiate their cultural boundaries and body identity in order to find a space for themselves in the new culture, the following terms as used in this thesis require an explanation: culture, post-colonialism, boundaries and body identity.

Culture refers to the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviours that are typical of a group and develop from a common origin.[13] There is an underlying assumption that cultural groups use various cognitive strategies and motivation-based goals from one another which are driven, in part, by an independent and interdependent self-construct.[14] Thus, individuals in different parts of the world have different conceptualisations of the self that are established through societal norms and expectations and which can have different implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. Much has been written on this concept of social identity theory and how it impacts on the individual based on their particular culture. Sikhs, like most individuals in Eastern or Asian cultures, are strongly interdependent and their self-identity depends on aligning with their group and insists on the relatedness of individuals to each other in a very formal way. There is an emphasis in Sikh culture on attending to others, fitting in and having a harmonious interdependence within the group. Most of that harmonious existence depends on the Sikh woman fulfilling

---

[12] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs*, 23-25.

[13] J. Phinney, "When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean?", 918-27.

[14] H. R. Markus and S. Kitayama, "Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation", *Psychological Review* 98 (1991): 224-53.

her role of upholding cultural traditions.[15] These societal norms and expectations are defined as culture for the purposes of this thesis.

The interdependent self-construct is understood as relational, contextual, and socially situated. This construct is not made up of stable traits but of tangible relationships with other people in given situations. These relationships are affirmed and maintained by harmonising with and meeting expectations of relevant others.[16] The goal is for people to fit themselves into meaningful relationships. In this way, an evaluation of one's self that is separate from the social context may not be the primary concern.[17]

It is important to note here that while an essentialist view of culture is adopted in this thesis, the writer acknowledges that cultures do change over time and move away from the original geographical spaces where the cultural practices were developed. However, Sikhs have a deep cultural bond created through their religious beliefs, their values, and their attitudes that they package and bring with them when they migrate to a new country. For example, Rait noted how strong the cultural bond was among the Sikh women living in England when she interviewed them.[18] She reported that there was much reluctance on the part of the participants to open up to her, and most of them were accompanied by an adult whose job it was to monitor

---

[15] See others who explain self-identity and culture: G. M. Breakwell, "Some effects on marginal social identity, in H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation Between Social Groups* (London: Academic Press, 1978); R. Brown, "Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges", *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30 (2000): 745-778; R. Brown, "Intergroup Relations", in M. Hewstone & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 474-519; H. Tajfel, C. Flament, M. G. Billig, and R. P. Bundy, "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour", *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (1991): 149-178.

[16] S.J. Heine & Lehman, D. R. (1997), "The cultural construction of self-enhancement. An investigation of group-serving biases", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 1268-1283. For a further explanation of the role of culture expectations see S. J. Heine & Lehman, D. R. (1997), "Culture, dissonance, and self-affirmation", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23, 389-400.

[17] Shinobu Kitayama, Hazel Rose Markus, Hisaya Matsumoto and Vinai Norasakkunkit, "Individual and collective processes in the construction of the self: Self-enhancement in the United States and self-criticism in Japan", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 6 (1997): 1245-1267.

[18] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161.

what was being discussed.[19] Rait speculated that because she herself was a Sikh woman who had adopted the independent self that is promoted in England, other Sikhs, especially men, were suspicious of her. Rait discovered a way to renegotiate her cultural boundaries to develop a 'self' outside what would be supported in Sikh culture, and that breach represented a threat to the cultural bond of Sikhs living in England.[20]

As argued in this thesis, the cultural bond is very important in Sikh society, society being defined as a geographical space or location where a group of people share a set of norms, beliefs, and customs. However, for Sikhs, a move to a different geographical area does not diminish the cultural bonds, but may in fact, tighten them as Sikhs seek to maintain, as Rait reported, control over women in order to maintain their culture.[21]

Another important concept in this thesis is *post-colonialism*, which is technically defined as following after colonial rule ended in countries that had been ruled by Western nations for many years.[22] In anthropological terms, post-colonialism is the intellectual discourse that consists of reactions to the cultural legacy of colonialism. Post-colonialism as a theory is found in many disciplines. According to Homi Bhabha, the legacy of colonialism still exists in the concept of the 'Other', i.e. people who were colonised, and much of modern thinking still sees the 'Other' as a group that is inferior in every way to the coloniser.[23] As noted by Bhabha when he calls into question the

> progressive metaphor of modern social cohesion—the many as one—
> shared by organic theories of the holism of culture and community, and

---

[19] Ibid.151-161
[20] Ibid.151-161
[21] Ibid.151-161
[22] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 23.
[23] Ibid. 23

5

by theorists who treat gender, class or race as social totalities that are expressive of unitary collective experiences.[24]

Rather than emphasising how the First World and Third World nations are different, Bhabha suggests considering the 'interrogatory, interstitial space' where different cultures, the coloniser and colonised, the different races and religions meet.[25] It is within these intersecting spaces where identities are performed and contested.[26] In this thesis, Bhabha's term 'interrogatory, interstitial space' is used to describe how Sikh women renegotiate their cultural boundaries in order to live in their new Australian homeland.

The term 'boundaries' is defined as cultural distinctions that have many meanings, are personal in perspective and permeable. This means that the old definition of cultural boundaries as conceived in spatial terms is not an accurate one— as a religious group, the Sikhs view their "own" versus "the other" not in spatial terms. So when Sikhs migrate to other parts of the world they bring their 'own' cultural views of themselves and the "Others" to their new geographical boundary. It is these cultural boundaries that are used to keep the 'Others' and their influence away from their 'own'.[27]

Verne A. Dusenbery notes that what occurs for Sikhs who leave Punjab, regardless of gender, is a (bi)locality, that is, an attempt to position themselves

---

[24] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 142.
[25] Ibid.142
[26] Ibid.142
[27] Franz Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1940] 1995) and K.P. Ewing, "Crossing borders and transgressing boundaries: Metaphor for negotiating multiple identities", *Ethos* 26 (1998): 262-267.

between two cultures.[28] As Dusenbery noted, migrant Sikhs who took up residence in Australia did so for one primary purpose, and that was to improve the *izzat* of their families back home in Punjab by earning enough money so that their families could either purchase or construct brick houses or large lots of land.[29] The Sikhs who came from the Punjab were not poor, but over the generations their wealth had been diluted because of the number of male children they had and the subsequent subdivision of their land holdings with each generation. Hence, family members were sent to other countries where they could earn money for their families. Dusenbery recalls the story of a Punjabi Sikh young man who had been sent to Canada for this reason. The young man worked almost twenty hours a day as a taxi driver to earn money to send back to Punjab. The young man married a Sikh Canadian woman and lived with her parents in Canada, and even though he had his own children, he did not buy a house of his own in Canada. Whenever he and his wife returned to Punjab (even though he was not the eldest son nor was she in the highest position as a daughter-in-law), he was accorded high respect by all because he had added to the family's *izzat* by improving their financial status in Punjab.[30] As Dusenbery further explains:

---

[28] Verne A. Dusenbery, "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities". In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, ed. Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 40-55. Dusenbery is an American university professor who himself reports that he fell into the study of Sikhs living outside the traditional homeland of Punjab, but has spent years in examining the ways in which Sikhs reconstruct their communities in Western countries like Canada, Australia, and the United States. See his other studies regarding how he sees the Sikhs' attempt at (bi)locality. Verne A. Dusenbery, "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3; Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality", in Richard Fardon (Ed.), *Counterworks* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 204-25; and Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration", in Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (Eds.), *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration* (New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Science, 1992), 1-24.

[29] Verne A. Dusenbery, "The Story of Arrival", in *A Punjabi Sikh Community in Australia: From Indian Sojourners to Australian Citizens,* ed. Rashmere Bhatt and Verne Dusenbery, http://www.apnaorg.com/books/sikhs-in-australia/Chapter-2/ch-2-page-1.html (accessed April 10, 2012).

[30] Dusenbery, "The Story of Arrival", 14.

As *izzat* attached to the family rather than the individual, the decision to improve the family's position by overseas migration was a family choice. Often, one son from a family went overseas to work and remit money home. Early travellers abroad saw it as a temporary measure only; they intended to return home after enough money had been made to improve the conditions at home. They were classic sojourners with most of their earnings remitted home to the Punjab to acquire land, to improve houses and to meet their family obligations for the marriages of their daughters.[31]

There were no expectations that any of these sojourns were permanent; yet, in Australia the men stayed and sent for their wives and settled in specific areas. The new Australian Sikh citizens established permanent homes in their new countries but kept their eyes focused on and their hearts yearning for Punjab.

For Sikhs, as for most ethnic groups, cultural boundaries have an explicit political meaning, as those boundaries include identifiable markers for subgroups such as gender, skin colour, socioeconomic background, group membership, and religious affiliation. These designate them as different from the dominant group in any geographical space. However, within cultural boundaries, components from other diverse cultures can become incorporated, often resulting in a new culture or as Dusenbery suggests (bi)locality or Bhabha's "the third space".[32] Cultural boundaries are in fact a part of all human societies, both modern and traditional societies; however, those cultural identities are not so fixed to any geographical area. A cultural border instead connotes a construct that a group uses to guard its own

---

[31] Ibid.14

[32] Ibid., 14 and Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 34. See also K.P. Ewing, "Crossing borders and transgressing boundaries: Metaphor for negotiating multiple identities", 264-265. Read also what other researchers have said about culture and boundaries: F. Erickson, "Culture in society and in educational practice". In J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1997), 32-60; W. Goodenough, "Multiculturalism as the normal human experience", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 7 (1976): 4-6; W. Goodenough, *Culture, language, and society* (Menlo Park, CA: The Benjamin/Cummings, 1981); M. L. Wax, "How culture misdirects multiculturalism", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 24 (1993); 99-115; H. F. Wolcott, "Propriospect and the acquisition of culture", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 22 (1991): 251-273.

political power, cultural knowledge, and privileges.[33] This definition of cultural border is grounded in an essentialist view of culture that makes several assumptions about culture.[34] Firstly, a culture is viewed as a bounded system which is separate and distinguishable from others. Secondly, a culture is expected to be "homogeneous"; and thirdly, a culture is expected to be shared by members of the society.[35]

In this thesis I examine the cultural boundaries that are imposed on Sikh women regardless of the geographical area of their physical location or their temporal context. The Sikh cultural boundaries, however, are as permeable as any cultural boundaries, so in moving into a new cultural area, there will be areas where the original boundaries are more permeable and open to the cultures of others. It is this conflict that Sikh women are asked to redefine their cultural boundaries and body identities in order to remain faithful to their religious and ethnic culture.

The final term is 'body identity' which refers on one level to the markers of identity such as language, dress, behaviour, and choice of space.[36] These markers help to create the boundaries that define the similarities and differences between the marker wearer and the marker perceiver. Within a given boundary, like Australia, the Sikh woman's identity depends on the shared understanding of her marker identity. On another level, this term also refers to how the Sikh woman identifies with feminism and the other cultural boundaries that are woven around her because she is a woman.[37] Sikhism has a long history in preaching about the equality of men

---

[33] K.P. Ewing, "Crossing borders and transgressing boundaries: Metaphor for negotiating multiple identities", 265.

[34] Ira Bashkow, "A Neo-Boasian Conception of Cultural Boundaries", *American Anthropologist* 106 (2004): 443–458.

[35] A. Lugo, "Reflections on border theory, culture, and the nation". In D.E. Johnson and S. Michaelson (Eds.), *Border theory* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1997), 43-67.

[36] Bashkow, "A Neo-Boasian Conception of Cultural Boundaries", 443.

[37] Ibid.443

and women in their religion, yet all too often Sikh women are forced into body identities that would suggest anything but equality.

These terms will be used in conjunction with the Punjabi word, *Izzat* (honour), which is listed in the glossary of this thesis and which means that the honour of the Sikh family depends largely on the comportment of its women, either the daughters or the women who marry into the family. Such a conjunction is used to argue how Sikh women must find an intersection between their culture of origin and their new Western culture in Australia.[38]

Background of the Study

According to Sharma and Young, most Sikhs originate from or at least trace their origins to Punjab, a northern state in India. Sikhs represent the majority of the population in Punjab but are a minority population in India, constituting approximately 2% of the total population.[39] The Sikh community has always operated as a separate one in India—separated by religion, regional culture and language, Punjabi. India's partition in 1947 occurred when there were Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims living in Punjab and they were all referred to as Punjabi. While there are different kinds of Punjabi such as Pakistani Punjabis (from Lahore) and Malaysian Punjabis, this thesis focuses on Punjabi Sikhs from India. Sikhs began leaving shortly after the partition for political reasons because they were often persecuted by the Hindus. Many Sikhs were unable to earn a living in Punjab and so to escape the poverty they left their homeland, moving to Britain, the United States and Australia. As previously stated, Dusenbery maintains that for the most part, Sikhs came to Australia to improve the economic wellbeing of their families back in

---

[38] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161.
[39] Arvind Sharma and Katherine Young (Eds.), *Feminism and World Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 49.

10

Punjab.[40] The tradition was to send one son to another country—preferably Western, where he could earn sufficient money to maintain the honour of his family back home. Traditionally, the son's wife and children remained behind while the son worked as much as possible with two goals: earn enough money to buy a brick house—not a mud house—and buy land in Punjab.[41] Dusenbery reports what he was told during his ethnographic study of Sikhs in Woolgoolga:

> My grandfather [Waryam Singh] came to Australia to improve his fortunes to increase land holdings to ensure a good future for his offspring - Gurmit Singh Sidhu.

> My father was the youngest and it was a family decision to send my grandfather [Thakur Singh] to Australia to improve our economic position - Amarjit Singh More.

> Our grandfather [Khem Singh] came to Australia in 1914 to improve our position in the Punjab - Gurbaksh Singh Bhatty.

> My father [Santa Singh] came to Australia to improve our lot and standing and knew that opportunities existed abroad - Gurbax Singh Atwal.

> My father [Bela Singh] left the Punjab to improve his position. Land was poor and there was a need to increase land holdings and position. He knew that Australia had opportunities - Pritim Singh.

> My grandfather [Genda Singh] left the Punjab to increase his land holdings. He heard that Australia was open - Darshan Singh Atwal.

> The main reason my grandfather [Moti Singh] came to Australia was economic. He wanted to increase land holdings and secure the future for his offspring - Harbhajan Singh Husna.

> There was only subsistence agriculture. My grandfather [Indra Singh] knew there was more opportunity abroad. The British network was good and from word of mouth he knew that Australia wanted labourers -Mon-Ark Singh.

> The first person in my family to come to Australia was my grandfather [Jawala Singh]. He came in a group of men who had heard of a new country in the British Empire where work opportunities were available. They didn't need visas because they were British subjects - Bhupinder Singh Lathi.[42]

---

[40] Dusenbery, "The Story of Arrival", 14.
[41] Ibid.15-16
[42] Ibid., 15-16.

11

Following the demise of the White Australia policy in the early 1970s,[43]

Sikhs who were already working in Australia could apply for citizenship and remain

in the country. This also meant that they were able to sponsor their wife and children

so they could come to Australia as well. Thus, Sikh women originating from the

rural and urban areas of Punjab followed their men to Australia.[44] As Dusenbery

argues, in order to understand a woman's role in Punjabi society, one has to

understand the dynamics of Punjabi family life.[45] In accordance with my glossary

definition, Dusenbery says that the woman's role is tied to the cultural concept of

izzat—maintaining the family's honour at all costs—being the good Punjabi girl—

which means learning household duties, respecting one's elders, participating in

community social life, particularly at the *Gurdwara*, performing one's religious

duties, accepting an arranged marriage, providing hospitality to guests, and above all

being modest in front of men outside the extended family.[46]

Thus, when Sikh women arrived in Australia, other people noticed that these

women never engaged in conversation with those outside their culture, and the

gender segregations at Punjabi gatherings were considered to be a sign of the

repression of women in Sikh society.[47] Since their arrival in Australia Sikh women

have been judged by how well they have maintained this "good Punjabi girl" image.

This model of good behaviour constitutes a social pressure that works to maintain

Sikh family values. In addition, since Sikhs have settled in close proximity to other

Sikhs in Australia, the social control that this ethnic group exerts over its females is

much the same as it would have been in a Punjabi village—everyone's actions are

---

[43] Ibid.15-16
[44] Sharma and Young (Eds.), *Feminism and World Religions,* 37.
[45] Dusenbery, "The Story of Arrival", 16.
[46] Ibid.16
[47] Ibid.16

largely known and widely discussed, not only in Australia, but also back in the Punjabi village of origin.[48]

Most older women accept the social constraints placed on them by Sikh culture; however, as Sikh women are experiencing a change in their circumstances in Australia, the acceptance of these social constraints has been far less in the younger population.[49] In Australia, as evidenced by the interviews that I did with older women in the Riverland (see Appendix 3), most families boast about their daughters' educational achievements and their professional jobs. Yet at home, these young women are forced to revert to the old traditions and expectations, and are accorded a lower position in the family by their fathers or husbands. Furthermore they are expected to carry out traditional Punjabi roles. The boundaries placed around them by their culture are not easily circumvented or overcome. As Dusenbery remarked,

> Female emancipation appears to be accepted intellectually, but emotionally, when the crunch comes, male chauvinism from deep-rooted male pride is manifested too often. It is observed that the first generation of Sikh women born and brought up in the traditional culture can cope with this paradoxical behaviour in order to maintain harmony in married family life. However, girls educated in the Western environment find this extremely difficult to handle, often resulting in domestic and marital problems.[50]

Thus, in educating their daughters and daughters-in-law, Australian Sikhs have encountered resistance to their traditional values. Education and career advancement have put these young women in direct opposition to what their family wants from them. These young women are no longer the 'subaltern' who has no voice; they instead are becoming occupants of Bhabha's 'third space': a place that is neither the Punjabi culture nor Australian culture.[51] They are faced with a

---

[48] Dusenbery, "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities", 43.
[49] Ibid.43
[50] Dusenbery. "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3.
[51] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" and Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* 23.

13

challenge of reconciling on one hand the individuality that they have learned through being educated and their professional aspirations in Australia, and on the other with their reputation and standing in local Punjabi communities. They face such challenges by renegotiating their boundaries and identities, which entails performing an elaborate masquerade where boundaries and body identities are dictated by their geographical location.

When they moved to Australia's rural and urban regions they experienced having to renegotiate their identity and culture, and this led to different outcomes from what they were generally expecting. Culture, as defined above, here refers to the sum total of customs that are moulded by religion, history and other influences. These customs are not necessarily enforced by law but by social constraints; and condemnation is heaped on an individual who does not abide by cultural mores. Sikhs have cultural values that affect how they are judged personally and how they are granted status in society.

Punjabi Sikhs also place a high value on family unity.[52] Even after they have married, Sikh women live together with their in-laws as one big extended family. When Sikhs move to a new culture like Australia, the changing lifestyle of the Sikh woman can greatly affect religious and cultural beliefs. Sikh women are therefore burdened with upholding the cultural standards of their Punjab homeland while trying to make a life for themselves in the new homeland. The way Sikhs have integrated into Australian society has been to move close to each other, attend temple ceremonies, and reinforce the idea of women as the bearers of Sikh culture. In coming to Australia, the Sikhs—like many other ethnic minorities—have gravitated toward certain areas where they can settle down and enjoy the support of their own community.

---

[52] Ibid, 53.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the 'masquerade' performed by Sikh

women who have either come to Australia to start a new life or who were born in

Australia from parents who had emigrated to Australia from Punjab. I specifically

use the term 'feminine masquerade' which has its origins in psychology. It was

coined by Joan Riviere in 1929.[53] Essentially, Riviere argued that a woman who

violates the social codes of her time by participating in non-feminine behaviour

(e.g., in the case of the Sikh woman leaving the household to go to university or

entering a beauty contest, or choosing to live outside her culture) will project an

outward appearance of extreme femininity in her behaviour and appearance. This is

done in order for her to escape reprimand for her masculine actions (i.e. masculine

actions are defined as those actions that are opposite of what would be expected of a

Sikh woman). Riviere's concept of the 'feminine masquerade' has been expanded in

twenty first century feminist theory by many scholars, for example it was addressed

by Emma Renold and Jessica Ringross in 2008.[54] They suggest that for any woman

to become a 'normal' one within her culture, she must carry on a masquerade where

the men own the system of values that are imposed on the women in the culture.

Women are thus allowed to appear or circulate within society only when immersed

in the needs and desire of others, namely men.[55] In order for women to be accepted

in society they must mask who they really are. This is a burden placed on women,

who from birth are prescribed the masks based on their cultural mores. Those

women who remain 'masked' are allowed to circulate in society. Those women who

---

[53] Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as Masquerade", *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1929): 5-13.

[54] Emma Renold and Jessica Ringrose, Regulation and rupture: Mapping tween and teenage girls' resistance to the heterosexual matrix, *Feminist Theory* 9 (2008): 313-338.

[55] Ibid, 321.

15

try to circulate without the mask of feminine confinement are condemned by men and the women who wear the mask at all times.[56]

Craft-Fairchild also noted that women, in their writings, acknowledge the innumerable ways the masquerade must conform to a patriarchal structure.[57] These women recognize that any freedoms they thought they had were simply disguised forms of oppression.[58] Furthermore, Efrat Tseelon notes that women are forced into a revealing and concealing masquerade where attention is placed on "nature of identity, the truth of identity, the stability of identity categories and the relationship between supposed identity and its outward manifestations (or essence and appearance)".[59] What Riviere termed the feminine masquerade has been reinforced in gender studies in that women writers acknowledge the truth of what it means to be a woman in a patriarchal structure.

In this study, I extend feminine masquerade beyond Riviere's initial meaning and - using Renold and Ringrose's suggestion of masks created for women to wear - show how a Sikh woman acts in order to obtain some freedom from the constraints placed on her by her father, male relatives or husband. At home she wears the mask of the traditional young Sikh woman, properly attired, and properly respectful of her family and Sikh culture's wishes, to disguise her wish for the freedom she desires.[60] She removes the mask when she goes back to college, eliminating the traditional dress in favour of Western clothes like jeans, and Western behaviour like dating and

---

[56] Ibid, 322.
[57] Craft-Fairchild, Catherine, *Masquerade and gender: Disguise and female identity in eighteenth century fictions by women* (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 3.
[58] Ibid., 3.
[59] Efrat Tseelon 'Introduction'. In Efrat Tseelon (ed.), *Masquerade and Identities: Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality* (London: Routledge, 2001), 3.
[60] Ibid.5-13

socialising with the opposite sex. These are all actions that would violate her family's *izzat* and for which she would be forced to return home in disgrace.[61]

Using anthropologically-based terms of boundaries and body identity, I explore how Sikh women in Australia have developed a dual existence: one in which they uphold the concept of *izzat* or honour of their family in their new country while also making a place for themselves in the new country. Sikh women no longer want to be bound by their Sikh body identities (e.g., clothes, dress, language, view of the world). Instead the cultural adaptation Sikh women attempt can be thought of in terms of a continuum of circles in which the Sikh woman both remains within the cultural boundaries prescribed by her Sikh culture while slowing expanding and going beyond that original boundary, so she can express her desire for a new life outside the traditional confines of Sikh culture.

Based on narratives from the women I interviewed at various temples *(Gurdwara)* throughout Australia and some narratives of the men from those *Gurdwara*, I propose that Sikh women have developed multiple identities allowing them to re-identify themselves in Australia. The most successful Sikh women in Australia have learned to negotiate spaces and times where their new identity can be shown by developing a feminine masquerade, remaining the good daughter who does not violate *izzat*—her family's honour.[62] As Mines and Lamb reported, *izzat* also provides the basis of a family's position within the status hierarchies existing within the Sikh caste system.[63]

---

[61] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161.
[62] Ibid.155-161
[63] Diane P. Mines and Sarah E. Lamb (Eds.), *Everyday Life in South Asia* (Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2010).

This study follows the foundations laid down by Rait in her study and Dusenbery's study of Sikhs in Australia.[64] There is a gap in the literature regarding how Sikh women renegotiate boundaries and identity as they acculturate into a different society like Australia. The study of how these women renegotiate the boundaries imposed on them by their culture is significant because it adds to the little literature there is about Sikh women and their boundaries and body identities. Because so little research on this topic has been written, I intend to use other sources about how Sikhs have navigated living in British society. Rait reported that the most successful Sikh woman worked on achieving her independence while maintaining some aspects of the original cultural boundaries. It is often difficult for Sikh women to find that independence because they are watched carefully by their families. Their actions can either uphold or destroy the families' honour—*izzat*.[65] How do Sikh women maintain family honour and collective social obligations in a society where materialism and individual aspirations are promoted? The study of how these Australian women renegotiate the boundaries imposed on them by their culture is significant because: firstly, it adds to the little literature there is about Sikh women and their boundaries and body identities; and secondly, it contributes to an understanding of Australian society.

Theoretical Framework

An examination of the Sikh woman immigrant population in Australia requires an understanding of the forces that are exerted on migrant populations.[66] Migrant populations, according to Kathleen Hall and as noted earlier in Chapter 1, live in a third space where social encounters and cultural articulations result in

---

[64] Kathleen Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation". In Diane P. Mines and Sarah E. Lamb (Eds.), *Everyday Life in South Asia* (Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2010).

[65] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 175.

