

Courtship and Conjuality : A Sociological Analysis of the Man-Woman Relationship in Indian Popular Fiction

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To my parents.



Centre for the Study of Social Systems
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July 20, 1989

DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled
"COURTSHIP AND CONJUGALITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF THE MAN-WOMAN RELATIONSHIP IN
INDIAN POPULAR FICTION", submitted by
Ms. AMITA TYAGI in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of the
degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not
been previously submitted for any other
degree of this or any other university
and is her own work.

We recommend that this dissertation
may be placed before the examiners for
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Amita Tyagi
(AMITA TYAGI)

Introduction

The present endeavour was undertaken in order to study the 'man-woman' relationship as projected in the day-to-day popular fiction. The study mainly focuses on the marital and conjugal themes of these fictions as they appear in the popular magazines. An attempt has been made to compare the themes of these fictions with those of the 'real-life' problems as they appear in the 'Personal Column' of these magazines.

The first chapter deals with the theory of conjugality as interpreted by different social scientists. An attempt has been made to analyse the nature of 'man-woman' relationship.

Chapter II discusses the 'methodology' used for the analysis of the fictional tales taken from different magazines. We have also given details of the data used for the present study along with 'ideology' of the chosen magazines.

The third chapter deals with the analysis of 'tales of courtship'. Observations have also been

made on the 'real-life' courtship problems from the 'personal-column'.

Finally chapter IV deals with the analysis of 'tales of marital relations' and 'real-life stories of divorced women'. An attempt has also been made to discuss the 'real-life' problems in marriage based on the problems taken from the 'personal column'.

Chapter - I

Conjugality in Hindu South Asia

The family is by far the most important primary group in the society. Family constitutes of living together^{of} mates - a mating relationship between a man and a woman through marriage is one of the most important characteristics of the family. Marriage is the only institution which unites man and woman together. Based on Hindu scriptures, marriage system in India was well established in Vedic period and has been closely adhered to by a vast majority of the population ever since. Married life or the grī-hastha has been held in high esteem in this country and a person is said to be incomplete until he / she marries. Marriage, therefore, is a major sacrament and it is, perhaps, the only sacrament that has survived intact in all its social and psychological aspects. From the point of view of dharma, the objective of marriage for a man is :

- (i) the performance of religious rites (dharma);
- (ii) the continuance of the family line by begetting children (praja); and
- (iii) the enjoyment of the pleasure of life (rati),
(Rao;1969:48)

According to this concept, individual interest (i.e. pleasure) is considered secondary. Whereas, religious as well as social obligations (i.e. dharma and praja) towards the family, community and society are cons-

-idered primary.

For the woman, however, marriage is an initiation in two senses :

(1) It marks the transition from spiritual childhood to adulthood.

(2) By the act of gift, she is incorporated in her husband and his family.

It is said that a man can either follow the path of the householder or renouncer. Yet, in the dharma-shastras, grhasthi is the most ideal life. The order of householder (grhasth) is considered as the highest of the four ashramas, namely (1) the pupil (Brahmacharya);

(2) the householder (Grhastya);

(3) the hermit (Vanprastha) and

(4) the renouncer (Sannyas) .

The three ashramas namely, Brahmacharya, Vanaprastha and Sannyas depend on the householder or the grhastha who provides them their daily sustenance.

On the other hand, a woman can be either a mother, sister, daughter or wife (grhastha). Classical Hindu laws focus primarily on women as wives and mo-

-thers. The role of daughter and sister are of secondary importance. Participation of women in rituals is often in their capacity as wives.

We observe that all important Gods of Hinduism have been married 'householders' and are worshipped along with their wives, for instance, Rama and Sita ; Shiva and Parvati, etc. Thus, it is evident that 'conjugal-ality' is central to the Hindu thought. According to the Hindu view of life, it is necessary for a man and a woman to marry in order to achieve the great ideas of life, i.e., dharma, artha and kama.

According to Hindu philosophy, marriage is not only the union of two physical beings, but is a union of two souls. The true purpose of marriage is companionship. "It aims at individual's biological, emotional, social and spiritual fulfilment and development through union with a person of the opposite sex and through the relationship which neither could achieve in isolation ." (Kapur;1973:84-85).

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the interpretation

of conjugality in Hindu South Asia as interpreted by different social scientists (anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists). The next section deals with the nature of husband-wife relationship.

Section I

Theories of Conjugality :

Here, we shall be dealing with the theories of conjugality as opined by different social scientists from different perspectives :

Irawati Karve's theory of conjugality is mainly based on the variation in the aspects of conjugality in North and South India mainly due to the variation in the marriage and family systems in these two different zones.

North Indian family is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. Here, in marriage the girl is given outside of the kin group and the local group. Thus, the North Indian families extend their relationship to those with whom they do not have kinship ties, i.e., by marrying somebody who is removed by less than seven degrees

from the father's and five degrees from the mother's side.

However, in South India along with patrilineal and patrilocal families there are few other sections of the population which are matrilineal and matrilocal as well. Among the patrilineal and patrilocal families in South India the kinship ties are strengthened through cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriage. Some matrilineal and matrilocal families practice the system of 'visiting husband'[†]. However, some scholars dismiss this as 'mock marriage' and not proper marriage as such because here, the husband and the wife do not stay together which incidentally is one of the most important criteria for a proper marriage.

Expressing a parallel view point Veena Das talked about the differences in the North and South Indian marriage systems. According to her as quoted in Jain (ed.), she says;

In South marriage is a means of reinforcing an already existing relationship while in the North the marriage is primarily for establishing new relationships. (Das;1975:81)

According to Karve, in North India early marriage is preferred and parents of the groom and the

[†] : Details at page number 8.

bride arrange the marriage. The girl after marriage goes to a completely new place, and most of the time she goes to live with her husband and his parents and siblings in a joint family.

In such families men and women are segregated under most conditions. Men spend their time in the company of other men-folks. While women spend their time in the company of other women in the family. After marriage, role of 'bahu' or the daughter-in-law is more important than the role ^{of} wife in one's life. According to Karve;

The woman has many new and far-reaching adaptations to be made after her marriage but they are not in terms of a life of all absorbing passion of two people together. She has to adjust herself to a big group of men and women. The loyalty to her husband is loyalty to the agnatic joint family of the husband." (Karve;1965:12)

Thus, in a joint family, the wife-husband relationship (conjugal) does not become primary in one's life because intimate relationship between husband and wife is not encouraged by the elders of the family. As Karve has mentioned;

After marriage he (young married man) may see his wife now and then moving and working with another brides in the house. He ceremonially commences to live with her after she reaches puberty

Sexual life is regulated by the wishes of his
and then also his mother and aunts. A man speaks
to his wife only occasionally when young. (Karve;
1965:12)

While discussing about the nature of conjugal relationship, Sudhir Kakar is also of the same opinion that husband-wife attachment is discouraged by the elder family members in a joint family, because it is considered as a threat to the solidarity of the family;

Any signs of a developing attachment and tenderness within the couple are discouraged by the elder family members.... every effort is made to hinder the development of an intimacy within the couple. (Kakar;1978:74)

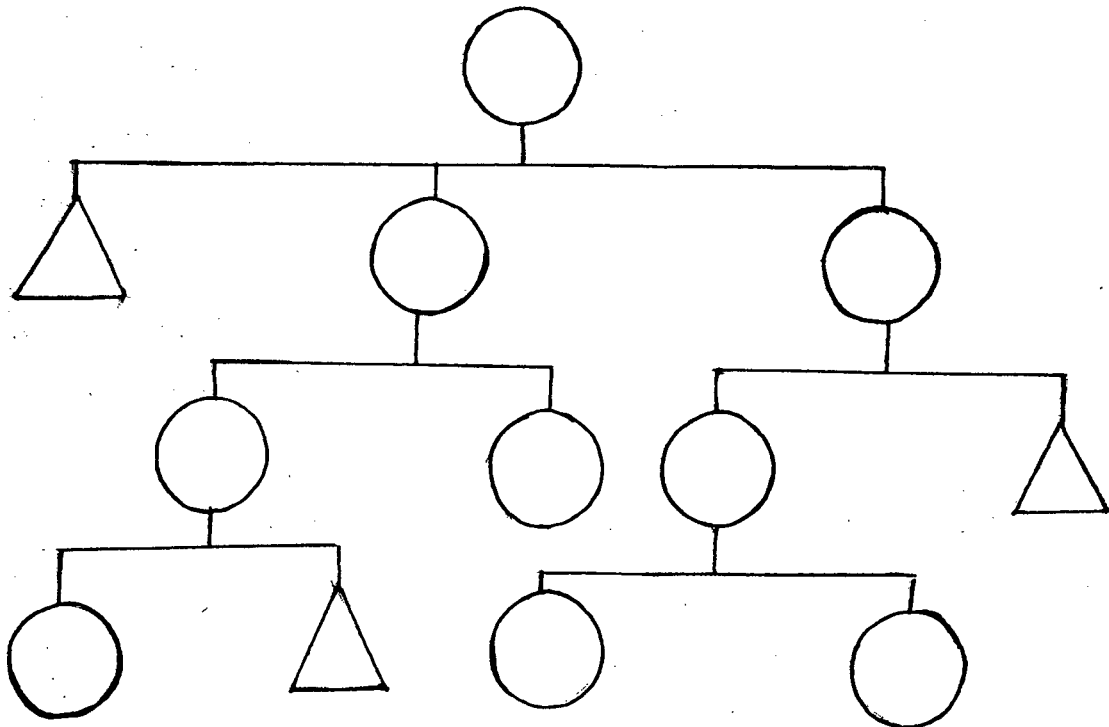
According to Kakar, intimacy in conjugal relationship comes late in one's life, i.e., when a woman becomes the mother (of a boy). The same is the case for a man, in the later stage of married life, he may speak to his wife more often, but even then direct address to her is forbidden by convention. This is because, in the years of middle age the husband wife bond no longer seems to threaten the solidarity of the family, but possibly even to represent the family.

However, the kinship system in South India presents a complicated pattern of kinship ties and family organisation. For instance, in the matrilineal joint

family of the Nayar type, no relations by marriage live together. The wife of every male member is a member of another household where her mother, brothers, sisters and their and her children live. The following diagram represents the matrilineal joint family among the Nayars. The diagram represents the practice of 'visiting husbands'.

Diagram : 1.1

Matrilineal Joint Family



It can be seen from the above diagram that a man visits his wife occasionally and therefore the husband of each married woman visits her occasionally. Thus, there is only sexual relationship between a man and a woman. Companionship is absent in such families as women's brother

looks after her children.

However, among the patrilinear group in South India, marriage is prescribed and preferred between certain relatives, such as :

(1) Uncle-niece marriage :

For instance, among the Tamil Brahmins a girl is allowed to marry a younger brother of her mother.

(2) Cross-cousin marriage :

Here, marriage of a boy with his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter is allowed.

In South India, a girl after marriage moves to the place of her own relatives. A woman in South lives and moves freely in her father-in-law's house. Even, her position in the family is high as compared to the position of women in North Indian families, because in south man is the cross cousin and the playmate of his future wife not her lord and master (as in North). Marriage or sexual life is a culmination of friendship started in childhood. Many scholars like Veena Das opine that this provide a better adjustment for a girl to her parents-in-law. She argued that there is an advantage of marrying a girl into an

already familiar family as it is easy for the girl to adjust with her in-laws. However, she has also mentioned about;

The disadvantage that some psychologists have pointed out, namely, the possibility that sexual adjustment is difficult when the husband and wife have known each other since childhood. According to this argument, the familiarity which makes for easy familiar adjustment also makes it difficult for a man to experience the same erotic excitement as he would for an unfamiliar woman. (Das;1975:81)

The above discussion shows that conjugality is subordinate in North India where girl after marriage moves to a stranger's place. Whereas in South India, man and woman usually know each other before marriage. So there is no question of suppression of conjugality by the elders of the family. Moreover, girl after marriage moves to the house of her own relatives where she has greater freedom as compared to the girls in North India.

Veena Das, in her article "Masks and Faces - an essay on Punjabi kinship" (1976), talked about the nature of conjugal relationship among the Punjabis. While discussing the characteristics of Punjabi kinship, she has talked about two stages i.e., Back stage and Front stage. Back stage is derived from the rules of nature, is associated with the private life of the husband and wife. Whe-

as
 -re, biological needs like, sex can not be suppressed. On the other hand, front stage is derived from the rules of culture and is associated with the public life of the couple which is based on certain rules and regulations. The main reason is that sex is associated with shame so it should be kept away from the front stage. These two stages are distinct though they may partially overlap. According to Veena Das, the Punjabi belief is that conduct derived from the 'biological substratum' can not be suppressed but that it should be kept in the back stage, away from public view. The back stage is not any less real than the front stage where behaviour is governed by rule derived from the cultural stratum. (Das;1976:3)

By 'biological stratum' Veena Das means the two fundamental facts of biology, i.e., procreation and copulation. Both of which are recognised to create strong bonds between *persons*. Procreation creates affection between mother and child, and is conceptualized as an 'act of sacrifice'. Another biological act which creates bonds between two persons i.e., husband and wife, is the act of coitus or copulation. In the front stage i.e., at the cultural level, bonds resulting from sexual relations are not given import-

-ance. At his level, the only justification for sex is that it is not necessary for procreation.

Thus, sexuality is not denied, it is only ~~regulated~~ ^{relegated} to the back stage which is hidden from the public. The back stage is not only considered real, but also important. Although the sexual relation between the husband and the wife is not given overt recognition, but it is realized that sexuality creates strong bonds between them. It is believed that the processes of procreation and copulation create strong ties between husband and wife.

However, there is one important difference between these two types of relationships i.e., a man cannot alter the fact that he was born of one particular woman and was nourished by her milk. On the other hand, it is believed that the demands of sexuality can be satisfied by any woman. As Veena Das has written;

People often say that a wife is replaceable since one woman is as good as another purpose of procreation, but that a mother is irreplaceable. As a proof of this they often quote the fact that when in pain a person always calls his mother (haay maan) but never his father or his wife. Thus, they argue that when all one's defences are down as in sickness, and all the masks of social obligation have been laid aside, one turns for comfort to the mother. (Das;1976:4)

Front stage is governed by socially co-constructed rules. These rules demand a complete suppression of the sexual relation between the husband and the wife, as sexuality is related with shame. e.g., in the presence of elders, a woman should never sit on the same bed as her husband. During day time, a newly married couple is supposed to ignore each other completely.

A man faces conflict between the biological ties created by sexuality and the previously existing biological ties with his mother. Sometimes a man may obey all the rules in front of others but may also give signals from the 'back stage' to convey the 'real' state of affairs.

Thus conjugality is suppressed but not denied as it is necessary for procreation. Conjugality is relegated only to the private life (back stage) of the husband and the wife. They have to suppress their emotions in front of elders as a part of their respect to them.

Like Veena Das , Lynn Bennett has also talked about the private and the public life of the couple in Nepal; "The bride's relation to her husband in public and private is necessarily two faced." (Bennett;1883:180)

According to her, the public role of the wife towards her husband is one of 'respect-avoidance', Young wives can not address their husbands in the presence of others. Here, like Veena Das, Lynn Bennett has also mentioned the concept of shame. As one woman remembered her early years as a daughter-in-law - "I could only speak to my husband in our room. If I were to talk to him outside, then it would be 'laj' (shame, embarrassment). He didn't talk with me nor I with him." (Bennette;1983:172)

In public, i.e., in front of others (specially elders) husband and wife are supposed to ignore each other. Bennett has called this 'Concept of Mutual ignorance'. In Nepali society the position of wife is very low as she is supposed to serve her husband in every possible way. e.g., she must walk behind him, eat after he has finished, refer to him in honorific terms. For a Nepali Hindu bride the husband is considered as God and it is her 'dharma' to serve him in every possible way.

The expression of the wife's deference is found in the ritual where the woman washes her husband's feet and drinks that water by splashing some of it into

her mouth. Wife also takes food in the unwashed plate from which her husband has eaten and consumes whatever food he has left for her. The implication here is;

Both the plate and the left over food are considered jutha or polluted; likewise the water from washing the feet, an impure part of the body, is considered defiled. The wife's consumption of her husband's foot water and his left over food is symbolic statement that he is so high above her that even his impurities are pure for her. (Bennett;1983:174)

Thus in the Nepali society the wife has to show respect to her husband not only in public but she has to show extreme respect in private also. As Bennett has mentioned, "An equally important part of the husband-wife relationship - ideally in both public and private aspects - is the extreme respect which a wife must show to her husband⁺." (Bennett;1983:174)

In the light of the above argument it may be referred that women try to please her husband through service and humiliation in order to make her own

+ : Here, it may be mentioned that the views of Lynn Bennett is an extension of Veena Das's view point. Bennett mentioned that the wife has to show her respect to her husband both in public and private life while Veena Das mentioned that the wife has to show respect to her husband in public only and there is no mention of aspects in private life.

position strong in the family, because her position in her house depends a great deal on her husband. Moreover, polygamy is socially and religiously sanctioned among high-caste Hindus. So, bringing of another wife is a constant threat which exercise a hold over the new wife.

