

My Story and Crazy Brave: Unmasking Personas and Personalities

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Abstract: Kamala Das's *My Story* and Joy Harjo's *Crazy Brave* memoirs deserve their due acknowledgement. Kamala Das and Joy Harjo are similar in using the autobiographical nature where these memoirs act as their healing platforms and their first step towards confessional poetry. Kamala Das and Joy Harjo are two Indian female poets who bear witness to several movements that situate them within second-wave feminism and the civil rights movements of the 1960s.

Kamala Das is from India. Joy Harjo is a Native American poet from a tribe defined by the term "Indian," the original inhabitants of the American continent. However, both devise exaggerated sense of self to create defiant personas of rebellion, protest and revolt. It is a mid-century response to the severe social and political conditions in India and the United States. The question of 'Indianness' in postcolonial Indian poetry is raised: Who is the Indian, and how to be an Indian?

Kamala Das and Joy Harjo seek unattained love; the love of the self, the love of people and the land. Despite their agonies and traumas, they never forget their identities and personalities in the love game. They never even dissolve in the self of their lovers. They may appear as failures as part of their confessional poetry and autobiography. However, there is a focus on how these authors turn from victims to resisters against any form of domination. These native female poets manage to reconstruct their selves by manipulating and revolving around their agonies and failures. Their native womanhood is also asserted and revitalized through their autobiographies; their souls are healed and calmed down by adopting a hope and survival strategy.

This paper projects on several aspects, such as the treatment of ideas of life and death, alongside feminine agony and suffering. Personas in Kamala Das and Joy Harjo can name their work as pure autobiographical in full terms of the preoccupation with the self. They choose not to conceal elements of their life even from their psychiatrists; their masks are uncovered. Points of similarities are the sense of Indianness, similar themes, headings and titles of the poems, and adopting and excelling at using the colonizer's language. The differences lie in the poets' perspectives, contexts and aesthetics.

The Rogerian self-theory and the theories of personality focus on the person; it is a person-centred approach. It addresses questions in the two memoirs, *My Story* and *Crazy Brave*: How are the personal traits and behaviours revealed through the autobiographical content? What are the forces and factors that shape a personality? How does it develop? And the role of gender, cultural beliefs, and childhood practices in acquiring the aspect of individualism?

Keywords: Poetic personas, Indianness, theories of personality, the self, humanistic psychology approach

Introduction

The word "persona" goes back 1500 years and refers to a mask used by actors in a play. It is easy to see how persona came to refer to our outward appearance, the public face we display to the people around us (Schultz, p. 4). That's why removing this mask is studied in the autobiographical

content and unmasking the writers' personas. This paper discusses the poetic personas in Kamala Das's *My Story* (1977) and Joy Harjo's *Crazy Brave* (2013), in which they tell the truth and their "I" personas frankly appear.

Kamala Das and Joy Harjo are primarily Indian poets who may appear dissimilar; however, through a close reading of the crucial points in their memoirs, it is apparent that both unmask their true selves and the truth. This truth was the cause of conflict since Plato banned poets from his Republic for being liars for not telling the truth in philosophical terms. Carl Rogers's therapy of self sheds light on the concept of personas in the tendency of the inner selves' revelation through honest autobiographical content.

In female poets' autobiographies, the texts are multifaceted and polyphonic. There are diverse layers and levels of meaning. Kamala Das and Joy Harjo are two middle-class females who seek freedom through new avenues of personal experiences. They appear to the readers as the wives, the mothers, the daughters, the lovers and the sisters. However, autobiography is their haven to survive an illness, deaths of loved ones, and loss of identity, strength and beauty. It starts with self-awareness and consciousness. The female autobiography also differs in that women, in their path to construct selves, their writings have a loose structure. They are more like diaries, honest records of the moment which do not impose the next day on the previous day's record. Virginia Woolf described her *Diary as*: "Something loose-knit and yet not slovenly, so elastic that it will embrace anything, solemn, slight or beautiful that comes into my mind" (Federici, 2018).