[66] Kathleen Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation"..

cultural change.[67] To understand what occurs in this intersection of cultures, I rely on three important constructs developed by Bhabha - hybridity, fragmentation, and displacement. These constitute the theoretic framework for this study. As Bhabha stated,

> [...] if, as I was saying, the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the "third space" which enables other positions to emerge.[68]

Thus, Sikh women who come to Australia or are born to parents who come to Australia immediately face the intersection of two cultures. The intersection becomes a hybrid of the two cultures and in this third space "cultural orientations and identities are made rather than given".[69] Migrant people have lives that are lived through translation, in which they learn to renegotiate the contradictory cultural practices they encounter.[70] Sikh women in Australia face those contradictions in their everyday life. At home they are 'protected' and not allowed to date men or wear Western clothing. When Sikh daughters are sent to college, they encounter other young women who do not face such restrictions, and these encounters often result in conflict for these young women.

For a period of time there appears to be an attempt to live in both worlds rather than renegotiate their boundaries and body identity.[71] Hall in her article, 'British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation', reports on a study she conducted with second generation Sikhs, children of migrants. She found that her participants who she interviewed felt torn between two cultures, Sikh and British. They consider both

---

[67] Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation", 440.
[68] H. K. Bhabha, "Culture's in Between", *Artforum* 32.1 (1993), 211.
[69] Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation", 440.
[70] Ibid., 440.
[71] Ibid., 440.

cultures to be dominant forces in their lives yet they cannot be mixed or as Bhabha would say, cannot be accommodated in a third space. They attempt to mold their identities into both Sikh and British to maintain the status quo, but face opposition from the British, who allow them a space to occupy in the country, while not accepting them as real British. This is because they perceive 'Britishness' to exclude Britain's citizens of colour and it legitimises racialised boundaries of national belonging.

The theoretical framework for this study is expanded on in Chapter 2 where Bhabha, among others, will be referred to, to explain the pressures that are faced by any migrant population. Sikh women, in particular, are an important migrant population to study in the context of what Bhabha has reported as the third space created by migrant populations. In preliminary interviews with Sikh women from various parts of Australia, there appeared to be evidence to suggest that the renegotiation of their boundaries and body identities has not yet been achieved and what may be happening is the development of two masks that are donned according to the Sikh woman's location and movement through society. The attempt to live in both cultures results in the tension reported in Hall's study of British Sikhs.[72]

Significance of the Study

My aim in this thesis is to develop new knowledge about Sikh women who live outside the geographical boundaries of Punjab. They left their homeland to find a better way of life outside India. Very little research has investigated how these women negotiate their identities in a geographical space like Australia where their practices, customs and traditions are not shared by the majority. In Australia they live in an overwhelmingly secular society where material success and gender

---

[72] Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation", 440.

20

equality are pursued, and this represents a very Western and modernised vision of the world confronting an Eastern and very traditional way of life.

The topic is one worth exploring for several reasons. First, as noted earlier in this chapter where I discuss the meaning of culture, many cultural anthropologists have agreed that culture is not a fixed and static thing; culture is in fact porous and subject to intrusions by other cultures. This is true also for Sikhism except that Sikhs appear to have a greater need to continue their Punjab traditions and practices. This has implications for how Sikh women live their lives in a new country and gives us the opportunity to discover how they renegotiate their boundaries and identities so that they can, on the one hand, continue their traditions (and what is expected of them) while opening up their experiences to aspects of Western society. It is also important to understand why the older Sikh women, especially those living in rural areas, seem to cling to practices that allow them to be abused by their husbands or male relatives and force upon them the responsibility for upholding the family's honour at all times.

In preliminary interviews for this study, I found that Sikh women fell into two categories of body identity. The older women seemed to cling to traditional practices, even those practices that left them under the control of their husband or male relatives. Younger Sikh women seemed to be performing a masquerade where they 'paid lip service' to tradition and upholding the honour of the family (*izzat*) when they are in their Sikh community, yet when they are elsewhere in society they are free of family constraints and they renegotiate their Sikh identity. In short, they learn to mix with other aspects of Western culture and values in mainstream Australia.

An important point that needs exploring is how Sikh women experience life when they move to Australia, a country that is far different from Punjab. For many

of the older women I spoke to in preliminary interviews, moving to Australia to make a better life for themselves and their children has not been fulfilled. While many are earning more money and are educating their children, the price seems too high to some because their children no longer do as their parents tell them and nor do they continue to fulfil the traditional practices of Sikhism.

Research Questions

There are three over-arching research questions that govern this phenomenological case study and which all interview questions were based on:

- How do Sikh women renegotiate their cultural and Sikh body identities in order to live in Australia?

- How does the burden of upholding the family's *izzat* affect Sikh women?

- What do Sikh women report as the factor(s) that most binds them to old cultural concepts?

Methodology of the Study

The study incorporates a qualitative phenomenological methodology in order to understand the lived experience of Sikh women who have either migrated to Australia from Punjab or who have been born to parents who emigrated from Punjab. The study's findings will help to determine how Sikh women renegotiate boundaries and identities in order to live successfully in two cultures. The elements included in this study are field work, researcher's notes and observations, and analysis of the data.

Field Work

This thesis consists of case studies for the field work and again using an anthropological lens to immerse myself into the Sikh women's lives in Australia. The method of meeting participants for my study was to attend the *Gurdwara*, or

Sikh temples, where there is an active social as well as religious life. In these places women and men are separated on different sides of the temple, even though women have been pronounced by the gurus to be of equal status to men.

While I am a Sikh myself and have attended a temple in my home town, I encountered several difficulties which I had to overcome in order to be admitted into the temples. Sikh society is not an open one and so there would have been a great deal of suspicion had I not done several things. Firstly, I had to get *salwar kameez* to wear at *Gurdwara;* your head must be covered. These are the body identifiers that I had to wear in order to be accepted among by Sikhs at the temple. During my stay at the temple, although I was dressed as an insider, I nevertheless felt as if I was an outsider because I had not been to this *Gurdwara* before.

Second, because I am an unmarried woman, I had to have my father accompany me to each temple. It would bring dishonour upon my family if I were to attempt to speak to the men of the temple on my own. The reader may wonder why if I am examining the cultural boundaries of Sikh women that I would be also interviewing men. The fact that I had to make the men comfortable in order to speak to other women suggests how deeply the cultural boundaries are placed on women by Sikh men. Sikh men were suspicious of me as an apparent outsider wanting to speak to their women. Sikh women are watched carefully because the honour or *izzat* of the family can be jeopardised if a woman does not act properly as prescribed by her cultural boundaries. In order to help the women be freer in our conversations, I also interviewed some men so as not to alarm them because they could have prevented the women from having any conversation with me.

I think it is again important to note that while I am a Sikh and I have been in Australia since I was a young teenager, because of the way in which I was raised— sheltered and protected by my parents—I was really not aware of the cultural

conflict that can arise for Sikh women in cultures outside Punjab where the influence of other cultures may infiltrate the primary bound culture. It was not until I was allowed to go away to school that I saw for myself the problems that cultural restrictions can cause. Even the fact that I myself had never worn jeans but have remained clothed in my body identifiers to reflect my honour for the culture, tells a story about how sheltered my existence was until university. Although I have never given my parents any reason to doubt that I would behave any way but as they wished, my mother still had a hard time convincing my father that I could be trusted to leave home, and I would not bring any dishonour to our family.

While critical analyses constitute an important part of this thesis, in many ways this study is an exploration of the way in which Sikh women reconstruct their identities in Australia and it is also a reconstruction process for me. I am learning what it means to experience the influences of an outside culture on my own bounded Sikh identity.

The thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 is a literature review of the appropriate theories used in making my argument. Chapter 3 explains the methodology used for this phenomenological study. Chapter 4 is an introduction to the voices of the women I interviewed. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the interview data collected from the men and includes a discussion of why such interviews were necessary. Chapter 6 contains the thematic analysis of the women's interviews, researcher's notes, and researcher's observations. Finally, Chapter 7 presents the conclusion and summary of the findings with recommendations for further study.

Chapter 2: Obstacles to Renegotiating a Cultural Boundary

Introduction

This chapter explores the cultural boundaries that are imposed on a subpopulation of Indian women—Sikh women living in Australia and how this immigrant population understands and negotiates both internal and external boundaries. Regardless of their geographical location or historical context, Sikh women enter into the world with a heavy burden placed upon them. Sikh women are the vessel in which the family's honour is placed. This burden becomes even larger for the migrant Sikh woman who has the dual role of maintaining her family's cultural traditions while at the same time negotiating a space for herself in her new homeland. Sikh women, like many migrant populations, face various social forces that all work together to limit their ability to negotiate a space where they can create their own identity.

In Australia, those forces may be even more constricting because of the long history of racial segregation and racial bias, which emerged most infamously in Australia during the mid- to late 1990s when Pauline Hanson[73] delivered her first speech in the Australian Federal Parliament in 1996.[74] In her speech, Hanson claimed to speak for 90 per cent of white Australians. A public discussion on racism and multiculturalism in Australia ensued throughout the Australian media after Hanson stated in her speech,

---

[73] Pauline Hanson is a former Australian politician and former leader of One Nation, a political party that was known for its anti-multiculturalism platform. In 2006, she was named by *The Bulletin* as one of the 100 most influential Australians of all time. See Peter Gale, "Construction of Whiteness in the Australian Media". In J. Docker (Ed.), *Race, Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand* (New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 2000).

[74] Australian News Commentary. Pauline Hanson's maiden speech in federal parliament, 10th September 1996, http://www.australian-news.com.au/maiden_speech.htm (accessed 28th May, 2012).

Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40% of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united. The world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia to Africa and, closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price. Arthur Calwell was a great Australian and Labour leader, and it is a pity that there are not men of his stature sitting on the opposition benches today. Arthur Calwell said: Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon and every new African nation are fiercely anti-white and anti one another. Do we want or need any of these people here? I am one red-blooded Australian who says no and who speaks for 90% of Australians. I have no hesitation in echoing the words of Arthur Calwell.[75]

In any discussion of migrant populations, one cannot ignore how colonialism has affected the way these populations envision themselves against the Colonisers. Many scholars have focused on the way non-Western populations were marginalised under colonial rule and remained so according to what some postcolonial writers have suggested.[76] Colonial or imperial powers such as Britain, France and the United States in the nineteenth up to the mid-twentieth century sought to expand their influence throughout the world, based on the belief that Western culture was in every way superior to non-Western cultures.[77] Colonisers failed to admit that colonisation was really about the acquisition of the natural resources of the 'Others' more than it was to offer civilisation to the 'uncivilised.' However, the end of

---

[75] Ibid.website

[76] Edward Said has had much to say about the lingering effects of colonialism on non-Western populations as does Homi Bhabha. Brian Keith Axel specifically addresses the issue of colonialism in India for the Sikhs. See: Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994); Brian Keith Axel, *The Nation's Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of a Sikh Diaspora* (London: Duke University Press, 2001); *Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); "The other question: difference, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism"; and *Out there: marginalization and contemporary cultures*. Ed. Russell Ferguson (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990), 148- 250.

[77] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 57.

colonial rule did not end the shadow under which colonised people still lived. The effects of European colonialism on global history have forever altered the way in which conflict has raged throughout the world, as noted by Samuel Huntington.[78]

It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine the implications of colonialism for every nation where it occurred. Colonialism had different impacts in different countries. However, the one common factor was that the Colonised were taught that their own culture was inferior to that of Western cultures, and thus the Colonised have banded together in their ethnic groups and subgroups in order to retain their culture. Furthermore, the attempt at developing a cohesive society grouped around an ethnic or religious identity has caused much conflict in the post-colonial world.[79]

This chapter is divided into several sections. The first section following the introduction looks at post-colonial life for the Colonised, with a particular emphasis on the effect the colonisation of India had on the sub-population of Sikhs. The third section includes a discussion of the concepts of honour (*izzat*) and shame as they are interpreted in the Sikh community. The fourth section includes a discussion of the feminine masquerade as defined by Joan Riviere in 1929 and how that masquerade is performed by Sikh women in Australia.[80] The chapter ends with a summary of the main themes discussed here.

---

[78] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996). Huntington argued that post-colonialism has generated greater divisions among people as each group fights to retain their culture—their way of life. Much of the cultural conflict is occurring in the twenty-first century between Western and non-Western countries, as Huntingdon predicted it would, in the form of battles between nations and groups of different civilizations. As Huntington suggested, the Western world's attempt to divide and subdivide nations without regard to different ethnic groups involved has created havoc in many of the formerly colonised nations. India is one such country (see 71-73).

[79] Ibid.71-73

[80] Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as Masquerade," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1929).

Colonisation and Its Aftermath

> A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing.[81]

The effects of colonisation can never be fully understood. After the Colonisers granted freedom to the Colonised, a period of turbulent reorganisation occurred because for the most part, the Colonisers had arbitrarily divided up nation-states geographically in ways that made sense to the Colonisers, but which created all sorts of ethnic divisions among these countries' inhabitants.[82] Those ethnic conflicts are at present playing out in various countries on the continent of Africa. For India, the country from which the Sikhs came, conflict is still endemic due to the ethnic rivalries that were enhanced or increased by the arbitrary partition of the nation in 1947. A discussion of the influence of colonisation is necessary to understand how the Sikhs currently view themselves as "us against the intruders". This necessitates a brief historical description of the Sikh Diaspora.

The History of Sikhs Under and After Colonial Rule

As Iyer[83] notes, Britain's control of India began in 1757, when British and French explorers landed there in order to exploit the riches of the country, especially tea. That exploitation continued, gradually until all aspects of Indian culture were under attack, until after World War II. Before the 1947 partition of the country, India was composed of the present day countries of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh.[84] Britain never had full control of India as certain 'native states'

---

[81] Martin Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking", in D.F. Krell, ed., *Martin Heidegger's Basic Writings*, 1992, 344-363.

[82] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism,* 48-52.

[83] Lakshmi Iyer, *The Long-Term Impact of Colonial Rule: Evidence from India* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 2004).

[84] Ibid, 101.

remained at least partially under Indian rulers during the colonial period.[85] The

agreement made between Britain and the country's local leaders was to divide the

land by religion—India went to the Hindu population and Pakistan became the

homeland for the Muslims.[86] Western leaders thought that separating the two largest

religions in India would lead to a peaceful geographical region. That of course did

not eventuate as mass violence broke out immediately following the partitioning; the

State of Kashmir was left undetermined and both India and Pakistan tried to annex

the state.

Caught up in this violence and unrest was another religious minority, the

Sikhs, who were suspicious of the Muslims and therefore decided to join the Indian

Union. It was not until particular political events arose in the 1970s that the Sikhs,

who were mostly found in the Punjab area, started uttering their grievances against

the Indian government.[87] This movement in the 1970s led to the Sikhs seeking their

own homeland away from Indian control. The Sikh political party, the Akali Dal,

wanted a government that represented the Sikh state. The Sikhs had grown fearful

that under the leadership of Hindu Prime Minister Indira Gandhi the Sikh population

would become fragmented and dissolved. Thus, the priority for the Sikhs was to

procure a distinct territory in which they would be the majority.[88]

The grievances that the Sikhs had were such things as the Indian

government's refusal to declare Punjabi, spoken by the Sikhs, an official language of

the Indian constitution and the increasing use of more modern technology in Punjab

on Hindu farms. Indian leaders argued that Punjabi was not distinct enough from

---

[85] Ibid., 104
[86] Ibid., 106
[87] Ibid 106
[88] Brian Keith Axel, "The Diasporic Imaginary", *Public Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2002): 411-428.

Hindi and therefore not justified for creating a linguistic state.[89] The Sikh request

was finally agreed to in 1980 when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi finally accepted

the Punjabi Suba as a reward for the role Sikhs had played in the 1965 war with

Pakistan.[90] The granting of a new state did not give the Sikhs the political power

they had hoped for because they had a slim majority of 56 per cent in the state.[91]

Because the Sikhs felt marginalised in India and because the Sikhs feared being

dissolved as a community, there was an attempt to purify the Sikh religion and

return the community to its roots and build a separate identity.[92] The list of Sikh

grievances—the Anandpur Sahib Resolution—was presented to the government in

1982. Instead of responding to those grievances, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister,

chose to break up the power of the Sikh political party, the Akali Dal, by using a

Sikh preacher, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, to encourage the Sikhs to embrace

their roots and return to a purer form of Sikhism—in other words to accept their lot

in life and halt their demands.[93] The calculation did not work; instead

Bhindranwale's cause gained mass support, especially from rural Sikhs had who

experienced difficulties in earning a living since the partition.[94]

Bhindranwale moved into the Golden Temple Complex[95] and led his

movement from within its precincts. In 1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent

Indian troops into the Golden Temple Complex to eliminate Bhindranwale and his

followers. This attack, called Operation Blue Star, was the turning point in the

---

[89] Ibid., 421.
[90] Ibid., 421.
[91] Ibid., 421.
[92] Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 43-65.
[93] Ibid. 43-65
[94] Ibid. 43-65
[95] Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India, ordered Sikh separatists to be removed from the Golden Temple in Amritsar. The separatists, led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, were accused of amassing weapons in the Sikh temple and starting a major armed uprising. "Operational Bluestar, 20 Years On". Rediff.com. 1984-06-06. Retrieved August 8, 2011.

conflict in Punjab.[96] When Indian troops invaded the holiest shrine of the Sikhs, a bloody battle ensued between Bhindranwale's followers and the Indian government. Hundreds of innocent victims who had attended a pilgrimage to the Temple that day were killed.[97] Bhindranwale was also killed and the Indian army succeeded in quelling the political activities of the Sikhs. However, the actions that day escalated the violence to the extent that Prime Minister Gandhi was assassinated in November 1984 by her Sikh bodyguards who were outraged by the violent attack at the Temple. Following Ghandi's assassination there was a pogrom against the Sikhs in New Delhi carried out by the police and security officials. The violence resulted in the deaths of 2,717 Sikhs. Sikhs felt they were no longer safe in India, and an armed militia was raised to help ensure the Sikhs' survival and the creation of a sovereign state, leading to a decade of violence and the beginning of Sikh migration to other countries.[98]

Post-colonialism and Its Effects

Some effects of colonialism can be seen in the above brief description of the Sikhs' history in India. The artificial geographical boundaries imposed on India caused cultural battles that still exist today. When colonialism ended there were many after-effects on the population and these echoes of the colonial period have been the subject of much debate in post-colonial literature. One of the authors most vocal on the effects of colonisation on both the Coloniser and the Colonised is Homi Bhabha[99] who has had much to say about the traditional thoughts about culture being unchangeable. Bhabha refers to several important concepts to describe the

---

[96] Ibid.43-65
[97] Ibid.43-65
[98] Ibid.43-65
[99]See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Homi K. Bhabha, *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

construction of culture and identity; those concepts are of mimicry, the third space, and hybridity—all of which can be used to explain what happens to cultures as they intersect in time and become something more—neither better or worse—than the original.

As Bhabha argues, a national culture can never be holistic and pure because the meaning of that culture is open to ambivalence or interpretations by the 'audience' and that meaning is different from the originator's intent.[100] This means that the Coloniser's culture is not just an oppressive force exerted on the Colonised culture; instead the coloniser's culture is open to ambivalence.[101] The Coloniser in an attempt to objectify the Colonised creates what turns out to ambiguity be a stereotype of the Coloniser in order to reject the 'Other' as an inferior being. As Bhabha further elaborates, 'Colonial power produces the Colonised as a fixed reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible'.[102] The Coloniser creates an image of the Colonised that he believes is holistic and pure and not open to ambivalence. However, the Colonised will not allow itself to be objectified and instead mimics the Coloniser. This mimicry of the Coloniser by the Colonised forces the Coloniser to look at itself.[103] Mimicry seems at first to be perceived as the most effective strategy of colonisation and is very appealing to the Coloniser because it seems to be good policy to have the 'Other' mimic their colonial masters so they can become reformed.[104] Bhabha, however, argues that having the Colonised imitate the Coloniser is in fact a bad strategy for the Coloniser:

---

[100] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 36.
[101] Ibid., 36.
[102] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism." In Houston Baker et al. (Eds.), *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 87-106.
[103] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 36.
[104] Ibid., 86.

> The effect of mimicry on the authority of colonial discourse is
> profound and disturbing. For in 'normalizing' the colonial state or
> subject, the dream of post-Enlightenment civility alienates its own
> language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms....
> The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the
> ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority.[105]

In seeing the Colonised mimic him, the Coloniser becomes the subject no longer, but becomes instead the object as well, and not the authority figure. According to Bhabha, 'Mimicry does not merely destroy narcissistic authority through the repetitious slippage of difference and desire. [It] raises the question of the authoriation of colonial representations'.[106] Mimicry therefore blurs the lines between the Coloniser and the Colonised so that it cannot be determined who is the subject and who is the object or who is the self or who is the 'Other'.[107] A breakdown of categories occurs and from that breakdown something is created that is neither Coloniser nor Colonised. Bhabha calls this the Third Space where differences in culture are:

> not so much a reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the
> tablets of a 'fixed' tradition as it is a complex ongoing negotiation –
> against authorities, amongst minorities: the 'right' to signify concerns,
> not so much the teleologies of tradition as much as its powers of
> iteration, its forms of displacement and relocation, its ability to signify
> symbolic and social relations outside of the mimetic transmission of
> cultural contents.[108]

In the third space created by the intersection of two cultures comes the ambiguity of hybridity. For Bhabha, hybridity is defined as the process in which the Coloniser attempts to translate the identity of the 'Other' or the Colonised into a singular framework.[109] The Coloniser's effort invariable fails, i.e. the attempt produces something familiar but new. What develops, according to Bhabha, is a new

---

[105] Ibid., 88.
[106] Ibid., 90.
[107] Ibid. 90
[108] Homi K. Bhabha, "Frontlines/Borderposts". In Angelika Bammer (Ed.), *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 270.
[109] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 35-38.

hybrid identity that emerges from the 'interweaving' of the cultural elements from the Coloniser and the Colonised and which challenges the validity of any cultural identity. Thus, in post-colonial writing, the belief that any culture is 'pure' is disputable, for what emerges from the intersection of the two cultures is a hybrid form of culture. Bhabha argues that all forms of culture are in the process of hybridity.[110]

The new hybrid culture replaces the cultural difference that is positioned between the Coloniser and Colonised. The new culture becomes the liminal, as Bhabha terms it, or in-between space, which is the 'cutting edge of translation and negotiation'[111] and which occurs in a third space. The third space becomes a way of articulating or describing a productive, not merely reflective space that offers new possibility; it is an 'interruptive, interrogative, and eunciative space'[112] that consists of new forms of cultural meaning that blur the limitations of existing boundaries, calling into question the established categories of culture and identity.[113] In other words, the cultural clash that occurs between the Coloniser and the Colonised creates something new that is neither Coloniser or Colonised.

Extending Bhabha's argument on the ambivalence of culture and extending it to the subpopulation of Sikhs who have emigrated to Australia, Dusenbery argued that the current processes of globalisation have encouraged and aided the spatial movements of communities such as the Sikhs.[114] These movements by populations into new geographical areas have created an urgent need to revise the traditional and conventional beliefs about culture and to accommodate the 'deterritorialized'

---

[110] Ibid., 26-37.
[111] Ibid., 36.
[112] Ibid., 37.
[113] In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, ed. Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
[114] Verne A. Dusenbery, "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities". In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, ed. Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 40-55.

concept of culture.[115] Communities, as Dusenbery terms the Sikhs, are no longer largely territorially limited to a certain geographic area.[116] Thus in looking at the Sikhs who have moved to Australia it is necessary to discuss the (bi)locality of their experience—or what Dusenbery recognises as their 'Indian' versus 'Aussie identity'.[117]

Sikhs and Post-colonial Existence

Dusenbery is not the only anthropologist who has used the term (bi)local to refer to populations like the Sikhs who have moved from their land of origin into another geographic space but who sustain their former identity along with the new identity.[118] As an example of the 'Indian' versus 'Aussie' mentality, Dusenbery refers to a cricket match that was held in Woolgoolga, New South Wales, Australia, between Punjabi Australians and the white local Australians, a match which confirmed that the Sikhs, most of whom had been born in Australia, were still considered 'the Other.'[119] Dusenbery also cites the following incident that occurred during his ethnographic field work in Woolgoolga in 1999:

> In 1999, when Woolgoolga's Sikhs held a procession through town in honour of the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Khalsa, the headline in the local paper read 'Sikhs invite locals' -as if Sikhs were not themselves locals. A non-Punjabi Woolgoolga resident, asked what she thought about the Sikh procession and whether she would attend it, said that 'the Sikhs have their procession and we [non-Sikhs] have Anzac (i.e. the Anzac parade which pays tribute to those who fought

---

[115] Ibid., 46.

[116] Ibid., 41.

[117] Verne A. Dusenbery, "Introduction: A Century of Sikhs beyond Punjab". In *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab,* ed. N.G. Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1989), 1-9; and "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga: Punjab Sikh positioning in Australia". http://www.apnaorg.com/books/sikhs-in-australia/Chapter-4/ch-4-page-3.html (accessed December 1, 2011).

[118] Verne A. Dusenbery. "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3; See Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality" in Richard Fardon, ed., *Counterworks* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 204-25 and Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration" in Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective an Migration* (New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Science, 1992), 1-24.