Like Veena Das and Lynn Bennett, Sudhir Kakar (a psycho-analyst) is also of the opinion that husband-wife attachment is always discouraged by the elders (in a joint family) because it is considered as a threat to the solidarity of the family.

Kakar also talked about the 'public' and 'private' life of the husband and the wife. According to him, in public, husband and wife cannot express any affection and interest in each other; they meet in private only for a brief period during the night. So, there is hardly any intimacy between the couple specially in the beginning of the married life of the couple. Intimacy develops later in married life, as both partners slowly mature into adult 'householders' and when the husband-wife bond no longer seems to threaten the family solidarity.

Unlike Veena Das and Lynn Bennet(who

has talked about the strong relationship between mother and son), Kakar has pointed out an element of antagonism between opposite sexes, especially aggression of mother towards male child, and affection between mother and daughter. According to Kakar, aggression of mother towards male child is rooted in the cultural devaluation which she has to face from the beginning of her life.

In her own natal family a girl sees the preference for sons over the daughter, social inferiority and dependence upon men. Girl has to go through psychological crisis during marriage when she is married to a complete stranger and has to adjust in the new environment of her husband's family. She has to be obedient and compliant and has to fulfill the wishes of her husband and other members of his family.

Thus, this kind of inequality results in the heightened female hostility and envy towards males. If the woman perceives that gender is responsible for the status hierarchy between the sexes and if because of cultural taboos, social inferiority or her dependence upon men she is prevented from expressing her anger on this point, then the only possible revenge against oppressive masculin-

nity can be her aggression towards male child. However, Sudhir Kakar is of view that except for certain communities, this does not appear to be characteristic of Indian women, given the evidence of songs, tales and other kinds of folklore perhaps. Perhaps, the aggression of women against themselves may be due to the feelings of worthlessness and inferiority in the patriarchal set up, where women cannot legitimately show her anger against men.

On the other hand, Sudhir Kakar has talked about the hostility between male and female (mother's hostility towards her son), whereas on the other hand he has talked about the affection between females (mother's affection towards her daughter). In her daughter, the mother re-experiences herself as a cared for girl, and in Indian society, a daughter is considered as a 'guest' in her natal family. As Kakar says; " Mindful of her daughter's developmental fate, the mother re-experiences the emotional conflicts her own separation had once aroused, and this in turn tends to increase her indulgence and solicitude towards her daughter." (Kakar;1978:60-61)

Unlike Sudhir Kakar, who talks about the aggression of females towards male children, and aggr-

-ession of females among themselves, another psychoanalyst, Ashis Nandy talks about aggression of men against themselves and this self-aggression, according to him, is due to Indian 'matrifocal culture'⁺ in which ultimate authority in the Indian mind has always been feminine. Copley as quoted in Caplan says, "That is because of the 'excessive' emotional demands of the mother upon the son, as well as the fear of the loss of seminal males in India tend to feel highly threatened by women." (Caplan;1987:285)

According to Ashis Nandy, in the early years of the child's life, the mother is the only true and close authority to which the child is exposed. It is only with respect to his mother that he recognizes his own self as an individual. A male child often finds his mother's fickle, angry and incooperative because of her intermittent presence in the house. Son's anger is often dire-

+ : India, an agricultural society emphasises the feminine principle in nature, to see the nature as a mother on whom man is totally dependent for survival. Moreover, the deities worshipped for the critical sectors of life are all motherly figures. In other words, the ultimate authority in the Indian mind has always been feminine.

-cted towards his fickle, angry and incooperative mother , but he cannot express his anger towards her because of the fear of counteraggression. This results in male-self aggression in our matrifocal society.⁺

Thus, in male-female relationships within the family, it is the mother-son relationship, which is very strong and more important than the conjugal (husband-wife) relationship in India. This is because, the traditional family values respect women's motherhood rather than the role as a wife and as a daughter. Women's respect in the traditional system is non-protected through her father or husband, but through her son. Son is the major medium of self-expression for the Indian mother. It is also through the son - and on the son that she exercises her authority. Son is the only male in a female's life on whom she can exercise her authority." Thus the mother - son relationship is the basic nexus and the ultimate paradigm

+ : To a son, mother's image is of an angry, fickle and incorporative mother. This shows the aggression of females towards male children, mother towards her son, as mentioned by Sudhir Kakar. To a male child his own father is his model of male identification, who himself is more a mother's son than a woman's son.

of human social relationships in India." (Nandy;1980:37)

Gore is also of the opinion that most of the males considered themselves closer to their mother than to their wives. Which proves the minimization of the significance of the conjugal bond in the family.

In the light of the above discussions, it may thus concluded that it is the 'mother-son' relationship which is more important in India as compared to the conjugal relationship. It may be because the 'ideal-typical' family for Indians is the joint family. Where intimacy in the conjugal relationship (at least in the early years of married life) is considered as a threat to the stability of the joint family. However, even in nuclear households, man is closer to his mother than to his wife. It may be because the nuclear households in India are not really nuclear families.⁺

As mentioned earlier, the nature of conjugality in the Indian system may be divided into two,

+ : They are merely an extended family where kinship ties are not completely severed.



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namely, the front stage or the public life and the back stage or the private life. In a patriarchal set-up, the intimacy between the husband and the wife in public life is discouraged. However, the interaction pattern between the husband and the wife takes a different dimension in the private life. Their relationship in private is based on close physical intimacy resulting in deep emotional attachment to each other. In sum, it may, thus be concluded that conjugal relationship is always subordinate to the requirements of the larger social system.

SECTION - II

This section deals with the nature of husband-wife relationship in Hindu South Asia. There are different ways of interpreting the husband-wife relationship, for instance; the husband-wife relationship may be based on the concept of 'equality'. According to the belief of the ancient Indian religion, woman is an equal partner and companion of the man i.e., her position is equal to that of the man. If husband is Swami, she is Swamin; if husband is Deva, she is Devi; if husband is Vishnu, she is Laxmi.

On the other hand, husband-wife relationship is based on bhakti or devotion i.e., the relationship between superior and inferior. Where, husband as a God is superior and wife as a devotee of her husband is inferior. The highest dharma of a Hindu wife is Pativrata i.e.; complete devotion and loyalty of woman to her husband. Husband is her God and is the only means of ultimate salvation.

Whereas, in the social structure of the tradition-oriented family, the husband-wife relations-

-hip may be based on 'male dominance and female dependence! Here, the husband is an authoritarian figure in the family whose will should always dominate in the domestic scene. The wife is his subordinate and expected to regard him as her master and serve him faithfully. For instance, Dumont has expressed that;

The wife follows her husband at a distance in the processions and journeys which can be taken as a symbol of the relative position of the two sexes. The wife does not sit down in the husband's presence, or she does not sit at his level. She serves him at meals and does not eat until he eats. This shows the subordinate position of women in the society. (Dumont;1986:229)

It is not only the husband-wife relationship which is hierarchized. Infact, marriage itself is hierarchized. For instance, primary marriage; where it is performed according to the rituals and this enables the couple to make offerings to the Gods and fathers. However, in supplementary or subsidiary marriages - there are no rituals involved and the partners are not eligible to make offerings to Gods.

In case of woman, her first marriage is the primary marriage and is indissoluble even by the death of the spouse, although, women can have other unions.

For example, in Punjab, a woman being married to one brother (usually the eldest) is shared by other brothers also. Among Nayars, women can have unions with men other than their ritual husbands. In the case of devdasis (Temple-servants), the girl is given in marriage to a God (her primary marriage is to a God), whereas other men can have sexual relations with her.

On the other hand, the practice of levirate allows the widows to marry the younger brother of her husband. For example, widows in Punjab are at times inherited by their devars.⁺

However, in the case of a man, his first marriage becomes the primary marriage only when it bears him children i.e., preferably sons. In most of the places South Asia, a man has option of taking other wives in case the first wife is barren or she is unable to bear him a son. However, in some royal castes, a man can go for a number of marriages even though the above mentioned conditions were not met.

+ : Husband's younger brother; it has its roots in the Sanskrit word dvitiya vara, meaning 'second husband' or groom. This appears to reflect the fact that in some ancient sastras or codebooks a husband's brother might be appointed to beget a son upon his brother's widow. (Kolendo;1987:289)

Apart from this, men usually have the privileges of maintaining a concubine or mistress, or of resorting to a prostitute at his will. Whereas, women do not have such privileges in our society.

Thus in Indian society, the double standard of sexual morality is firmly institutionalized, i.e., a wife is expected to be sexually faithful to her husband, but a husband can have extra-marital relations with other women. To quote Kapur;

In such a male-dominated society, there was full freedom for men to satisfy their lust with virgins, with other men's wives or with any woman who made herself available.
(Kapur;1973:261)

Sexuality of women is always controlled by placing behavioral restrictions on them. Until her marriage, a woman is strictly guarded by her mother and other elders of the family because it is considered important that a woman should be a virgin at marriage. After marriage, women veil themselves (specially in North India) in order to demonstrate that their sexuality is monopoly of their husbands.

The Nambudiri women in South India provide one of the best examples of the 'control of female sexuality'. Among the Nambudiris, who are Brahmins, only the eldest son marries a Nambudiri woman. However, his younger brothers need not necessarily marry a Nambudiri woman but they may have sexual relationship with the Nayar women (sudras). As a result, a large number of Nambudiri women remain unmarried and they die as virgins.

In another case, most of the men in Sindh (now in Pakistan) provides a good example for the control of female sexuality. Here, most of the men, because they were businessmen used to go abroad and stay there for years (for business purposes) leaving their wives at home. These men, while away from home were relatively placed in a position to have extra-marital affairs. Meanwhile their wives remain with their in-laws in suppression.

Likewise, in North India, a kanya or unmarried girl is worshipped as a devi during the Navratra period. But a woman can not be worshipped after marriage, but she becomes a pujarin (worshipper) of her husband.

In the light of the above arguments some relevant questions may be raised : In this value system, why is marriage necessary ? Whether it is necessary for the fulfilment of moral duties or the fulfilment of personal needs and happiness ? Is love discouraged in the extended families ? Is there love 'inside' marriage or is it 'outside' marriage; or do love and marriage go together ?

If we see deeply into the traditional joint family, it appears that the husband-wife relationship is not that of primary relationship between two sexes. However, it is not the case. Perhaps, it appears that the female sexuality is suppressed but in reality it is not so. In Indian society, because the conjugal couple has to subordinate their relationship to the demands of the patrilineal and patrilocal set-up. Patriline demands the suppression of conjugal relationship between the husband and the wife at least in public life. However, it appears that the conjugal relationship between the husband and the wife is relaxed in their private life. The conjugal relationship between the husband and the wife may thus be summed up as , "The shared sexuality between the husband and the wife create a strong natural bond between them which is extremely difficult to resist."

Chapter - II

The Methodology

This chapter is divided into three sections. First section deals with the 'methods' we have used for the analysis of the tales taken from different magazines. Second section give the details of the data used for the present study. Whereas, in the third and last section we have talked about the 'ideology' of the chosen magazines.

Section - I

METHODS

Research in the social sciences and humanities depends in one way or another on careful reading of written materials. Content analysis has proved to be a valuable research method in many such areas of inquiry.

Holstei (1969) survey content analysis in terms of three principal purposes :

1. To describe characteristics of communication - asking

what, how, and to whom something is said.

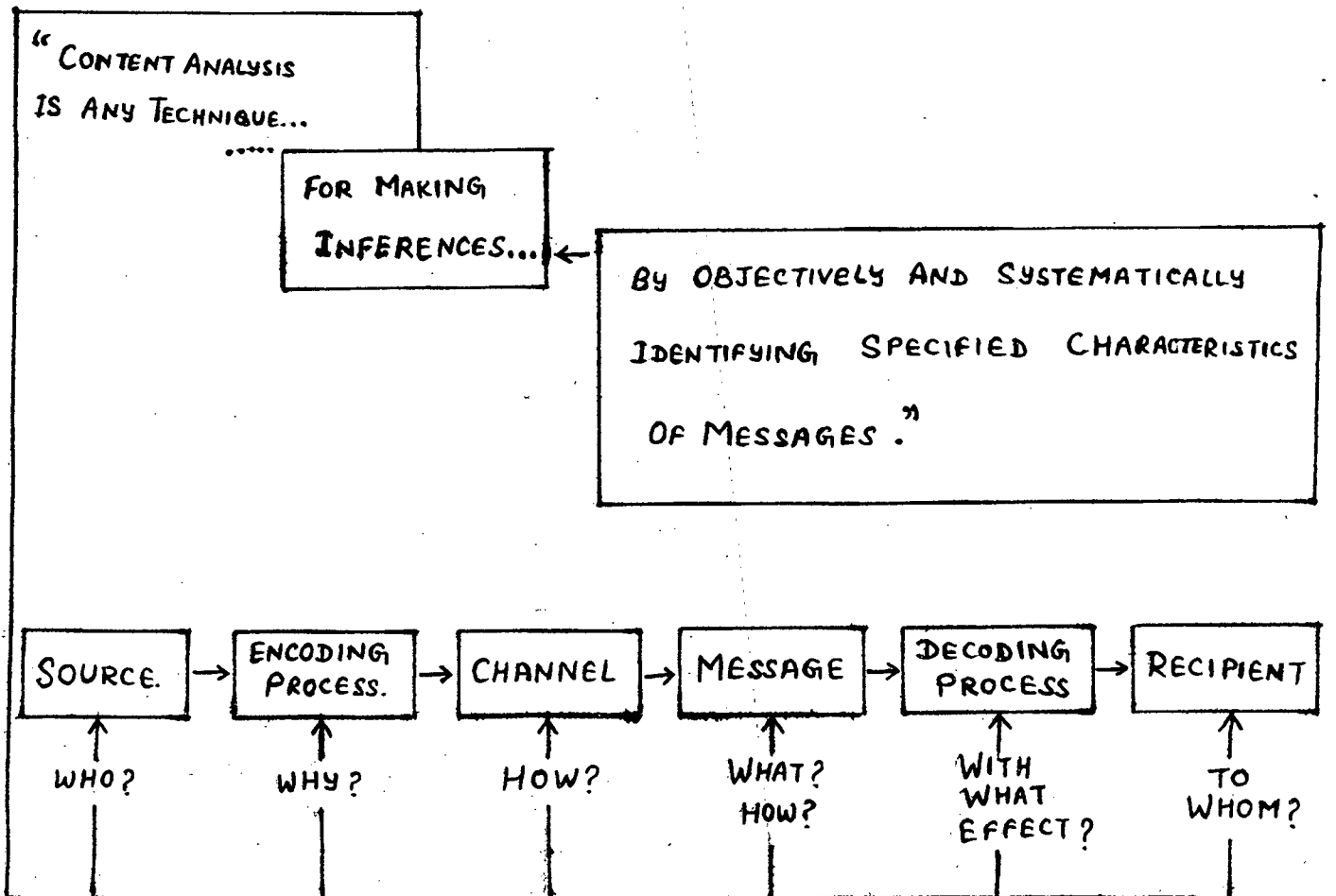
2. To make inferences as to the antecedents of communication - asking why something is said.

3. To make inference as to the effects of communication - asking with what effects something is said.

The following diagram 2.1 shows the 'Holstei's content analysis and the communication paradigm:

Diagram - 2.1

'Content analysis and the communication paradigm'
(Holstei, Ole R.; Content analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities; 1969; Addison-Wesley: 25)



Holstei also talked about - Quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Quantitative content analysis measures the frequency with which symbols or other units appear in each category. Using frequency counts we might, e.g., tabulate how many times particular themes and situations are repeated in different stories. An advantage of quantification is that statistical methods provide a powerful set of tools not only for precise and parsimonious summary of findings, but also for improving the quality of interpretation and inference. Qualitative content analysis is based on the drawing of inferences on the basis of presence and absence of attributes in messages.

But we can not separate qualitative content analysis from quantitative content analysis, because for the purposes of inferences, the frequency of an assertion is necessarily related to its importance.

Content analyst should use qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other. It is by moving back and forth between these approaches that the investigator is most likely to gain insight into the meaning of his data.

Pool (1959) summarises : "It should not be assumed that qualitative ones are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed." (Holstei ; 1969:11)

Apart from conventional techniques of content analysis (quantitative and qualitative) as described by Holstei and others, we may make mention of other styles of content analysis which we believe are of relevance for the present study of short stories from popular magazines. Usually classed as modes of 'structural analysis', they have been utilised in particular in the study or interpretation of folk-tales and mythology.

The french Anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss is the pioneer of paradigmatic structural analysis. Paradigmatic analysis in folklore describes the pattern based on oppositions that are hidden in it and that generate meaning.

According to Lévi-Strauss, "mythemes (fundamental or minimal units of myths) combine in certain

ways to give messages. These mythemes can be expressed in short short sentences that express important relationships. For example, in the Oedipus myth, Lévi-Strauss offers mythemes, such as - "Oedipus kills his father Lians".

or "Oedipus marries his mother".

or "Oedipus immolates the sphinx".