Rogers's self-theory considers the self and the personality development of an individual. There is always a tendency toward self-image, self-worth, positive regard and self-actualizing. Rogers is a pioneer humanistic psychotherapist who develops a person-centred approach (Rogers, 1951). He tends to construct the theory of ego. People, according to him, are urged and motivated by an innate tendency to develop an actualizing tendency (Schultz & Schultz, 2013). Women are more aware of the cracks and rifts that are internal and personal, and they paper over gaps in their personalities that they acquire in space and time. To define their selves, a woman is aware that she belongs to a group identity where the male is dominant. It is why they try to create a dual consciousness – the self that is different from the stereotypical prescription. As Sheila Rowbotham's book *Threads through Time: Writing on History and Autobiography* (1999) writes: "We experience tongue-tied paralysis about our own identity. We were all together in one place, were always in transit, immigrants into alien territory."

Males perceive women only as an "other," so they maintain their selves alone. The innate male sense of self is separate as they deny the presence of self in terms of relation. On the contrary, the female self comes in a relationship; it is like looking at the individual's self in the eyes of the other.

Specific questions are: What is the state of being a person? What are the characteristics and qualities that form a distinctive character? And what is the total of the person's physical, mental, emotional, and social traits?

The paper reaches key findings that Kamala Das's personality pass through the theory that clarifies that her personality tends to be more Western, mainly American. On the other hand, Joy Harjo appears to be American, but the tribal spirit and collectivism are apparent in her poetic products.

In this paper, I systematically review and evaluate Rogers's self-theory and the theories of personality. I suggest additional paths for research that might further promote the based autobiographical writings and personality psychology. I believe this paper is a reference that offers a guide of self and memoirs by female poets' related studies for future researchers.

"I" Persona in Das and Harjo

Kamala Das (1934–2009) is a leading Malayalam author from Kerala. Das began writing at the age of fourteen when she mastered writing many autobiographical works. She was one of the bold modern Indian women writers who contributed enormously to the growth of Indian poetry in English and self-expression. By writing a memoir, *My Story*, Das, was the cry for change and

innovation (*My Story*, p. xvi). Joy Harjo was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma May 9, 1951. Harjo is an American author of two memoirs; *Crazy Brave* and *Poet Worrier*. She is the first to hold that credit to the present as the 23rd Poet Laureate of the United States. She is a member of the Muscogee Nation and a figure in the second wave of the literary Native American Renaissance of the late 20th century.

As opposed to Thomas Gray saying that Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, the paper investigates Kamala Das and Joy Harjo's blush seen through their personas and personalities. Personas, in Kamala Das and Joy Harjo, give voice to a self that speaks on the page and makes meaning of a subject. In Das's memoir, *My Story*, she writes: "People like us who believe in the essential dignity of human beings are always left isolated (190). Harjo, too, says: "I didn't want to hear it, and felt even more alone in the path I had chosen" (*Crazy Brave*, p. 145). Both female poets "empty themselves of all the secrets so that they could depart when the time came, with a scrubbed-out conscience" (Dwivedi, p. 123).

The importance of subjectivity and autobiographical content starts when the theorists and humanists, view the autobiographical content. Most psychologists have long recognized that some personality theories have a subjective component, which may reflect events in the theorist's life. Thus, they may draw on these events as a data source to describe and support their theory. Their viewpoint is likely to influence their perception to some degree. Personality theorists are also humans; they try to understand the personality theory fully. Then, we should learn something about the life of the person who proposed it.

Humanists raise questions like how personality develops. What are the forces and factors that shape your traits? How can it vary with the situation? And are there unique characteristics as personality may also include the idea of human uniqueness?

Carl Rogers's theories are brought here for discussion. They will also help define your life as well. According to Rogers, they are about the state of being a person and the characteristics and qualities that form a distinctive character. Carl Rogers, then, deals with the total of all the physical, mental, emotional, and social traits. Everything causes you to be a unique individual from everybody else. His theory is vital because he deals with talks about women who revised their ideas or rebelled against them. They also try to show the influence of age, gender, national origin, and sexual orientation.

William James was one of the greatest American psychologists who believed that biography was a crucial subject for anyone who attempts to study human nature. He argued that it was more indispensable to understand eminent persons' lives than to know their theories or systems if we wanted to learn about the different ways people approach human experience (Shultz, p. 30).