[119] Dusenbery. "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3.

35

for Australia)—as if it were unthinkable that Australian Sikhs might also claim ownership of Anzac.[120]

Dusenbery argues that the Australian Punjabi Sikh bi(local) is content with just passively belonging to Australian society—wishing to benefit economically from the nation's resources—but not expecting to feel at home in Australia.[121] The fact that Australia's policy of multiculturalism allows 'all the locals to stick to their respective cultures'[122] is sufficient for the Sikh (bi)locals, even though the power of the government resides in the hands of white Australians.

However, there is another kind of Sikh in Australia—the cosmopolitan Sikh of whom the (bi)local Sikhs are suspicious because these Sikhs move easily between the two cultures. Dusenbery defines cosmopolitan Sikhs:

> as the 'new class', people with credentials, decontextualised cultural capital ... [that] can be quickly and shiftingly recontextualised in a series of different settings'. Cosmopolitans challenge the dualism of home and abroad, since they are competent operating in various spatial and cultural contexts and are comfortable interacting with those from different localities and diverse cultural backgrounds.[123]

The cosmopolitan Australian Sikh is considered to be a Sikh but not quite one of the Sikhs. (Bi)local Sikhs see cosmopolitan Sikhs as dangerously too close to Australian society and not sufficiently committed to Punjabi village values. As Dusenbery reported from his fieldwork:

> ...in so far as Australian Sikh cosmopolitans possess forms of cultural capital that can be used in advancing their interests, (bi)locals may seek out or accept the cosmopolitan's contacts to advance concerns with, e.g. the Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (over spousal approvals, family reunification, citizenship) or even with the Government of India (over treatment of Non-Resident Indians (NRIs).[124]

---

[120] Ibid., 3. Anzac is a parade that celebrates the White people who fought for Australia but non-White ex-soldiers have also participated in Anzac Day parades.

[121] Ibid., 3.

[122] Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Annandale, New South Wales: Pluto Press, 1998), 19-34.

[123] Dusenbery, "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3.

[124] Ibid., 3.

Additionally, it is ironic that the (bi)local will probably have children who will have higher education and mobility that will result in them being cosmopolitan as well. Many children of (bi)locals find that they are trapped between the model of their parents and the example of the Sikh cosmopolitans.[125] For the Australian Sikh (bi)local, life is defined by the Punjabi 'discourse of *desh pardesh*', which is literally translated as 'home for home' or ' home at abroad', meaning the migrant exerts his or her ability and freedom to pursue culturally appropriate goals in a foreign country where he resides.[126] The (bi)local strives to be at home both in Australia and Punjabi locales, but fiercely clings to keeping a certain distance from Australia's Western culture while creating a place in the new challenging and sometimes hostile homeland. The new place, or home, does not reduce the (bi)local's desire to sustain Punjabi cultural practices even in the face of 'covert or overt assimilative pressures'.[127]

Appadurai argues that locals, as subjects and agents, have to construct their place in the new world by techniques for 'the spatial production of locality'.[128] For the Australian (bi)local, it means that they have to be loyal both to their Australian neighborhood and their village back in Punjab. Once in Australia, the Sikh goes about constructing his locality by constructing houses and temples and by cultivating the fields. It also means that the Sikh (bi)local, using 'complex and deliberative practices of performance, representation, and action' recreates a life in Australia that is closely connected to his or her former life in Punjab.[129] The Sikh (bi)local asserts his or presence in both localities by having the first wedding ceremony back in Punjab and a second ceremony in the Australian Sikh

---

[125] Ibid., 3.
[126] Ibid., 3.
[127] Ibid., 3.
[128] Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality" in Richard Fardon, ed., *Counterworks* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 204-25.
[129] Ibid., 206.

neighborhood, having a family member's body cremated in Australia but travelling back to Punjab to be sprinkled in a river there, and so on.[130]

Appadurai argues that this creation of a neighborhood is 'inherently colonizing of a new location'.[131] The fact that the Australian Sikh wishes to create a neighborhood of local space means that the Sikh Australian may be required to negotiate with others over the use of the space. For example, it means a Sikh may find it necessary to negotiate the building of a Sikh temple, have a procession or celebration in the streets, or to wear a *kirpan*—the sword worn by an initiate Sikh. These attempts at asserting the need for space can be politically challenging. If the attempt is met successfully, the Sikh (bi)local takes this as a sign of acceptance; if the request is denied, the rejection is seen as a sign of exclusion.[132]

It is inevitable that the Sikh (bi)local has to encounter other Australians in the course of building his own space in the new homeland. Unlike cosmopolitan Sikhs who enter easily into both Sikh and non-Sikh society, (bi)locals make their strongest connections with other Sikhs, much as they do back in Punjab. Dusenbery states that the Sikh (bi)local stigmatises white Australian society as the 'other', and carefully monitors social borders with the white Australians.[133] (Bi)local Sikhs fear that social relationships with other Australians may cause the loss of honour, or *izzat* to the family or Sikh community. Hence Sikhs fiercely protect their social and geographical spaces whenever possible to help reinforce the idea of the social difference and moral superiority of the Sikh culture.[134] A (bi)local is any Sikh who has not acculturated into Australian culture and who still sees him or herself as Punjabi Indian. Thus, while the Punjabi Sikh moves to Australia, he or she does so

---

[130] Ibid.206
[131] Ibid., 208.
[132] Ibid., 207.
[133] Ibid.207
[134] Dusenbery. "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3.

with the intent of leaving his 'footprint' in both spaces. The (bi)local reconstructs his

or her new space to retain as much of his or her cultural values as possible in spite of

the forces and pressures of acculturation. The cosmopolitan Sikh, different in many

ways from the (bi)local Australian Sikh, is the hybrid of Bhabha's argument—the

Sikh who is neither bound to the cultural ways of Punjab nor of Australia. Instead,

the cosmopolitan Sikh renegotiates his or her space into something that is new—not

Sikh or Australian—wherein he or she can move in and out of the boundaries

created by both cultures. The (bi)local is both jealous and fearful of cosmopolitan

Sikhs because their successful negotiation of their new boundaries exposes them to

the *gora*, or dangerous, Western culture where the likelihood of losing the family

and community's honour is greatest. For all Sikhs, the loss of *izzat* can have far-

reaching consequences.[135]

The Concept of Izzat: Honour and Shame

The term *izzat* is an Arabic word meaning glory.[136] When used as a noun it

means honour, reputation and prestige.[137] In collective cultures, like that of the

Sikhs, emotions are linked to how one's behaviour can bring shame to others and to

one's self.[138] Thus, for any Sikh woman to dishonour, or fail to uphold her family's

izzat, is to bring great shame to her family and her community. The complexity of

the concept of *izzat* for Sikhs, however, is best illustrated through the examination of

the gender roles within Sikh culture.[139]

---

[135] Verne A. Dusenbery, "A Sikh diaspora? Contested identities and constructed realities" in Peter van der Veer, ed., *Nation and Migration* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 17-42.

[136] Paul Gilbert, J. Gilbert, and J. Sangheray, "A focus group exploration of the impact of izzat, shame,subordination and entrapment on mental health and service use in South Asian women living in Derby." *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 7 (2004): 109–130.

[137] Ibid.

[138] D. Cohen, "Cultural variation: Considerations and implications", *Psychological Bulletin,* 127 (2001): 451–471.

[139] Ibid., 459. *Izzat* is a concept that is not bound to Sikh culture. The concepts of honour and shame permeate most South Asian cultures and women carry the largest burden of upholding the family's *izzat*. See Gilbert et al.'s "A focus group exploration of the impact of *izzat*, shame,

As Ballard notes, Sikh men, like men in many South Asian countries, are expected to present images of fearlessness and independence to the outside community.[140] Hence in 'a narrower sense *izzat* is a matter of male pride' as it is the father/husband's duty to keep female members of his household under control.[141] Any challenge to a husband or father's authority in front of the outside community shames the man and injures his honour. In Sikh society, to sustain a family's *izzat* women are required to behave modestly and to separate themselves from men.[142] The maintenance of honour or *izzat* can be seen in the Sikh culture as reinforcing the hierarchy of relationships within the family.[143]

For Sikhs, this honour of family is just as important to the maintenance of the community as it is to any individual family. The family's *izzat* in the community is based on both the family's wealth and its members' conformity with Sikh norms of behaviour.[144] The honour of a Sikh family is enhanced when a prestigious marriage can be arranged for the family's daughter and when the gifts given at the arranged marriage outshine those of the family's rivals.[145] The gift exchange at marriage time is one event where women have some power in the family.[146] The negotiations of those gifts in most often done by the wife before the husband makes the formal public announcement of their daughter's marriage. By having power to make all the decisions about gift giving in arranged marriages, Sikh women gain power over other women and men. However, it is ironic that the source of power for

---

subordination and entrapment on mental health and service use in South Asian women living in Derby", for interviews with Pakistani women and the burden *izzat* has placed on their lives.

[140] Roger Ballard, "South Asian Families". In Robert Rapoport, Michael Fogarty and Rhona Rapoport (Eds,). *Families In Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 179-204.

[141] Ballard, "South Asian Families", 181.

[142] Ibid., 188.

[143] Ibid., 189

[144] Ibid., 189

[145] Ibid., 185-200.

[146] Ibid. 185-200

Sikh women occurs from an event - marriage - that intrinsically subordinates them.[147]

As previous studies have suggested,[148] when Sikhs emigrate to another country, particularly Western countries like Britain and Australia, they reconstitute their cultural values in their new surroundings. Sikh migrant families work hard at sustaining family unity in order to help with their economic circumstances and to protect family members from the perceived corroding influence of Western culture. Any deviation from the family's traditional mores is seen as the beginning of the end of their culture and religion. Additionally, Sikhs are more likely to settle in areas where there are other Sikhs, resulting in a status competition within the group. Ballard noted that this behaviour is noticeable in Britain where:

> each ethnic colony has become an arena for status competition in its own right. Families have begun to outbid each other in the scale and style of their performance of traditional rituals, just as they did back home. *Izzat* is at stake, and it has become imperative for every family to participate in the game of status competition if they do not wish to fall behind. The consequent necessity for every family member to maintain an impeccable and honourable reputation is a thoroughgoing constraint on everyone's behaviour.[149]

The fear of losing a family's *izzat* and suffering shame within and outside of the family is termed by Gilbert et al. as 'reflected shame'.[150] Sikh individuals who lose honour through the action of others or bring the dishonour themselves by their own actions are likely to experience shame both internally in the family and externally in the community.[151]

The loss of honour can diminish the family's status in the community, and in most cases, results in a family disowning the member who has brought about the

---

[147] Ibid.185-200
[148] [148] See Gilbert et al., "A focus group exploration of the impact of izzat", 112; D. Cohen, "Cultural variation: Considerations and implications", 451–471.
[149] Ballard, "South Asian Families", 193-194.
[150] [150] Gilbert et al., "A focus group exploration of the impact of izzat", 115.
[151] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161.

41

dishonour. For example, young Australian Sikh women are not permitted to date openly and freely as other Australian women are. They are also not permitted to date outside their religion.[152] Any Australian Sikh woman who attempts to do so outside her family's control is in danger of dishonouring her family and at risk of being beaten or ostracised by her family. There is also the possibility that she could face death at the hands of her own family if the dishonour is great enough and the damage cannot be undone.[153] While honour killings are rare among Sikh populations in Western countries, they do occur more often in Punjab society.[154] In 2007, a Sikh woman in Britain and her son were charged with the honour killing of the son's wife.[155] The mother, Bachan Athwal, arranged for her daughter-in-law to be murdered after discovering that the daughter-in-law was having an affair and planned to divorce her husband. To have her daughter killed in Britain would have meant that Bachan would have been more likely to have been caught for the deed. Instead, Bachan tricked her daughter-in-law into going to Punjab with her to a family wedding. There in her native land, Bachan was able to persuade a family member to kill her daughter-in-law. Bachan returned to Britain after the wedding, but her daughter-in-law did not. People in Britain were told that the daughter-in-law had opted to stay in Punjab. The mother-in-law and her son probably would never have faced charges in Britain except for the fact that Bachan bragged to others that she had been responsible for the death of her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law's family worked with the police in India to bring the two individuals to trial for the

---

[152] Ibid.155-161

[153] Hall, "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation", 440.

[154] Ibid. 440

[155] U.K.: Grandmother Jailed For Life Over Honour Killing of 'cheating' Daughter-In-Law (Sikhs). *The Daily Mail* (U.K.) September 19, 2007, 3.

murder. It had, however, taken several years for those individuals to be charged with murder as the daughter-in-law's body was never found.[156]

For Sikh women, the concept of subordination is closely linked to that of *izzat* because the burden of carrying the family's honour is with the women. In studies on Sikhs in Britain, women have reported that they are often 'being watched' or are living 'on a lead'.[157] Researchers have noted that the Sikh migrant woman often feels trapped by the need to maintain the family's honour at all costs.[158] Both the concept of honour and shame play an important role in persuading young women to remain within their prescribed role in Sikh society.[159] The importance of *izzat* and the burden that it places especially on young Australian Sikh women cannot be overlooked as these individuals seek to renegotiate their identities in a new homeland.

Feminism and the Art of the Masquerade

According to Bhabha, migrant populations neither adopt the culture of their origin nor the culture of their new homeland. Instead, they create a hybrid culture in which they negotiate a new space and a new identity.[160] Bhabha's theory works well in explaining what happens to the male Sikh immigrant to Australia, but for Sikh women, some of whom have come to Australia to follow their husbands and to recreate their former lives in Punjab, the choice of discarding the old culture and the new one in favour of a hybrid culture is not so easily accomplished. Sikh women as discussed in the previous section are burdened by the need to uphold the family and

---

[156] Ibid.3
[157] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161. Rait is just one of many researchers who have studied how Sikhs have acculturated into British society. For excellent accounts of the challenges faced by migrant Sikh women and their daughters who have been born as British citizens, see Gurharpal Singh and Darshan Singh Tatla, *Sikhism in Britain: The Making of a Community* (London: Zed, 2006) and Ramindar Singh, *Immigrants to Citizens: The Sikh Community in Bradford* (Bradford: The Race Relations Research Unit, 1992).
[158] Ramindar Singh, *Immigrants to Citizens: The Sikh Community in Bradford* (Bradford: The Race Relations Research Unit, 1992).
[159] Ibid.
[160] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* 35-38.

43

community's *izzat* or honour. The freedom to live life as she chooses is not openly available to the Sikh woman as it is to the Sikh male. The argument this thesis makes is that to renegotiate their boundaries and body identities requires a type of feminine masquerade where the Sikh woman presents one identity at home and in her Sikh community. She takes on another identity in public spaces where her life is intersected by the 'other' populations in multicultural Australia. Young women who attempt to negotiate a space where they can construct a new identity often live dual lives—conforming to their family's demands when they are at home, but removing that mask, that body identity –so that they can live a life of intersection among other young Australians, uninhibited by the hybrid culture that their family has created.

The concept of the feminine masquerade was first introduced by Joan Riviere in 1929.[161] Riviere's argument can best be summed up in the following way. Riviere said that she discovered in her analysis of women that there was a type of woman who was able to be the good housewife and sexual partner to her husband and also functioned in a profession where she enjoyed great success. This woman had learned how to adapt to the reality of her life and managed to maintain good relationships with almost everyone she came in contact with.[162] On closer examination, the reality of this woman's life was not as stable as it seemed. As an example, Riviere cited the American woman who engaged in work of what might be considered a propagandist nature, meaning her profession consisted mostly of speaking and writing.[163] According to Riviere, this woman's life consisted of extreme anxiety after every time she had to make a public appearance, such as speaking to an audience. Although the woman would enjoy great success at her presentation, she would lie awake at night apprehensively going over everything she

---

[161] Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as Masquerade", *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1929), 35-44.
[162] Ibid., 36.
[163] Ibid., 37.

44

had done or said at that appearance. Had she done anything that was 'inappropriate'?

She would become obsessed with the need for reassurance and would look for

attention or compliment from a man or men at the close of her public appearance.

The men chosen to assure this woman were father figures. According to Riviere, this

woman would seek two things:

> first, direct reassurance of the nature of compliments about her
> performance; secondly, and more important, indirect reassurance of the
> nature of sexual attentions from these men. To speak broadly, analysis
> of her behaviour after her performance showed that she was attempting
> to obtain sexual advances from the particular type of men by means of
> flirting and coquetting with them in a more or less veiled manner. The
> extraordinary incongruity of this attitude with her highly impersonal
> and objective attitude during her intellectual performance, which it
> succeeded so rapidly in time, was a problem.[164]

This woman, then, relied on overt womanliness in order to curtail any rumour that

might suggest she was really trying to replace her father's success with her own. To

hide this attempt to diminish her father and to take his place, this woman had to put

on the mask of femininity where she reduced herself to coquetting and flirting with

males. To continue in private conversations with men to exert her independence as a

thinking human being would have been to call her sexuality into question. Thus, this

woman, according to Riviere, participated in a continuing masquerade, where she

was both a conqueror and the conquered.[165]

To perform the masquerade, women put on their make-up, their beautiful

clothes, and flirt, act 'womanly', and hide their real self. Under the mask of

femininity, women, according to Irigaray, use trickery or the 'paraphernalia of

beauty' to be socially successful.[166] Irigaray argued much like Riviere did, that the

masks donned by women are the only vehicles they have in which to live in society

---

[164] Ibid., 38.
[165] Ibid., 38.
[166] Luce Irigaray, *The Speculum of the Other Woman*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989, 155-165.

as a successful individual without the apprehension that Riviere noted. Furthermore, the constant fear that what they have said or done is in some way inappropriate may lead to certain consequences. Riviere argued that women wear a mask in order to be better accepted in a social world that is codified by men—that is, women must act, do, be what men have prescribed them to be. If a woman fails to do that, then she must face the consequences which may include being ostracised or have her sexuality called into question.[167]

Riviere's seminal essay has been echoed in literature and psychoanalysis in an attempt to question whether femininity is a mask or masquerade performed by women in order to negotiate a separate space for themselves in a male-constructed world. Does masquerade, as Riviere suggests, transform aggression similarly? Judith Butler notes a fear of:

> reprisal into seduction and flirtation? Does it serve primarily to conceal or repress a pregiven femininity, a feminine desire which would establish an insubordinate alterity to the masculine subject and expose the necessary failure of masculinity? Or is masquerade the means by which femininity itself is first established, the exclusionary practice of identity formation in which the masculine is effectively excluded and instated as outside the boundaries of a feminine gender position?[168]

This motif of masquerade is supported by other motifs of woman as the 'Other', as suggested by other analyses of her displacement, of forms of mimicry of maleness, and ways in which women are suppressed.[169] For Sikh women in Australia, the masquerade is performed in several ways. First, as noted by Kapur,[170] Sikh women mark themselves with their dress and with the stylisation of their bodies. According to Kapur, the *salwar kameez*, the dress worn by Sikh women, marks them as Sikhs

---

[167] Ibid., 78.

[168] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 163–71, 177–8.

[169] Ibid.178

[170] Preeti Kapur, "Sharing identity through dress: The case of Sikh women. *Psychological Studies* 55 (2010): 101-107.

and separates them at the same time from the 'others' in Australia. Sikh women are motivated to dress traditionally as a way not only to distinguish themselves from 'others', but as a way to protect the honour of their family by dressing appropriately.

Pam Meecham and Julie Sheldon[171] note that body identity markers—what differentiates self from the 'other'—include such items as skin colour, sex, body decorations, and language. Body identity markers, which have been recognised by writers such as Said and Simone de Beauvoir,[172] are used to identify the dominant from the marginalised in society. That is, cultures often adopt a space, a language, a style of dress to distinguish themselves from 'others' who are not members of the group. These body identifiers are both related to the mind and the body. All these markers help to create the boundaries that define the similarities and differences between the marker wearer and the marker perceiver.

Within a given national boundary, like Australia, the Sikh woman's identity depends on the shared understanding of her marker identity—she marks her body as being of Sikh culture because her family desires for her to show to the 'others' that she belongs to that culture. In order for the Sikh woman to renegotiate the boundaries prescribed by her culture she has to have a dual body identity. Thus at home she must speak in Punjabi, live the Sikh traditions, acquiesce to the will of her parents and clothe herself in the markers of her feminine Sikh culture. Outside her home, at a safe distance from the Sikh community that might see her acting outside the bounds of Sikh tradition, the Sikh woman can speak English, choose to do things at her own will, wear clothes that reflect Australia's Western culture. In changing her body identity markers she hopes to negotiate a place in her new geographical

---

[171] Pam Meecham and Julie Sheldon, *Modern Art: A critical introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[172] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994); Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex and Other Writings* (New York: Penguin, 1972).

space where she is not considered or seen as an 'other' and perhaps can find acceptance and not the kind of restriction that Hage[173] says is faced by Western immigrants.

Any deviation from their prescribed cultural role in society can cause grave problems for their family. As will be explored later in Chapters 4 and 5, Australian Sikh women—especially those young women who have the opportunity to live away from their father's household by attending tertiary institutions—have to perform a masquerade in order to renegotiate their space in Australia. Previously, these women have to dress and act in the manner prescribed to them by their father, husband, brothers, and that means dressing traditionally and not socializing with the 'others'.[174] As participants in this story will narrate, when these women have the opportunity to be at a distance from their families, they don another mask and dress like their Australian contemporaries in jeans and go to parties and mingle with the opposite sex. None of those activities would ever be allowed while they were at home with their parents. This masquerade that they perform is a dangerous one, because as Sikh women they are expected to uphold the honour of their families. To be seen out in public dressed in Western garb, smoking, drinking, or interacting with men would bring severe consequences to them as well as to their family. For those reasons, Australian Sikh women have to continue to live behind a metaphorical mask in order to move in and out of the cultural boundaries imposed upon them.

Conclusion

This thesis argues that Punjabi Sikh women in Australia must perform a masquerade in order to renegotiate their boundaries and body identities. Writers on post-colonialism such as Appadurai, Arvind-pal, Axel, and Bhabha, among others,

---

[173] Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society,* 19.
[174] Ibid., 103-104.

have argued that culture is an ever-changing concept that is not limited to certain

repeated patterns and beliefs in a given geographical space. The reality is that

culture changes constantly as individuals intersect with each other, according to

Bhabha.[175] Thus, no culture is 'pure', not even the Sikh culture, which was

intersected by the Hindus and the British in India. Some have argued today that the

way in which (bi)local Australian Sikhs see themselves is a product of the history of

those intersections they have had with 'others'. Because of the historical persecution

that they faced in India at the hands of the majority ethnic group (i.e. the Hindus),

Sikhs who have emigrated to Western countries have endeavoured to live in their

new culture while maintaining their old culture.[176] In every country they have

emigrated to, Sikhs have clustered together in an attempt to recreate what they have

left behind in Punjab, and to wait for the time when Sikhs will at last return to their

homeland of Khalistan.[177] For Sikhs the promise of a homeland in Khalistan cannot

be underestimated. When Britain divided up India in 1947, the Sikhs had hoped that

they would be given Khalistan as a homeland where they could create a pure area in

which to practice their culture and religion and be able to limit the outside influence

of others.[178] That did not happen and so even though the Sikhs are now widely

---

[175] Bhabha is in no way the only postcolonial writer who has written about how culture is affected and reinterpreted as individuals intersect with others. See for example, the following discussions of culture that can be applied to much of the Sikh experience outside their homeland of Punjab: J. Bagdasarova, *A Shared Anthropology in the Study of Migration: Other, Self, and Beyond.* Halle/Saale (Germany: Max Plack Institute for Social Anthropology, 2006); N.G. Barrier, N.G. and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds. *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and Experience beyond Punjab.* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications and Columbia, Missouri: South Asia Publications, 1989); Deepika Bahri, and Mary Vasudeva, eds. *Between the Lines: South Asians and Post-Coloniality* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996); John Docker, *Dilemmas of Identity: The Desire for the Other in Colonial and Post Colonial Cultural History.* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992); Ana Dragojlovic, "Reframing the Nation: Migration, Borders and Belonging." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 9:4 (2008): 279-284.

[176] Dusenbery. "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga", 2-3. and Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality", 204-206.

[177] When the British left India after World War II they promised Sikhs and Muslims that they would have their own homeland. Khalistan is the name of this promised nation for the Sikhs that was never fulfilled.

[178] Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 43-65.

distributed throughout the world, wherever they have settled, Sikhs have attempted to recreate or renegotiate the cultural values they lived in Punjab. Most Sikhs use their new homeland to improve their economic well-being, but their hearts and their loyalty remain with the homeland back in Punjab.[179] To be prepared for the day when Sikhs may have a homeland, the Australian male Sikh continues to rely on the Sikh woman to uphold their cultural values and not to perform action or speak any word that would bring dishonour and shame to the family or community.

While this thesis's scope is limited to one subpopulation, Sikh women in Australia, it is noted here that much of what can be learned from this subpopulation can be applied to other immigrant subpopulation groups, especially those of women. The difficulty faced by these groups of individuals cannot be downplayed. These immigrant populations come mostly from areas that had been subject to colonial rule and as these populations leave the artificial geographical space assigned to them by the Colonisers, they seek to renegotiate their spaces and recreate a culture that does not mimic what was before, but what will come. As Herman Hesse said,

> Every age, every culture, every custom and tradition has its own character, its own weakness and its own strength, its beauties and cruelties; it accepts certain sufferings as matters of course, puts up patiently with certain evils. Human life is reduced to real suffering, to hell, only when two ages, two cultures and religions overlap.[180]

Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to conduct this phenomenological study as well as explain how data were collected and analysed.