Combination of mythemes results in myths. Myths are important because they function as charters for the groups that tell and believe them. Moreover, myths are the keys to the ways in which the human mind works. For Lévi-Strauss, the most significant factor about myths is the stories they tell, not their style. Thus, the structural relationships of the characters and what these relationships ultimately mean should be the object of one's attention, not the way a story is told. Lévi-Strauss believes that myths give coded messages from cultures to individuals, and the task of the analyst is to discover these masked or hidden messages.

Vladimir Propp's idea in his pioneering book "Morphology of the Folktales" (1928) deals with syntagmatic analysis. Syntagmatic analysis of a text analyses the sequence of events that forms some kind of a na-

-rrative . 'Morphology,' according to Propp, is the study of forms, i.e., the component parts of something and their relationships to each other and to the whole.

Propp(1968) did his work on a group of fairy tales and describes his method as follows :

We are undertaking a comparison of the themes of these tales. For the sake of comparison we shall separate the component parts of fairy tales by special methods; and then, we shall make a comparison of the tales according to their components. The result will be a morphology (i.e., a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to whole). (Propp;1968:19)

The essential or basic narrative unit that Propp(1968:21-23) used was what he called a 'function.' Functions are the different actions of the characters in the tale, i.e., they are the constituent of the tales."Function is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action."

The observations cited may be briefly formulated in the following manner :

1. Functions of character serve as stable, constant eleme-

-nts in the tales, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale.

2. The number of functions known to the fairy tales is limited.
3. The sequence of function is always identical.
4. "All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure." (Propp;1968:21-23)

Propp gives a summary of each function, an abbreviated definition of it in one word, and a conventional sign for it. Some functions are rather complicated and have numerous sub-categories, all of which fulfill the same task. Propp has given thirty one such functions :

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 01. Absentation (β) | - | One of the members of a family absents himself from home. |
| 02. Interdiction (γ) | - | An interdiction is addressed to the hero. |
| 03. Violation (δ) | - | An interdiction is violated... |
| | | |
| 31. Wedding (w) | - | The hero is married and ascends the throne. |

Thus, Propp's most important operation is the dissection of the text into a sequence of successive actions. Tales are always composed of certain functions (or elements); as functions are essential for the creation of a tale. These functions (or elements) are arranged in a proper way. Thus, the order in which events take place in a tale is very important.

Propp's work has great significance to us, we can adopt and adapt his ideas for the analysis of the chosen tales. His concept of functions can be applied to the selected tales for interesting results.

All the tales consist of certain sequences of actions whom Propp has called 'functions'. He has dissected the text into different functions according to their sequence in the tales. Thus, following Propp, we can also reduce the content of selected tales into few main actions according to their sequence in the tales. Actions (or functions) are arranged in such a way that after reading the sequence of functions one can easily make out the whole tale i.e., what is it (tale) about ?

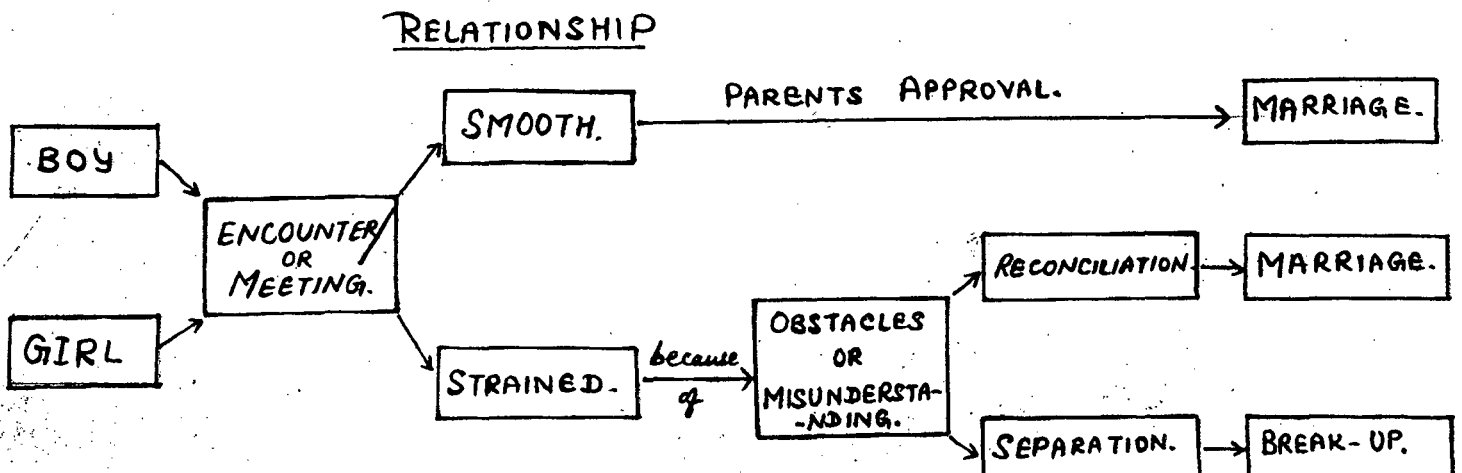
Similarly, following Propp, we have reduced all the sets of tales (we have taken three sets), in such a way that the structure of the particular set will remain constant for all the tales (of that particular set) i.e., the number and the sequence of functions will remain the same.

I "TALES OF COURTSHIP"

Tales of courtship are primarily concerned with mate selection, where two partners of opposite sex meet each other and become deeply involved with each other and finally get married (sometimes there is a break up between the partners and marriage of the either partner with a third person).

Diagram-2.2

'Courtship Patterns' in the tales of courtship



We have reduced the content of the set of tales into following sequences of functions :

1. THE MEETING :

Partners of opposite sex meet each other. There are two situations in which partners meet each other. These situations are :

(a) ENCOUNTER :

In the present context it would mean, when partners meet each other by chance and on their own .

(b) MEETING :

It would mean, when partners meet or are introduced to each other through a mediator, i.e., a third person.

2. INITIATIVE :

When one of the partners takes the initiative in starting the relationship of affection between them. Initiative can be taken by either of the partners.

3. STRAINED RELATIONSHIP :

Relationship between the partners after

meeting are not smooth but strained. This happens because of two reasons :

- (a) Obstacles created by a third person or a party, i.e., parents, friends etc.
- (b) Misunderstanding arises between the partners. No third person or party is involved in this situation.

4. SOLUTIONS :

Resolutions between the partners.

There are different situations in which removal of misunderstanding / obstacles are possible. Whereas, in some cases misunderstanding / obstacles between the partners result in break-up. Different situations of resolutions are :

- (a) Mediator : i.e., with the help of a third person or a party.
- (b) Automatic removal of obstacles : i.e., in a dramatic way.
- (c) Either of the partners takes initiative for the removal of misunderstanding / obstacles between them.

If there is no resolution the relationship will automatically break-up between the partners.

5. END : i.e., result or ultimate condition.

There are two types of end :

(a) Happy ending for both the partners:

Conditions where the original partners culminate in marriage, hence, happy ending for both the partners.

(b) Happy ending for one of the partners :

Conditions, where either of the original protagonists marry a third person and not the original partner yet satisfied with a wedlock. Thus, happy ending for one of the original protagonists.

Tales of marital relations are primarily concerned with the conflict between the husband and the wife. We can reduce the content of this set into the following functions :

II TALES OF MARITAL RELATIONS

1. RELATIONSHIP

(1) STRAINED RELATIONSHIP :

Relationship between husband and wife are not smooth. The two reasons for their strained relationships are :

(a) Conflict :

In this context 'conflict' implies that there is a direct confrontation between the spouses.

(b) ANXIETY :

It means when there is no direct confrontation between the spouses i.e., when one of the spouses begins to doubt the relationship (or suspicion).

(ii) ISSUES :

There are certain issues responsible for the situation of conflict/anxiety between husband and wife.

(a) Insecurity :

Either of the partners feels that he/she is not getting proper attention from his/her spouse or when either of the spouses thinks that his/her spouse is interested in some other person.

(b) Infidelity :

Disloyal or unfaithfulness on the part of husband or wife (the presence of a third person is must).

(c) Inability to compromise :

When husband and wife can not adjust to each other because of inflexible and stubborn nature.

(111) WIFE'S POINT OF VIEW :

Situations of conflicts/*anxiety* from the point of view of wife can be summarised as follows :

- (a) Insecurity.
- (b) Husband's infidelity.
- (c) Dominating by husband. and
- (d) Inflexibility.

(1v) HUSBAND'S POINT OF VIEW :

Situations for conflicts/*anxiety* from the point of view of husband can be summarised as :

- (a) Wife going against his wishes.
- (b) Inflexible nature of wife (Stubbornness) and
- (c) Unintended.

2. RESOLUTION

Situations of reconciliation between husband and wife are :

(i) AGENTS OF RESOLUTION :

In the cases of conflict/*anxiety* between husband and wife, one of the spouses or the other tries to resolve the situation either by creating situations of resolutions on their own, or by following the advises

of other persons i.e., with the help of ^amediator. The mediator may be either their friends, relatives or other elders etc. The mediator performs the work in two ways:

(a) Narrative :

When mediator tries to convince one of the spouses by reciting facts of his/her own life or by telling his/her own life's similar story.

(b) Dramatic :

When mediator uses some striking and impressive techniques or when mediator tries to resolve the marital conflicts/anxiety in an unusual way.

(11) SITUATIONS OF RESOLUTION :

This means, the situations in which resolution of marital conflict/anxiety takes place. These different situations of resolution between husband and wife may be classified as :

- (a) Reunion of Spouses.
- (b) Spouse gets to know the reality.
- (c) Adjustment between the Spouses.

3. TURNING POINTS

When situations of marital conflict/

anxiety leads to positive or negative results, the main reasons can be :

- (a) Role of third person or the mediator.
- (b) Mutual Support, and
- (c) Realization of the mistake by the spouse who made it.

4. COMPROMISE

Among the spouses who tries to adjust with the other spouse in the situations of marital conflict/anxiety can be either of the followings:

- (a) Husband.
- (b) Wife.
- (c) Both of them .
- (d) None of them.

5. END

We have three kinds of ~~ends of these~~ sets of stories :

- (a) Reconciliation of spouses.
- (b) Separation of spouses, and
- (c) Open-end : In this situation story ends in an inconclusive way (one step before the reconciliation or the separation of the spouses).

III. REAL TALES OF DIVORCED WOMEN

So called 'real' tales also follow the conventions of narration and nearly have a structure and can be reduced into the following functions:

1. **CONFLICT** ; relationship between husband and wife are not smooth. Situations and sources of conflicts are :
 - (a) Husband's submissive nature (Husband is under the control of his mother).
 - (b) Dominating mother-in-law; harassment of daughter-in-law.
2. **CONTINUING CONFLICT** ; because of harassment of wife by her in laws.
3. **ATTEMPTED RESOLUTIONS** ; by either of the spouses.
4. **FAILURE OF RESOLUTIONS** ; results in divorce.
5. **END** ; unhappy, frustrated, lonely and miserable life. Regret on their decision.

We have analysed these functions of different set of stories with the help of qualitative and quantitative content analysis together in a tabular form . Our inferences are based on the frequency counts of presence and absence of different attributes.

Section - II

DATA

The data for the present study consists of 'fictional' and 'non-fictional' tales; apart from it the real life problems ^{are taken} from 'the personal column' of different magazines. The major archive under investigation, consists of fictional tales, namely -1. tales of 'courtship' or 'love - stories' (Set-I) and 2. tales of 'marital relations' (Set-II).

On the other hand, a very small number of 'real-life' stories of conjugal relationships from the same magazines are taken. These stories are characterised in relation to set II (tales of marital relations) because they are presented as non-fiction.

These fictional and non-fictional narratives are read in the context of another archive from the same magazines, namely the 'personal column' because this column presents the 'real-life' problems of the typical readership of these journals. Replies given to the readers queries can be seen as an indication of the 'ideology' of the magazines in which the tales are published.

The following table shows the distribution of the tales in three different sets :

Table - 2.1

Distribution of tales according to their themes

| S.No. | Themes of tales | No.of stories | % |
|-------|--|---------------|------|
| 1 | Tales of 'courtship' | 9 | 40.9 |
| 2 | Tales of 'marital relations' | 11 | 50.0 |
| 3 | So called 'real tales' of divorced women | 2 | 9.1 |
| Total | | 22 | 100 |

It can be seen from the above table that fifty percent of the stories deal with tales of 'marital relations'. While about forty one percent of the stories deal with 'courtship' and the rest nine percent of them deal with 'real life' tales of divorced women.

As we have discussed earlier, all the tales of courtship and the fictional and non-fictional tales of marital relations are about the problems in the courtship and marriage respectively. In order to get a picture of real life problems we have taken twenty seven cases of the personal column from 'Women's Era'.

'The personal column' in 'Women's Era' deals with the different types of problems. Their advertisement in the magazine reads; "Have you personal problems of any nature which you hesitate to discuss with your family or friends ? Share it with us, we will try to help you."

We have taken ten issues of 'Women's Era'. These ten issues deal with total forty one personal problems under the column 'the personal column'. Out of these forty one problems twenty seven (65.8 percent) problems are about the problems in 'courtship' and 'marriage'. The following table shows the distribution of two different types of problems :

Table - 2.2

Distribution of different problems from the 'personal column'

| S.No. | Problems | No. | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Problems in 'Courtship' | 11 | 40.7 |
| 2 | Problems in 'Marriage' | 16 | 59.3 |
| | Total | 27 | 100.0 |

It can be seen from the above table that little more than fifty nine percent of the cases dea-

-1s with the problems in 'marriage', while the rest of the problems, (forty point seven percent) are related to the problems of 'courtship'.

For the present study, we have taken ten issues of 'Women's Era' (from Nov. 1988 to May 1989), two relevant issues of 'Eve's Weekly' and a special issue of 'Alive'.

Women's Era claims to be the 'India's largest selling women's magazine in English'. This journal is published and printed in Delhi, but has offices in several other big cities of India, i.e., in Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Patna and Secunderabad.

Eve's Weekly is published and printed in Delhi and has its circulation only in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi.

Alive is printed and published in Delhi and has offices in : Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Calcutta, Madras, Patna and Secunderabad.

The 'Women's Era' and 'Eve's Weekly' deal with the articles, fictions, fashion, cookery, beauty,

health and several other features. The special issue of 'Alive' (family issue) deals with fiction and articles.

It may be mentioned here that the readership of these magazines is limited only in certain big cities of India. Moreover, their contents are elitist (e.g, cookery, fashion, beauty, dresses etc.). Hence it can be inferred that their readership is limited to an urban section, like the upper-middle and middle class ladies of the urban areas.

Section - III

IDEOLOGY OF THE MAGAZINES

'The personal column' reflects not only the problems in courtship and marriage, it also reflects the ideology of the magazines. Thus, on the basis of advises given in the magazines, the following inferences can be drawn about the ideology of the magazine.

In 'the personal column', courtship or self-arranged marriages are neither explicitly approved nor explicitly disapproved, although the majority of the problems in courtship deal with the problems, which are in most of the cases created by their parents. In some of these cases the boy/girl are advised either to go for the marriage against the wishes of their parents. However, in many cases girls are advised to inquire about the boy from his friends and other people in order to make sure about his sincerity, or are advised to convince their parents to approve their marriage.

The advices given in the column of personal problems are reinforced by the the articles in the journals which deal with the same themes and problems. For

instance, Chaya Srivatsa's article on 'Arranged Vs. Love Marriages' (W.E.;16,363;1989:13-14), deals with the pros and cons of 'Love' and 'Arranged' marriages. Love marriages, she says, ensures emotional security to the couple but they have to face parental oppositions; whereas in an arranged marriage interaction between the partners is slightly strained, but the couple gets the support from their families. Chaya Srivatsa then comes to a conclusion that - "happy marriages don't begin with either love or arranged marriages, it is the couple who has to come up with their own working plan for a successful union. The main foundation stone of a good marriage is trust and mutual respect." (W.E.,16,363;1989:14)

On the other hand, inter-caste and inter-religious love affairs are at times advised to go ahead as they are believed to be good for national integration as well. For instance, in case Number I(2), the girl was advised - "Inter-religious marriages remain good only when each spouse is allowed to follow his or her own religion and both participate merrily and whole heartedly in each other's religious festivals. Such marriages might also be good if one person changes religion out of his or her free will." (W.E.,15,359;1988:91)

Another factor, which has been given importance in the advice-columns, is the age of the girl at marriage. For instance, it has been advised normally that a girl should not wait for too long to get married. For a girl the age of twenty years is considered as the ideal age to get married. However, for the boys the age limit is not mentioned, as if the boy's age does not make any difference in the marriage. Another interesting point is that the late marriage for a woman results in the pregnancy at the late stage of her life, it may result in various complications and at times the chances of giving birth to babies with congenital diseases are quite high. According to one of the advice columnists, inborn anomalies in the kids depend upon the 'absolute age' of the mother, i.e., when mothers are older than thirty five years. (W.E.,16,369;1989:35)

Other prominently projected points, in this column, are the pre-marital and extra-marital affairs. For instance, pre-marital affairs in the form of physical relationships and emotional entanglement are both dangerous and immoral for the girls. In the case of a break-up, the girl becomes vulnerable to, blackmail on the ground of these evidences. In these cases where wives have had pre-mar-

-ital relations were advised not to disclose it to their husbands unless their husbands are likely to know about it on their own.