For Kamala Das, an autobiography at the age of 37 is unusual for a housewife poet. For Das, these monthly publications served a therapeutic and creative purpose. "Without people, poetry reading and music, this dome shall be a cold place (Kholi, p. xxvii). Writing an autobiography benefits her personality by saying: "This autobiography began to distract her mind from the fear of a sudden death as well as to clear her outstanding hospital bills" (*My Story* 123). Being confessional, Das and Harjo are a step ahead of confessional poets in how happily they meddled to satisfy that particular brand of readers who liked them and their honest approach; they were useless as housewives. They even could not pick up a teapot without gasping for breath. But writing was possible. And it certainly brought them happiness. They both lit the reading lamp in their sitting room and began to write about a new life, an unstained future.

The psychoanalytical theories tackle the impact of cultural differences on personality in child-rearing. It considers the individualistic culture in the United States, as in the case of Joy Harjo. The parents tend to be democratic and permissive in their child-rearing. In collectivist cultures, such as Kamala Das's culture, such as Asian, parental practices tend to be more authoritarian, restrictive and controlling (Liu & Guo, 2010). These differences in child-rearing practices and their values will influence the development of different kinds of personalities.

Childhood for Kamala Das, in her memoir, as well as Joy Harjo recounts how her early years — a difficult period with an alcoholic father and abusive stepfather, and the hardships of teen mother-

hood — caused her to suppress her artistic gifts and nearly brought her to the edge of a breaking point. Das reveals the physical growth and marriage and her sad experience as a young wedded girl by saying: Dress in sarees, / be girl, / Be wife, they said. / Be embroiderer, be cook, / Be a quarreler with servants. / Fit in, Oh, Belong, don't sit on walls or peep through our lace-draped windows. / Be Amy, or be Kamala. Or, better still, be Madhavikutty. / It is time to choose a name, a role (*The Old Playhouse*, p. 27).

However, she shows resistance and self-actualization from an early age as in the individualistic society. She recounts in her collections in “Sleeping in the Moonlight”, first published in 1996, when she was fourteen, she ordered told to sleep in the moonlight would be to invite madness. Unlike her brother, who was ‘wise and careful’, she did the opposite and slept one night in the open quadrangle of Nalapat to feel how ‘the ripened moon, trapped / In the horned branches of the Jack tree / blanched the sky and cooled my skin’. That incident confirms how strong she is by saying: “I am different / I am an entity’ To unwrap ‘the whatness of me within’ from ‘all the layers of sham grown like skins’, therefore, was a way of ‘unfrustrating’ herself through her poetry by writing of the desired life, and thereby completing herself (Devindra lxx).

In her adolescence, Harjo says: “I marked myself once with a knife, disappearing into the adolescent sea of rage and destruction” (*Crazy Brave*, p. 91). Harjo also shows her viewpoint on her childhood and her memories with her abusive stepfather. It represents her strong resilience and courage to the best of what you have and find something you are fervent about. She says: “My stepfather watched me closely. I felt like prey. I had to be stealthy. Not to be anywhere near him alone, tempted to touch me in any manner” (*Crazy Brave*, p. 69).

These two female poets fiercely portrayed the emotional and sexual life of middle-class daughters and housewives. They resisted the male figures in their lives. For example, Kamala Das rejected her father's request to the editor to suspend the publication of her narrative. She did not disown the preface of *My Story* that arrested her sense of relief at having unburdened herself. Joy Harjo did the same with her abusive stepfather and how she faced harassment from her stepfather, not love. She writes as a victim of circumstances and sexual humiliations:

I began to have my plans to run away ... love, love, love the opposite of living in a house with a man who stalked about looking for reasons to beat us. My stepfather had started coming to my room after my mother left for work early in the morning, while my sister still slept. I'd curl into my stomach and hold my breath as he rubbed my back. I was going to have got out of there before anything else happened. He made my mother play Russian roulette with a loaded gun (*Crazy Brave*, pp. 80-81).