---

[179] Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality", 220-25.
[180] Hermann Hesse, *Steppenwolf* (London: Picador, 2002), 32.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Even if Australia has given us so much, we have lost so much as well.[181]

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain how the research was conducted and what methodology was chosen in order to support the stated purposes of the study. This chapter is organised as follows. The first section explains the role of the researcher and the second section outlines how the sample population was chosen. The problems that were encountered while attempting to get enough women to participate in this thesis are also explained.

Researcher's Voice

My background as a Sikh immigrant to Australia encouraged my desire to research the topic of renegotiating boundaries and body identities for Sikh women. I originally was inspired by a number of postcolonial readings that I undertook. Having previously read Rait's[182] study on Sikh women who had emigrated to England, I was interested in discovering whether Sikh women in Australia responded similarly to their Australian surroundings. Rait had expressed deep dismay that when attempting to interview Sikh women in England, she found that almost every woman was accompanied by either their father or their mother or their husband or brothers. Rait reported that this showed that many Sikh women were still being closely monitored by their families and to ensure that the woman did nothing that would cause injury to the family's *izzat*, the young woman had to have her every word monitored. In the current research I was able to speak to the women

---

[181] Quote taken from an interview with an older Sikh woman who responded to my question about challenges experienced in coming to Australia. In Chapter 4 I elaborate on how there is a divide between age groups among Sikh women. The young women are in the process of renegotiating their identities and boundaries in Australia, while older Sikh women have not acculturated into Australian society.

[182] Rait, *Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs,* 155-161.

alone, but only after satisfying the men's questions and including some of the men in the conversation. Having come to Australia as a young teenager, I was shocked to see the freedoms that women had in the Western world.

It is within these boundaries that I approached the topic of this thesis. Being Sikh myself does not mean that I understand everything about what being a Sikh living in a foreign country means. As I interviewed younger women for this study I was rather taken aback by the masquerade that some of the younger women were forced to perform in order to live a dual life: one foot in the Sikh culture with the other foot in the Australian, or Western, culture. Rarely had I ventured out to do anything that my parents would have been displeased about. Even when invited to go out to bars with other college friends, some of whom were Sikh, I refused and remained inside to study or went to work so I could help my parents pay for my education.

I document what my life was and is like at the university only to address the issue of researcher bias in this study.[183] As Clifford Geertz suggests:

> If you want to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or findings and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do.[184]

So in conducting this study, I entered the data collection phase with the sole objective of putting aside the theories of why Sikh women may act as they do and

---

[183] There are many essays on researcher bias. I found reading the following books and essays helped in deciding how to handle the issue of researcher bias, an issue I was concerned with because I did not want to be accused of slanting the results of this study in a particular direction because I myself was a Sikh woman living in Australia. When I read Rait's study on Sikh women in England, I thought she sounded biased toward them because they came accompanied by a relative who was there to watch what the woman said. At times in reading Rait's book I could discern her disapproval of these women's words and actions. I did not want that to be the case in this study. See M. Eger, "Hermeneutics as an approach to science: Part II". *Science and Education, 2* (1993), 303-328; and D. N. Berg and K. K. Smith (Eds.), *The self in social inquiry: Research methods* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988).

[184] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

concentrated on actually listening and observing what they did. During the interviewing process, I never thought about what theorists had suggested about the impact of culture or gender or immigration would have on the women I was interviewing. Instead, I listened intently to what the Sikh women told me they did, how they explained their lived experiences back in Punjab and here in Australia. I looked at myself as the recorder of their feelings.

I also addressed any researcher bias by seeing myself —as B. Mehra suggests—as a learner.[185] I approached my participants as the ones who had the knowledge about my topic that I was interested in learning more about. As Mehra states:

> If our aim as qualitative researchers is to portray the insiders' reality - the reality of people/culture we are studying - who would have the most knowledge about that - the insiders. So if they are the experts, and we are the learners in the process of research, we have to learn about all sides of the argument/story, in order for us to be able to tell their story. This approach can also force a researcher to move beyond his or her bias and talk about the knowledge gained from the participants - who may be on the other side of the argument.[186]

I subsequently took up this research topic by recognising that it was not my reality that I wanted to portray but the reality of the women I would interview, both young and older, rural and urban, so that I could report on their perspectives based on their own words, with no preconceived notion of what they would say or not say. In this study I document the reality of my participants and not my own reality, although I acknowledge that I cannot truly divest myself of my own Sikhism and how my life has unfolded in Australia. As Denzin notes, all research is really about the researcher, but in

---

[185] B. Mehra, 'Bias in qualitative research: Voices from an online classroom', *The Qualitative Report 7*, no. 1 (2002), http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR7-1/mehra.html (accessed January 5, 2012).
[186] Ibid., 5.

order for the research to be valuable it must move beyond the researcher and

the researcher's situation.[187]

Research Questions

There are three major questions that govern this phenomenological thesis.

One-on-one interviews using open-ended semi-structured questions were used to

gather data to answer the following:

- How do Sikh women renegotiate their cultural identities in order

  to live in Australia?

- Is there a burden placed on the Sikh woman in having to uphold

  the concept of *izzat* or honour in her family?

- What do Sikh women report as the factor that most binds them

  to old cultural concepts?

Methodology Employed

In selecting a methodology for the proposed research I reviewed the types

of qualitative studies that I could use in the study of the lived experiences of Sikh

women in Australia. C. Moustakas identified five types of qualitative studies that

could be undertaken.[188] The first type is ethnography, which requires a direct

observation of the activities of a certain subpopulation as well as communicating

and interacting with the members. Ethnography is usually employed in

anthropological studies. For the purposes of this study, ethnography was not chosen

because I did not have the time or funds necessary to stay with the population I was

studying for a long enough period to make such a study worthwhile and valuable.[189]

The second type of qualitative study is grounded theory where data are

collected and the hypotheses and concepts are developed and worked out during the

---

[187] N. K. Denzin, *Interpretive biography* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989).
[188] C. Moustakas, *Phenomenological research methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).
[189] Ibid.21

54

study.[190] The purpose of grounded theory is to add to the theoretical knowledge of the phenomenon being investigated. This design did not fit the purposes of this study. The third type of qualitative design is hermeneutics which involves the art of reading text or experiences in such a way that the intention and meaning behind those words and experiences are understood.[191] This design did not meet the purposes of this study either. The fourth research design is heuristic research which begins with a personal question or challenge, but develops to take on a strategy that has universal significance. Discovery in this design is used through self-inquiry and dialogue. According to Moustakas, heuristic research:

> ...is aimed at discovery through self-inquiry and dialogue. The life experience of the heuristic researcher and the research participants is not a text to be interpreted but a full story that is vividly portrayed and further elucidated through art and personal documentations. From these individual depictions and portraits from research participants, a composite depiction is developed. This represents the entire group of co-researchers. The primary researcher then develops a creative synthesis from this material.[192]

To meet the needs of this research, the fifth design was used in this study, specifically the phenomenological approach. Phenomenology examines lived experiences in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions.[193] The description of individuals' lived experiences provides information for a structural analysis of those experiences. According to Moustakas the original data is obtained through open-ended questions and dialogue. The researcher then describes the structure of the lived experiences, based on reflection and interpretation of the participants' stories. The aim of a phenomenological study is to determine what the experiences mean for the people who have had them.[194]

---

[190] Ibid.21
[191] Ibid.21
[192] Ibid., 21.
[193] Ibid., 21.
[194] Ibid., 21.

According to Moustakas, furthermore, certain steps should be followed when conducting a phenomenological study. These comprise the following:

1. Discovering a topic and question rooted in autobiographical meanings and values, as well as involving social meanings and significance

2. Conducting a comprehensive review of the professional and research literature

3. Constructing a set of criteria to locate appropriate co-researchers

4. Providing co-researchers with instructions on the nature and purpose of the investigation, and developing an agreement that includes obtaining informed consent, ensuring confidentiality and delineating the responsibilities of the primary researcher and research participants, consistent with ethical principles of research.

5. Developing a set of questions or topics to guide the interview process

6. Conducting and reporting a lengthy person-to-person interview that focuses on a bracketed topic and question. A follow-up interview may also be needed.

7. Organizing and analysing the data to facilitate development of individual textural and structural descriptions, a composite textural description, a composite structural description, and a synthesis of textural and structural meanings and essences.[195]

In order to meet the requirements of the phenomenological method, I did much research on my topic. As noted in Chapter 1, I read studies that were similar to mine and which looked at various immigrant subpopulations to determine how they created meaning in their lived experiences and how they interpreted the reality of those experiences. I then set about devising the research questions that would aid me in accomplishing the goal of this study, which is to understand how Sikh women who have migrated to Australia from Punjab renegotiate the boundaries and their body identities in order to create a new space for themselves in Australia.

I also searched for different geographical areas in Australia from which my sample population could be drawn. In seeking to portray with greater accuracy the lived experiences of this subpopulation, I needed to look at women living in rural

---

[195] Ibid., 21.

and urban environments. Sikhs who live in rural areas - as I did growing up in Australia - are more closely related and monitored by the Sikh community. As discussed in the previous chapter, 'Others' are not let into the community because it is feared that in getting close to it, they will influence the behaviour of younger Sikhs. In urban areas the sense of a close knit community cannot act as a buffer against the outside influences that are everywhere. It was therefore important that I establish a wide enough lens to include every conceivable influence that Sikh women encounter when living in Australia while trying to hold on to the cultural demands of their Sikh heritage.

Sample Population

Sikh women who participated in this story came from three different regions: the Riverland, Adelaide, and Melbourne. The Riverland is located in South Australia and covers the area that borders the River Murray.[196] The major towns in the Riverland are Renmark, Berri, Loxton, Waikerie and Barmera. The Riverland consists mostly of farming communities and many Sikhs who live there either own a farm or work on a farm. Adelaide is the capital of South Australia and is the fifth largest city in Australia.[197] Melbourne is the capital city of Victoria and is the second most populated city in Australia.[198] In order to enlist participants in these three areas, I had to approach the women in a manner that would not make them suspicious of me and where the men in their lives would not see me as a threat in any way. The following sections explain what I did to gain entry into each geographical area.

---

[196] Australia Geography. http://www.kidport.com/reflib/worldgeography/australia/australia.htm (accessed on 15 February 2012).
[197] Ibid.website
[198] Ibid.websire

The Riverland, South Australia

According to the Riverland Sikh community priest, Giani Heera Singh, there are 110 Sikh families living in the Riverland.[199] There are two *Gurdwaras*, or Sikh temples for religious services: one is located in Glossop and the other one is at Renmark. The Sikh *Gurdwara* in Renmark is open only every other week. The Riverland is known as a grape-growing region where 90% of the Punjabi Sikh community own a vineyard and the other 10% work as labourers on the farm. Before I contacted the people I had to have my father accompany me to the *Gurdwara,* especially since I was going to interview some men and did not want to raise the suspicions of men in the Sikh community. It should be noted that for me to speak to the Sikh men without my father being present, this very act would have violated my family's *izzat*.

When I went to the *Gurdwara* in the Riverland, I dressed in *salwar kameez,* which is a traditional dress worn by both women and men in India. *Salwar* are loose pajama-like trousers that also can be very wide or somewhat more narrow. The legs are wide at the top and narrow at the ankle. The *kameez* is a long shirt or tunic. The side seams of the *kameez* are left open below the waist, so that the wearer has greater freedom of movement. It was necessary for me to dress that way when attending the Riverland *Gurdwara*. Before actually inviting either men or women to participate in this study, I attended the *Gurdwara* for several weeks. I cooked with the women at the temple, remembering to speak in fluent Punjabi at all times. It was imperative that I represent myself as a good young Sikh woman and not as a modern Sikh woman because I would have been looked upon suspiciously by both men and women.

---

[199] Personal interview conducted with Giani Heera Singh on October 3, 2011.

I had one advantage at this *Gurdwara*: my father attended this temple and so the men knew him and were not suspicious of why I was there. I built up a sense of trust between myself and the women who attended the *Gurdwara*, which enabled me to discreetly explain to them my purpose in coming to the temple, and I asked each woman if she would be part of the study when no one else was around. If she did agree, I gave her a consent form that explained the purpose of the study and asked her to sign, stating that I could use the data I collected in my research. I also asked each woman and man if I could tape record their responses but the women all refused because there was a fear that the recordings would be heard by the men and that might cause them trouble. In total, I interviewed five men and ten women from this *Gurdwara*. All of the interviews were conducted away from the *Gurdwara* so that the women could speak without fearing they would dishonour their families with anything they said. For the most part the interviews were conducted in either their own home or another place where they were most comfortable. Interviews lasted from an hour to two hours and later on they were checked by Interpreter Parminder Kaur for accuracy of translation.

Adelaide, South Australia

In Adelaide, I wore normal clothes just as other young Sikh girls would do so I could fit in with them. I recruited the women I interviewed from the temple in Adelaide, but as in the Riverland, I conducted the interviews at their flats or at cafés,and sometimes the interviews were conducted while I accompanied these women to parties. Here I was able to see for myself how they transformed into another body identity when they mixed with other Western people.

While in Adelaide I managed to interview eleven women for my study and they were aged between 18 and 30. All these women were studying at the University

of Adelaide and some were attending TAFE.[200] They regularly return to the Riverland to see their families every two weeks or sometimes every four weeks. They live a double life; they enjoy being free, away from their parents' control while they are at university. Every young woman who agreed to participate in my research project was asked to sign the same consent form which did include information about the purpose of the study and their rights and responsibilities. Again, all the young women did not want their interviews to be digitally recorded. They were fearful that someone else would access those tapes and identify them.

Melbourne, Victoria

Melbourne is a larger city than Adelaide and for this reason there were four *Gurdwaras* for me to explore. I went to each of those four *Gurdwaras* in order to make contact with women there. I had my father accompany me to each of the *Gurdwaras* so that the men at the temples would not be suspicious about my motives and so that when I talked to the men I would not be doing so unaccompanied. To speak to a man in private would cast suspicion and doubt on the woman, causing her family great dishonour. To meet the women at the *Gurdwaras*, I participated in the women's cooking activities in the temple and in their conversations. Once they got to know me better, I was able to ask a few women if they would be willing to participate in a research study I was conducting.

All of the interviews with the women in Melbourne were conducted in their homes. I tried as much as possible to interview them when the men in the family were not around so that I could see how the women reacted to the questions without fear of what their husbands thought. Being allowed into their homes to conduct the interviews was also of great benefit as I was able to observe how they acted. If the husband was at home while I was interviewing the woman I would take her for a

---

[200] Technical and Further Education campus in Adelaide.

walk or to the park or to a shopping centre and casually started the conversation then. I discovered that all the women who I interviewed away from the men in their lives became much more relaxed and responsive. In Melbourne, all interviews were conducted in English. Some of the educated women that I interviewed in Melbourne did not care if the interview was conducted in English or Punjabi because they were equally comfortable with both languages. All of the women who elected to participate in the study from Melbourne asked that they not be recorded during the interview process. I interviewed three men in Melbourne as well.

Procedures Followed in the Interviews

I followed the same interview process at all three locations. I met potential interviewees by attending the various *Gurdwaras* and gaining the trust of both the men and women there. The only place that I had an easier time recruiting was at the *Gurdwara* in Adelaide. Here, the participants were all between the ages of 18-30 and therefore were more open with their responses. The women I interviewed in Adelaide all lived a dual existence. While in Adelaide they lived freely away from the constraints placed on them by their parents back at home. Thus, these women were freer in their answers with me; yet they still did not want those interviews recorded. These young women constantly remarked about the punishment they would face if their father was told how they were living in Adelaide. They also said that there were many spies in Adelaide—other Sikhs who came to shop in the city from The Riverland—who would telephone their parents if the daughters were engaged in any activity that would harm their family's honour.

Once I had established some measure of trust with the men at the *Gurdwaras* and asked them to allow me to interview them, I began to conduct interviews with the men. I had prepared separate questions for them that were different from those I asked of the women. The questions asked (see Appendix A) were basically about

61

what their life was like before coming to Australia (if they were immigrants) and

what their life was like in Australia. Most of the men I interviewed gave lengthy

answers. The men were all quite willing to elaborate about their lives and were

quick to inform me that their families were of upmost importance to them and their

wives were the center of their household. In addition to the questions about how

they had arrived in Australia, some questions I asked the men referred to politics

inside the *Gurdwara* and how they saw the role of each member inside the family

unit. The following are examples of the questions I asked the men:

1. How do people choose what *Gurdwara* they attend?

2. Who manages the *Gurdwaras*? Are there any women managing the

Gurdwaras?

3. Do the different political factions in the *Gurdwaras* fight inside the

temple?

4. If conflict does arise, how is it handled?

5. What can be done to handle such disputes?

The questions created for the interviews with the men were derived from

previous studies that focused on Sikh immigrant males.[201] The questions were

designed in such a way as to touch on topics presented in previous research that

were of concern and interest to Sikh males who had entered another country but who

---

[201] Questions used for the interviews conducted with Sikh males in Australia were based on my readings from the following works. It was especially clear from Dusenbery's study in Woolgoolga that Sikh men were concerned with making an economically viable place for themselves in Australia while keeping their eyes and hearts focused on their dreamed-of homeland. Verne A. Dusenbery, "Introduction: A Century of Sikhs beyond Punjab". In *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*. Ed. N.G. Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1989), 1-9; "Fieldwork in Woolgoolga: Punjab Sikh positioning in Australia". http://www.apnaorg.com/books/sikhs-in-australia/Chapter-4/ch-4-page-3.html (accessed December 1, 2011); and "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities". In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*. Ed. Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 40-55.

had refused to assimilate into the new culture. The studies by Gibson[202] and Chadney[203] were particularly helpful in that they discussed how - despite sometimes vicious attacks by other people - Sikh males clung to their traditions and did whatever was necessary to prevent their own assimilation into the new culture, even if that meant that they often faced great prejudice against them. These studies' findings were used to develop the interview questions—all of which were open-ended and designed to allow follow up when needed.

In general the questions were aimed away from engaging the men in any conversation about the rights of women or how women are treated in the Sikh community. Even though no specific question asked men to respond to the treatment of Sikh women, at least three of the men interviewed launched into complaints about Sikh women being too educated and too independent now and as a result were neglecting their role as a woman in Sikh society. I elaborate much more on those discussions in the next two chapters. I still am not sure why those men veered the conversation toward that topic, but I did suspect at the time, the men were seeking to test the real purpose behind my interviews. Sikh men have often been criticised for the way some of them treat the women in their lives and are particularly sensitive about the topic.[204] I was careful when interviewing the men not to mislead them in

---

[202] Margaret Gibson, *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school.* Cornell, Cornell University Press, 1988.

[203] James G. Chadny, James G. Sikh Family Patterns and Ethnic Adaptation in Vancouver. *Amerasia Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1980): 31-50.

[204] This suspicion about my study may be rooted in much criticism that has been written by Sikh male scholars in response to studies conducted by Doris Jakobsh who has mostly focused on the religion of Sikhs and how that has affected the lives of Sikh women, especially since women are supposed to be considered equal to men. Jakobsh blames the patriarchal attitudes of Sikh men against Sikh women for the brutality sometimes imposed on these "equal women." Jakobsh has had many male critics of her view of how Sikh men treat their women. Works by Jakobsh that have been attacked are : "Gender Issues in Sikh Studies: Hermeneutics of Affirmation or Hermeneutics of Suspicion?" in Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, eds., *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora* , (New Delhi, Manohar, 1996), 45-72; "Sikhism, Interfaith Dialogue and Women: Transformation and Identity," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* , vol. 21, no. 2 (2006); "Sikh Ritual Identity: Who Speaks for Sikh Women," Chakra – tidskrift for indiska religion, *Modern Media and Texts in Indian Religions* Vol 3 no. 1 (2005); "The Construction of Gender in History and Religion:

any way about the purpose of the study. I was frank in stating that my purpose was to look at how Sikh women renegotiated their boundaries and body identity in Australia. One man asked me to further elaborate on what I specifically was looking for. This particular man launched into an attack on his first wife whom he had divorced, because as he put it, "she was too educated and too independent. She neglected her duties as a woman and did not make her household her prime concern".[205] Later in the interview he praised his new wife who he said was not well educated and who was content to stay at home and care for him and his new child. The way in which the men responded to my interview questions confirmed for me that I was correct to begin with the men before attempting to address any issue with the women.

Once I had eased the men's suspicions—one reason was that my father accompanied me to all the *Gurdwaras,* showing that I was a traditional young Sikh woman firmly under his control—I then was able to pull individual women aside privately to invite them to participate in the study. At that time I explained its purpose to each woman. I provided them with examples of the questions I would ask and told them that they at any point in the interview they could stop the questioning and withdraw from the study. Like I did with the questions developed for the men's interviews, I used previous research to develop the women's questions.[206] Originally

---

The Sikh Case," in Mandakranta Bose, ed., *Faces of the feminine in ancient, medieval and modern India,* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 270-286; and "Where are the Women? Making Room for Women in Sikh Studies: A North American Perspective," Punjab History Conference Proceedings. Twenty-Ninth Session, 1998.

[205] This was Participant 3, who I renamed Harj for the purposes of the study. Harj left Punjab when he was in his late teens and had migrated to New Zealand. Harj reported that at the time he had wanted to resettle in Australia, but non-White immigrants experienced difficulty immigrating to Australia at that time. About 10 years later he was able to enter Australia illegally but has since been given his legal standing in the country. Harj had married a Sikh woman in New Zealand and had three daughters. He divorced his first wife before coming to Australia. He did not admit to this but I suspect he faced harsh criticism in the Sikh community in New Zealand because of the divorce and he left New Zealand to start over in Australia.

[206] I drew heavily upon Rait's study of Sikh women in England as the basis of the questions I used for interviews with the women.

I had planned to ask all women the same questions but during my pilot study, I discovered that the questions needed to be different for younger Sikh women who were not married and consequently enjoyed greater freedom than the older and married Sikh women. Some of the questions that I asked both groups of women included the following (see Appendix 3):

1. How would you describe your life in Australia?

2. How might your life be different if you were living in Punjab?

3. Do you have a defined role within your family? If so what is that role?

4. Do you mostly speak Punjabi or English?

5. How often do you go to the temple and what are the primary activities in which you participate?

I also explained to the women how I intended to report the data and how their names would be changed and that outside of acknowledging what area the women each came from, I would use no description that would help identify who they were. These assurances were helpful in getting women to agree to being interviewed. For some of the women in this study, the topics we touched upon caused them to express deep emotions especially in the older women who seemed most disturbed by their inability to control their children. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, Sikh mothers are often held responsible for any transgressions of their children, especially daughters. Many women said to me that life was not what they had expected it to be. They were less able to control their children's lives here in Australia because their children had to go out into the world where they encounter the 'Others'. In any interview where the woman got emotional, I immediately stopped the questions until the woman felt able to proceed. I also offered to stop the interviews altogether, but no one wanted to quit the study. I did have available at

every interview a list of social agencies for any woman who was having a difficult time.

After receiving consent from the study's participants, I arranged with each individual a site for the interview where the participant would be most comfortable. All interviews with women took place outside of the *Gurdwaras* as they would have been no privacy there and my questioning would have aroused suspicions among the other members and may have forced some participants to withdraw from the study. A few of the interviews with men were conducted at the *Gurdwaras*. As noted earlier, most of the interviews were conducted at the flats or homes of the participants. I asked each participant if I could record the interviews, but for the most part, the women participants refused to allow me to do so. Therefore I had to transcribe what was said while I conducted the interviews. I had practiced doing this before the interviews began so I was prepared to handle that aspect of recording people's statements. I had learned in the pilot study that recording the interviews was unlikely to be allowed by the participants. The concept of maintaining family honour is so ingrained in this subpopulation that most were afraid that what they said on the recording would come back to cause them and their families problems.

Most of the interviews were in English because most younger Sikh women do not even speak Punjabi. As soon as the interviews were over I went to some place quiet and wrote down my impressions of the interviews, including in these notes any observations I had. For example, in one interview in the Riverland, I interviewed a woman at her home. The husband was there at the time and seemed as though he was more than interested in what his wife would be talking about with me. After sharing some tea with my interviewee and her husband, I made pretence of having the woman show me where the nearest shopping centre was in order for me to get some writing supplies. In that way I was able to remove the woman from the prying

eyes of her husband and engage the woman in a quality interview. I had also had the opportunity to observe the husband-wife interaction in that household and those observations added to the data I collected, providing me with a more complete picture of the lived experiences of these women.[207] Each woman and man I interviewed was given pseudonyms so their identity would be protected.