However, a noteworthy feature in these advice columns is that the pre-marital affairs of boys are never discussed. Thus, it seems that the pre-marital affairs are not dangerous for boys as they are not vulnerable to blackmail in case of a break-up.

On the other hand, no woman confesses to a post-marital affair. But, post-marital affairs of the men are common and they don't need to hide them even from their wives. In such cases wives are blamed and not their husbands. For example, an advice columnist has written; "if he were completely happy with you, there was no reason for him to get attracted towards your younger sister. Try to figure out what he likes in your sister (nature, good grooming etc.) and try to develop those qualities in yourself." (W.E., 16, 370; 1989: 50)

It seems husbands do not require forgiveness from their wives for their post-marital affairs. Moreover, wife has to adjust with him by forgetting his ext-

-ra-marital affairs. For instance, Usha Bhatnagar in her a-
-rticle 'Can they be just friends' says,

If the girl is married, her husband just can not tolerate her friendship with another man even if he realizes that it's only platonic. Husbands are basically possessive and will never tolerate such friendships.

On the other hand, if the girl is unma-
-rried and the boy has a wife, the latter's spouse is often an understanding person as long as her husband is 'true' to her. In fact she starts treating the girl as her friend also and regards the affection between her husband and his friend with indulgence.

(W.E.,16,365;1989:12)

Thus, in the light of above arguments it can be inferred that, the image of women is projected as subordinate to their husbands. Infact, in the advise columns women are usually advised to take a subordinate position to her husband in order to have a proper married life and a p-
-roper home. For instance, the wife is regularly advised to serve her husband and his family with full 'zeal and devoti-
-on'. According to Vinita Dhandiyal in her article 'Against female chauvinism', "Women's true strength lies in her sense of reality, adaptability and her warmth and softness. Even ambitions and career oriented women should not forget their special position in the house." (W.E.,16,363;1989:80-81)

Similarly Krishna Gary in her article 'Working women and b-
-roken homes' emphasized that, "a married woman with childr-

-en must consider the fact that her going out to work will not only jeopardise her own health and well-being, it will also mean neglect of her children and her husband. The income from the job should be weighed against all these inconveniences and family disorder." (W.E.,15,361;1988:40)

On the other hand, it has been considered that marital conflicts usually occur because of wife's education and career-consciousness. For instance, Anjana Dutta in her article 'The last resort : AMITY' has written - "The wife, a highly career-conscious woman, obviously has no mind to play the role of a coy and submissive wife." (W.E.,15,359;1988:8)

Similarly Krishna Gary has also mentioned that - "When women start asserting their rights as wage-earners, the household starts breaking up." (W.E.,15,361;1988:40)

This projects that women should not assert their rights, or else their marriage is in jeopardy. Even educated and an independent woman should adjust to the traditional mores if she wants a home and a happy life.

Moreover, if we see the column 'your body', we find that a woman's body is for her husband's

gaze and pleasure. As one woman in one of the columns has written - "I am a thirty one year old married woman, having two children. My husband always complains about my drooping and sagging bust and does not seem to enjoy sex with me."
(W.E.,15,359;1988:92)

It may thus be concluded that the present magazine (Women's Era) seems to retain the traditional and conservative image of a woman, i.e., home is projected as the best place for women and the happiness of a family rests on the mother's patience and the wife's support and devotion.

Chapter - III

Courtship

The present chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with courtship in general. It also deals with courtship in the Indian society and various other issues involved in the study of it. Several observations have been made regarding the changing pattern of courtship in the Indian society. The second section deals with the tales of courtship. Here we have analysed a set of tales of courtship. The third section deals with the problems in courtship, taken from the personal column. An attempt has been made to find out the 'real life' problems related with courtship in our society.

Section - I

In this section we will try to examine a set of 'tales of courtship' taken from day-to-day popular fictions. Before starting a proper analysis of the 'tales of courtship', let us first discuss - 'What is Courtship?'

Courtship is primarily concerned with mate selection. It is the process by which two people of opposite sexes meet each other and become involved deeply until their relationship is converted in marriage. In some

cases friendship between two people of opposite sexes does not necessarily lead to their marriage and results in break-up.

The process of courtship begins with the meeting of two people of opposite sexes, when they come into contact with each other, either by chance or through a mediator. The wedding ceremony marks the end of the courtship phase. However, in some societies courtship is the foundation of the marriage and can be defined as a marriage oriented relationship. During this period the couple gets to know each other. Sometimes, strong sexual attraction brings the couple together.

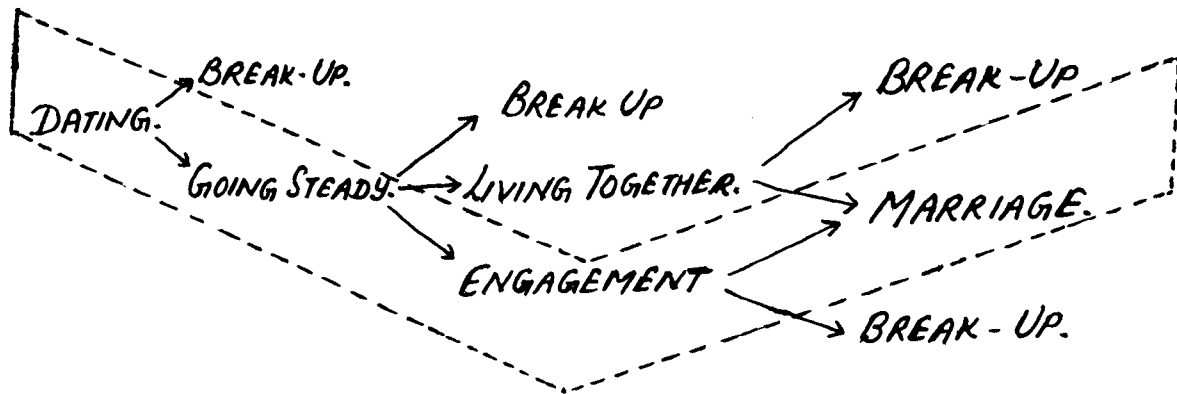
In western countries, courtship is sometimes confused with 'dating'.⁺ After meeting, dating is usually the next step for a man and a woman who are attracted to each other. But when dating results in finding a partner, then dating is a part of the sequence of courtship. Thus, sometimes dating is an expression of courtship and sometimes it is not.

+ : It may be defined as heterosexual social interaction entered into for one or more of the following purposes: fun, recreation, self-development, mutual exploration, status-enhancement, exploitation, sex and mate-selection. (Smart and Smart;1980:158)

Courtship in Western society usually proceeds from 'dating' to 'going-steady' followed by 'engagement' and finally the 'marriage' takes place. Sometimes there is a break-up between the partners during the courtship period. Break-up can be before or even after the engagement. The following diagram shows the varieties of pathways from dating to marriage.

Diagram - 3.1

Varities of pathways from dating to marriage



Note - Dotted line denotes the courtship period resulting in marriage.

Source - Smart and Smart(Families - developing relationships, Macmillan, New York);1980:166

Let us now discuss courtship in the Indian context. In Indian society, marriages are customarily arranged by the family. The purpose of marriage is to carry on the family name and to build or strengthen an alliance between two families. Moreover, traditionally marriage is a social sanction for the establishment of a legitimate family rather than a social licence for sexual indulgence.

In traditional Indian families, marriage is usually arranged for young people by the elders of their families i.e., by father or paternal grandfather. Girl's parents formally takes the initiative in arranging a marriage. Young people are not consulted in the choice of a mate. They do not normally see each other before the wedding ceremony. In choosing a mate for their sons/daughters, parents usually do not consider personal attributes. They emphasize mainly the ancestry, local reputation and prosperity of the family. As Mehta has mentioned - "Marriage under Hindu orthodoxy was not a matter of free selection between two individuals; rather it was an alliance negotiated between two families. It was an indissoluble sacrament, blessed by religious Vedic rights in which the individuals most concerned were not consulted" (1970:17)

Thus, only arranged marriages are approved or even mandatory in the traditional Indian extended families and the romantic attachment of courtship before marriage is disapproved. One of the reasons for the disapproval of the romantic attachment of courtship before marriage in the Indian society is the suspicion of conjugal affection between the husband and the wife as it is considered a threat to the stability of the family. Disapproval of the courtship checks the development of an intimate emotional relationship between husband and wife and reduces the threat to the system of fraternal relationships.

Thus, the question arises - Does the Hindu tradition recognize the concept of courtship? If we see in the age of Vedas⁺, marriages based on romantic love were recognized. Even Gandharva Vivaha^{..} was given approval by society as one of the accepted forms of marriages. Vatsyayana in his 'Kama-Sutra' considered 'Gandharva-Vivaha' as ideal type of marriage. Kalidasa's great drama 'Abhijnana Shakuntalam'['] deals with this type of marriage between Dushy-

+ : Ancient Hindu scriptures, there are four Vedas - Rig, Sama, Yajur and Atharva.

..: In Gandharva Vivaha bride and bridegroom choose each other and exchange garlands in a simple ceremony.

-anta and Shakuntala (Kapur;1973:87)

In the Epic age the bride had privilege of choosing her husband in the practice of Swayamvara¹. If we see the conventional medieval tradition of knightly love then we find a number of love affairs (mostly with tragic ends), which are still very popular in the form of films and stories, e.g., 'Laila-Majnu', 'Heer-Ranjha', 'Shiri-Farhad', 'Sohini-Mahiwal' etc. All these affairs had tragic ends (i.e., partners could not marry), because of paternal and societal oppositions. This shows the disapproval of courtship in the medieval period in India.

Slowly, with the decline in the position of women. with the advent of systems of Purdah² and Sati³ etc., and the lowering of the age of marriage for girls, marriage exclusively arranged by parents came into existence. These are still popular in our society.

Recently, we find that the traditional

-
- 1: In the Swayamvara parents of brides called selected men worthy of their daughters and the bride has to choose one among them. Thus, the marriages arranged by the parents also had the consent of the bride.
 - 2: It's a kind of veil, usually worn by Muslim or Hindu, to serve as a screen from the sight of men or strangers.
 - 3: It's a practice where Hindu widow immolates herself with her husband's funeral pyre.

way of arranging marriage of young people is changing to some extent in urban areas. Vatuk's study of 'White collar Migrants in India' (1972) shows the changing pattern of marriage arrangement in urban areas.

For girl's family in urban areas, boy's job is more important than his family, property and ancestry. For boy's family girl's looks and education are more important. In traditional families in rural areas, people employed formal go-betweens. For example, a man from a Nai (Barber) caste or Brahmin. Now a days, this role of mediator is informal and is done by anyone who knows both the parties. In urban areas, although elder males of the family have the final say in the arrangement of marriage, the boy has also more choice than boys in rural areas. The boy is consulted by his parents and he is even allowed to reject a displeasing match. But the participation of girls in the choice of husband is even less. As Sylvia Vatuk has mentioned - "In many urban middle class families it is becoming usual for the boy and girl to see each other.... A boy may choose to reject a girl whom he has seen....More recently, the girl finds the boy unacceptable...her doubts may not be heeded." (1972:85-86)

Apart from arranged marriage, self - a -
 -rranged marriages do occur in our society. But, such marr-
 -riages are not self-arranged in the real sense. According to
 Ross, " Now the young people themselves tend to select the
 person they want to marry and ask their parents approval f-
 -or their choice." (1961:253) Such marriages can be called
 as 'love cum arranged marriages'. Promilla Kapur on the ot-
 -her hand has talked of 'neo-arranged marriage' - though s-
 -uch marriages are arranged by the parents, the final deci-
 -sion rests on the boy's and girl's approval. Promilla Kap-
 -ur's study shows that 'working' women now strongly disapp-
 -rove of the traditional way of bringing about arranged ma-
 -rriage. Mehta's study (1970) of western educated Hindu wo-
 -men also talked about the preference for marriage arranged
 by the partners through pre-marital acquaintance between pr-
 -ospective mates. Gore in his study of the Aggarwal famili-
 -es of Delhi, found that they preferred marriages arranged
 by their elders, where the parties to the marriage are con-
 -sulted.(1968:208)

Thus, the above studies show that educ-
 -ated women prefer arranged marriage with ^{the} consent of the p-
 -rospective mates. This reflects the direct relationship b-
 -etween the level of education and favouring of consultati-

-on of the boy and the girl in the choice of his or her spouse, while arranging the marriage.

Self-arranged or love marriages are however, more common in Westernized upper class or upper-middle class families. According to Sylvia Vatuk, romantic attachments do occur between two young people and are called 'love affairs'. The main reason for the occurrence of the love affairs are , "The chances to select one's own mate is part of 'modern', 'progressive', and 'forward' social ideology associated with the west and encouraged by the fanciful and romantic Indian movies." (1972:87) But, the most interesting point which Sylvia Vatuk has made is - that young people generally express their positive wish for 'self arranged' marriages, but they usually accede to marriages arranged by their parents. The main reason behind this is that - young people in middle class families are socialized in such a way that they rely mainly on their parents and remain under the control of their parents. So, when it comes to getting married, they act according to the wishes of their parents. (1972:87)

It may be concluded that love marriages or self arranged marriages do occur in our society. But, in

a majority of the cases partners prefer their parents to approve of and endorse their marriage. However, in Indian society, arranged marriages still remain ~~in~~ norm. But, the younger generation who attend colleges (or working) have ambivalent feelings about arranged marriages. They prefer 'neo arranged marriages'⁺ or new type of love marriages.^ç But love affairs between couples are disappeared (with few exceptions). Love marriages resulting from love affairs are often themes of gossip among people in India.

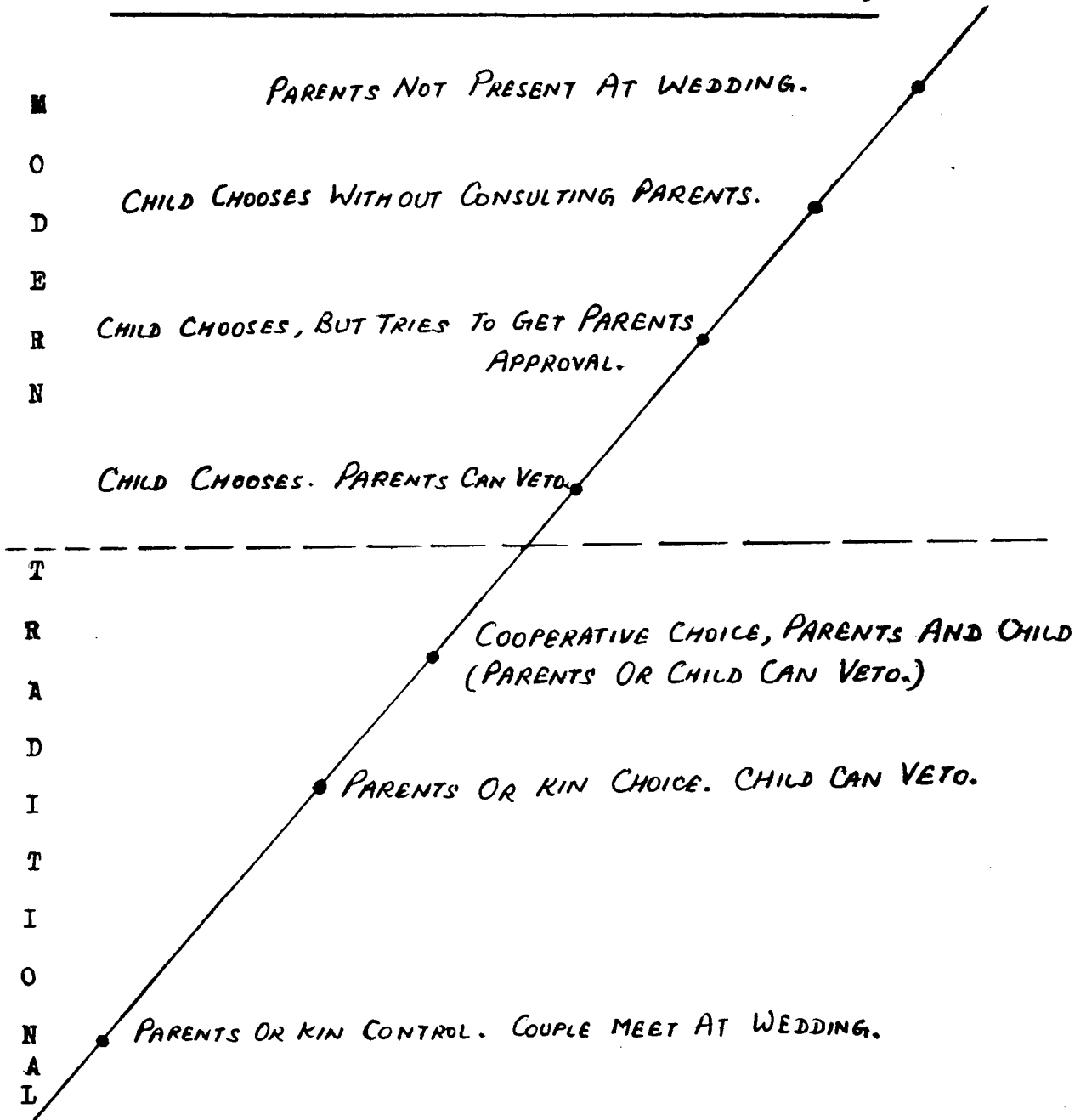
Families play a role in the courtship process, aiding or obstructing the courtship. Parents exert a fairly strong influence on their children. Sometimes this leads to conflict between young people and their parents. However, in the present day society, specially in urban societies, there is some differences in the family control on their children in the selection of partners than that of traditional society. The following diagram shows the mode of control in modern and traditional societies.