The personal explanation is a kind of Indianness in the Indian atmosphere. In his book, *Kamala Das and Her Poetry* (1983), A. N. Dwivedi talks about her family and the family tradition in an autobiography. Her father, who had married in 1928, belonged to a traditional family having an aristocratic atmosphere around it. Das writes: “My mother did not fall in love with my father; they are dissimilar and mismatched” (*My Story*, p. 5). Harjo describes her father-mother relationship as “I was close to my father through the end. He never negatively spoke of my mother” (*Crazy Brave*, p. 24). Das explains how her mother's timidity created an illusion of domestic harmony and produced half a dozen children with swarthy skin and ordinary features (Dwivedi, p. 1). She writes:

When I reached Malabar, my relatives looked askance at me. Why was I without my husband? Had my outspoken autobiography that had been heraldically serialized in a well-known Malayali journal, finally brought about a separation? Was my 24-year-old marriage on the rocks? (*My Story*, p. 190)

Harjo describes her family as in:

Every soul has a distinct song. Even the place called Tulsa has a song... I heard the soul that was to be my mother call out in heartbreak ballad... Though she was crazy in love with my father, she sensed the hard road ahead of them... I know I sometimes stand out on my father's side of the family, in the circles I travel in of Indian peoples, which puts me in a position to constantly have to prove myself... (*Crazy*

Brave, p. 19). She continues to say: “My family is huge and grows each journey I make into the world. There would be no poetry without them” (*How We Became Human*, p. xvi).

The wife–husband relationship is as crucial as the parents’ relationship. Carl Rogers speaks about the importance of marriage as a special relationship; it carries with it the possibility of sustained growth and development. It is a kind of therapy if it is a better marriage that occurs between partners who are congruent themselves. There would be fewer impeding conditions of worth and be capable of genuine acceptance of others. However, when marriage is used to sustain incongruence or to reinforce existing defensive tendencies, it is less fulfilling and less likely to endure (Fadiman, pp. 433–434).

Kamala Das speaks about herself in the marriage structure, describing it:

When I was young and needed his companionship for my emotional stability, he had sent me away to my grandmother for six months, only to be able to devote even his soul to the completion of a Rural Credit Survey Committee Report which his favourite boss was at that time obsessed with. Such subservience to his superiors may have built up his lacklustre career briefly for a while, but it certainly destroyed my pride in him. (*My Story*, p. 188).

Das becomes a coward in marriage as she loses her identity and personality beneath her husband’s giant ego where she becomes a dwarf. Harjo describes her marriage type as in:

I discovered a love letter from my husband to the babysitter. I’d been paying her to take care of him. At least she kept the house clean, something he didn’t do before I hired her. But the betrayal marked the end, I didn’t see it at first, but I was set free. I left him (*Crazy Brave*, p. 137).

Kamala Das and Joy Harjo start to possess self-awareness and hence, challenge the norms and social constraints from within.

Personality in Das and Harjo

In this section, the paper focuses on individual personality traits and their impact on psychological health and predetermined behaviour patterns. It is no exaggeration to say that your personality is one of the most important. Everybody has one — a personality will help determine the boundaries of success and life fulfilment. The same importance is how others see us. We might conclude that personality refers to our external and visible characteristics, those aspects of us that other people can see. That’s to say one’s personality may be the mask we wear when we face the outside world.

There is a role of gender in shaping a personality in the US. The results showed that women from both countries displayed greater emotional complexity and intensity than men (Barrett, Lane, Sechrest, & Schwartz, 2000). Women are more often diagnosed with depression, anxiety, and related disorders than men. The differential rate may be related to gender bias or gender stereotyping in interpreting the assessment results. Also, the therapists who recommend treatment options based on the assessment results may exhibit a biased stance against women (Friedman, p. 20). Genetic differences between people in collectivistic cultures cause lower levels of anxiety and depression in collectivistic cultures and higher levels in individualistic cultures (Chiao & Blizinsky, 2009).

Humanists argue that the case for Asians became much more “American” in their personalities. They changed in response to their changing culture (Gungor, Bornstein, De Leersnyder, Cote, Ceulemans, & Mesquita, 2013). Anxiety and negative emotions are also related to cultural differences. When Asians students were compared to those European American students in a daily diary study, Asian reported a far greater number of negative emotions in social situations than Europeans did (Lee, Okazaki, & Yoo, 2006).

Kamala Das claims that “each component obeys its destiny. The flowers blossom, scatter pollen and dry up. The fruits ripen and fall. The bark peels as each of us shall obey that colossal wisdom and the source of all consciousness” (*My Story*, p. 213). Harjo expresses her rejection of her Native people as “trespassers in the promised land,” as she writes in her 1990 collection, *In Mad Love and War*. She goes on to say: “No one was Indian. You’d best forget, claim a white star.” This is best being haunted

and overwhelmed by fear and anxiety in her memoir. She says: "I returned to the house of my step-father, secretly pregnant by my Cherokee boyfriend and with no plans, no idea at all as to where I was going or how I was going to get there (*Crazy Brave*, p. 115).