The time the interviews lasted varied, with some being as little as an hour while some conducted with the younger women in Adelaide lasting hours as I accompanied some of the young women to parties. Often I had to spend more time in listening to the men's stories than I did with the women. I was careful to allow the men to speak as long as they wished and as much as they wanted. Hindsight has validated my interviews with the men. Not only did interviewing the men allow me to have easier access to the women I wanted to interview, but in even their most cautious statements, the men added much valuable information about their lived experiences of Sikh women. Many of the men addressed the role expectations they had for the women in their lives almost as a side issue when answering my questions. What they had to say, however, confirmed much in the stories I later heard from the women. Without meaning to, much of what the men reported showed or illustrated the battle that was occurring between Sikh men and women as they created a new life in Australia. As noted by Dusenbery,[208] Sikhs in Australia had their feet planted firmly in two worlds: the homeland and Australia. The women who I interviewed seemed to be less stuck in that position. Although the older women expressed a longing to go back to their former homeland, younger women seemed to be locating themselves more towards Australian culture with backward glances to the old culture in Punjab.

---

[207] Simran (see Appendix 3) pseudonym.
[208] Dusenbery, 'Fieldwork in Woolgoolga: Punjab Sikh positioning in Australia', 4.

I was involved in interviewing and observing for almost three months, and immersed myself into the social life at each *Gurdwara* where I recruited participants. That social activity is also included in the data collection in this study. I kept notes based on those activities. As soon as I returned from each visit at the *Gurdwara*, I made those notes. The notes consisted of what activities had occurred, what the conversation was like amongst the women, and any interaction I observed among the men and the women, even though interaction between the sexes at temple is extremely limited. I also made notes to myself about any woman I saw as being a potential participant so I could later ask that woman in private the next time I saw her.

As I stated earlier, the interviews were conducted in English as few young Sikh women speak Punjabi, and those who do prefer to speak in English. After I cleaned up my handwritten notes and checked them for completeness, I began the process of sorting the data and analysing the information I had gathered. That analysis is found in Chapters 4 and 5.

Pilot Testing the Study

Because this was my first attempt at phenomenological research, I spent a month during the summer of 2011 in the Riverland at the local *Gurdwara*, accompanied by my father, to see what I would need to do to plan for a successful study. I followed Moustakas'[209] suggestion about the importance of planning the study and involving my co-researchers—the participants—in setting up the study. During my stay at the Riverland *Gurdwara* I immersed myself in the social activities at the temple as well as volunteering to interpret for those Sikhs who did not read or write any English or had only limited English. I had initial conversations with one

---

[209] C. Moustakas, *Phenomenological research methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

man and three women during that time. After those conversations, I rewrote my initial research questions and also rewrote the interview questions. I also wrote for the first time questions that I could ask of the men as it became quite clear to me during my month-long pilot study that I would need to involve Sikh men in some way if for no other reason than to ensure that they trusted me enough to allow the women to speak freely to me. Having read Rait's book on her study of Sikh women's adjustment to English culture, I had some idea of the problems I might encounter in attempting to interview Sikh women. Consequently, I came to believe that I might be able to avoid the problem that Rait had in her interviews with Sikh women, as described in the beginning of this chapter. Rait's participants all came accompanied by a family member who essentially was there to prevent the woman from saying anything that might cause dishonour to the family.

During the pilot study I also found that I not only needed to look at young Sikh women but also at older Sikh women—women who were not as likely to be in the workforce and whose primary occupation was that of housewife. Additionally, at the *Gurdwara* in the Riverland, I met some young Sikh women who were attending universities in Adelaide, away from their primary home. I had several initial interviews with these young women and found that their experiences at college were vastly different from the experiences they had in the Riverland. For example, I met one young woman from a university in Adelaide who was home only to visit her parents as she had been away from them for four months. This young woman told me how she and her mother had combined forces to convince her father that she should be allowed to attend a university in Adelaide. Both she and her mother had

assured the father that she was a good girl and would never do anything to dishonour her family.[210]

The young woman who was 21 years old at the time of the interview said that in fact she did many things in Adelaide that would dishonour her family. For example, she met and dated a Punjabi Sikh young man at the university. They were caught holding hands while strolling through a city park in Adelaide. Someone in Adelaide saw her with her boyfriend and called her father to report what they saw. Her father slapped and beat her when she went home. Even though the young man was a Punjabi Sikh, he was from a higher caste and the father told his daughter that the young man was showing no respect for her or her family by engaging in any expression of affection in public. When she got back to Adelaide she found that her boyfriend was cheating on her and she was devastated. Her father told her that he was going to match her with a man of a lower caste than she and her family so that the young man would be more respectful to her and her family. The young woman did not want her father to arrange a marriage for her, but as is true in most cases, the young woman would have only minimal input into who she would marry.

After doing these initial interviews I wrote interview questions for the women. I wanted to specifically ask the young women about the masquerade they were living while attempting to maintain their family's honour without suggesting in any way that they were living a dual existence. As I further researched studies on conducting phenomenological research, I learned more ways to avoid asking questions that required only a yes or no response[211] and how to avoid writing questions that would lead my participants to answer in a way gave me the outcome I

---

[210] Kiran (see Appendix 3) pseudonym.
[211] C. Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods,* 43.

hoped to have.[212] In order to further develop the methodology used for my pilot study, I constantly drew on the advice of many social scientists[213] about how to question participants about their lived experiences. According to Reinharz and Chase[214] the focus of phenomenological interviewing is to elicit deep descriptions of a particular situation or event without offering either causal explanations or interpretive generalisations. As Marston reports:

> Researchers informed by phenomenological theory may use phenomenological reduction to analyse and represent the findings in the form of descriptions of the structures of meaning relevant to a lived experience....Yet, some researchers draw on the form of phenomenological interviews in order to gain detailed descriptions that may be subject to other forms of analysis such as narrative analysis and constant comparative analysis, and may not be conducting research informed by various strands of phenomenological theory. Thus, in some work the term 'phenomenological' is used as a synonym for 'qualitative,' rather than to refer to the kind of work described by Adams and van Manen, and other researchers who conduct phenomenological inquiries.[215]

For phenomenological interviewing the structure of the questions is always semi-structured with open-ended questions. Marston refers to an example of the kinds of questions that other researchers have used in their questioning of individuals who had been criminally victimised.[216] In that case, the victims were asked such things as: (1) What was going on prior to the crime? (2) What was it like to be victimised?, and (3) What happened next? [217] Marston also argued that the researcher needs to learn as much as possible about the topic of inquiry by using

---

[212] N. K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography,* 103.

[213] I read the following books and articles in order to develop the interview questions for my phenomenological study: J.P. De Leon and J. H. Cohen, 'Object and walking probes in ethnographic interviewing', *Field Methods*, 17 (2004): 200–4; B.S. Heyl, 'Ethnographic interviewing', in P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001), 369–83; S. Kvale, *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996); S. Reinharz and S. E. Chase, 'Interviewing women', in J. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interviewing: Context and Method* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 221–38.

[214] Reinharz and Chase, 'Interviewing women', 221-226.

[215] S. Marston, Asking Questions and Individual Interviews. <www.sagepub.com/upm-data/32446_02_Roulston_Ch_01.pdf> (accessed January 12, 2012).

[216] Ibid., 32.

[217] Ibid., 32.

sensitive questioning. The interviewer must be open to listening carefully and following up on the participant's responses without interrupting the participant's story flow to gain specific details of the participants' experiences. Reinharz and Chase suggest that the researcher contribute as little talk as possible, and the researcher should refrain from evaluating or challenging the participants' responses. In this way the participants' responses are an accurate representation of their lived experiences.

Thus after the pilot testing, I re-evaluated the interview questions I had originally created and changed the questions to match the age group I wanted to talk to, and I did this by not asking of each participant every question I had formulated. Instead, I allowed the interviews to be more conversational and allowed each interviewee to tell his or her story as they wanted. Thus, in presenting the transcripts located in Appendices 1 and 3, there are variances in what was asked because as participants told their stories, those stories unfolded in different and meaningful ways. For interviews conducted with younger women I asked that they could tell me about their lives at home and then about their lives away from home (see Appendices 2 and 3). I asked them how they felt about getting married and if their parents would arrange a marriage for them. For older women, I asked them if they had lived in Punjab before moving to Australia and if they could talk to me about their life in Punjab (see Appendix 2). I inquired about the life they now led in Australia and what was different about living here. If they had been born in Australia, I asked them what traditions from Punjab they still observed here in Australia. I asked them if they ever spoke in English and if they had any non-Sikh friends. I also asked them if they had children and what their children were doing and if they lived at home.

In interviews with both age groups, I followed the lead of other phenomenologists and let the participants' responses lead me with follow-up questions.[218] I did little talking myself and at all times kept in mind not to share any experiences that I might have had that were similar to their experiences.[219] Likewise, I tried not to react either positively or negatively to whatever they said to me—maintaining as well as I could a neutral stance in order to avoid researcher bias playing a role in participants' responses (see Appendix 3 for a complete list of interview questions used with the women).

Confidentiality and Ethical Concerns

All participants who volunteered for this study received a letter that explained its purpose, the requirements for participating in the study, and information about what would be required of the participants who volunteered (see Appendix 4 for information sheet, about which the Riverland Sikh committee advised me to send in English only). In addition, participants were informed that they could at any time withdraw from the study without giving any reason for doing so. Participants were also informed that if they withdrew any information collected about them would be destroyed and would not be used.

If they had no questions after reading this letter which I provided to them on the day of the interview written in either Punjabi or English, they were then given a consent form to sign which stated that the participant had agreed to be part of this study. In addition, I provided the women with the names and numbers of places where they could seek help if they felt that they needed such help. Before beginning the interview I asked if I could record the interview or not. If they agreed that I could record the interview I asked them to note this on the permission form. As

---

[218] C. Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods,* 43.

[219] Reinharz and Chase, 'Interviewing women', 221-226.

noted earlier, I also assured the participants that I would not use their real names in reporting the data nor would I use any identifying information that would allow anyone to recognise who they were. Thus, when I reported the data, I did not identify the university that the young women attended, not did I give exact ages. I did, however, identify the geographical location of the interviews. I changed all participants' names to a different name so that they did not have to worry that someone would recognise them.

All interview transcripts, recordings, notes on interviews, and notes on things I observed have been locked away in a filing cabinet at my flat near my university. Those files will be kept for 5 years before the information is shredded and destroyed. The study received my university's approval to commence.

Data Analysis

According to Groenewald,[220] in a phenomenological study the act of analysing begins with the note taking that has occurred during the data collection process. There were four types of notes taken during the data collection process as suggested by Groenewald:

1. Observational notes (ON) — 'what happened notes' deemed important enough to the researcher to make.

2. Theoretical notes (TN) — 'attempts to derive meaning' as the researcher thinks or reflects on experiences.

3. Methodological notes (MN) — 'reminders, instructions or critique' to oneself on the process.

4. Analytical memos (AM) — end-of-a-field-day summary or progress reviews.[221]

---

[220] T. Groenewald, 'A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2004): 1-29.
[221] Ibid., 22.

I read through these notes every day, adding if I thought I had missed anything or if I had neglected to put down my impressions of the interview. After I had conducted all interviews from each of the three areas, I transcribed the interviews notes into a cleaner version. I then sent the English and Punjabi transcripts to the woman Parminer Kaur interpreter I had hired to check that my translations were correct. After being informed that the translations were accurate, I began data analysis of all data-interviews and notes. Because participants all said they did not want to be recorded I was forced to take handwritten notes. This sometimes presented a problem in keeping up with the speed at which some people spoke. In that case, I paused the interview and tried to catch up and asked the participant if I got it right. After compiling all my notes, I began analysing the data.

As recommended by Creswell,[222] I read through the transcripts and notes repeatedly so that I became familiar with each participant's 'voice'. I then read the data again so I could develop a holistic sense, the 'gestalt'.[223] I then set about delineating the unit of meaning, that is a theme that developed from the sorting of data. To do that I divided the material first by geography and then according to gender in that geographical area. After reading through the interviews, I began to develop units of meaning for each of the three groups of data. I consciously bracketed my own presuppositions so that I could avoid inappropriate subjective judgments. Clusters of themes started to emerge as I continued to note common words and phrases that were repeated in the interviews and to develop units of significance. As Hycner argues:

> whatever the method used for a phenomenological analysis the aim of the investigator is the reconstruction of the inner world of experience of the

[222] J. W. Creswell, *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994); and *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998).

[223] Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*, 43.

subject. Each individual has his own way of experiencing temporality, spatiality, materiality, but each of these coordinates must be understood in relation to the others and to the total inner "world".[224]

The final step was to make a composite summary of all the themes gathered through the collected data. Composite summaries were made after my analysis of units of meaning.[225] Themes were developed for reporting on data for each of the areas: the Riverland, Adelaide and Melbourne. Each location is reported separately in Chapter 4. After separating the data by geography, I then went back and went through the same data reduction process; this time I looked to develop themes by gender. Although the purpose of this study was to investigate the subpopulation of Sikh women, the interviews with Sikh males provided much valuable insight into what may motivate these women's actions and lives in Australia.

Chapter 4 begins with the themes developed from the interview with Sikh men and my notes that I took before, during, and after those interviews. In the second part of Chapter 4, I report on the themes developed for women. Although as I have reported earlier, there were significant differences between what was reported by the older Sikh women and what was reported by the younger Sikh women, there were some commonalities found in the threads from both sets of interviews. For example, all the Sikh women, regardless of age, verbalised some sort of burden that they felt was placed on them, which I will refer to as the inner boundaries that they impose on themselves and are imposed on them by others. Those boundaries were there regardless of the woman's position in the home or outside the home. I end Chapter 4 with a synthesis of what it means to be a Sikh woman in Australia and how the boundaries imposed on them and the body identifiers that they use to create animage for themselves in Australia are what are being contested and renegotiated.

---

[224] R.H. Hycner, 'Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data', *Human Studies,* 8 (1985): 53.
[225] Ibid.53

76

Chapter 4: The Voiceless Longing

Aassi kee khatha Australia vich aya kya sada nala sada pala nahi raha. ["What have we gained by coming to Australia? Our children are not in our culture or control".][226]

Introduction

I began my fieldwork in an area that I was most familiar with—South Australia's Riverland. As a Sikh immigrant, my parents arrived here after leaving Punjab. I was a young teenager when we arrived and my English, like that of my parents, was not particularly good. Our family would be termed (bi)local by anthropologists such as Dusenbery,[227] nor have we developed a third space as Bhabha noted that immigrants often do as they renegotiate their physical and cultural boundaries.[228] While my mother and father worked as farm labourers on the vineyards in the Riverland, they maintained all of their traditions and culture in our home. Australia is the land that has offered my family economic opportunity, but it is also the land that could be tempting for young Sikh girls and boys who spent much of their time in school with non-Sikhs who were not bound by as many rules and strict discipline as most Sikh children were. Additionally my parents remain closely tied to their Punjabi family and what our family does in Australia is communicated back to my relatives in India. Thus, my parents keep their daughters close and monitor what we do so that we do not bring dishonour to the family.

Because I am Sikh, I am often asked by others when I attempt to explain this research why I wanted to explore such a topic. Did I not—as others have suggested—already know what life was like for Sikh women in Australia? I am always amazed by that question because, to me, it was like saying that all

---

[226] Comment from an older woman interviewed in the Riverland.
[227] Verne A. Dusenbery, "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities", 40-55.
[228] Homi K. Bhabha, *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

Australian-born women knew what the life of every Australian-born woman was like. What that question really suggests, however, is that I am one of the 'Others' and all 'Others' are the same; hence, there is no need to investigate, no need to give a 'voice' to immigrant Sikh women in Australia. Spivak notes, '[T]he proclivity of dominant discourses and institutions is to marginalise and disempower the Third World 'subaltern'[229]—to pretend that the 'Other' are all the same. Spivak uses an excellent example of how the subaltern is merely a voiceless entity who needs someone to speak for her or who is spoken about, but who, herself, remains voiceless.[230] She cites the Hindu emphasis on widow-sacrifice (*sati*)[231] in colonial India. The British abolished that practice on the basis of the British 'civilising mission'[232] in India; Spivak stated that this was 'White men saving brown women from brown men'.[233] Spivak noted that both the colonial and 'native' representation of *sati* is problematic. The Hindus speak for the widow by explaining to the British that the widows want to die with their husbands—they speak about the widows. The British want to speak for the widows, citing the uncivilised expectation that widows die with their husbands. The widows have no voice at all. As Kapoor argues, 'Each representation legitimises the other: one purports to be a social mission, saving Hindu women from their own men, the other a reward, allowing the women to

---

[229] Gayarti Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture,* eds. C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313

[230] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 297.

[231] Ilan Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'", *Third World Quarterly* 25(2004): 627–647. As Kapoor explains, *sati* is an ancient Indian practice of burning a widow on her husband's funeral pyre; it was considered the proper final act of marriage. Kapoor notes that some widows went willingly onto their husband's pyre; some had to be forced. Whether a widow could go voluntarily had really to do with her financial status. If there were no children to help support her till she died on her own, then this justified the Indian belief that resources were saved in the act of imposing *sati* on the widow.

[232] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'", 628.

[233] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 297.

commit a "pure" and "courageous" act.[234] All the while, the individual widow's

voice is never heard, lost between the patriarchal system in India and imperialism:[235]

'There is no space from which the sexed subaltern can speak'.[236] Spivak says that

even when the subaltern does speak, she cannot be heard.[237]

Other post-colonial writers, especially feminist writers, have noted that for

some subaltern women culture is their identity. For example, Judith Butler refuted

what Simone Beauvior said, that biology is destiny for women; instead Butler said

that for women 'not biology, but culture becomes identity'.[238] As Chanda noted,

Sikh women are the bearers and transmitters of Sikh culture, especially in diaspora,

and that places a special burden on them.[239] When Sikh women infringe on the

social codes, they are seen as betrayers of family, culture, and country.[240] So Sikh

women have not only been voiceless but have been culture bearers as well,

especially when they have moved to Western countries. Not given a voice, Sikh men

have spoken for them and others have written about them. They are the voiceless

markers of Sikh culture in lands outside the geographical space of Punjab.

In this chapter, I report on the interviews I conducted with Sikh Australian

women who have never had a voice, and who are to this day largely still spoken

about or spoken for. The stories I heard as I interviewed younger and older women,

urban and rural women, professional women or homemakers were ones full of

desperation and optimism; they are the voices of the subalterns who have been

---

[234] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'", 628.
[235] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 298.
[236] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 307.
[237] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 308.
[238] Judith Butler, *Gender trouble : feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 8.
[239] Chanda, Geetanjali, *Diaspora Journeys: The Unbearable Heaviness of Being*, Paper presented at Our Journeys Conference 2011 at The Centre for Women's Studies in Education (CWSE), Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE), University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, October 11, 2011.
[240] Ibid., 5

voiceless for a long time. Specifically, the chapter is divided into the geographical areas where the women I interviewed lived. In all of the areas, I had to listen to the men at the *Gurdwaras* speak before I could hear the women's voices. It was by necessity, as I stated in Chapter 3, that I invited some men to take part in this study. In Sikh society, especially in the society inside the *Gurdwaras*, women and men, outside close family ties, do not mingle together. My family's honour would have been called into question had I entered the temples and begun engaging in a conversation with the men there. And yet, no conversation would have been allowed if I had not spoken to the men at first and gained their trust. To speak to the men, I was accompanied by my father, and I came dressed in a *salwar kameez*—traditional Sikh clothing—a new one that had been purchased for me by my parents so that my family's honour would be well represented. My father was there to protect the family's honour and to help me gain entrance into the closed world of Sikh life at the *Gurdwaras*.

This chapter is divided into three sections that each describes a geographical area – the Riverland, Adelaide and Melbourne. In each section I illuminate the voices of the women with whom I spoke. There is no analysis of the interview data in this chapter. This analysis is located in Chapter 6. Instead, I present here a few voices from each geographical location so that those voices can be heard before I impose meaning on those words. The interviews I conducted with the men at each of the sites will be discussed in Chapter 5. This chapter is used primarily to introduce the voices of the women I interviewed and how they now viewed their lives in Australia.

The Riverland in South Australia

There are approximately 110 Sikh families living in the Riverland according to the Sikh community priest. There are two local *Gurdwaras*, one in Glossop and

one in Renmark. As I discussed in Chapter 3, all names of participants have been changed; I also do not disclose the *Gurdwara* where I met with these women.

The first woman I interviewed, I call Gurpreet. She is in her 40s and has been living in the Riverland since she emigrated from Punjab about 12 years ago. At first she was terrified of leaving everything she had known in Punjab, but she wanted to be with her husband and she wanted her child to be with his father as well. It was hard when she arrived in Australia although her husband had a house and a stable job. Their home was located in a Sikh area so there were other people she could talk to when she left the house. Her days were mostly spent at home, taking care of her husband and child. Her husband insisted on accompanying her whenever she left the house. She was not even able to shop unless she was accompanied by her husband. Life was very lonely at first for Gurpreet. After about a year in Australia, Gurpreet had her second child, a little daughter, and the new baby kept her very busy.

Not long after that her husband said that his mother and family would be coming to live with them in Australia; Gurpreet knew that her life would be dramatically changed by living with her mother-in-law again. When she had first married her husband, they moved into his parents' house and although Gurpreet was college-educated, her husband's family made her stay at home and care for them. Gurpreet had hoped that her life in Australia would be different from what she had lived in Punjab. As Gurpreet related in her own words:

> The day my husband told me that he was bringing his parents to Australia, I knew my life was over. His mother is very demanding. She always took over the control of my son and I knew she would do the same with my new daughter. I would be again more like the family servant than the woman of the household. I had dreamed that I could convince my husband to let me get a job in Australia. Before I got married, I had gotten a degree in accounting and hoped to be able to work when both children

were in school—even if only for a few hours a day. I had studied so hard
for my degree. I can't express the despair I felt inside knowing that my
dream would never happen.[241]

Gurpreet said the only hope she had now was to see her daughter have a better life

than she had. She wanted her daughter to be better educated than she was, and she

wanted her to live a professional life. Gurpreet whispered to me that maybe for her

own daughter there would be no arranged marriage like Gurpreet's had been. She

wanted more for her daughter.

I met Rajwinder at a Saturday cooking session at the *Gurdwara*. Rajwinder

was in her 50s and had lived in Australia for the last twenty years. Her husband

owned a vineyard and they were comfortably well off. On the exterior, Rajwinder

looked like she had everything that a Sikh woman would want. She had economic

and social status, yet there was a sadness about her that was noticeable. Rajwinder

had only one child, a daughter who was attending one of the best universities in

Australia. Rajwinder's daughter rarely came home anymore and when she did her

mother found evidence in her suitcase that her daughter was dating someone outside

her Sikh culture. She had been alarmed about that discovery and had first demanded

that her daughter stop seeing the white Australian man she was dating. Her daughter

had first promised to do so, but later Rajwinder learned that her daughter was still

dating that young man. Rajwinder knew if her husband found out both she and her

daughter would be in trouble. In the words of Rajwinder:

> Aassi kee khatha Australia vich aya kya sada nala sada pala nahi raha.
> ["What have we gained by coming to Australia?"] Our children are not in
> our culture or control. All parents feel this; some will tell you that but
> others will not say that openly. However, regardless of whether they keep
> these thoughts to themselves, it is true that city life has altered the power
> structure of the Sikh family where parents had complete control over
> what their children could do. My daughter is dishonouring our family,
> and I fear every day what will happen if her father finds out. He is likely
> to throw her out and I will be punished for failing to control our daughter.
> If she dishonours her family by continuing to date this man, my husband

---

[241] Appendix 3, Gurpreet interview (pseudonym).

will get her married right away to a Sikh man back in Punjab. She'll have no choice. Every day I wish we had not come here; Australia has helped the family economically, but living here we have lost our family. [242]

There were other women who echoed the same sentiments at the *Gurdwara*. The women I interviewed there were older middle-aged women. The young women at the temple were mostly away at college during the autumn when I was conducting the interviews. All the women were concerned about their daughters. On the one hand, the women I interviewed liked to proudly point to what university their daughters were attending. The conversations about what university their daughters and sons attended were part of the social life and social structure at the *Gurdwara*. Women whose daughters were not attending the best universities remained silent when those conversations came up. Privately, however, these women told me that they were aware that they had lost control of their daughters and that if they pushed their daughters too much the daughters would leave home and that would ruin the honour of the family here as well as back home in Punjab. These women all worried about what their daughters were doing back at the universities. Most of the women did not really want to know. As Simran related:

> My whole life has been devoted to raising my family. Outside my life in the *Gurdwara* I have nothing. I had no love for my husband when we married, nothing to help me cope with the hard times couples experience. I have only my children and myself. My husband holds me responsible when my children do anything wrong. I try to watch what my daughter does so I can spare her my husband's anger. But my daughter wants to be Australian. She wants to be free to make her own choices. I am afraid that I will lose my daughter to the other world and I will never see her again. If we had stayed in Punjab, we would have been poorer, but we would have our family. Here we seem always to be on the edge of crisis even though we don't need to worry about food here. [243]

The most important concern that emerged in the women I interviewed in the Riverland was how to keep their families together. Their move to Australia had for

---

[242] Appendix 3, Rajwinder interview (pseudonym).
[243] Appendix 3, Simran interview (pseudonym).

the most part improved the family's financial status. Yet while they now had the money and the status money afforded them the tone of most of these interviews was one of fear, desperation, and lack of control. These women wanted to talk about their daughters attending the best universities, but it was hard for them to talk about what their daughters might be doing while they were at university. To bring that subject up was to admit that their daughters were no longer under their control. These women were trapped inside the old cultural traditions of Punjab; there was no renegotiation of those boundaries for this particular group of women. They now lived in a new land but were trying to maintain an old standard of living. Instead of renegotiating their cultural boundaries, the women I interviewed in the Riverland were trying to tighten the old cultural boundaries.