+ : Where boy/girl approve their parents choice.

ç : Where parents approve the choice of their son/daughter.

Diagram - 3.2

Mode of control in modern and traditional society



Source - Smart and Smart (From family control to autonomy);
1980 : 158.

Section - II

In this section we will try to analyse a set of 'tales of courtship' in the light of the following questions :

1. How did partners meet each other?
2. Who takes the initiative?
3. Is the relationship between the parties smooth in these stories or not?
4. In case, the relationship is not smooth, how are obstacles and misunderstandings between the partners removed and who does it?
5. Does the relationship between the man and the woman in these stories result in marriage or not? What kind of ending do these stories have - happy or unhappy?

Here, in order to analyse the stories of courtship and at the same time to answer the queries, we have dissected these stories into five different parts, namely, the meeting, initiative, strained relationships, solution and the ending of these stories.

THE MEETING :

The system of courtship underlies the

previous meeting(s) of partners before marriage. The more often people meet, the greater the opportunities for getting acquainted, becoming friends and eventually getting married. But how do partners meet.

Table - 3.1

How partners meet each other in tales of courtship

| S.No. | Situations | No. | Percent |
|-------|------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Encounter ⁺ | 8 | 88.9 |
| 2 | Meeting ^g | 1 | 11.1 |
| | Total | 9 | 100.0 |

(+ : When partners meet each other by chance and their own.

g : When partners meet or are introduced to each other through a mediator)

In most of the cases (about eighty nine percent) partners meet each other by chance. For instance , in story no. II (The Tangled Web) Nandini met Shivram by chance in the following way : One day Nandini and Nilkant (Nandini's friend) went out for a car drive and met with an accident. Nilkant was hurt and they had to go to a dispensary, where Nandini met Dr. Shivram Sridhar for the first time.

In about sixty six percent of the cases, partners are either working together, studying together or are neighbours. For example, in story no. III (News from A-broad) Leela and Ravi were working together. In story no. VIII (Fragrance of Love) Priya and Ian were teaching in ^{the} same university. In story no. VII (The Best Friend) Manju and Satish were studying together. In story no. IX (Mirage) Vikas and Anubha lived in the same locality. In only one story did the partners meet each other through a mediator, i.e., in story no. I (When Day Light Comes) Kaushik is a middle - aged bachelor, whereas Hema is ^a divorcee with a six years old daughter, Revati. Revati ~~knew~~ knew Kaushik beforehand, as she used to play in his garden. Revati introduced her mother, Hema, to Kaushik, at a party.

Thus, in almost all the cases the partners meet each other by *chance* i.e., on their own, without any mediator. (For details, see appendix I)

INITIATIVE :

Now, let us find out who takes the initiative in starting the relationship between the two parties?

Table - 3.2

The Initiator⁺

| S.No. | Initiator | No. | Percent |
|--------------|----------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Male Partner | 5 | 55.6 |
| 2 | Female Partner | 1 | 11.1 |
| 3 | Unclear ^g | 3 | 33.3 |
| Total | | 9 | 100.0 |

(+ : Person who takes initiates the relationship between the partners.

g : Initiator is not explicitly mentioned in the stories)

In fifty five point six percent of the cases, it is the male partner who initiates the relationship between the two partners. For example, in story no. II Nandini met Shivram Sridhar by chance and Shivram Sridhar took the initiative by asking her name. In story no. III two men, Mahesh and Ravi, proposed to Leela at different times. Mahesh and Leela were working together. Once Leela fell ill and Mahesh visited her with a bouquet of flowers. On the other hand, Leela and Ravi were family friends. Both of them were in love with each other and Ravi took the initiative by expressing his feelings to Leela.

Only in one case, it is the female who takes the initiative. In case no. 1, Hema took the initiative by inviting Kaushik on her daughter's birthday (but, she was under the impression that Kaushik is already married).

In the rest of the thirty three point three percent of cases it is difficult to make out who is the initiator. (See appendix I)

STRAINED RELATIONSHIPS:

In all the tales, relationship between the partners are not smooth after their meeting each other. Their relationships are strained, either because of misunderstanding between them or because of obstacles created by a third person or party.

Table - 3.3

Situations of strained relationship

| S.No. | Situation | No. | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Obstacles ⁺ | 5 | 55.6 |
| 2 | Misunderstanding ^g | 4 | 44.4 |
| | Total | 9 | 100.0 |

(+: Created by third person or party
g: No third person is involved)

It can be seen from the above table that in fifty five point six percent of the cases, there is obstacle created by either parents, friends or near kin. For instance, in story no. VII (The Best Friend) Manju and Satish wanted to get married. But Manju's parents and her friend Rekha did not like boy and were very much against that relation. When Manju and Satish planned to run away, they were caught by Manju's parents with the help of Rekha, who knew about their plan. In other such story (No. VIII), Priya and Ian (an Australian) wanted to get married. But Priya's parents were against it and discouraged her marrying a foreigner. In one of the stories the obstacle is religion (No. VI). Nisha is a Hindu girl and Sarwar is ^aMuslim ^{boy}. Sarwar removes the obstacle by marrying Nisha secretly in front of her family deity, according to Hindu rites. But when Nisha's sister and brother-in-law get to know about Nisha's secret marriage with Sarwar, then they took Nisha to some other place and never again allowed her to meet Sarwar.

In two stories obstacle is that one of the party is engaged to some other person. In story no. III Leela falls in love with Ravi after her engagement with Mahesh (Ravi's friend). In story no. II misunderstanding bet-

-ween the partners resulted in an obstacle of engagement. Dr. Shivram Sridhar mistook Nandini as Nilkant's sister , and sent his proposal to Nilkant's father. Dr. Shivram Srid-dhara was trapped and the circumstances were such (Nilkan-t's sister had an broken engagement) that he was engaged with Nilkant's sister. Thus, in this story misunderstanding between the partners resulted in the engagement of one with a third person. In story no. IX the main obstacle is the m-arried state of the male partner, i.e., Leela is in love with Vikas who is already married.

In two stories, misunderstanding betwe-en the partners is because of the possessive nature. For instance, in story no. I, Hema mistook Kaushik's relations-hip with his client Leela and stopped meeting him. Another such situation is in story no.V, Uma was in love with Gaut-^{where}am, but she was jealous of a girl (Gautam's colleague) who use to visit Gautam. Uma mistook her for Gautam's girl fri-end. In story no. IV misunderstanding between the partners occurs because of the insensitive, arrogant and selfish na-ture of the female.

Thus, it may be concluded that in the cases of obstacles we find that obstacles are usually crea-

-ted by parents or close kin and friends. Another interesting point is that obstacles are usually created by the parents of the girls. It seems that courtship activities of the children are strongly influenced by the parents and some times, it leads to conflict between young people and their parents. The parents of girl creates more problems in courtship activities. This may be because female sexuality in Indian society is related with the honour of the family. So the parents of girls try to control their daughter's activities outside, and sometimes even within the home.

On the other hand, if we see the pattern of misunderstanding between the partners, then we find that, wherever there is misunderstanding between the partners it is because of females or it is the females who misunderstand the male partner. The main reason behind the misunderstandings in different stories is female's jealous, possessive and arrogant nature. (For details, see appendix)

SOLUTIONS :

Let us now find out - who removes the obstacles and misunderstandings between the partners, how these obstacles are removed?

The obstacles may be removed through the agency i.e., through a mediator. Sometimes there is an automatic removal of the obstacles in a dramatic manner. Sometimes one of the partners takes the initiative to remove the obstacle or misunderstanding between them.

Table - 3.4

Solutions for the removal of misunderstanding/obstacles between the partners

| S.No. | Types of Solution | No. | Percent |
|-------|------------------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Mediator ⁺ | 1 | 11.1 |
| 2 | Automatic Removal ^x | 2 | 22.2 |
| 3 | Either of the partner [*] | 2 | 22.2 |
| 4 | No resolution [‡] | 4 | 44.4 |
| Total | | 9 | 100.0 |

(+ : With the help of a third person.

x : When obstacles are removed automatically in a dramatic way.

* : When either of the partners takes the initiative for the resolution.

‡ : Break-up between the partners)

In about eleven percent of the cases, misunderstandings between the partners were removed by a mediator. For instance, in story no. I Kaushik's uncle Rag-hvan (who knew Hema also) acted as a mediator. In twenty

two point two percent of the cases there is an automatic removal of obstacles in a dramatic way. For example, story no. II and story no. III. In story no. II the main obstacle between Nandini and Dr. Shivram Sridhar was Dr. Sridhar's engagement with Nilkant's sister. The obstacle was removed automatically when Nilkant's sister's previous fiance (who was supposed to have ditched her) came forward to marry her in a dramatic way. In story no. III Leela and Ravi fall in love with each other after Leela's engagement with Mahesh (Ravi's friend). Mahesh has gone abroad for further studies and he was about to come back, Ravi and Leela were feeling guilty. They did not know what to do. Then Leela received a letter from Mahesh in which he regretted falling in love with another girl abroad. This way their obstacle was automatically removed in a dramatic way.

In twenty two point two percent of the cases, either of the partners takes the initiative for removing the misunderstanding/obstacles between them. For example, in story no. VIII it is the female partner who took the initiative to go against the wishes of her parents and decides to marry Ian. In story no. V misunderstanding between the partners was removed, when male partner, Gautam, came to Uma's house and asked her father for Uma's hand.

Forty four percent of the cases do not result in resolution. These cases results in the break-up between the partners because one or the other partner was interested in marrying somebody else or get married with some other person. For instance, in story no. IV Atul refused to marry Preeti and showed his interest in marrying Preeti's cousin Uma. In story no. VI although Nisha and Sarwar secretaly got married, they were forced to live apart. In story no. VII Manju was forced by her parents to marry someother person.

END :

Let us now find out - what kind of ending do these stories have - happy or unhappy?

Table - 3.5

Types of endings of the tales

| S.No. | Type of Ending | No. | Percent |
|-------|---|-----|---------|
| 1 | Happy ending for both the partners ⁺ | 5 | 55.6 |
| 2 | Happy ending for one of the partners ^g | 4 | 44.4 |
| | Total | 9 | 100.0 |

(Note : In none of the stories there were cases where the two protagonists gets married to different partners.

+ : Condition where the original partners culminate in marriage, hence, happy ending for both the partners.

q : Condition where either of the original protagonists marry a third person and not the original partner yet satisfied with the wedding. Thus, happy ending for one of the original partners)

It can be seen from the table that about fifty six percent of the cases have simple happy ending i.e., where the original partners got married. For instance, in story no. I Hema and Kaushik planned to get married. In the other stories, no. II, III, V and VIII the original partners either marry each other or plan to get married.

Whereas, forty four point four percent of the cases result in happy ending for only one of the partners (and unhappy ending for the other partners. Whereas, in few cases picture of another partner's life is not clear. So, we can not make any inference, whether he/she is happy or not). It is a condition, where either of the partners marry a third person and not the original, yet is satisfied with the arrangement. Thus, there is happy end-

-ing for one of the original partners. For instance, in story no. VI although Nisha and Sarwar got married, they were forced to live apart. Nisha was never allowed to meet Sarwar. After few years she met Rohit and they got married. She stayed happily with Rohit (but was unable to forget Sarwar). Nevertheless, she could not bring herself to tell Rohit about her secret marriage with Sarwar). Even after her marriage she was emotionally bound with Sarwar. But, she could not get in touch with Sarwar ever again. This shows that although Nisha is happily married but still she is very attached with her first lover.

In story no. IV Atul refused to marry Preeti and showed his interest in marrying Preeti's cousin Uma. Whereas, Preeti was very much in love with Atul. Thus, there is a happy ending for Atul and unhappy ending for Preeti. In story no. VII Manju was forced to marry some other person with whom she lives happily. Whereas, Manju's boy friend Satish got involved with some other girl . . . married ~~get~~ another . . . and then abandoned her after two kids . . . to go to the Gulf country.' (W.E.,16,368;1989:92)

There was a happy ending for Manju. In story no. IX Anubha was in love with a married person, Vikas and they were sta-

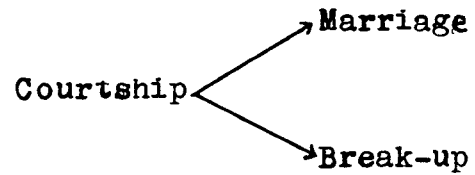
-ying as husband and wife in Delhi. But after seeing Vikas's relation with his wife and son, she realized that she can only be mistress in his home and will never get the rights of a wife. She then decided to marry Naveen (who was in love with Anubha) and thus, resulting in a happy ending for all.

Thus, it is only fifty five point six percent of the cases that the original partners marry each other after courtship. Parents have approved their son's/daughter's choice for marriage in three cases (33.3 percent) only.⁺ Another forty four point four percent of the cases where one of the partners marry a third person. We find that in majority of the cases, i.e. three cases out of four, it is girl who gets married to a person other than the original partner because of parents disapproval, and was forced to marry a third person.

In the findings from the tales, it may thus be concluded that the majority of the tales of courtship are about the process of falling in love and getting

+ : These three stories emphasize the approval from the parents of girls. Whereas, approval from the boy, and not from his parents, is mentioned)

married . However, in few cases, there is a break-up in the friendship. The tales of courtship may thus be presented in a diagrammatic form :



Our study shows that courtship as an institution is not very popular in India. However, it may be mentioned that courtship in its limited sense is taking its roots in urban areas.

Section - III

This section deals with the 'real-life' problems in courtship. These problems have been taken from 'The Personal Columns'. Here we will try to find out- what are the different issues responsible for the problems in courtship. We will also discuss the real nature of the problems in order to find out - who is responsible for the problems in courtship.

ISSUES :

We will first try to discuss the different issues responsible for problems between the two partners, that thwart or threaten the happy ending of the tales. In the present set of problems, different issues can be summarized as :

- a. Religion / Caste : When the two partners belong to different religions or different castes.
- b. Younger boy : When the boy is younger than the girl.
- c. Marital state of the partner : When girl is in love with an already married man, and vice versa.
- d. Anxiety : Can be due to ;

- i. Infatuation i.e., when the girl is helpless in front of her own emotion.
- ii. Guilt i.e., when the girl has a broken love affair and is guilty about her previous affair.
- iii. Hesitation / Indecision i.e., when the girl is in love with a boy, but she is unable to decide whether the present boy friend is the right person for her or not?

The following table shows the different issues responsible for the 'problems in courtship' :

Table - 3.6

Issues responsible for the problems in courtship

| S.No. | Issues | No.of Cases | Percent |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------|---------|
| 1 | Religion | 4 | 36.4 |
| 2 | Younger boy | 2 | 18.2 |
| 3 | Married state of the partner | 1 | 9.0 |
| 4 | Anxiety | 4 | 36.4 |
| | Total | 11 | 100.0 |

In a majority (36.4 percent) of the cases, the main problem is because of difference in religion or/and caste. For instance, in case nos. I (2), I (4) and I (11), the girls are Hindu and the boys are either Muslim or Christian. In case no. I(2), girl has stated - " I am a twenty six year old, employed Hindu girl, in love with a Muslim boy." (W.E.,15,359;1988:91).

In eighteen point two percent of cases, girls are worried about the 'age difference' because they are older than their male partners. For example, in case no. I(3), the girl is eight years older than the boy. Whereas, in case no. I(9), the girl is two years older than the boy.