Rogers suggests that this commitment is expressed as: "We each commit ourselves to work together on the changing process of our present relationship because that relationship is currently enriching our love and our life. We wish it to grow." (Fadiman, p. 434) Das confesses that bad marriage results in falling in love with many men other than her lawfully wedded husband. She decided to be unfaithful to him, at least physically (*My Story*, p. 123).

Self-enhancement is the tendency to promote oneself insistently and make one noticeable. It is to agree more with the cultural values of Asian societies. It is self-enhancement versus self-criticism (Church et al., 2014). Kamala Das adjusts her individuality and keeps criticizing herself by saying: "My heart remains "an empty cistern" and a dry well devoid of the waters of life "coiling snakes of silence." She adds: "Who can help us who have lived so long and have failed in love?" Harjo criticizes herself by saying: "When there was an opening in the traffic, I sprinted across the street. My lungs were panicked butterflies in gale-force winds. I hugged myself. I was alive, but, to my dismay, so was the panic. I'd only succeeded in running from one island of panic to the next" (*Crazy Brave*, p. 151).

The Expression of feelings through autobiography is open communication. Rogers says: "I will risk myself by endeavouring to communicate any persistent feeling, positive or negative. Then I will risk further by trying to understand, with all the empathy I can bring to bear. Her response is accusatory, critical and self-revealing" (Friedman, p. 434). Harjo writes: "The struggle was private and disturbing. She was always concerned about her. She asked: "Would she make it? And what does "make it" mean in the scheme of the world? Perhaps "not making it" in one world was food for making it in another. When her spirit broke free, she was tattered, raw, and beautiful" (*How We Became Human*, p. xxi).

Communication has two equally important phases: The first is to express emotion and the second is to remain open to experience the other's response. The inner turmoil for Kamala Das followed a nervous breakdown followed by a psychiatrist helping a longish story in Malabar. She doubted the reality of the world outside draws and wrote poetry poems that picture demons mating with snakes. As her health deteriorated, she reflected on her scars of operations and had spectres of death. She recalled the old playhouse of my mind, echoing the hollowness of room 565 of a Bombay hospital that told her story in verse with her fiercely outspoken poems (Dwivedi, p. xxiv).

Rogers is not simply advocating the acting out of feelings. He is suggesting that one must be concerned about how one's feelings affect one's partner. It is difficult simply by "letting off steam" or being "open and honest." Both partners must be willing to accept the real risks involved: rejection, misunderstandings, hurt feelings, and retribution (Friedman, p. 434).

Rogers discusses the non-acceptance of roles, as in "we will live by our own choices, the deepest organismic sensing of which we are capable, but we will not be shaped by the wishes, the rules, the roles which others are all too eager to thrust upon us" (Rogers 1972, p. 260). He also discusses how one can become a separate self. It is the most challenging of the commitments, dedication to removing masks as soon and as often as created. For example, Kamala Das possessed the early signs of peculiarity. She writes: "Why don't you join the others? What a peculiar child you are.

Further, she writes: "And the white sun filled my eyes with its loneliness. I rose and walked toward my teacher. The children stared at me. The teacher laughed, and as though it was a signal for them to begin laughing too, they broke into high laughter. The birds on the trees flew away" (*My Story*, p. 10). She continues to say: "I stopped washing my hair. My husband told me that I was going mad. Perhaps I was, but it was not within my power to arrest its growth" (*My Story*, p. 98).

Rogers argues that emotions are the healthy individual is aware of her feelings, whether or not expressed. Kamala Das says: "The first chapter of darkness. This was to be a rape scene. I have a headache, I am miserably ill, I said. Won't you forgive me, child? He asked me. I was silent. Will you

talk about this to people, he asked me, whispering, but go away, go away. Then he fell asleep” (*My Story*, p. 101).

In the humanistic psychology approach, individualism, competitiveness and assertiveness are uninvited by Asian cultural standards. They are opposed to western cultures. Harjo, as an American, writes:

As I sat there alone in front box, of the story box, I became the healer, I became the patient, and I became the poem. I became aware of an opening within me. In a fast, narrow crack of perception, I knew this is what I was put here to do; I must become the poem, the music, and the dancer. I would understand how for a long time. This was when I began to write poetry (*Crazy Brave*, 154).