Adelaide

My interviews consisted mostly of 18-30 year old women in Adelaide, all of whom I met at a *Gurdwara* in Adelaide. There are two *Gurdwaras* in Adelaide and I went to both. I was invited to spend several evenings going out to the city with the young women I interviewed. Although it is not normally what I would do, as I had promised my father and mother to avoid bars and parties where I might be tempted to bring dishonour on my family, I did attend several parties because I wanted to observe the young women I interviewed in the course of their daily lives away from home. Take, for example, the talk I had with Jasvir, a young woman attending one university in Adelaide. I met her at her flat in the city. When she opened the door I noted that that she was dressed in the traditional Sikh dress, a beautiful *salwar kameez*. After I interviewed her, Jasvir suggested that I accompany her that night to a party she was attending. She said going to the party would show me better than she could explain to me the kind of life most young Sikh women experienced. When I met her later that night, I hardly recognised the woman in front of me. She was now

dressed in jeans, very high heels and a short top. She looked like a different person

and as I was going to find out, had an entirely different personality as well.

In her flat, Jasvir told me that she had to win her father's permission to come

to Adelaide to study. He wanted her to stay at home and help on the vineyard they

owned until such time that a suitable marriage partner for her could be found. Jasvir,

however, had other ideas and wanted to study medicine. She had been a good

student all her life and she wanted to continue her education. With her mother's

help, she had finally convinced her father to trust her and let her come to study. She

went home now only on holidays from school. Her parents had come twice to her

flat to visit. On both occasions, she had invited them to come at times when she

knew they would not hear about how she really led her life in Adelaide. She was

careful to hide her life in Adelaide from her parents, although she suspected

someone had said something to her mother about what she was doing. She related

this conversation she had with her mother:

> When I was home during semester break, my mother came into my
> bedroom after my father had gone to the vineyards. She came in on the
> pretence of bring me a new *salwar kameez* that she had purchased for me.
> I could tell, however, that something was on her mind. She asked me if I
> knew Gurpreet. I said I did and then she launched into the rumours she
> had heard about Harpreet. Harpreet was dating a white man, and she had
> been seen walking hand in hand with this man in Adelaide. There were
> even rumours that she was living with him. My mother wanted to know
> what I knew. I of course told her I knew nothing because I was too busy
> handling my studies and did not go out. My mother looked intently at me
> and I could tell she knew something but was really too afraid to ask
> because then she would be forced to do something about it. She said to
> me before she left my room, 'You know that if Gurpreet was your father's
> daughter, she would be dead by now. Such dishonour she is causing her
> family here and back at home—it merits punishment'.[244]

Jasvir told me when she went back to Adelaide after that conversation with

her mother she tried hard to stop going out and dating men of various races and

---

[244] Appendix 3, Jasvir interview (pseudonym).

religions. In no time at all, however, she was back in the familiar pattern she had developed—studying hard during the week and then joining her friends for fun on the weekend. The night I met Jasvir for a night out, we went to a local bar that catered to the university crowd. Along with us were two other Sikh young women who attended the same college as Jasvir. When we got inside the club we were waved over to a table where four young men were seated. One man was white - the other three were Indian - but only one was a Sikh Indian. One of the girls immediately kissed one of the Indian guys and settled in next to him. I was introduced but as this group seemed accustomed to spending time together, I felt a bit isolated. All of the people at the table were dressed in Western garb and except for their complexion colour they looked just as Western as the white man seated at the table.

I was surprised to see that the group smoked and drank openly in front of me. No one seemed worried about having their 'secret life' in the city discovered. Later that night I asked Jasvir why their group was so unconcerned about being in a public place doing the things that their parents would have punished them for doing. She said that everyone she knew wanted to live a life that was different from their parents' lives—especially their mothers. They did not want to be forced into arranged marriages. They liked the Australian way of marrying for romantic love. They wanted and needed freedom to explore their life choices in Australia. They kept their parents happy by coming home once or twice a year and donning their *salwar kameez* and attending *Gurdwara* and acting like the dutiful daughter. They did their best to escape their parents' desire to arrange a marriage for them, insisting

that they wanted to wait till they graduated from college. It was as Joan Riviere[245] suggests, all a masquerade. Jasvir and her friends had two faces—one that they used back at home and the other in which they used in interacting with Australian culture. They identified their position in society by the clothing and body markings that they wore in each situation. Back home they stayed clothed as traditional Sikhs; out and about in Adelaide they blended with others by dressing in Western cultural garb. As long as no one found out back home they were safe, but when their masquerade was discovered by their parents the price they had to pay was high. I discovered this in an interview I did with a 30-year old woman I met at the Adelaide *Gurdwara*, named Kiran.

Kiran came to Adelaide from the Riverland when she was 18 years old to attend university. Kiran repeated the same story all the young Sikh women of Adelaide told—her parents had been afraid of allowing her to go to a university away from where they could carefully monitor what she was doing. Her mother had finally convinced her father that Kiran would do nothing to diminish the family's *izzat*. Her parents were not well off financially so it was a burden for them to send her to college. She went to Adelaide with two other girls from the Riverland with whom she was friends. Her parents cautioned her not to talk to those two girls. Kiran's parents did not want gossip about their daughter being heard in the Riverland or Punjab.

Kiran said that she was very naïve when she first moved to Adelaide because she had been sheltered from the world and Australian culture at home. She met another Punjabi man from the Riverland during her first semester at school. She liked him immediately and without asking anyone's permission, started dating him.

---

[245] Joan Riviere, "Womanliness as Masquerade," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10(1929). See Chapter 2 for a full discussion of Riviere's explanation of the masquerade women are forced to perform in order to be acceptable in a male-dominated and ruled society.

He was of a higher caste than she was but they got along well and she was very happy as long as she did not think about what her parents would do if they found out. And that day did come. Someone spotted Kiran and Harj, her boyfriend, holding hands while walking the streets of Adelaide. Her mother called her one day and told her she needed her at home right away because there was a family emergency; Kiran rushed home only to find that her parents had heard about her dating some man. Her father hit her and screamed abusive things at her. The abuse went on for several hours until she was locked up in her room. Beaten and bruised, Kiran thought she would never be allowed out of her room again. Her mother did come into her room to comfort her and to beg her not to do anything like that again as it destroyed the family's *izzat* in the community. She was finally allowed to go back to her studies but she was not able to concentrate on her studies. She learned her boyfriend had cheated on her while she was at home. He had been just using Kiran and she was heartbroken, especially since she had been punished so severely. Her father had told her that the boy would never marry her because he was of a higher caste and would never marry a woman of a lower caste who was poor.

Kiran's father sent her to Punjab to be matched with an appropriate partner. Kiran said even though she met Sikh men who were well educated and professional, she did not like any of them and came back and told her parents she did not want to marry anyone yet. She returned to Adelaide and her studies but soon dropped out. She did not tell her parents at first but instead got a job at a meat packing facility and started earning her own money. She now dates and socialises as she likes, telling her parents that she quit school. Yet she did not inform her parents about her dating and socializing. Kiran does not think she has dishonoured her family. It is not as if she has eloped with some inappropriate marriage partner, although Kiran had been planning to do so with her first boyfriend before she found that he cheated on her.

Now she does what she wants and avoids going home to the Riverland so that any conflict with her parents can be kept to a minimum.

I interviewed Amandeep at her university in a small on-campus café outside the city limits of Adelaide. Amandeep wants to be a teacher and lives in a small flat with her sister. Before the interview began she made me promise not to tell anyone anything that she told me. I assured her I would keep our interview confidential and make sure that no one could identify her. Of all the interviews I had in Adelaide, Amandeep was the one woman who seemed most concerned about others finding out what she said.

Amandeep said that her mother was a well educated woman, more so than her father and hence she, the mother, held the power. Her older sister was studying teaching at the university already so she did not have the same difficulties as her sister did in convincing her parents to allow her to enrol in college. Her parents come every two weeks to see her and her sister, and they both go to the Riverland once a month. Their mother used to send food to them every week but they have now learned to cook for themselves and consequently their mother only cooks for them when she comes to visit. 'My sister and I go to parties with university friends who come from many cultural backgrounds. As long as our parents do not find out anything about this we are fine'.[246] As she related to me while laughing:

> In the Riverland we do not dare to wear clothes that are revealing. Here no one sees us, so I love to wear short skirts and short dresses out to the clubs. I have a boyfriend right now who is non-Punjabi, and this is a fun relationship. One day, I'll get married to a Punjabi man but one that I choose. I told my parents--so did my sister--that we will marry a Punjabi boy but we will choose which that will be and they happily agreed to allow us to do that.[247]

---

[246] Appendix 3, Amandeep interview (pseudonym).
[247] Appendix 3, Amandeep interview (pseudonym).

Even though she was breaking with her cultural traditions while away at school, Amandeep noted that she was still very much a Punjabi Sikh. Her parents had sent them back to Punjab when they were 14 and 15 years old to learn Punjabi and about their religion. They stayed there for four years and went to school to learn to read and write in Punjabi. Amandeep was surprised at how different it was in Punjab. Amandeep remarked, 'Punjab was very different than Australia when we went in 1998; we had fun teachers who we called madams over there and everyone used to be afraid of the teachers.'[248] Amandeep said she and her sister both learned a lot about our Punjabi culture. They used to wear *salwar kameez* to school and learned to play instruments to perform at *Gurdwara*. Her father also took them to see the historical *Gurdwara* situated in Punjab, the Golden Temple, which is a must for every Sikh, according to Amandeep. She related this to me:

> I liked that [the Golden Temple] very much. It was so beautiful and then once we returned to Australia we returned to our normal life and to tell you the truth now we forget everything about Punjab. I like the freedom here in Australia. You can go do whatever you want to do. I don't want to have an arranged marriage but do want to get married sometime in the near future. I would like to raise my children in the Sikh culture but not be too strict about it. I want them to be comfortable in both worlds and know from where they came and have an understanding of their culture of origin, but they will be able to have marriages of their choice, but I would not let them go on dates. [249]

Amandeep's last comment caught me off guard because I had been out with her the night before accompanied by her non-Sikh boyfriend. It was interesting that she stated she would not allow her children to go on dates since that was exactly what she was doing herself. I do not know if she said that for my benefit or in case her parents were to hear about what she had said. Regardless of the reason for her

---

[248] Appendix 3, Amandeep interview (pseudonym).

[249] Appendix 3, Amandeep interview (pseudonym).

statement, it was clear that Amandeep was very much conflicted concerning her role in Sikh and Australian society.

The women I met at the temple in Adelaide live a double life; they enjoy being free away from their parents' control while they are at school. They drop their Sikh body identifiers and wear Western clothes and have boyfriends, but their parents are not aware of this. They follow the Sikh traditions when they are at home in the Riverland to protect their parents' honour. They follow the traditional culture expected of them at home, dressing appropriately and respect their families' wishes. While at home in the Riverland, they wear the mask of their Sikh cultural identity, but the binding cultural circle becomes porous and is open to the influence of "others" and new cultural expectations once they return to Adelaide. There they are on their own and they do whatever they feel like doing. Some of them said they will have arranged marriages; others say they will have love marriages. The desire they have to marry for love tells how they are renegotiating their boundaries in an attempt to create a new life for themselves in which they pick and choose the parts of Sikh and Australian culture that suit their desires. They are in fact confirming what Bhabha says about the intersection of two cultures: 'the non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space - a third space - where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences...'[250]

The young women in Adelaide I interviewed have one foot in Sikh culture and one foot in Australian culture as Dusenbery reported. A few of these women have begun to create the 'third space' that Bhabha talks about—a place that is neither Sikh or Australian, neither coloniser or colonised, but a third space where the former boundaries are replaced and new boundaries are developed. For these young

---

[250] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 37.

women, it is not a matter of Sikh women acting good or bad—for the women I have interviewed in Adelaide, it is about renegotiating their spaces so that they ultimately can find an identity for themselves as being more than just Sikh.

Melbourne

It is interesting to note that in the temple *(Gurdwara)* of a big city, women seemed less constrained, less hemmed in by the boundaries of Sikh culture. However, if anything there is still a need for these urban Sikh women to at least body identify as Sikhs, even if they leave the temple and go out into the world as an Australian woman who is less constrained in her behaviour. It should also be noted that the boundaries of cultural identity may not be as strong in larger and more urban areas for several reasons. As Boas[251] noted, culture is permeable. In a crowded urban environment it might be more difficult to control the movement of women and limit their exposure to outside cultural influences. It may also be easier for Sikh women to maintain their Sikh cultural identities on the surface while pursuing their own independence outside of the prescribed cultural boundaries.

In Melbourne, I met many professional women, some of whom retained their body identifiers as Sikhs, others who dressed as Westerners. These women ranged in age from 25-38. Like the other women I interviewed in the Riverland and Adelaide they all had a story that had a similar pattern, yet was different in how these women contested their representation of Sikh in the Australian culture. One of the most memorable interviews I had was with Sonu. She and I spoke in English, one of the few interviews conducted in English because she said she was comfortable speaking in English. Sonu is a primary school teacher and lives with her in-laws. Her husband is a taxi driver while her mother-in law and father-in-law stay at home and look after

---

[251] Franz Boas, *Race, language and culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), 23. For an excellent discussion of Boas and his contribution to anthropology and the definition of culture, read George W. Stocking, Jr., "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective", *American Anthropologist* 68 (1996): 867-882.

her little boy. Sonu is much better educated than her husband. In fact her husband was from a lower caste than she was. I had met her at the Melbourne *Gurdwara* and she happily invited me to her house but the interview took place in a quiet study room where no one was around.

Sonu said one of the reasons they moved to Melbourne was because of her job, and they wanted to live in the city. She got married in 2005 and has a boy who is 3 years old; in her lounge room she has her wedding picture hanging on the wall as well as ten framed pictures of famous Gurus. Sonu said that she could never imagine living in a rural area in Australia because city life is much better in terms of having better job options, living standards, shopping, schools, and better hospitals.

Sonu came to Australia to meet her future husband and her future in-laws. She commented that her husband's parents had been looking for an educated woman. Her husband liked her very much when they met and decided she was the woman he would marry. Soon they got married in Punjab and her in-laws asked for a dowry. Sonu was not happy about that:

> My mother-in-law insisted that my family buy my husband's family a motorcycle. I didn't see the need to give them a dowry, but my mother agreed to it because my future husband was an Australian Sikh who had already established a home in Australia, and they received a very expensive one from my parents because my husband was foreign. I do not like the idea of dowries as I think of it as a price one pays for getting rid of their daughter. My parents also had to spend a lot of money on my wedding as well.[252]

Sonu says she is treated well by her mother-in-law because she earns good money for the family, something her husband was looking for in a prospective bride. Sonu said she owed her parents a lot of thanks for sending her to the college in Punjab. When she first came to Australia she found life hard because there was such a difference in the two cultures. As she said:

---

[252] Appendix 3, Sonu interview (pseudonym).

My thinking was more of Punjab whereas my husband was more open to the new culture the people as they are here in Australia. We had a lot of misunderstandings and lots of fights, then as time went on I realised the way people behave here. It took some time and I had to really change myself and learn to be a bit more patient and not expect to have my way all the time. When a girl gets married, she really needs to adjust herself into her new family. That is one reason girls get divorced because they do not want to change. I work and I come home and help my mother- in-law with cooking and we both share housework. Even though I live a happy life I do miss my parents back in Punjab and would like to invite them to Australia. I want my younger brother to move here as well. Maybe I could sponsor him in the near future. That is one good reason for getting married to a foreign man: you can help your family back in Punjab. That is one reason why everyone back in Punjab, every parent, looks for a groom or a bride from a foreign country. People in Punjab think we who live in foreign countries have lots of money just because you are in a good country. But they forget it is very hard to fit into a different world; especially for women, they have more pressure to find a way to live in two worlds. I work with different people in a different environment and then I come home to a more conservative atmosphere where I need to perform duties as daughter-in-law. [253]

Sonu now lives a relatively happy life after years of trying to find a balance between her life in Punjab and then in Australia. She was fortunate in comparison to Aampreet whose story started out similar to Sonu's, but did not end in any semblance of happiness.

Aampreet lived in Punjab with her parents who were relatively poor and employed as agricultural workers. When she was 19 years old, an aunt suggested that she meet a young Sikh man from Australia who was in Punjab to meet a woman he could marry. Her family was excited because the young man was of a higher social caste and owned a vineyard along with his parents in Australia. Aampreet was known for her beauty and when her future husband, Heera, saw her, he liked the way she looked and wanted to marry her. Her parents were excited because now their daughter had the opportunity to go to Australia and get a college education. Heera had promised that their daughter would be allowed to go to school when they got

---

[253] Appendix 3, Sonu interview (pseudonym).

back to Australia. Aampreet agreed to marry Heera and her parents went into debt in order to give their daughter a wedding that would almost match the level of Heera's family. It soon became clear to Aampreet why her husband had not cared that her social caste was lower. She was treated as a servant in the family. Her mother-in-law was very demanding and she required Aampreet to work in the house and on the vineyard. As Aampreet related to me:

> I was not only overwhelmed and homesick when I came to Australia, but I was treated differently than I had been by Heera's family once we arrived back in Australia. It did not take his mother long to make it clear that I was to do everything she told me to do—the housework, manual labour around the vineyard. I worked many hours a day often till 1 or 2 in the morning. I was required to get up at 5 a.m. to have a traditional Indian breakfast ready for the family and two workers at the vineyards. It was difficult for me to keep up with the amount of work that was placed on me. I pleaded with my husband to intercede for me so that I could at least go to school part-time. But now that we were in Australia, he had no memory of promising me anything. He spent a great deal of time away from home and I suspected he might be cheating on me, but I was afraid to accuse him. The only time I saw other Sikh women was on the days we attended *Gurdwara* in the rural area where we lived. My life consisted of working and sleeping. I wrote my parents but told them nothing of my plight because I did not want to disappoint them; I let them think things were wonderful for me.[254]

Aampreet was excited when she discovered she was pregnant because now she would have someone who would love her in the family. Her mother-in-law let her stop working at the vineyards because of her pregnancy, but she did not lessen Aampreet's work around the house. Aampreet's first child was a girl and that seemed to anger her mother-in-law and Aampreet had to go back out into the field three weeks after the baby was born. Her mother took care of the baby for the most part—she was allowed only to nurse the child. Her mother-in-law did everything else. Within a year, Aampreet was pregnant again and this time she had a little boy. Her mother-in-law was overjoyed and for a brief while she let Aampreet work less.

---

[254] Appendix 3, Aampreet interview (pseudonym).

Even though the family was wealthy enough to employ a housekeeper, her mother-in-law would not do so now that she had a daughter-in-law who could work just as hard.

After five years of such an existence Aampreet finally wrote to her parents and told them of her life in Australia. She and her mother conspired to help Aampreet escape from her husband with the two children. She would fly back to Punjab and live with her parents and children. It took her a year to save enough money to be able to purchase the tickets and two more months till harvest time when her mother-in-law and father-in-law would be busy with the grape crop. She packed nothing and slipped away unnoticed and went to Melbourne so she could get passports ready to go home. Aampreet will tell anyone now that she was very naive in believing she could just walk away from that marriage. Within two days, her husband's family had found her in Melbourne. Her husband accompanied by his parents came to the hotel room where she was staying and took her children away. The husband stayed behind to physically and sexually abuse her. He threatened that she would never see her children again, and he warned her that she would be dead if she tried to see the children again.

Aampreet reported that this was the darkest moment of her life—she had little money, limited English, and no one to help her. She went to the local police to report what had happened, and they directed her to a domestic abuse centre. There she met a group of women who understood her problems and helped her file papers to see her children and gave her a place to stay in a woman's shelter till she could find work and her own place. That was ten years ago and when I first met Aampreet, no one would have suspected how her life had turned around. When I asked her if she wanted to be interviewed because she represented a type of Sikh woman I had not interviewed yet—an older unmarried woman who did not live with her family

and who was a professional - she agreed. I did not know at the outset of the interview that Aampreet was divorced or any of the details of her hardships in Australia.

I met Aampreet at a small café near the hospital where she works. She described in much detail what had happened in her life. Her current story should only be heard through her own voice, which I re-tell here word for word as Aampreet allowed me to tape the interview:

> I did petition to see my children once I obtained a place to live, but my husband's family told my children I was a bad mother and would hurt them. They would cry when I came to see them and so after a year or so, I gave up attempting to see them. My ex-husband married another Punjabi woman and she acted as though she was their mother. This woman was of the same social caste as my husband and from what I heard lived a life of leisure and not of hard work as I had. I miss my children so much but I could not put them through that tug of war and so I just gave up. But I dream that when they are older, they will come and see me in Melbourne, and they will finally understand what happened to their mother and why I had to leave. That is why I did not go back to Punjab—always I thought of my children. I worked hard for ten years at any job I could. I took lessons in English and eventually got enough money to attend nursing school and I got my license. But that took me ten years of working non-stop and sleeping and eating very little. Now I make good money and next year I will send for my parents and life will be better for me as I will have some family to help me and support me. When I got divorced my family suffered much humiliation in Punjab. My ex-mother-in-law told their family in Punjab that I had stolen money from them in order to run away with a lover. She told them that I abandoned my children to be with that man. And because my ex-husband's family was of a higher social caste, everyone believed her story. My family suffered great humiliation while my ex-husband's family gained more admiration. I have frequently apologised to my father for my actions, but he said that nothing was my fault. I know that both my father and mother are sad because they have never seen their only grandchildren.[255]

I noted that Aampreet did not wear traditional Sikh clothing but instead wore Western clothing even when she attended the temple. She said she had not lost her faith despite the problems she had with her ex-husband's family. She believed that

---

[255] Appendix 3, Aampreet interview (pseudonym).

God was leading her in the correct direction. She did not want to garb herself in the traditional body identifiers of Sikh women. Instead she wanted to retain her Western image and she hoped when her parents came to Australia that they would understand. She had suffered when she lived the traditional life of a Sikh woman; she would never again allow herself to be abused. She thought of herself as a modern Australian woman who practised Sikhism as her religion - much like her present best friend who is Australian and practises Catholicism. She told me she expected never to re-marry and knew even if she decided she wanted to, she could not marry another Sikh man. For now she was comfortable going out on an occasional date and socialising with her nurse co-workers. As Aampreet remarked:

> For now, I am happy with my life. I want to bring my parents here—even though I am not sure they will approve of my lifestyle now, and I want some day to see my children again and tell them why I was not there for them while they were growing up. I have a huge hole in my heart while I am separated from my children, but I think if they knew the truth about my life they would understand and be proud of what I have accomplished. For as long as my heart is in Australia, I will be in Australia. After all this country did help me to rebuild my life and start over and it gives me hope everyday that I will have my family back.[256]

The women I interviewed in Melbourne had different worldviews, and yet all had attempted some renegotiation of their lives in their new country. Some had suffered much hardship while others experienced an easier life. Being a Sikh woman in no way meant that the pattern of their life would go along one path.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have given the subaltern—that is Sikh women in Australia— a place in which to voice their daily realities. I have made no attempt here to analyse what the interviews meant, what we can make of the lived experiences they have or have had in living in a culture that is so different from the one in which they

---

[256] Appendix 3, Aampreet interview (pseudonym).

or their parents were born. Instead, I used this chapter to introduce some of the women I interviewed, choosing the ones that well represented the diversity of a Sikh woman's experience in Australia. In doing so I have focused my discussion on the proposition noted at the beginning of this chapter: that no Sikh woman is just like any other Sikh woman—not in the way she fulfils her cultural obligations or practices her faith or maps out a plan for her life. Each of these women engage in a renegotiation of who they are and the boundaries that are imposed upon them because they are Sikhs and they are women. Some choose to mark their bodies with the symbols of their Sikh cultural and religious identity. Some alternate between their Sikh identity and their emerging identity. All seek to make a new life if not only for themselves but for their future children.

In Chapter 5, I report on the interviews I conducted with the men at the *Gurdwaras*. Although they are not the focus of this study, what I learned from those interviews helped enlighten me about the Sikh male's perspective on Sikh women and helped in the analysis of the interviews I conducted with the women. Chapter 6 contains that analysis of the women's interviews.

Chapter 7: What Price?

> My mother says it should be enough for me that my daughter will have a
> good life and a future perhaps with possibilities. She tells me to just keep
> doing what my husband says and don't let anyone else know about
> problems, especially in the Punjabi Sikh community; people will start to
> spread rumours and talk about you and your family. Women always have
> to compromise, she said; that is how it has always been.[315]

The idea for this thesis started when I explored how Indian women are today

being portrayed in Bollywood movies. I encountered by happenstance an article by

Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?',[316] and was motivated to further explore

the writings of other post-colonial critics like Homi Bhabha[317] and Vincent

Dusenbery.[318] In doing so, I reflected on my own upbringing as a Sikh immigrant to

Australia. As I stated in Chapter 1, I have been the 'good Sikh girl' all of my life,

faithfully upholding the honour of my family. It was not until I left our farm in the

Riverland and went to college in a large city that I realised the path my life had

taken was not the same as that of many other Sikh young women. My assumption

had always been that as a religious and cultural group, Sikhs were a fairly

homogenous group—one where gender responsibilities were in place and rarely

deviated from. In conducting this phenomenological study, I learned some very

important things about my culture, my gender, and my own position as an immigrant

to a culture that was very different than the one that is experienced in Punjab by

Sikhs. In this conclusion, I seek to explain what the findings in this study mean and

---

[315] Jaskiran (pseudonym) from the Riverland (see Appendix 1). Jaskiran was not part of the original group of women I had planned to interview. I had interviewed her husband and met her there. We had a limited conversation as she escorted me to the car where my father was waiting. It was evident that she had a lot she wanted to talk about but circumstances limited our conversation.