In nine percent of the cases, girl is in love with a married man, i.e., in case no. I(6), the girl has mentioned, "I am an unmarried, working girl in my twenties. I love a married man having two children." (W.E., 16,368;1989:82)

In the remaining thirty six point four percent of the cases, the main issue is 'anxiety' on the part of the girl because of infatuation, guilt or hesitation. For instance, in case nos. I(1) and I(7), the girls feel

guilty about their broken affairs. In case no.I(10) the girl is unable to decide whether to wait for her boy friend (who has gone abroad) to come back or to marry another man. Whereas, in case no.I(5), the girl seems to be helpless in front of her own emotions and feelings as she has written, "I am a Muslim girl, in love with my cousin. But it looks as if he doesn't care for me because he doesn't even reply to my letters. On the other hand, there is a doctor who loves me. He has even proposed to me but I don't feel any great attraction for him." (W.E.,16,367;1989:42) In this case, it seems that the girl is so much infatuated by her cousin that she is not interested in marrying any other.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS :

Here, we will try to find out, who is responsible for the problems in courtship.

Table -3.7

Persons Responsible for creating problems between partners

| S.No. | Responsible Person | Specification | No. | Total | Percent |
|-------|--------------------|----------------|-----|-------|---------|
| 1 | Parents | Boy's Parents | 2 | 5 | 45.5 |
| | | Girl's Parents | 1 | | |
| | | Both | 2 | | |
| 2 | Partners | Man | 2 | 4 | 36.4 |
| | | Woman | 2 | | |
| 3 | No obstacle | - | 2 | 2 | 18.1 |
| Total | | | 11 | 11 | 100.0 |

A. Parental Opposition :

In a majority of the cases (45.5 percent), obstacles between the partners are created either by the parents of one or both of the partners. For instance, in case no. I(3) and I(10) the parents of the boys opposed the relationship between the partners. In case no. I(3) boy is eight years younger than the girl because of which boy's parents opposed their relationship. Whereas, in case no. I(10) boy's parents has rejected the girl because she belongs to a poor family and can not afford a dowry. On the other hand, girl's parents opposed the marriage between partners i.e., in the case no. I(8) girl has decided to marry her boy-friend, who belongs to a different caste. But, girl's mother is against their marriage.

However, in rest of the two cases, i.e, in I(1) and I(11) parents of both the partners created problems. For example, in the case no. I(11), two partners belong to different religions because of which their parents opposed their marriage. As the girl has mentioned in her letter - "I am a twenty year old Hindu girl in love with a Muslim boy of the same age and want to marry him.... our parents are opposed to this marriage." (W.E.,16,371; 1989:23)

Thus, it may be concluded that in a majority of the cases of courtship, parents opposed the relationship between the partners mainly because of difference in religion, caste or class between the two partners.

PARTNER :

In thirty six point four percent of cases, one of the partners created problems. In two cases, I(2) and I(7), the boy creates problem for the girl. In case no. I(2) boy creates problem for the girl because of his conservative ideas about his own religion. To quote from the column ; "I am a twenty six year old, employed, Hindu girl, in love with a muslim boy . . . We want to marry, but he has put a condition - that I must convert to Islam before marriage. He doesn't want me to put a 'bindi', wear a sari, say 'namaste' in the Hindu style or celebrate Hindu festivals. This I simply can not do." (W.E.,15,359;1988:91)

In case no. I(7), the boy created problem for the girl by getting married to another girl because he did not have enough courage to tell his parents about their love affair.

While in the other two cases (in I(5)

and I(6)), problems are created by the girl herself. For instance, in case no. I(5), the problem is because of one sided affair, i.e., the girl is in love with her cousin but cousin is not interested in her. On the other hand, in case no. I(6), the girl is in love with a married man and wants to marry him.

Thus, in these cases where one of the partners is responsible for creating problems in the courtship, it seems, most of the time boy creates problems because of his own behaviour (either because of his obstinate behaviour or because of his submissiveness). While, the problems of the girls are self-created.

Whereas, in eighteen point one percent of the cases, there are no problems as such.

Thus, in the light of the above arguments it can be concluded that, in a majority of the cases, problems in courtship arises because of religious and caste differences between the two partners. Courtship between inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-class are mostly discouraged by the parents of the partners.

It may thus be concluded that, if we

compare and contrast section II (fiction) and section III (real life problems) find that in both the sets, parents create problems. In real life problems, main reasons for the parental oppositions are, difference of caste, religion and class of the two partners. However, these factors are not mentioned as relevant in the fictional tales. Another interesting point worth mentioning is, in the 'tales of courtship' obstacles are mostly created by the parents of girls. Whereas, in the real life problems obstacles are created by the parents of boys. Thus, we can conclude that the narrative stories do not necessarily reflect or project real life situations.

Chapter - IV

Conjugal Relations

The present chapter is divided into four sections. Section I deals with the marital relations in general. Observations have also been made regarding the changing trends in marital relations. Section II deals with the 'tales of marital relations'. Here we have analysed the husband - wife relationship projected in the fictional tales. Section III is concerned with the 'real life' stories of the divorced women. While, section IV describes the nature of the real life marital problems taken from 'the personal columns'.

Section - I

Marriage is very necessary part of the social system. It is one of the deepest and most complex of human relationships. Marriage has been defined as a culturally approved relationship of one man and one woman (monogamy), or of one man and two or more woman (polygamy) in which sexual intercourse is usually endorsed between the opposite sex partners, and there is generally an expectation that children will be born of the union and enjoy the full birth status rights of their society. (Kuper and Kuper, 1985;487-88)

Marriage results in the formation of family. The common belief is that Indian live in 'joint' or extended families. S.C. Dube suggests that the nuclear family or small joint family is typical in India. Pauline Kolenda's study suggests that "most Indian do not live in joint families." (Kolenda;1987:77) The key elements in family are : father - son relationship, mother - son relationship and husband - wife relationship. According to Levi Strauss;

The most easily conceivable and the most easily observable structures (which he called - 'Atom of Kinship') of kinship are the relationship between :

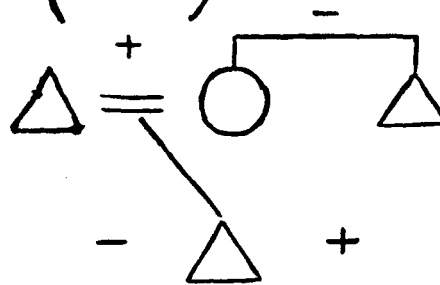
- (1) husband and wife,
- (2) father and son,
- (3) maternal uncle and nephew, and
- (4) brother and sister.

He opined that;

Father - son relationship is familiar, since the son may disobey his father; while the maternal uncle - nephew relationship is rigid, the latter owing obedience to the former.(Levi Strauss;1958:236)

Thus, father - son relationship is a negative one and maternal uncle - nephew relationship is a positive one. On the other hand, there is negative relationship between brother and sister (Levi Strauss agreed with Mary Douglas (1963) observations - A brother, not to stay in the same roof with her, not to speak them face to face, not to touch them).Whereas, husband-wife relationship is positive (they are bound to stay with one another in sickness as

well as in health). Lévi-Strauss has represented these relationships as - $\begin{pmatrix} + & - \\ - & + \end{pmatrix}$.



According to Levi Strauss, many different combinations can be observed. We may find a symmetrical structure, where all the signs are inverted. For instance,

$$\begin{pmatrix} + & - \\ + & - \end{pmatrix} \text{ or } \begin{pmatrix} - & + \\ - & + \end{pmatrix}$$

On the other hand, arrangements of the type $\begin{pmatrix} + & - \\ - & + \end{pmatrix}$, $\begin{pmatrix} - & + \\ + & - \end{pmatrix}$ occur frequently, but those of the type $\begin{pmatrix} + & + \\ - & - \end{pmatrix}$, $\begin{pmatrix} - & - \\ + & + \end{pmatrix}$ are rare, or perhaps impossible.

In India, the structural character of the dynamic relationship between husband and wife involves different social roles (the role of husband versus the role of wife), which are complementary to one another and ranked into hierarchy of higher and lower positions. The division of labour and power-prestige relations between husband and wife are crucial structural characteristics of the marital dyad.

The Hindu family is considered as patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal. In the social structure of the tradition-oriented Indian family, the typical pattern of husband - wife relationship is 'male dominance and female dependence'. According to the traditional norms, the husband is an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. The wife is his subordinate and is expected to regard him as her master and serve him faithfully.

Rao and Rao, 1982; Kapadia, 1958; have pointed out that women's education and employment have affected with their actual behaviour with regard to the traditional role relationships between spouses. However, educated modern woman is no longer willing to accept the dominance of her husband. As Dube remarked; "The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has in most families the upper hand, but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure." (Dube; 1974: 141-42)

More and more of the educated women prefer to be the copartners of their husbands. Educated women are challenging the passive role of the wife in the se-

-xual relationship within marriage. Promilla Kapur's study (1973) indicates that women now prefer mutual participation and copartnership rather than the husband's superiority and exclusive role in sex relations.

In this process of changing attitudes towards marriage and family, and sometimes because of other family problems, conflicts between husband and wife may often take place. Sometimes conflict between husband and wife becomes serious and thus results in separation or divorce.

Section - II

The main aim of this chapter is to analyse the 'tales of marital relations'. We will try to find out the patterns of conjugal relationships in these stories. Most of these stories are about strained relationship between husband and wife. Thus, we will try to find out;

1. What are the issues of strained relationship between husband and wife?
2. Whether the situations of marital tensions are resolved in these stories, or not? In case, tension between husband and wife is resolved, then one should note :
 - a. Who acts as the agent of resolution, and in what situations resolution takes place?
 - b. What are the turning points in the situations of marital tension leading to either 'positive' or 'negative' results? In other words, we will consider , what kind of ending these stories have i.e., whether or not there is reconciliation of the partners?

STRAINED RELATIONSHIP :

All the tales of marital relations are

about the strained relationship between husband and wife.

Table - 4.1

Situations of tension between husband and wife

| S.No. | Situations | No. | Percent |
|-------|-----------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Conflict ⁺ | 8 | 72.7 |
| 2 | Anxiety ^g | 3 | 27.3 |
| | Total | 11 | 100.0 |

(+ : When there is direct confrontation between the spouses.

g : When one of the spouses begins to doubt their relationship)

It can be seen from the table no. 4.1 that fifty percent of the stories (eleven out of twenty two) are about marital relations and all of them deal with either situations of 'conflict' or 'anxiety'. In these cases, about seventy three percent of the stories deal with the situations of conflict between the spouses. Whereas, a little more than twenty seven percent of the stories deal with the situations of anxiety, specially on the part of the women. For instance, in story no. XIV ('Catch the Right Moment'), conflict between Shanta and Ramchandran arises when

Ramchandran tells Shanta to leave her job so that she can join him in Madras (Shanta was working in Bangalore), which Shanta was not ready to do. As a result, Ramchandran left for Madras, leaving Shanta behind, and their marital relation reached a critical point.

In another story (No.-XV 'Made for Each Other') Sudha was in an anxious position when she gets to know that Mrinalini (Manish's previous girl friend, whom he had wanted to marry) would be coming to visit her organization.

ISSUES :

Now the question arises : what are the issues that result in the situations of conflict/anxiety between husband and wife?

There are number of issues responsible for the conflict/anxiety between husband and wife in these stories. Different issues responsible for the situation of conflict/anxiety can be classified as :

Insecurity :

When either of the partners feels that he/she is not getting proper attention from his/her spouse

or when either of the spouses thinks that his/her spouse is interested in some other person.

Infidelity :

This is related with the disloyalty or unfaithfulness on the part of husband or wife.

Inability to compromise or uncompromising nature on the part of husband or wife.

Table - 4.2

Issues Responsible for the situation of Conflict/
Anxiety between husband and wife

| S.No. | Issues | No. | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Insecurity | 4 | 36.4 |
| 2 | Infidelity | 2 | 18.2 |
| 3 | Inability to Compromise | 5 | 45.4 |
| | Total | 11 | 100.0 |

In a majority of the cases (45.4percent) marital conflict/anxiety is because of inability to compromise with each other. For instance, in story no. XII ('A Holi to be Remembered'), conflict between husband and wife was because of uncompromising nature. Usha was not ready to

stay in an 'Adivasi' locality, where her husband Naresh was transferred. So she goes back to her parents place.

In another three cases, marital conflict/anxiety is because of the wife's inability to compromise with her husband. In these cases wives want to retain their jobs and control over their self earned money. In case no. XIV ('Catch the right moment'), conflict between Shanta and Ramchandran arose because of Shanta's job. Shanta was working in Bangalore and Ramchandran in Madras, and Shanta was not ready to leave her job. In story no. XVII ('Roma's earning'), Roma was upset because she had no control over her own earning. Her anxiety increased, when her husband, Anil, withdrew Rs. fifty thousand from their joint bank account and bought a car, without consulting her.

In story no. XVII ('Making up for lost time'), Purnima goes against her husband's wishes and becomes friendly with her neighbour. In story no. XVIII (The Holiday) conflict arose when Swati insisted to spend their holidays in Mrs. Shipstone's cottage, though Nitin did not want to (this case reflects the stubborn nature of husband).

It may thus be concluded that a majori-

-ty of the marital conflict/anxiety is because of inability of the wife to compromise with her husband. The suggestion seems to be that marital problems occur when women are inflexible and stubborn.

Thirty six percent of the marital conflict/anxiety is because of insecurity (specially on the part of women). For instance, in case no. X ('The Open Door') the main conflict was because, the wife felt that her husband liked his mother more than her. In case no. XIII ('The Verdict'), Roopa felt very insecure when she got to know that her husband, Dheeraj, is told by a doctor about her premarital delivery. In other case (No. XIV - 'Made for Each Other'), Sudha suffered from anxiety, when she got to know that her husband's ex - girl friend (whom he had wanted to marry) would be coming to join a show. In case no. XIX ('The Lamp') wife was insecure, as she had no children. She felt that her mother-in-law wanted her husband to go for a second marriage. Thus, in these cases, insecurity on the part of wife is because of her possessiveness ^{towards} of her husband.

Only a little more than eighteen percent of the marital conflicts are because of infidelity (specially, on the part of husband). For instance, in case no.

XI ('Change of Heart'), Ravi started moving around with his secretary, Julie (infact, he was taking her for a ride). As a result, Ranjana left him and started staying with her parents along with her two children. In another case (No. XX 'Sita') Raghu visits another woman and does not treat Sita well.

Thus, our data shows that majority of the situations of marital conflict/anxiety reflect an inability of husband and wife to compromise with each other. The feeling of insecurity is another reason for anxiety on the part of women, who can not express their feelings to their husbands. We will be able to get the clear picture of marital conflict/anxiety if we analyse such situations from two different point of views i.e., one from husband's point of view and another from wife's point of view.

MARITAL PROBLEM FROM HUSBAND'S POINT OF VIEW :

Now, let us find out, what are the different situations of conflict/anxiety from husband's point of view.

Table - 4.3

Situations of marital conflicts from husband's view

| S.No. | Situation | No. | Percent |
|-------|---------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Inflexible nature of wife | 6 | 54.6 |
| 2 | Unintended | 3 | 27.3 |
| 3 | Other reasons | 2 | 18.1 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

It can be seen from the above table that at the situations of marital conflict in a majority (54.6 percent) of the cases arises because of inflexible nature of the wife. For instance, in case no. XIV ('Catch the Right Moment'), the situation of marital conflict arises when Shanta expresses her desire to rejoin her office soon after the honeymoon. The husband, did not want Shanta to continue her job. In case no. XVII ('Making up for Lost Time'), situation of conflict arises when Purnima goes against Arun's wishes and became friendly with Anjali Menon. In case no. XIII ('The Verdict') situation of marital conflict arises when Dheeraj gets to know about Roopa's pre-marital pregnancy.

In twenty seven point three percent of the cases, wife suffers from anxiety and husband is not aware of it. So, if we see such cases from husband's point of view, then there is no situation of conflict as such. For instance, in case no. XIX ('The Lamp'), Durga suffers from mental crisis after reading a letter from her mother-in-law (written to her husband) -

The girl is a beauty and the fantastic thing is, she looks so much like Durga. The round face, the hair, the ivory complexion.... I'm sure you'll love her. I'll be coming there tomorrow morning, and I'll try to convince Durga that this move is really for her peace of mind.

I hope she will understand and co-operate

.... because her whole hearted approval is absolute vital in this case. (W.E., 16,366;1989:36-37)

Durga thought that her mother-in-law is planning for her husband's second marriage as she can never bear a child(in-fact mother-in-law had mentioned about a baby-girl for ad-option). So, this shows that Durga's anxiety was her own making because of her feeling of insecurity.

In eighteen point one percent of cases reasons for the formation of marital conflict, from the point of view of husband, is the inflexible or stubborn nature of the wife. For instance, in case no. X (The Open Door) the main reason for the marital conflict was Aruna's nature (Aruna was unable to adjust with her in-laws). In case no. XII (A Holi to be Remembered), it was Usha's inflexible nature which forced Usha and Naresh to stay separately.

It may be concluded that, in our patriarchal, male-dominated society, the male (usually the husband) is authoritative figure whom wife is suppose to obey. In case she goes against her husband's wishes, then there will definitely be a conflict between husband and wife. If we see the situations of marital conflicts from the point of view of husband, then we find that, a majority of

the situations of marital conflicts arise because of wife's inability to compromise with her husband.