Any sense of assertiveness depicted in Kamala Das’s work emphasizes the importance of individuality (Kashima, Kokubo, Kashima, Boxall, Yamaguchi, & Macrae, 2004). This part investigates how Kamala Das as a person would never probably be judged as a malfunction. To me, Kamala Das appears as an individualistic person whom she travels in the opposite direction and works against the collective Asian society of India. She rejected this focus on group norms and values, group role expectations, and other cultural constraints on behaviour, as opposed to the Western individualistic society where the focus is on personal freedom, choice, and action. Kamala Das describes her acceptance of death as she writes:

Even our pains shall continue in those who have devoured us. The oft-repeated moves of every scattered cell shall give no power to escape from cages of involvement. We are trapped in immortality and our only freedom is the freedom to discompose (*My Story*, p. 210).

Harjo says:

I felt the demon grab hold of me and tug me with them into their lower world. I wrestled, struggled, and fought to get free. I got loose, leaped up, and turned on the light... I kept it to keep them away. They didn’t like light. I could see their cold stares at the edge of the lamp... I woke up my guests with my noisy struggle with the demons... A Navajo roadman took care of me with prayers and the spirit of the peyote plant. The demons disappeared (*Crazy Brave*, p. 160).

As revealed from her autobiographical writings, Kamala Das possesses a fully functioning self with distinct characteristics. She appears to have openness to experience. Rogers argues: “A person is more open to his feelings of fear, discouragement and pain. Das is also more open to his feelings of courage, tenderness, and awe. She adds: “more able fully to live the experience of his organism rather than shutting them out of awareness” (Rogers 1961, p. 188). This is apparent in Das’s words as she says: “I yearned for adventure; I wanted to fling myself into danger (*My Story*, p. 111).

A second characteristic is living in the present—fully realizing each moment. Das writes: Once or twice near him with his arms around my shoulders I whispered, I am yours, do with me as you will, make love to me. But he said, no, in my eyes, you are a goddess, I shall not dishonour your body (*My Story*, p. 109). In her poem “An Introduction,” she entirely reveals the mask with an overt and undisguised self. It is the inner urge of rights of women to write this type of poetry. ‘I am Indian, very brown, born in /Malabar, I speak three languages, write in / Two, dream in one” (An Introduction, p. 141).

Trusting is in one’s inner urgings and intuitive judgments to make decisions. In Kamala Das’s autobiographical and self-based writings, Rogers argues, that “the good life is a process, not a stole of being. It is a direction, not a destination (Rogers, 1961, p. 186). She writes in *My Story*: “Tragedy is not death but growth and the growing out of needs, but after total recovery” (p. 107). She muses: “One’s real world is not what is outside him. It is the immeasurable world inside him that is real. Only those who have decided to travel inwards will realize that his route has no end” (*My Story*, p. 109). Harjo, on her part, says:

I’ve come to realize that what has motivated my art-making is a strong need for justice, for people to be treated [with respect.] And then when I say people, I also mean animals and insects and the birds and the earth and the earth person that we are all part of — that there’s a key element and that’s respect (*Poet Warrior: A Memoir*).

Conclusion

The similarity between the works of Indian Confessional authors Kamala Das and that of the Indian-American culture of Joy Harjo is apparent. Personas and personality traits highlight the disintegration of the social institutions of love and marriage using many similar phrases. Love, marriage and male and female relationship are a deceptive passion that lands a woman into uncertain marital connection. Both of them believe that women have the potential to overcome barriers and limitations and accomplish what they yearn for; they are complete in themselves. This sense of completeness, self-realization and self-actualization revives a woman like a legendary. They are a legacy, muses and phoenixes who die and rise from their ashes again. Poetry of women poets like that of Kamala Das and Joy Harjo unleashes the true nature of a female to rediscover their potential and power. Their memoirs, *My Story* and *Crazy Brave* reveal anxiety of identity as the most prominent feature of modern literature. Women writers, especially Kamala Das and Joy Harjo, have expressed the desire to break the silence and cross the patriarchal threshold in their contribution to literature. To conclude, Kamala Das's and Joy Harjo's writings remain a virgin area to be explored and assessed afresh.

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