[316] Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossbery (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1988), 271-313.

[317] H.K. Bhabha, *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity*. (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

[318] V.A. Dusenbery, 'Punjabi Sikh positionings in Australia', in R.Bhatti and V.A. Dusenbery (Eds), *A Punjabi Sikh Community in Australia: From Indian Sojourners to Australian Citizens*, A Centenary of Federation Woolgoolga, Neighbourhood Centre Inc., 2001), 244.

how they can create a deeper understanding of the immigrant experience in Australia.

Gender, Culture, Boundaries and Masquerades

As noted in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, Sikhs – like many other cultural groups - have certain cultural expectations of their members. For Sikhs, although they are taught by the gurus that gender equality does exist in their culture, in practice that equality does not exist. In almost all gender relationships, Sikh men operate from a higher social position. They are the ones who make the rules for their families while women are burdened with upholding the honour of their family, in Australia and back at home in the Punjab. As Dusenbery describes, 'female education in India has become seen as a prerequisite for upward mobility, because the professional Indian man wants the prestige of an educated wife, whether or not she is allowed to pursue 'a career.'[319] That was certainly the case for some of the women interviewed for this thesis, especially those who had an education equal to their husbands. However, they found out that after they got married, their primary role was to be a caretaker of the family, often including caring for their husband's parents as well. It was the younger, more educated women whom I interviewed in Adelaide and Melbourne who had the most difficult time adjusting to married life because, as Dusenbery[320] and Rait[321] both noted, education gave these women an introduction into a larger society that had different values and different expectations for women. Their daily interaction with people from other cultures presented them with problems. Even though their families had made an investment in their education so they could experience career advancement, these achievements in fact alienated them from the Sikh culture that expected them to be the 'good Punjabi girl'.

---

[319] Ibid., 245.
[320] Ibid., 248.
[321] S.K. Rait, *Sikh Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs* (London: Trentham Books, 2005).

136

Many of the younger professional women interviewed in this study found it almost impossible to reconcile their professional lives with their reputations in their local Punjabi community. Geetanjali (see Appendix 3) was a woman and a physician when she was matched with a Sikh physician in Australia. As described in Chapter 6, at first she was allowed to work at a local hospital. She became more involved in an Australian lifestyle at work and found it difficult to go back to being 'the subservient good Punjabi girl'. Once her husband found out about her dual life she was forced to leave her job and stay home where her activities could be more carefully watched. Chapter 6 tells the story of how Geetanjali had awakened at work to a freedom she did not know existed, and that lure of freedom put her life in jeopardy. Other women that I heard about or interviewed had similar stories. Potential husbands and in-laws wanted educated women with career opportunities but they wanted those women to remain silent. For Sikh women who moved away from the insulated geographical spaces where Sikhs located themselves in Australia, it was very difficult for them to maintain cultural expectations.

In Geetanjali's encounter with Australians other than Sikhs, she experienced camaraderie and friendship that she had not anticipated. She - like Balveer and Charanjeet (see Appendix 3) - were challenged about their cultural beliefs through these friendships. In that challenge, these younger Sikh women learned to question their beliefs and values. This resulted in some young women struggling to create for themselves 'a third' space as noted by Bhabha.[322] As discussed in Chapter 2, Bhabha's third space is a hybridity that traces two original moments from which a third space emerges. That is, some of the young Sikh women I interviewed moved

---

[322] H. K. Bhabha, *Cultures in Between. Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. S. Hall and P. Du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

away from their original culture into another culture, Australia, and have discovered for themselves this third space where they become a composite of the two.

Perhaps Bhupinder (see Appendix 3) was the best example of a young Sikh woman who had created a 'third space' for herself. She did so, unlike the other women I interviewed, with encouragement from her father who himself had openly embraced Australian society and moved freely between both cultures and did not require his daughter to uphold the family honour. Bhupinder and her family blurred 'the limitations of existing boundaries and call[ed] into formatting question established categorisations of culture and identity'.[323] In doing so, they were able to renegotiate their cultural boundaries, expanding those boundaries to embrace Australia's multicultural society.

For other young women who were faced with keeping up a masquerade at school and at home, life was filled with trepidation, sometimes sadness, sometimes happiness, and always anxiety that the mask they wore in public would be ripped from their faces and their true existence uncovered. For university students like Anjinder, Amandeep and Kiran (see Appendix 3 for their stories), there was a price to be paid for the masquerade they performed. At home, they showed their mask of 'the good Punjabi girl', enrobing themselves in clothing and manners that said they were firmly committed to their families' cultural expectation. At school in Adelaide or Melbourne, they donned the mask of an Australian university student, participating in nights out at bars and dating men their family would never approve of. These women had not found Bhabha's third space. They lived in a limbo where they waited for someone to unmask them and cause them to make a choice between the body identifiers of Sikhism or being Australian. Those who were found out by

---

[323]Bhabha, *Cultures in Between. Questions of Cultural Identity*, 26.

their parents faced harsh punishment and isolation from their families if they insisted on choosing Australian culture.

The older women I interviewed had a sadness about them—even the ones who had come willingly to Australia as young brides and who were happily married. For these women the trade-off they had made to come to Australia to find financial freedom has resulted in a loss of their cultural values. Their children, especially their daughters, do not follow the rules that they are given. Rajwinder (see Appendix 3) was filled with loneliness and sadness. She had lost control of her daughter and now she seemed to be waiting for the final battle she knew would occur when her husband got involved. As Rajwinder said:

> I look like I have everything that a Sikh woman would want. I have economic and social status, yet I feel despair, loneliness. I have only one child, a daughter who is attending one of the best universities in Australia. She rarely comes home anymore and when she does I look through her things to make sure she is conducting herself properly. I found evidence in her suitcase that she is dating someone outside her Sikh culture. I screamed at her and told her to stop immediately seeing the white Australian man she was dating. At first my daughter pretended to say OK, but I discovered Rajwinder was still dating that young man. Both my daughter and I will be in trouble. If dishonour comes or my daughter marries this white man, we will both be dead.

For the older women I interviewed, passing their culture down to their children was of great importance because of the persecution that the Sikhs had faced back in India. While Sikhs are not the only sub-population group that is fighting against losing their cultural identity and who fiercely cling to their cultural identities, their identity as Sikhs is of utmost importance to them. As discussed in Chapter 2, much has been written about culture and how cultures are not static but always permeable and changeable.[324] For Sikhs, the need to hold on to their identity,

---

[324] Much research has been written about culture and identity. Books that I found helpful in understanding the importance of culture for some groups were Marie De Lepervanche. *Indians in a white Australia: an account of race, class and Indian immigration to eastern Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984); P. Bilimoria. *The Hindus and Sikhs in Australia* (Canberra:

to isolate themselves within their own communities, is no different from other immigrant populations that seek out comfort with those like themselves. However, because the Sikhs have faced much discrimination and violence in the Indian sub-continent, there seems to be a greater need to cling to the culture that identifies then as different from others. To the older women I interviewed the loss of their culture negated all the financial and status gains they made in coming to Australia. They did not want the trade-off they had made. As Dusenbery notes, moving away from the cultural expectations placed on women is tantamount to negating Sikh society:

> The understanding of a woman's role in Punjabi society is crucial to understanding the dynamics of Punjabi family life. And this role can best be understood in terms of the cultural logic as it plays out in a migrant situation. Local Punjabi girls, in the main, have been raised with an acute sensitivity to the fact that izzat is tied to their reputations. One of the main requirements of maintaining izzat is being the "good Punjabi girl" -learning household duties, respecting one's elders, participating in community social life, performing one's religious duties, accepting an arranged marriage, obeying one's husband, providing hospitality to guests and being modest in front of men outside the extended family. .[325]

Because Sikh society is built on these requirements for women, when there is deviation from those requirements there is always a price to pay. One young Sikh woman I interviewed had broken with her family so that she could avoid an arranged marriage and marry instead a man she met outside her culture. Even though she broke off contact with her family, she still lived in fear that her father would find her and kill her because she had violated the family's honour. As noted in Chapter 6, Anjinder (see Appendix 3) wanted to resolve the conflict with her family, but she

---

Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996); Chandran Kukathis. 'Multiculturalism and the Idea of an Australian Identity', in Chandran Kukathis ed., *Multicultural Citizens: The Philosophy and Politics of Identity* (Australia: The Centre for Independent Studies Ltd., 1993); Ghassan Hage. 2006. 'We will fight them on the beach: Cronulla and the tensions of Australian Multiculturalism', *Catalyst: Journal of the British Commission for Racial Equality*, May 2006; Michael Bommes, Ch. 10 'Migration, Belonging and the Shrinking Inclusive Capacity of the Nation-State'. In Jonathan Friedman & Shalini Randeria eds. *Worlds on the Move: Globalization, Migration, and Cultural Security* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2004), 117-140; S. Castles, B. Cope, M. Kalantzis & M. Morrissey. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992); and V. D'Cruz. 'The Indian Mutiny and White Australia'. In *Twentieth Century*. Vol. 17 (1993), 42-59.

[325] V.A. Dusenbery, 'Punjabi Sikh positionings in Australia', 24.

had little hope that it would ever occur; instead she feared her father was stalking her in order to seek revenge on her for what she had done.

As I reported in Chapters 1 and 3, I interviewed Sikh men (see Appendix 1 for interviews) in a prelude to my interviews with Sikh women. These interviews were conducted at the *Gurdwara* or in the men's houses, and as a good Punjabi girl I was accompanied by my father. Several of the men I interviewed were suspicious of my motives. Sikh men have historically been accused of mistreating women by other ethnic groups and thus are very sensitive to that charge. However, several of the men I interviewed were very clear in their viewpoints on women. Most often the blame for any failure Sikh men had in life was based on the fact that they had married 'the wrong woman'. These women failed to uphold the honour of the family and instead, in the opinions of these men women destroyed Sikh family life. As Hardal said to me in his house, in front of his second wife:

> Women should be kept under control; otherwise they dominate you,
> which is not good for the family. A wife should respect her husband
> and her in-laws and be a good daughter-in-law and raise her children
> in a respectful manner—a manner that will not reflect poorly on the
> family's *izzat*. Men work outside all day and it should be the women
> who stay at home. But these days, women are becoming too powerful
> because they are educated and want to do everything by
> themselves.[326]

When I finished interviewing Hardal, I was followed to my car where his new wife spoke about how hard her situation was. The last thing she said to me that day was "He beats me". More chilling than the words she used was the tone of her voice in speaking. It was the voice of a trapped individual caught in a cycle of violence who had no one who could help her (see Hardal's interview in Appendix 1 to read what his wife said). I was bothered by what she said to me. I did not know how to help her. In interviewing other women for this study, I learned that being beaten by a father or a husband was not an extraordinary occurrence. Instead, it was

---

[326] Hardal (see Appendix 1) pseudonym.

one of the ways that Sikh men could use to control what the women in the family did. I do not imply in any way that all Sikh men resort to violence at any higher rate than any other population; my own father would not resort to violence. However, the Sikh community would probably not condemn the men who out of frustration, fear, or jealousy have determined that violence is their only option to ensure that the women in the household remain 'the good Punjabi girl'.

The Australian Sikh Immigrant

One cannot ignore that Sikhs who come from India are the colonised who are moving to another country that was colonised by the British in hopes of finding financial freedom so that they can support their families back in Punjab and perhaps return there some day when Sikhs have finally achieved their own nation. The Sikhs are not unlike other immigrant populations that have come to Australia because they believe their lives will be so much better. The Sikhs, like other non-White immigrant populations, faced discrimination when they first came to Australia, and one of the ways they responded to living in the coloniser's country was to band together and do what Dusenbery termed live a bi(local) existence.[327] In other words, Sikh immigrants in Australia have their feet planted in the soil of their new country while their eyes are focused on their homeland. They, more than most immigrant groups, adopt this (bi)locality as a way of avoiding acculturating into Australian society. For most immigrants to Australia, there is a desire to blend into the multicultural society, to share in the power of white Australia.[328]

The Sikhs, however, have responded by developing strong communities in which every Sikh's behaviour is monitored. This explains why older Sikhs cling to their cultural traditions—they wait for the promised homeland in India where all

---

[327]Verne A. Dusenbery, 'Introduction: A Century of Sikhs beyond Punjab'. In *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab,* ed. N.G. Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1989), 1-9.
[328] Ibid., 7.

142

Sikhs can return, Khalistan.[329] When the British finally left India in 1947, it left promising both the Sikhs and Muslims in the Indian sub-continent will have a country of their own. Mahatma Gandhi also promised that would happen for Sikhs, but it never did. For Sikhs that was a tragedy as they had experienced religious persecution by the Hindu population. Having their own nation would ensure their ability to have a closed society as Brian Keith Axel suggested.[330] A closed society means that there would only be Sikhs in Khalistan, and there would no longer be a fear that their culture would be wiped out or merged with another. They would be in fact a 'chosen' people living in a 'chosen land'. Axel points out that not all Sikhs are looking for a closed society, but as discussed in Chapter 2, those who long for Khalistan see great benefits in living in a closed society.[331]

The desire for a homeland just for Sikhs is one way that Sikh immigrants differ from other immigrant populations who have left their countries. Sikhs have been motivated to move to certain countries to strengthen their finances and their status—two factors that are very important to Sikhs.[332] For Sikhs, according to Axel, 'outside their closed group there are no other human beings'.[333] It is this perspective that many Sikhs bring to Australia and why for this one sub-population the maintaining of their culture is of utmost importance. Sikhism must survive so the homeland in Khalistan can be populated by Sikhs only.

---

[329] Brian Keith Axel, *The Nation's Tortured Body* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2007), 4.

[330] Ibid., 7.

[331] Ibid., 7.

[332] Ibid., 9.

[333] Ibid., 7.

Conclusion

When I began this study, I was the Spivak Subaltern having others speak about me and for me. In interviewing other Sikh women I believe I found my voice and gave voice to a few of the voiceless in Australia. What Australia offers these women is the possibility of creating their own identity and renegotiating their cultural boundaries if they so desire—as some whom I interviewed want to do. For some, the masquerade will continue—their attempt to live in both cultures—until their masks are removed and they are forced to make a choice—to find their own voice, boundary, and identity, and no longer allow others to define them or speak for them.

Bibliography

Aho, James A. *The Things of the World: A Social Phenomenology*. Westport, Conn.: PraegerBentz, 1998.

Albrow, Martin. *Globalization: Myths and Realities*. London: Roehampton Institute, 1994.

Alessandrini, Anthony C. "Fanon and the Post-Colonial Future." *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 1.2 (1997)

Alexander, Neville. "Mainstreaming by Confluence: The Multilingual Context of Literature in South Africa." *World Literature Today* 70.1 (1996): 9-11.

Amin, Samir. *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.

Anderson, Benedict R.O.G. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Ang, Ien. *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living between Asia and the West*. New York: Psychology Press, 2001.

Ansell, Pearson Keith, Benita Parry, and Judith Squires, eds., *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History*. New York: St. Martin's, 1997.

Anthias, Floya & Yuval-Davis, Nira, 'Contextualizing Feminism: Ethnic, Gender & Class Divisions', *Feminist Review* Volume no. 15 (1984): 62-75.

Anthias, Floya and Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour & Class & the Anti-Racist Struggle*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Appadurai, Arjun. "The production of locality." In Richard Fardon, ed., *Counterworks*, New York: Routledge, 1995.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Arvind-pal, S. Mandair. *Religion and the Specter of the West: Sikhism, India, Postcoloniality, and the Politics of Translation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Asad, Tolal, ed. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca, 1973.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures,* London: Routledge, 1989.

Australian News Commentary. Pauline Hanson's maiden speech in federal parliament, 10th September 1996 (accessed http://www.australian-news.com.au/maiden_speech.htm).

Axel, Brian Keith. *The Nation's Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of a Sikh "Diaspora"*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Axel, Brian Keith. "The Diasporic Imaginary", *Public Culture*, 14.2 (2002): 411-428.

Bagdasarova, J. *A Shared Anthropology in the Study of Migration: Other, Self, and Beyond*. Halle/Saale, Germany: Max Plack Institute for Social Anthropology, 2006.

Bahri, Deepika, and Mary Vasudeva, eds. *Between the Lines: South Asians and Post-Coloniality*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996.

Baker, Houston A., Manthai Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg, eds. *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Bal, Mieke, and Inge Boer, eds. *The Point of Theory: Practices of Cultural Analysis*. New York: Continuum, 1994.

Balibar, Etienne, and Emmanuel Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso Publications, 1991.

Ballard, Roger, "South Asian Families." In Robert Rapoport, Michael Fogarty and Rhona Rapoport, eds., *Families In Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.

Barbour, Douglas. "Postcolonial Theorizing Achieves Academic Acceptance." *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature.* 29.3 (1996): 129-39.

Barlow, Tani, ed. *Colonial Modernity.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Barrier, N.G. and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds., *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and Experience beyond Punjab.* Delhi: Chanakya Publications and Columbia, Missouri: South Asia Publications, 1989.

Bashkow, Ira. "A Neo-Boasian Conception of Cultural Boundaries." *American Anthropologist* 106 (2004): 443–458.

Bashkow, Ira. *The meaning of Whiteman: Race and Modernity in the Orokaiva Cultural World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Bauer, Ralph. "Criticism on the Boundary: Postcoloniality and the 'Worlding' of Literature." *Centennial-Review.* 42.3 (1998): 401-16.

Beckles, Hilary McD. "Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity." *Callaloo* 20.4 (1997): 777-89.

Berg, D. N. & Smith, K. K. eds. *The self in social inquiry: Research methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.

Bhabha, H. K. "Cultures in Between." *Artforum* 32.1 (1993): 167-68, 211-12.

Bhabha, H. K. *Cultures in Between: Questions of Cultural Identity.* London: Sage Publications, 1996.

Bhabha, Homi K. "Interrogating identity: the postcolonial prerogative." In *Anatomy of racism,* ed. David Theo Goldberg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.

Bhabha, Homi K. ed. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bhabha, Homi K. "The other question: difference, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism." In *Out there: marginalization and contemporary cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990.

Bhabha, Homi K. 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 1-3.

Bhatti, Rashmere & Dusenbery, Verne A. eds. *Citizens*. Woolgoolga, NSW: Neighbourhood Centre, 2001.

Bilimoria, P. *The Hindus and Sikhs in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government, 1996.

Blackman, Lisa. *Affect Body and Society*. Nottingham University: Sage, 2010.

Blunt, Allison, and Gillian Rose, eds. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. New York: Guilford Press, 1994.

Boas, Franz. *Race, Language and Culture*. New York: Macmillan, 1940.

Bogdan, Robert, and Steven J. Taylor. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences*. New York: Wiley, 1975.

Bommes, Michael 'Migration, Belonging and the Shrinking Inclusive Capacity of the Nation-State'. In Jonathan Friedman & Shalini Randeria eds., *Worlds on the Move: Globalization, Migration, and Cultural Security*. 2004.

Bose, Mandakranta, ed. *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bowring, Finn. "A Lifeworld without a Subject: Habermas and the Pathologies of Modernity." *Telos* 106 (1996):77-104.

Breakwell, G. M. "Some effects on marginal social identity." In *Differentiation between Social Groups,* ed. H. Tajfel. London: Academic Press, 1978.

Bridge, Carl and Kent Fedorowich, eds. *The British world: diaspora, culture and identity*, London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Brown, R. "Social Identity Theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30 (2000): 745-778.

Brown, R. "Intergroup Relations." In *Introduction to Social Psychology,* ed. M. Hewstone and W. Stroebe. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. 479-514.

Brubaker, Rogers. 'The "diaspora" diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28.1 (2005), 1–19.

Butcher, Melissa and Mandy Thomas. *Generate: Youth Culture and Migration Heritage in Western Sydney*. Penrith, NSW: Institute for Cultural Research and The Migration Heritage Centre, 2001.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of 'sex'*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Butler, Judith, and Joan W. Scott, eds. *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Castles, S., B. Cope, M. Kalantzis & M. Morrissey. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia*. Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992.

Chadny, James G. 'Sikh Family Patterns and Ethnic Adaptation in Vancouver.' *Amerasia Journal* 7.1 (1980): 31-50.

Chanda, Geetanjali, *Diaspora Journeys: The Unbearable Heaviness of Being*, Paper presented at Our Journeys Conference 2011 at The Centre for Women's Studies in Education (CWSE), Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE), University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, October 11, 2011.

Chandran Kukathis. 'Multiculturalism and the Idea of an Australian Identity.' In ChandranKukathis, ed., *Multicultural Citizens: The Philosophy and Politics of Identity*. Australia: The Centre for Independent Studies Ltd., 1993.

Chaterjee, Partha. "The nationalist resolution of the women's question." In *Recasting women*, ed. Kimkum Sangariand Sudesh Vaid. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Clifford, James. 'Travelling Cultures'. In L. Grossberg, T. Nelson & P. Treichler eds., *Cultural Studies*, Routledge, New York, 1992.

Cloke, Paul and Ron Johnston. *Space of geographical thought: deconstructing human geography's binaries*. London: Sage Publications, 2005.

Cohen, Abner. 'Cultural strategies in the organization of trading diasporas' in Claude Meillassoux (ed.) *The development of indigenous trade and markets in West Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, 266–81.

Cohen, D. 'Cultural variation: Considerations and implications.' *Psychological Bulletin,* 127 (2001): 451–471.

Cohen, Robin. *The new helots: migrants in the international division of labour*. Aldershot: Gower, 1987.

Cohen, Robin. *Frontiers of identity: the British and the Others*. London: Longman, 1994.

Cohen, Robin. 'Diasporas and the nation-state: from victims to challengers' *International Affairs* 72.3 (July 1996): 507–20.

Cohen, Robin. 'Creolization and cultural globalization: the soft sounds of fugitive power' *Globalizations* 4.3 1–16.

Cole, W. "The Sikh Diaspora: Its Possible Effects on Sikhism." In *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Joseph T. O'Connell, Milton Israel & Willard G. Oxtoby, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1990.

Cole, W. "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities." In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, ed. Peter van der Veer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

Cole, W. "The Poetics and Politics of Recognition: Diasporan Sikhs in Pluralist Polities." *American Ethnologist* 24.4, 1994

Cole, W. "Who Speaks for Sikhs in the Diaspora? Collective Representation in Multicultural States." In *Diasporic Studies: Theory and Literature*, ed. Gurupdesh Singh. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 2007.

Conner, Walker. 'The impact of homelands upon diasporas'. In Gabriel Sheffer (ed.) *Modern diasporas in international politics*. London: Croom Helm, 1986, 16–45.

Conner, Walker . *Ethnonationalism: the quest for understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Cooey, P. M., W. R. Eakin, and J. B. McDaniel, eds. *After Patriarchy: Feminist Transformations of the World Religions*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991.

Costelloe, Timothy M. "Between the Subject and Sociology: Alfred Schutz's Phenomenology of the Life-World." *Human Studies*, 19 (1996): 247-266.

Craft-Fairchild, Catherine. *Masquerade and gender: Disguise and female identity in eighteenth century fictions by women*. State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

Creswell, J. W. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.

Creswell, J. W. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998.

Curtin, Philip (1984) *Cross-cultural trade in world history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Darroch, Vivian, and Ronald J. Silvers eds. *Interpretive Human Studies: An Introduction to Phenomenological Research*. Washington, D.C.: University Press, 1982.

De Leon, J.P. and Cohen, J.H. 'Object and walking probes in ethnographic interviewing', *Field Methods*, 17 (2005): 200–4.

deLepervanche, Marie. 'From Race to Ethnicity', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 16 (1980):25-31

deLepervanche, Marie. 'Women, Nation and the State in Australia'. In N. Yuval-Davis & F. Anthias eds., *Woman - Nation – State*. London, Macmillan 1989.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1994.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln eds. *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1998.

Denzin, N. K. *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1989.

Dhaliwal, Amarpal K. 'Introduction: the traveling nation: India and its diaspora', *Socialist Review*, 24.4 (1994a): 1–11.

Dhaliwal, Amarpal K. 'Reading diaspora: self-representational practices and the politics of reception, *Socialist Review*, 24.4 (1994b): 13–43.

Dickens, David R. and Andrea Fontana, eds. *Postmodernism and Social Inquiry*. New York: Guilford Press, 1994.

Docker, John. *Dilemmas of Identity: The Desire for the Other in Colonial and Post Colonial Cultural History*. London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992.

Dragojlovic, Ana. "Reframing the Nation: Migration, Borders and Belonging." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 9:4 (2008): 279-284.

Drury, B. Sikh girls and the maintenance of an ethnic culture. *New Community,* 17 (1991): 387-399.