MARITAL TENSIONS FROM WIFE'S POINT OF VIEW :

Now, the question arises, what are the situations of conflicts from the point of view of the wife?

Table - 4.4

Situations of conflict from the wife's point of view

| S.No. | Situations | No. | Percent |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1 | Insecurity | 4 | 36.4 |
| 2 | Husband's Infidelity | 2 | 18.2 |
| 3 | Dominating Husband | 3 | 27.2 |
| 4 | Inflexible Nature | 2 | 18.2 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

If we see the situations of conflict from the point of view of the wife then we find that a majority (36.4 percent) of the conflict/anxiety arise because of their own feeling of insecurity. For instance, in case no. X (The Open Door), a situation of conflict arises because Aruna thought that her husband likes his mother more than her. So she became indifferent with her husband. To quote the story; "By competing with her mother-in-law for

his love, she had unknowingly become reckless and come to such a state." Thus, the main reason for the conflict was Aruna's feeling of insecurity. Whereas, in case no. XIII (The Verdict) Roopa became anxious when Dheeraj told her that she may never conceive. To quote the story, "Roopa felt anger rise within her. Who was he to condemn her? She felt a deep urge to strike him. He had struck at the very core of her womanhood. Every woman wanted to become a mother." But Roopa did not do anything because of her guilt, as she has conceived before marriage (she was insecure because of her pre-marital delivery).

In twenty seven point two percent of the cases, situation of conflict arises because of husband's dominance. For instance in case no. XIV (Catch the Right Moment), Ramchandran tried to dominate Shanta and he did not want a working wife. But, Shanta was not ready to leave her job. As Shanta asked Ramchandran; "Why did you tell me before marriage that you did not want a working wife?".... "I thought it was understood," he had said. "Any way, I have had enough of this. I am going back to Madras tomorrow" (E.W., XLII, 1; 1989: 44)

In case no. XVI (Roma's Earning), Roma

suffers from anxiety because of Anil's dominating nature. He forced Roma to change her job and later on, he did not allow her to spend her own earned money on herself. While in the case no. XVII (Making up for Lost Time), the conflict between Purnima and Arun was because of Arun's dominating and demanding nature. The main conflict started, when Arun told Purnima not to mix with their new neighbouring lady as he did not like her looks and dress. As he told Purnima - "Don't associate much with her - you are the type who gets so easily influenced. I don't want you moving around in pants, at this age." (W.E., 16, 363:1989:65)

In eighteen point two percent of the cases, the main reason for marital conflict is the infidelity i.e., husband's relation with another woman. For instance, in case no. XI (Change of Heart), Ravi started moving around with his secretary Julie. When Ranjana (Ravi's wife) saw Ravi and Julie together in a restaurant, she felt very humiliated and left for her mother's place along with her children. While in case no. X (Sita), there is a serious marital conflict between Sita and Raghu because of Raghu's infidelity. To quote the story, "He...Raghu... has had another woman for two years now." (E.W., XLII, 4;1989:49)

However, in rest of the cases (18.2 percent) marital conflict from the point of view of wife is because of their own nature. For instance, in case no. XII (A holi to be Remembered), Usha was not ready to stay in an 'Adivasi' locality as she was feeling lonely and did not like the place. While in another story (No. XVIII 'The Holiday'), Swati was interested in spending her holidays in Mrs. Shipstone's cottage.

Thus, it seems that most of the situations of marital conflict/anxiety are created by the wife herself, i.e., nearly fifty five percent of the situations of marital conflict/anxiety are because of wife's own insecurity or inflexibility.⁺ Whereas, forty five point five percent of the cases of marital conflict/anxiety are because of dominating nature of the husband or because of husband's extra-marital affairs.

RESOLUTION

AGENTS OF RESOLUTION :

Whenever, there is conflict between the

+ : Though the wife is made to appear as responsible for the situations of marital conflict/anxiety. But these situations are often not created by her.e.g, in case no. XVIII, the wife disobeys her dominating husband after twenty five years of married life.

husband and the wife, one or other spouse tries to resolve the conflict either by creating the situations of resolution on their own, or by following the advice of others i.e, with the help of a mediator.

Table - 4.5

Agents who tries to resolve the marital conflicts

| S.No. | Agents | No. | Percent |
|-------|----------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Husband | 3 | 27.3 |
| 2 | Wife | 3 | 27.3 |
| 3 | Mediator | 5 | 45.4 |
| | Total | 11 | 100.0 |

In equal number of cases (27.3 percent each) husband and wife, individually tries to resolve the conflict/anxiety between them. However, in a majority (45.4 percent) of the cases mediator (third person), who acts as the main agent of resolution of marital conflict/anxiety. Let us now find out, how is mediation done in these cases.

Table - 4.6

| S.No. | Types of Mediation | No. | Percent |
|-------|------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Narrative ⁺ | 3 | 60.0 |
| 2 | Dramatic ^g | 2 | 40.0 |
| | Total | 5 | 100.0 |

- (+ : When mediator try to convince one of the other spouses by reciting his/her own life's similar story.
- o : When mediator uses some striking and impressive techniques or when mediator tries to resolve the marital tension in an unusual way.)

Above table shows that mediation is either done in a narrative or in a dramatic way. In sixty percent (of the total 45.5 percent cases of mediation) of the cases, mediation is done in a narrative way. For instance, in case no. XI (Change of Heart), Ranjana's mother acts as a mediator in resolving the conflict between Ranjana and Ravi. She narrates her own similar story to Ranjana.⁺ She told Ranjana - "I guess a good marriage is based on a sound foundation of love, trust and forgiveness, and one has to really work on this to achieve contentmentIf you had made the same mistake and Ravi had not forgiven you, can you guess the pain you would have undergone Ranjana? (W.E., 16,367;1989:40)

Thus, by telling her own story (autobiographical narrative), Ranjana's mother made Ranjana real-

+ : Ranjana's father had an affair and Ranjana's mother had left him. Nearly a month later she got to know that he had taken an overdose of pills and was in hospital. Ranjana's mother reconciled in the end and Ranjana's father never betrayed her again.

-ize that it depends on her to be happy in life, i.e., by forgiving her husband and by swallowing her pride and ego for the sake of her own family and family's happiness. In this case, ~~the~~ mother's intervention is in the form of autobiographical narration which succeeds in making Ranjana compromise.

In the case no.XIV (Catch the Right Moment), Shanta's boss, Dr. Rao, acts as a mediator in resolving the marital conflict between Shanta and Ramchandran. When Dr. Rao got to know that Shanta and her husband are staying separately (as they were working in the different cities) he advised Shanta to compromise with the situation. In this context Dr. Rao told Shanta about his own sad story⁺. Dr. Rao tells his own story to advise Shanta to compromise Shanta's husband. He did not advised Shanta's husband to compromise, thus, giving the idea that it is the wife's duty to compromise with her husband in adverse situations and not in fact vice versa.

+ : Dr. Rao told Shanta that his wife was professionally ambitious and he himself was orthodox. Both of them were adamant and non-compromising, as a result of which they were separated. Now Dr. Rao is very lonely and regretting being orthodox. He told Shanta-"Life is based on compromises chase happiness." (E.V, XLII, 1; 1989: 46)

In case no. XVII (Making up for Lost Time), Anjali Menon, Purnima's friend acts as mediator in resolving the conflict between Purnima and her husband. Anjali told Purnima that it is always in the hands of the women to liberate themselves : "You put yourself in such a situation that to withdraw would mean marring your reputation as the ideal wife." (W.E.,16,363;1989:67) Anjali made Purnima realize her own mistake by telling her own story (Anjali's husband was suffering from cancer and was in a death bed). She told Purnima that she is not blaming anyone for her own miserable life. In this case, the wife is made by her friend realize her faults.

In all the above cases, it is the wife, who is advised to compromise with her husband, by a mediator offering a self-reflective narrative. Wife in these cases is made to realize that she has to compromise for marital harmony, even if there is no fault of hers.

Mediator in a majority of the cases is an elderly person f.e., mother in one case and boss in another case. Whereas, in yet another case, a friend acts as a mediator. Elderly persons give advise on the basis of their own personal tragic experiences.

In another forty percent of the cases, mediation is not narrative, but, it is dramatic i.e., when mediator uses striking and impressive techniques to resolve the conflict/anxiety in an unusual way. For instance, in case no. XII (A Holi to be Remembered), Naresh's friend, Ramprasad, acts as a mediator. Ramprasad tried to resolve the conflict between Naresh and Usha in a dramatic way. Naresh and Usha were staying separately. Ramprasad wrote a letter to Usha, telling her that Naresh is planning to take in an 'Adivasi' girl. After receiving Ramprasad's letter, Usha out of sheer jealousy and anger comes back to Naresh.

In case no. XIX (The Lamp), Durga's mother-in-law created anxiety for Durga and later on she herself resolves Durga's anxiety in a dramatic way. Durga thought that her mother-in-law wanted a grand-child so badly (as Durga had no children) that she is trying to fix up another marriage for her husband, Mukund. Durga's anxiety got over when she was taken to children home and her mother-in-law tried to convince her to adopt a child. Durga's mother-in-law told Durga:

You must be honest and frank with yourself. If you are sure, you can give this baby your whole hearted love and care, only then can we legalize this adoption. If you have the slightest doubt in

your mind, it means your heart is not yet ripe to reach out to another human being.

It's for you to decide. Take your time, and come to terms with your thoughts and feelings. (W.E., 16, 366; 1989: 40)

In this case, major decision of adoption is taken by Durga's mother-in-law. Durga has no input of her own. She is just relieved and her anxiety reduced when she finds that her mother-in-law wants her to adopt a child and not to get a divorce.

Thus, it may be concluded here, in the cases where mediator tries to resolve the conflict between husband and wife, it is the wife who is advised to compromise with her husband by a mediator. The wife is always made to feel that, home is the essential need for a woman. Surrender and repression are the qualities which are casually accepted as the only way for a woman to retain her family life. Woman is projected as the central element of the family, a constant adjusting element of the family system.

SITUATIONS OF RESOLUTIONS:

There are number of situations in which resolution of marital conflict/anxiety between the partners

take place. Different situations of resolutions between husband and wife may be classified as :

1. Reunion of the spouses: i.e., after separation, when one spouse re-joins the other spouse.
2. Spouse get to know the reality: when either of the spouses gets to know the truth, i.e., when spouse exhibits his/her love to the other spouse, or when one spouse narrates the real situation to the other or when spouse realises his/her faults.
3. Adjustment between the spouses: when one spouse tries to adjust with or accommodate to the desires or demands of the other spouse.

Table - 4.7

Situations in which resolution of marital conflict/
anxiety takes place

| S.No. | Situations | No. | Percent |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Reunion of the spouses | 4 | 36.4 |
| 2 | When spouse gets to know the reality | 5 | 45.4 |
| 3 | Adjustment between the spouses | 2 | 18.2 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

In thirty six point four percent of cases, conflict/anxiety between husband and wife is resolved when one spouse rejoins the other spouse. For instance, in case nos. XI, XII and XVIII (Change of Heart, A Holiday to be Remembered and The Holiday), it is the wife who leaves her husband after the conflict and it is she who re-joins him in order to resolve the conflict with the help of a mediator. In case no. XIV (Catch the Right Moment) wife and husband were working separately, in different cities, and it is the wife, who joins her husband after getting assurance from her boss that he will try to transfer her to the same city where her husband is working.

Therefore, in the situations of reunion between the spouses, it is the wife, who takes the initiative of rejoining her husband. Either she is advised to do so by a mediator (even she leaves her husband because of his faults) or she herself realizes her own mistake and she takes the initiative of rejoining her husband.

In majority of the cases (45.4 percent) resolution between the husband and the wife takes place when the spouse who misunderstands the other spouse gets to know the reality and unfounded suspicions are allayed. For

instance, in story no. X (The Open Door), Aruna felt that her husband, Siddheshwar liked his mother more than he did her. But one night, when Siddheshwar Rao exhibited his love to Aruna, she realized her mistake and the conflict between them was resolved. In case no. XV (Made for Each Other), Sudha suffered from anxiety when she saw her husband Manish and Mrinalini (his ex-girl friend, whom he wanted to marry) together. Her suspicion was resolved when Manish said, "I told her all about our life together and at the end of it, she said, 'May be I could have made you more of a success, Manish, but Sudha has made you happier. . . ." (W.E., 15, 361; 1988:96) In case no. XIII (The Verdict), Roopa tried to hide her pre-marital pregnancy from Dheeraj. When Dheeraj, got to know about it, conflict arose between them. The conflict was resolved when Dheeraj told Roopa to narrate her story and assured her that he would not allow their marriage to dissolve.

In case no. XVI (Roma's earnings), the situation is different. Roma suffered from mental crisis when her husband, Anil withdraws Rs. fifty thousand from their joint account without consulting her. Roma read this as implying that she had no right on her own earnings and

that her own earnings are of no personal or individual use for herself. So she resolves her anxiety by leaving her job without consulting her husband.

After another week, one after noon, Anil came back from his office early and was surprised to see Roma relaxing on the bed.

"Are you ill?" he asked.

....

"No, not a holiday - from now on, all days are holidays for me. I have resigned from my job." Looking straight into his eyes, she added, "I've realized, it doesn't serve any purpose for me."

(W.E.,16,363;1989:38)

Thus, in a majority of the cases, situations of conflict/anxiety between husband and wife are resolved when one spouse, who misunderstands the other spouse, gets to know the reality, or when the spouse who starts the conflict realizes his/her faults. In three cases, it is the husband who creates the situation of resolution and takes the initiative for resolving the conflict or clearing the doubts of their wives.

In eighteen point two percent of the cases, there is mutual compromise between the partners. For instance, in case no. XVII (Making up for Lost Time), Purnima disobeyed her dominating husband. She kept herself away with her new neighbour, Anjali Menon and then started busy-

-ing herself making paintings and ignoring her husband. Then the same friend, Anjali Menon made Purnima realize her mistake and advised her to adjust with her husband, overlooking his negative points. So one day, Purnima pressed Arun to see her paintings and asked for his views. This way, conflict between them was resolved. In case no. XX (Sita), Sita tries to compromise with her husband Raghu (who visits another woman) for the sake of her daughter, Priya. But she failed, and eventually decided to divorce him.

TURNING POINTS :

Now let us find out, what are the turning points in the situations of marital conflict/crisis leading to 'positive' or 'negative' results.

Table - 4.8

Main turning points in different situations of
Marital conflict/crisis

| S.No. | Turning Points | No. | Percent |
|--------------|----------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Role of third person | 5 | 45.4 |
| 2 | Mutual support | 3 | 27.3 |
| 3 | Revolt/Realization | 3 | 27.3 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

In forty five point four percent of the cases of marital conflict, third person (or mediator) plays an important role in bringing the turning points to resolve the conflicting situations. For instance, in case no. XI (Change of Heart), Ranjana leaves Ravi, after conflict, along with her children and goes back to her mother's place. Ranjana's mother advised her to go back to Ravi by narrating her own similar story. As a result of this, Ranjana compromised with the situation by going back to her own home, where she was welcomed by Ravi. The moment Ravi told her - he missed her. Ranjana's anger was gone. Thus, the story ends with the reunion of spouses. In case no. XVII (Making up for Lost Time), Purnima and Arun were not on talking terms because of their conflict. Here, Purnima's friend Anjali played an important role (as we have discussed earlier). Thus, in the end, conflict between Purnima and Arun was resolved because of Anjali Menon.

In case no. XIV (Catch the Right Moment), the conflict between Shanta and Ramchandran was resolved by Shanta's boss. On his advise Shanta agrees to rejoin her husband. In case no. XII (A Holiday to be Remembered), Usha was called to rejoin Naresh in a dramatic way. But, in case no.

XX (Sita), Sita tried to compromise with the situation of conflict, by ignoring Raghu's infidelities for the sake of her daughter, Priya (as, she did not want Priya to grow up without a father). But, Sita could not tolerate for long and become tired of Raghu's infidelities and suspicions. Thus, she decided to divorce him. The main turning point in this case is, when, Sita's grandmother tells Sita to leave her husband and to find a new path for herself and her daughter.

In twenty seven point three percent of cases, mutual support between the spouses acts as the main turning point in the situations of marital conflict/crisis, leading to positive results. For instance, in case no. X (The Open Door), the main turning point in the situation of conflict between Aruna and Siddheshwar Rao came when, one night, Siddheshwar exhibited his love to Aruna and told her "Aruna, I love you and I need you tonight." (Alive (family special), April (1st); 1989:77) As a result conflict between them resolved. In case no. XIII (The Verdict), tension between Dheeraj and Roopa was resolved when Dheeraj told Roopa that he will not allow their marriage to dissolve. But, the main turning point in this story is when, after hearing

Roopa's story, Dheeraj told her that- "You have me now to share any pain or sorrow with." (W.E.,16,368;1989:64) Thus, Dheeraj compromised in this case by sharing Roopa's painful story and by telling her to adopt a child so that she can never remain childless in her life.