Dusenbery, Verne A. "Introduction: A Century of Sikhs beyond Punjab." In *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab,* ed. N.G. Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery. Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1989.

Dusenbery, Verne A. 'Sikh Positionings in Australia and the "Diaspora" Concept'. *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, 2, 485-491. 2005

Dusenbery, Verne A. "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities." In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, ed. Peter van der Veer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

Dusenbery, Verne A. "The Poetics and Politics of Recognition: Diasporan Sikhs in Pluralist Polities". *American Ethnologist*, 24.4 2005

Dusenbery, Verne A. "Who Speaks for Sikhs in the Diaspora? Collective Representation in Multicultural States." In *Diasporic Studies: Theory and Literature*, ed. Gurupdesh Singh. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press. 1999.

Dusenbery, Verne A. "A Sikh Diaspora? Contested Identities and Constructed Realities". In *Sociology of Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Ajaya Kumar Sahoo & Brij Maharaj. New Delhi: Rawat Publishers. 2005.

Dusenbery, Verne A., "The Story of Arrival". In *A Punjabi Sikh Community in Australia: From Indian Sojourners to Australian Citizens,* ed. Rashmere Bhatt and Verne Dusenbery. http://www.apnaorg.com/books/sikhs-in-australia/Chapter-2/ch-2-page-1.html (accessed April 10, 2012).

Eger, M. "Hermeneutics as an approach to science: Part II". *Science and Education* 2 (1993): 303-328.

Elsberg, C.W. *Graceful Women: Gender and Identity in an American Sikh Community.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2003.

Escobar, Arturo. "Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies." *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 139-174.

Ewing, K.P. "The Dream of Spiritual Initiation and the Organization of Self Representations among Pakistani Sufis." *American Ethnologist* 17.1 (1990): 56-74.

Ewing, K. P. "Crossing borders and transgressing boundaries: Metaphor for negotiating multiple identities." *Ethos* 26 (1998): 262-267.

Fabian, Johannes. "Presence and Representation: The Other and Anthropological Writings." *Critial Inquiry* 6.4 (Summer 1990): 753-772.

Fanon, Frantz. *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier. Intro. Adolfo Gilly. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

Fanon, F. *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier, New York: Grove (1965, reissued 1970).

Farquhar, J. N. *Modern Religious Movements in India*. London: Macmillan, 1924.

Featherstone, Mike ed. *Global culture: nationalism, globalization and modernity*, London: Sage, 1994.

Forbes, Geraldine. *Women in Modern India*. Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Fowles, Mary. "The Faith I Keep." *Vox Feminarum: The Canadian Journal of Feminist Spirituality* 3.3 (1996): 5-18.

Fusco, Coco. "About Locating Ourselves and Our Representations." *Framework* 36 (1989): 7-14.

Fuss, Diana. "Interior Colonies: Frantz Fanon and the Politics of Identification." *Diacritics* 24:2-3 (1994): 20-42.

Gale, Peter. "Construction of Whiteness in the Australian Media". In J. Docker, ed., *Race, Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand*. New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 2000.

Gamson, Joshua. "Must Identity Movements Self Destruct?" In *Sexualities: Critical Concepts in Sociology,* ed. Ken Plummer. Vol. 2. London: Routledge, 2002.

Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Gangoli, Geetanjali, Razak, Amina, and McCarry, Melanie. Forced Marriage and Domestic Violence among South Asian Communities in North East England. Bristol , England: School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol.

Geertz, C. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Ghassan Hage. 'We will fight them on the beach: Cronulla and the tensions of Australian Multiculturalism'. In *Catalyst: Journal of the British Commission for Racial Equality*, (May 2006) 2002.

Ghuman, P.A.S. & Kamoth, A. 'Bicultural identities: study of Asian origin Children'. *Bilingual Family Newsletter*, 10 (1993): 3-7.

Gibson, Margaret A. *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school*. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Giddens, Anthony. 'Modernity and self-identity'. In *Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. USA: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Gilbert, Paul, Gilbert, J., and Sangheray, J. 'A focus group exploration of the impact of izzat, shame, subordination and entrapment on mental health and service use in South Asian women living in Derby'. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 7 (2004): 109–130.

Groenewald, Thomas. 'A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated'. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3.1 (2004): 33-40.

Gunawardena, Therese Suhashini. "Contesting Khalistan: The Sikh Diaspora and the Politics of Separatism." Ph.D. thesis, The University of Texas, 2001.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson, eds. *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Hage, Ghassan. *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society.* Annadale, NSW: Pluto, 1998.

Hall, Kathleen. "British Sikh Lives, Lived in Translation." In *Everyday Life in South Asia,* ed. Diane P. Mines & Sarah E. Lamb. Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2010.

Hall, Stuart. 'Cultural identity and diaspora'. In Jonathan Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: community, culture, difference.* London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

Hall, Stuart. "New Ethnicities". In *'Race', Culture and Difference,* ed. James Donald and Ali Rattansi. London: Sage, 1992.

Hall, Stuart. 'Ethnicity, identity and difference', *Radical America,* 23.4 (1991a): 9–20.

Hall, Stuart. 'The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity'. In Anthony D. King (ed.) *Culture, globalization and the world-system: contemporary conditions for the representation of identity.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991b.

Hall, Stuart. 'The question of cultural identity'. In Stuart Hall et al. eds., *Modernity and its futures,* Cambridge: Polity Press in association with the Open University, 1992, 273–316.

Hall, Stuart. 'Negotiating Caribbean identities', *New Left Review,* 209 (January–February, 1995): 3–14.

Hannerz, Ulf. "Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture." In Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity.* London: Sage Publishers, 1990.

202

Heidegger, Martin. "Building, Dwelling, Thinking". In D.F. Krell, ed., New York: Martin Heidegger Basic Writings, 1992.

Heine, S. J. and Lehman, D. R. "The cultural construction of self-enhancement. An investigation of group-serving biases." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 72 (1997a): 1268-1283.

Heine, S. J. and Lehman, D. R. "Culture, dissonance, and self-affirmation." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23 (1997b): 389-400.

Helmrich, Stefan . 'Kinship, nation and Paul Gilroy's concept of diaspora'. *Diaspora*, 2.2. (1992): 243–49.

Helweg, Arthur W. *Sikhs in England: the development of a migrant community*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Henderson, Jeff and Manuel Castells. eds. *Global restructuring and territorial development*, London: Sage, 1987.

Heyl, B.S. 'Ethnographic interviewing'. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland eds., *Handbook of ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2001.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terrence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1983.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Husserl, Edmund. *Ideas: General Introduction* to *Pure Phenomenology*. W. R. Boyce Gibson, trans. New York: Humanities Press, 1931.

Hycner, R. H. (1985). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. *Human Studies* 8 (1985): 279-303.

Ihde, Don, *Hermeneutical Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1971.

Institute of Sikh Studies, Chandigarh. "Sikhism & Women: Some Questions & Answers." n.d http://www.allaboutsikhs.com/sikhism-articles/sikhism-women-some-questions-answers. accessed on May 2011.

Iyer, Lakshmi. *The Long-Term Impact of Colonial Rule: Evidence from India.* Boston: Harvard Business School, 2004.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Gender Issues in Sikh Studies: Hermeneutics of Affirmation or Hermeneutics of Suspicion?" In *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora,* ed. Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier. New Delhi, Manohar, 1996.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Where are the Women? Making Room for Women in Sikh Studies: A North American Perspective," *Punjab History Conference Proceedings. Twenty-Ninth Session,* 1997.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Conversion in the Sikh Tradition." *Religious Conversion: Contemporary Practices and Controversies,* ed. Darrol Bryant and Christopher Lamb. London: Cassell Publishers, 1999.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "The Construction of Gender in History and Religion: The Sikh Case." In *Faces of the feminine in ancient, medieval and modern India,* ed. Mandakranta Bose. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Sikh Studies: Where do we go from here?" *Sikh Review* 49.10 (2001): 66-71.

Jakobsh, Doris R. *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity,* Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Constructing Sikh Identities: Authorities, Virtual and Imagined." *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 10.1-2 (2004): 127-142.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Feminism, Women's Movements, and the World Religions." *Women's Concerns* 2 (2005): 19-21.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Sikh Ritual Identity: Who Speaks for Sikh Women." *Chakra – tidskrift for indiska religioner*, Theme, *Modern Media and Texts in Indian Religions* 3 (2005): 43-49.

Jakobsh, Doris R. "Sikhism, Interfaith Dialogue, and Women: Transformation and Identity." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 21.2 (2006): 183-199.

James, William, *Essays in Radical Empiricism.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976 [1912].

Jayaratne, T. The value of quantitative methodology for feminist research. In G. Bowles and R. Duelli Klein eds., *Theories of women's studies*, London: Routledge, 1983, 140-145.

Juergensmeyer, Mark and Norman Gerald Barrier. *Sikh Studies: Comparative Perspectives in a Changing Tradition: working papers from the Berkeley Conference on Sikh studies.* Berkeley, CA: Graduate Theological Union, 1979.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2008. "The Forgotten Tradition: Sikhism in the Study of World Religions." Eds. Mark Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1979.

Kalpana, Ram and Margaret Jolly. eds. *Maternities and modernities: colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Kalsi, Sewa Singh. "Problems of Defining Authority in Sikhism." *Diskus* 3.2 (2001): 43-58.

Kapoor, I. 'Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory', *Third World Quarterly*, 23.4 (2002): 647-664.

Kapoor, Ilan. 'Acting in a Tight Spot: Homi Bhabha's Postcolonial Politics', *New Political Science*, 25 (2003): 561-577.

Kapoor, Ilan. "Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'", *Third World Quarterly* 25 (2004a): 627-647.

Kapoor, I. 'Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other',Third World Quarterly 25.4 (2004): 627-647.

Kapoor, Ilan. *The Postcolonial Politics of Development.* London & New York: Routledge, 2008.

Kapur, Preeti. 'Sharing identity through dress: The case of Sikh women.' *Psychological Studies* 55 (2010): 101-107.

Kaur, Kanwaljit. *Sikh Women, Fundamental Issues in Sikh Studies*. Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1992.

Kaur, Upinder Jit. *Sikh Religion and Economic Development*. Delhi: National Book Organization, 1990.

Khalsa, Kaar Kaur and Ek Ong. *Sikh Women's Seva: Raise Your Voice*, 2009. 5 July 2010 http://fateh.sikhnet.com/s/OpenLetterSeva

King, Ursula. *Religion and Gender.* Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995.

Kingston Sikh Society. Islam and Sikhism: A Comparative View on Women. http://www.sikhifm.com/Sikhism/update1/Islam%20&%20Sikhi%20-%20Women%20.pdf.

Kohli, Yash, ed. *The Women of Punjab*. Bombay: Chic Publications, 1983.

Kurian, G. Intergenerational issues in South Asian immigrant families with Special reference to youth. In R. Ghosh and R. Kanugo eds., *South Asian Canadians: Current Issues in the Politics of Culture*. India: Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, 1992, 118-123.

Kvale, S. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1996.

Laughlin, Charles D. "Transpersonal Anthropology: Some Methodological Issues." *Western Canadian Anthropology* 5 (1988): 29-60.

Laughlin, Charles D., John McManus and Eugene G. d'Aquili. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Human Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

Lederman, Carol. 'Wayward Winds: Malay Archetypes, and Theory of Personality in the Context of Shamanism'. *Social Science and Medicine* 27.8 (1988): 799-810.

Lee, Richard M. "Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 50 (2003): 133-141.

Leedy, P. D. and Ormrod, J. E. *Practical research: Planning and design* (9th ed.). Upper & Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2010.

Lemelle, S. J. et al. *Imagining home: class, culture and nationalism in the African diaspora*, London: Verso, 1994.

Lemon, Anthony. 'The political position of Indians in South Africa' in Colin Clarke et al. eds., *South Asians overseas: migration and ethnicity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 131–63.

deLepervenche Marie M. *Indians in White Australia*. Sydney, Australia, 1984.

Lever-Tracy, Constance, David Ip and Noel Tracy. *The Chinese diaspora and Mainland China: an emerging economic synergy*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

Lindisfarne, N. 'Gender, shame, and culture: An anthropological perspective'. In P. Gilbert and B. Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal behaviour, psychopathology and culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 246-260.

Lodge, T. ed. *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism-postcolonialism*. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.

Lugo, A. "Reflections on border theory, culture, and the nation." In *Border theor,* ed. D. E. Johnson and S. Michaelson Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1997.

Mahmood, C. and Brady, S. *The Guru's Gift: An Ethnography Exploring Gender Equality with North American Sikh Women.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999.

Malhotra, Valerie. 'Experiments in Husserlian Phenomenological Sociology.' *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 17 (1995): 133-161.

Mand, Kanwal. "Place, Gender and Power in Transnational Sikh Marriages." *Global Networks* 2.3 (2002): 233-248.

Mann, J. S. and Sodhi, S. S. 'Doris R. Jakobsh: A Self-Appointed Researcher of Sikhism'. *SikhSpectrum.com* *Quarterly.* http://www.sikhspectrum.com/082004/doris_eurocentric.htm (accessed April 1, 2012).

Markus, H. R and Kitayama, S. "Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation." *Psychological Review* 98 (1991): 224-53.

McGee, P. *Telling the Other: The Question of Value in Modern and Postcolonial Writing.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

McLeod, W. H. "The first forty years of Sikh migration". In N. Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds., *The Sikh Diaspora, Migration and the Experience beyond Punjab.* Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1989.

Meecham, Pam Meecham and Julie Sheldon. *Modern Art: A critical introduction/* London: Routledge, 2002.

Mehra, B. "Bias in qualitative research: Voices from an online classroom." *The Qualitative Report,* 7.1 (2002). <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR7-1/mehra.html> (accessed January 5, 2012).

Mensch, James R. *Postfoundational Phenomenology: Husserlian Reflections on Presence and Embodiment.* University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001.

Merleau-Ponty, M. *Phenomenology of Perception,* trans. Colin Smith. London: Routledge. 1962.

Merry, Sally Engle. *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Mines, Diane P. and Sarah E. Lamb, eds. *Everyday Life in South Asia.* Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2010.

Mohanty, Chandra T. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism,* ed. Chandra T. Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Moustakas, C. *Phenomenological research methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1994.

Nicholls, D.A. "Putting Foucault to work: an approach to the practical application of Foucault's methodological imperative". *Aporia,* 1.1 (2009): 30-40.

Oberoi, Harjot. *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition.* Oxford: Oxford University, 1994.

O'Neill, John. *The Poverty of Postmodernism.* London: Routledge, 1994,

O'Neill, Maura. *Women Speaking, Women Listening: Women in Interreligious Dialogue.* Maryknoll: Orbis, 1990.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview,* trans. Shelley L. Frisch. *Kolonialismus.* Princeton, NJ/Kingston, Jamaica: M. Wiener; Ian Randle Publishers, 1997.

Palriwala, R. and Uberoi, P. *Marriage, Migration and Gender (Women and Migration in Asia).* London: Sage, 2008.

Parry, B. 'Fanon and the Trauma of Modernity', *New Formations: A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics* 47 (2002)): 24–29.

Parry, B. 'Liberation Theory: Variations on Themes of Marxism and Modernity'. In C. Bartolovich and N. Lazarus eds., *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Parry, R. E. *The Sikhs of the Punjab (Classic Reprint)*. London: Forgotten Books, 2010.

Patel, N., Power, T.G. and Bhavnagri, N.P. 'Socialization values and practices of Indian immigrant parents: correlates of modernity and acculturation'. *Child Development,* 67 (1996): 302-313.

Phinney, J. "When We Talk About American Ethnic Groups, What Do We Mean?" *American Psychologist* 51 (1996): 918-927.

Phinney, J. S. and Rosenthal, D. A., 'Ethnic Identity in adolescence: Process, ontext, and outcome'. In G.R. Adams, T.P. Gullotta, and R. Montemayor eds., *Adolescent identity formation*. Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1992, 145-172.

Potter, Jonathan. *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: Sage, 1996.

Pushkarna, Vijaya. "An Unequal Rite." *The Week*, 16 March 2003, http://www.the-week.com/23mar16/life7.htm (accessed on 25th September 2011).

Quayson, A. *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?*, Cambridge: Polity, 2000.

Rait, S. K. *Sikh Women in England: Religious, Social and Cultural Beliefs*. London: Trentham Books, 2005.

Rasmussen, David M. *Mythic-Symbolic Language and Philosophical Anthropology*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.

Reinharz, S. *Feminist methods in social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Reinharz, S. and Chase, S.E. 'Interviewing women'. In J. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein eds., *Handbook of Interviewing: Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2002.

Renold, Emma and Jessica Ringrose. Regulation and rupture: Mapping tween and teenage girls' resistance to the heterosexual matrix, *Feminist Theory* 9 (2008): 313-338.

Richardson, Diane. *Rethinking Sexuality: From Lesbian Nation to Queer Nation: Sexual Politics and Social Change*. London: Sage, 2000.

Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as Masquerade." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1929): 5-13.

Safran, William. 'Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return', *Diaspora*, 1.1 (1991): 83–99.

Safran, William. 'The Jewish diaspora in a comparative and theoretical perspective'. *Israel Studies* 10.1 (2005a): 37–60.

Safran, William. 'The tenuous link between hostlands and homeland: the progressive dezionization of western diasporas'. In Lisa Anteby-Yemeni, William Berthomière and Gabriel Sheffer eds., *Les diasporas: 2000 ans d'histoire*, Rennes: Presse Universitaires de Rennes, 2005b.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

Said, E. *Representations of the Intellectual*. New York: Pantheon, 1994.

Said, E. W. *Out of Place: A Memoir*. New York: Knopf, 1999.

Schiller, Nina Glick , Basch, Linda, and Blanc-Szanton, Cristina "Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration". In Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Science, 1992.

Segal, U.A. 'Cultural variables in Asian Indian families'. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 72 (1991): 233-242.

Shan, Sharan-Jeet. *In My Own Name: An Autobiography*. London: Women's Press, 1985.

Shani, Giorgio. *Sikh Nationalism and Identity in a Global Age*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Sharma, Arvind, and Katherine Young, eds. *Feminism and World Religions*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Sikh Population. 2009. 2 April 2010 <http://www.sikhphilosophy.net/essays-on-sikhism/636-sikh-population.html

Singh, Gurharpal and Tatla, Darshan Singh. *Sikhism in Britain: The Making of a Community* London: Zed, 2006.

Singh, Jatinder. "Islam and Sikhism: A Comparative View on Women." 2007. <http://www.sikhifm.com/Sikhism/update1/Islam%20&%20Sikhi%20-%20Women%20.pdf>

Singh, Nikky-Guninder Kaur. *The Feminine Principle in the Sikh Vision of the Transcendent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Singh, Pashaura and N. Gerald Barrier, eds. *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*. London: South Asia Books, 1996.

Singh, Raminder. *Immigrants to Citizens: The Sikh Community in Bradford*. Bradford: The Race Relations Research Unit, 1992.

Slemon, S. 'The scramble for post-colonialism'. In C. Tiffin and A. Lawson eds., *Describing Empire: Postcolonialism and Textuality*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Smart, Barry. *Sociology, Phenomenology, and Marxian Analysis: A Critical Discussion of the Theory and Practice of a Science of Society*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

Sodhi, P., Gamlin, P., Maracle, D.T., Eamer, A., Komorowsky, L., and Yee, G. 'Living authentically in multiple cultures: Responding to diversity is everyone's business'. In P. Gamlin, M. Luther, and G. Wagner eds., *Exploring human potential: Facilitating growth in the new millennium*, Toronto: Captus University Press, 1990, 94-141.

Sodhi, P. 'Punjabi women living in Eastern Canada: A study exploring parental attitudes, intergenerational cultural preservation, and ethnic identity formation'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Department of Adult Education, Community Development and Counselling Psychology, 2002.

Sodhi Kalsi, P. 'Ethnic Identity: Examining the impact of the home and school environments on second-generation Sikhs in Canada'. *Sikh Review* 51 (2003): 41-46.

Sokolowski, Robert. *Introduction to Phenomenology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Spiegelberg, Herbert, *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction* (3rd edition). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.

Spivak, G. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture,* ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Spivak, G. *The Post-colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, New York: Routledge, 1990.

Spivak, G. 'Identity and Alterity: An Interview' (with Nikos Papastergiadis). *Arena* 97 (1991): 65–76.

Spivak, G. C. 'The Burden of English'. In C. A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

Spivak, G. C. 'Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value'. In P. Mongia ed., *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader.* London: Arnold, 1996.

Spivak, G. C. 'Translation as Culture', *Parallax* 6 (2000): 13–24.

Spivak, G. C. 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography' in J. Culler (ed.) *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies: Volume 4.* New York: Routledge, 2003.

Spivak, G.C. 'Commonwealth Literature and Comparative Literature'. in S. Duangsamosorn ed., *Re-Imagining Language and Literature for the 21st Century*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2005.

Spivak, Gayatri. "The Rani of Simur." History and Theory "Culture in Bengal, 1870s to 1920s: The historical genesis of an ambivalent concept", by Andrew Sartori. Thesis, University of Chicago. 1987.

Spivak, Gayatri Charavorty. *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1987, 1988.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak." In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossbery. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1988, 1989

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A critique of postcolonial reason: toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Srivastava, S. P. *Art and cultural heritage of Patiala*. Delhi: Sundeep Prakasan, 1991.

Stewart, P. J. and Strathern A. *Body and Mind on the Move: Emplacement,. Displacement, and Trans-placement in Papua, New Guinea*. Paper presented at the 18th Conference of International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), December 6-10, 2004, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan.

Stocking, G. W., Jr. "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective", *American Anthropologist* 68 (1996): 867-882.

Tajfel, H., Flament, C., Billig, M. G. and R.P. Bundy. "Social categorization and intergroup behaviour." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (1971): 149-178.

Takhar, O.K. *Sikh Identity: An Exploration of Groups Among Sikhs*. London: Ashgate, 2005.

Talbot, Ian and Shinder Thandi. *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Tandon, Prakash *Punjabi Century 1857 – 1947.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1961.

Tatla, Darshan Singh. *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood.* London: UCL Press, 1999.

Taylor, Eugene, "Radical Empiricism and the Conduct of Research." In Willis Harman, ed., *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science: A Reassessment.* Sausalito, CA: Institute of Noetic Sciences, 1994.

Thandi, Shinder Singh. "Vilayati Paisa: Some reflections on the potential of diaspora finance in the socio-economic development of Indian Punjab." *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 7.2 (2000): 115-225.

Thiara, Ravi. 'Indian indentured workers in Mauritius, Natal and Fiji'. In Robin Cohen ed., *The Cambridge survey of world migration.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 63–8

Thomas, Terry & P. Ghuman. *A Survey of Social and Religious Attitudes among Sikhs in Cardiff.* Cardiff: Open University Press, 1978.

Tinker, Hugh. *A new system of slavery: the export of Indian labour overseas, 1830–1920.* London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations. 1974.

Tinker, Hugh. *The Banyan tree: overseas emigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Tinker, Hugh. 'Indians in Southeast Asia: Imperial auxiliaries' in Colin Clarke et al. eds., *South Asians overseas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 9–56.

Tölölyan, Khachig. 'Preface', *Diaspora*, 1.1. (1991): 3–7.

Tölölyan, Kachig. 'Elites and institutions in the Armenian diaspora's history', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 9.1 (2000): 107–36.

Tölölyan, Khachig. 'Restoring the logic of the sedentary to diaspora studies'. In Lisa Anteby-Yemeni, William Berthomière and Gabriel Sheffer eds., *Les diasporas: 2000 ans d'histoire*. Rennes: Presse Universitaires de Rennes, 2005.

Tölölyan, Khachig. 'The Armenian diaspora and the Karabagh conflict'. In Hazel Smith and Paul Stares eds., *Diasporas in conflict: peace-makers and peace-wreckers*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007, 106–28.

Tseelon, Efrat. 'Introduction'. In Efrat Tseelon (ed.), *Masquerade and Identities : Essays on Gender , Sexuality and Marginality*. London: Routledge, 2001.

U.K: Grandmother Jailed For Life Over Honour Killing of 'cheating' Daughter-In-Law (Sikhs). *The Daily Mail* (U.K.) September 19, 2007.

Wax, M. L. 'How culture misdirects multiculturalism.' *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 24.2 (1993): 99-115.

Westport, Adam, Ian, and Helen Tifflin, eds. *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

Wesseling, H. L. *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion.* By H. L. Wesseling. Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies 32. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997.

Whitlock, G. *Outlaws of the Text: Women's Bodies and the Organisation of Gender in Imperial Space.* Paper presented at the Australia/Canada: Postcolonialism and Women's Texts research seminar, Calgary Institute for the Humanities, February, 1992.

Wolcott, H. F. "Propriospect and the acquisition of culture." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 22 (1991): 251-273.

Young, Iris Marion. 'Polity and group difference: a critique of the ideal of universal citizenship', *Ethics,* 99 (1989): 3-7.

Young, Robert. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race.* London: Routledge. 1995.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Gender and Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (1993): 621-632.

Yuval-Davis, Nira and Stoetzler, Marcel. 'Imagined Boundaries & Borders: A Gendered Gaze', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9 (2002): 329-344.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 'Intersectionality: A recurrent feminist debate'. Paper presented at the ESRC seminar series COMPLETE, Warwick University, March, 2003.