In case no. XV (Made for each other), Sudha's anxiety was resolved as soon as Manish explains to her about his talk with Mrinalini. He said, "I told her all about . . . but sudha has made you happier." (W.E.,15,361; 1988:96) On hearing this Sudha was cleared of all her doubts.

In the above cases, it is the husband who takes the initiative of compromising with his wife in the situation of marital conflict/anxiety. But, the situations of conflict/crisis are resolved only with the support of the other spouse.

In rest of the twenty seven point three percent of the cases, the turning points in the situations of marital conflict/crisis come when one of the spouses, who made mistake, realizes his/her mistake or when one of the spouses revolts against the other spouse. For instance, in

case no. XVIII (The Holiday), turning point comes when Swati realizes that she has not tried to share Nitin's sorrows and pains. After ten days of stay in Mrs. Shipstone's cottage, she started wondering about Nitin and her kids and finally she joins Nitin. Thus, conflict between Swati and Nitin gets resolved when Swati realizes her own mistake. In case no. XIX (The Lamp) turning point in the story is, when Durga was taken to children home and a six month old beautiful baby girl was shown to her. Her mother-in-law tried to convince her to adopt a child. Durga was unable to decide, whether to adopt a child or not? But, her thinking was positive in the end.

In case no. XVI (Roma's Earnings), Roma resolve her anxiety by leaving her job (in a silent revolt). Turning point in this story comes when Roma realizes that her own earnings are neither important for household nor for herself. So, she decides to have no income by leaving her job without telling her husband. The story ends at a vulnerable point, where her anxiety is resolved but conflict can start.

COMPROMISE :

The following table shows the pattern

of adjustment between husband and wife.

Table - 4.9

Pattern of adjustment between the spouses

| S.No. | Spouse | No. | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Husband | 2 | 18.2 |
| 2 | Wife | 6 | 54.5 |
| 3 | Both (Husband and Wife) | 1 | 9.1 |
| 4 | None | 2 | 18.2 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

In fifty four point five percent of cases, the wife tries to adjust with her husband, and in eighteen point two percent of cases husband tries to adjust with his wife in the situation of marital conflict/anxiety. Only in nine percent of the cases both the partners try to adjust or compromise with each other.

In general it may thus be concluded that it is the wife who is expected to make the compromises and take the initiative in dissolving the marital conflict.

END :

Now, let us find out what kind of end

these stories have? Do these stories end with the reconciliation of spouses, with the separation of spouses, or do they have some other type of ending?

Table - 4.10

Type of End

| S.No. | Type of End | No. | Percent |
|-------|--|-----|---------|
| 1 | Reconciliation of spouses ⁺ | 9 | 81.8 |
| 2 | Separation of spouses ^ç | 1 | 9.1 |
| 3 | Open end ^x | 1 | 9.1 |
| Total | | 11 | 100.0 |

(+ : Reunion of spouses resulting in marital adjustment and happy marital life.

ç : Divorce or staying separately.

x : A situation where story ends in an inconclusive way.)

It can be seen from the above table that in most of the cases (81.8 percent) of marital conflict/anxiety result in reconciliation of the spouses. While only a little more than nine percent of the cases result in divorce or separation of the spouses. In rest of the cases (9.1 percent), the stories end in a silent revolt. It is a situation where, the story ends in an inconclusive way.

In general it may thus be concluded that at most of the marital conflicts/anxieties are of a temporary in nature and most often the partners resolve the conflict mutually resulting in a happy reunion. Divorce or separation are very rare. In the 'tales of married relations' we find two sequences of resolutions of conflict between husband and wife.

1. In one of the sequences, a mediator is present, who helps in the resolution of conflict/anxiety between husband and wife, i.e.,

Opposition → Mediation → Solution

2. Whereas, in another sequence, mediator is absent and conflict is resolved when both husband and wife try to compromise with each other in the situation of conflict/anxiety, i.e.,

Opposition → Mutual Compromise → Solution

But, we find that in both the sequences, one or the other spouse must compromise in the majority of the cases, it is the wife, who compromises with her husband even if he is the root cause of conflict. In the cases, where mediator tries to resolve the conflict between husband and wife, it is the wife, who is advised to compromise in

the situations of conflicts. Women are always made to feel that home is the essential need for them. They are usually advised to forgive their husbands (for their faults) and to swallow their ego and pride for the sake of their family and family's happiness.

In almost all the cases, we find that women are educated and belong to higher middle class families. Their image is projected as one of bold and assertive women in the beginning of the conflict, but these women get 'normalized' in the end (with few exceptions).

The woman's feeling of anger and of being needed are portrayed in an innocent way, and their anger gets removed and their feelings of being needed gets fulfilled as soon as husband explains or some other person gives advice or they are made to realize their own mistakes even when they are not at fault.

Section - III

'Real tales of failed Marital Relationship'

Marriage is primarily meant for the fulfilment of religious and social duties in our society, and husband and wife can only be separated by death. To quote Gupta, "The marriage among the Hindus was considered sacred and permanent, once the 'seven steps' (an important marriage rite) has been taken together the wife and the husband had to live as such until death." (1987 :77)

Among the higher caste Hindus divorce was never prevalent except in the cases of barrenness or adultery. The higher caste Hindus never divorced his wife until she proved barren or an adultress. But, women did not enjoy such privilege in any case.

A wife is expected to provide all services needed by her husband and to keep him satisfied. Satisfying her husband and his family has been considered the sole duty in the life of a woman.

However, with the changing outlook on

marriage because of higher education, attitudes towards the marital bond are also changing. The most important change in women is a sense of her own identity as separate from that of the man. The educated women is no longer ready to act according to the traditional image of women, as a result of which sometimes conflict between husband and wife takes place. Sometimes conflict becomes serious and results in separation or divorce.

Rama Mehta's study of 'Divorced Hindu Women' gives reasons for the break of the marriage resulting in permanent separation or divorce (1975:44-45). Some of these reasons are :

1. Dowry demands.
2. Dominating in laws.
3. Husband's dependence on his parents.
4. Difference in the attitudes between husband and wife.

In this section we have taken two cases of 'marital break-up' from 'Women's Era'. This magazine invites stories from divorcees; as their advertisement in the magazine shows - "ARE YOU A DIVORCEE . . . and you wish you'd not gone into it? Women's Era would like to publish your story. Your identity will not be disclosed if you pre-

-fer it so. In such a case you may choose a pen-name for p-
-ublication purposes." (W.E.,15,361;1988:14) Thus, the two
cases which we are going to analyze are so called 'real ta-
-les' of failed marital relationships, ending in divorce .

Here, we will try to answer the follow-
-ing questions :

1. What are the situations and the sources of marital conf-
-lict?
2. Who are the agents for the continuing conflict between
husband and wife?
3. Does either of the spouses or both try to resolve the c-
-onflict between them?
4. How does their relationship leads to divorce?

If we see the situations and the sourc-
-es of conflict in the tales of 'failed relationships', then,
we find that the main reason for marital conflict is the s-
-ubmissive nature of the husband. In both the cases, husba-
-nds are under the control of their mothers. For instance,
in case no. XXI (Towards Loneliness and Misery), husband t-
-reated his mother like a goddess. Whereas, in case no. XXII
(It's Over Spilt Milk That I Cry), husband was totally und-
-er the control of his mother. To quote the story, "My husb-

-and was a spineless creature, completely under his mother's thumb." (W.E.,15,361;1988:11)

Another source of conflict, is harassment of daughter-in-law by her domineering mother-in-law . For instance, in case no. XXII, mother-in-law was very shrewd and dominating. As the writer has written - "My mother-in-law was shrew of a woman who could not bear to see her only son being 'snatched' away from her by a mere slip of a wife. He was the apple of her eye, the only son amidst four daughter."

"The first thing she did was to take away all my jewellery. I wasn't allowed to visit my parents place either. She even made her daughters sleep in the same room as us, the newly married couple." (W.E.15,361;1988:11) Every month, her income too was handed over to her mother-in-law. When she became pregnant and felt sick, she did not get any care from her in-laws.

In case no. XXI, the wife was expected to adjust with her orthodox in-laws, and husband used to give his home all his income. Wife was also told to do the same, which hurt her a lot (as, she was in habit of spending a handsome part of her salary on herself). The wife was

expected to do household chores (along with her job) which was difficult for her to manage. To quote the story, "A working woman finds it tough to prepare meals at home and then surrender herself into the arms of her husband, at his will and pleasure." (W.E.,16,369;1989:66)

The harassment of wife by her in-laws was the main reason for continuing conflict between husband and wife. In case no. XXI, wife tries her best to adjust with her in-laws. She had sacrificed her interests and hobbies (paintings and pen-friends) for the sake of a happy married life. She has written - "I wanted a firm foundation for my marriage and hence submitted myself to his desires and views at every cost." (W.E.,16,369;1989:66)

Whereas, in case no. XXII, husband takes the initiative for resolving the marital conflict and the wife also agrees to it (mutual adjustment).

But in both the cases failure of resolution takes place. The main reason for the situation of marital conflict, which results in divorce, in the case no. XXI was disloyalty of the husband. Neelima Sharma's husband was transferred to a far place in Andhra Pradesh. She, her-

-self stayed back with her in-laws because of her job. After six months, she planned to give her husband a surprise visit on their second marriage anniversary. But when she reached there, she was shocked to see her husband with another woman. To quote the story - "My husband welcomed me with a strained face. He seemed frightened by my appearance. Perhaps, he never expected me, I thought. The bedroom unravelled the whole story. It was quite clear that some woman was present in the room, prior to my entering it, I was stunned and shocked. He did not utter even a single word.... I searched for the girl . . . I found her in the bathroom." (W.E.,16,369;1989:67) She returned the very next day and they remained separated for two years and ultimately she divorced her husband.

But, in case no. XXII, the main reason of separation was, wife gets the unwanted pregnancy aborted on her own signature, against her mother-in-law's (and husband's) wishes. In this cases, husband had no identity of his own and was very much in his mother's control. In fact, when wife asked her husband for abortion, he went and consulted his mother, who said "no" for the abortion. But, wife became very furious and get the unwanted (because of

family circumstances) pregnancy aborted. After abortion the wife went to her mother's place for recovery because she was confident that her husband would definitely come to take her back as he had done before. But this time her calculation was wrong. He never came to take her back. After two years, her father (she was getting support from her father) told her to divorce her husband and ultimately, their relationship ends with divorce.

But when we see the present state of these women, then we find that, they are regretting their decision of divorce. In case no. XXII, the woman was getting support from her father and at present her father is no more. She wonders whether her father was her friend or her enemy, "If he had not spoilt or pampered me, I will have a different story to tell. If only he had not encouraged and abetted me in lack of adjustment - if he had given me sound advice and taught me to win over my in-laws with love - my life would have been different." (W.E.,15,361;1988:14)

Married woman is supposed to curtail her relationship with her natal family, but in this case father - daughter relationship was strong. Because of this, the failure of this marriage took place.

In case no. XXI, the wife blames herself for her present miserable condition. She now feels that, "Patience, maturity and more understanding might have saved our marriage, but my friends misguided me. I blame myself for listening of them." (W.E.,16,369;1989:67)

In this case her friends advised her the adverse effects, for which she is now sorry.

In fact, the column from which we have taken these stories ask only for such stories in which women are regretful after divorce i.e., "you wish you'd not gone into it." So, we can not say that in all the cases of divorce woman regrets later in her life. As Rama Mehta's study indicates, "In spite of their lack-lustre lives, the majority of the respondents felt that life after separation was better for them than it had been as married women." (Mehta;1975:64)

In general it may be concluded that in both the cases situation and sources of conflict arise because of mutual incompatibility between the spouses and the situation is exacerbated by a third person; here mainly by dominating mother-in-law (and over-protective father in one case).

In both the cases, there is short-lived attempt to resolve the conflict. These stories end in divorce. However, in both the cases, the divorce is projected as being a rash act which, results in repentance. Here, divorce is portrayed as an attempt to throw the woman into insecurity. In both the cases, women are independent economically well-off (working), but still they need companion as their life is lonely and insecure. As one of the women has written, "I need above all, a man. A lonely life is a curse and horrible to live. Parents, brothers and sisters - nobody bothers to care once we enter into old age. Society looks with disdain and men look with lust and desire." (W.E., 16,369;1989:67)

Thus, home life, mainly understood as married life is very essential for a woman, as it gives security to her and to her children. A woman, however educated and independent she may be, she should not let go her capacity to adjust to the traditional mores if she wants a home and happy marital life.

These women are now blaming themselves for not showing patience and endurance in the beginning of their married life. Thus, their present position dramatizes

their own 'self-aggression'. Now, they have realized that woman's real house is her husband's house.

If we see these cases from sociological point of view, then, we find that these cases highlights the

1. Problem of adjustment for the girl in her new house after marriage;
2. Suppression of conjugality by the elders of the family;
3. Strong mother - son relationship in Indian families;and
4. The need for a married woman to sever/curtail relations with her natal family.

Section - IV

'Marital Problems' from 'The Personal Column'

Let us find out, what kind of marital problems 'Women's Era' receives in 'The Personal Column'. All the cases of marital problems (except one case no.II(14)) are sent to 'The Personal Column' by women and thus show the problem from the point of view of the wife only.

Table - 4.11

Issues responsible for marital tensions

| S.No. | Issues | No. | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------|-----|---------|
| 1 | Alcoholism | 4 | 25.0 |
| 2 | Infidelity | 4 | 25.0 |
| 3 | Pre - marital relations | 4 | 25.0 |
| 4 | Other | 4 | 25.0 |
| Total | | 16 | 100.0 |

ALCOHOLISM :

In twenty five percent of the cases marital relation between spouses is strained because of alc-

-oholism and in all such cases it is the husband who is an alcoholic. For instance, in case no. II(1), husband is alcoholic and even beats his wife publicly (in front of the neighbours). In case no. II(3) - "My husband was a drunkard even before marriage, but I married him thinking that I would be able to mend him. Now he has increased his drinking because his business flopped sometimes back." (W.E.,15,361; 1988:18) In case no. II(10), husband is a drunkard and epileptic. In case no. II(11), husband is an inveterate alcoholic.

INFIDELITY :

In another twenty five percent of cases, problem between the spouses is because of infidelity, specially on the part of the husband. For instance, case no. II(2), wife is in great tension because husband has 'become friendly with' an actress. In this case, wife seems to be very possessive about her husband and she is jealous of another woman with whom her husband is friendly (although , her husband is not neglecting her). In case no. II(8), husband is working in Dubai. After marriage when wife joined him in Dubai, she discovered that husband was having an affair with a married lady - a mother of two children. In

case no. II(13), wife herself is a second wife and she feels very uneasy because of her husband's sexual relations with another girl. In case no. II(16), within two years of (love) marriage, husband tells his wife that she is too old for him and he is in love with her younger sister.

PRE-MARITAL RELATIONSHIP :

In another twenty five percent of cases, the problem is because of pre-marital relationship of wife. For instance, in case no. II(5) , when husband got to know that his wife had done 'bad things' (unspecified), before marriage, after reading her personal diary, he started 'misbehaving' and even beating her. In case no. II(6), wife had physical relations with a boy before marriage and sometime back, she confessed her guilt and confided everything to her husband. Since then husband is extremely upset and depressed. In this case, husband's behaviour shows the possessive and jealous nature of the husband. In case no. II(9), wife (after four years of marriage with a three and half years old daughter) is still in love with her pre-marital boy friend and wants to join him - "My marriage was solemnised against my wishes. Before marriage, I was deeply in love with a boy and had even conceived a child by him,

but my father got it aborted and forcefully married to a different boy. Both of us dislike our spouses and want to be together again. We are ready to do anything for the sake of our love." (W.E.,16,366;1989:91) In case no. II(12), wife had sexual relations with two colleagues, but both of them refused to marry her. She even got pregnant by her second boy friend but got it aborted. Now after marriage the wife is worried that her husband might come to know about her earlier affairs.

In rest of the twenty five percent of cases problems between husband and wife are different. For instance, in case no. II(4), wife wants something in order to earn own additional income because husband's business has suffered a loss and they are now in debt. In case no. II(7) the wife writes : "My husband is very hot-tempered and usually makes unjust comments about me." (W.E.,16,365 ; 1989:88) In case no. II(15), wife is frustrated because of her husband's behaviour.

Case no. II(14) is sent by a husband - "I got married to a Hindu girl at the age of 32. Within one month marriage, my wife filed a case against me for divorce, stating that I had blood pressure, diabetes and heart trou-

-ble, while I have none of these complaints. The case is now in the court." (W.E.,16,369;1989:35) In this case husband has no intension of breaking marriage and has filed a case against his wife for the restitution of conjugal rights.

It may be concluded that fifty percent of the cases in marital problem are because of husband, either because of alcoholism or because of his extra-marital affairs, which show his disloyalty towards his wife. In another twenty five percent of cases problems are because of pre-marital affairs of the wife -

1. either because of jealous nature of the husband, i.e., when husband is very upset and depressed because of wife's pre-marital affair; or
2. because of wife's uncontrolled feelings; as in case no. II(9) , or
3. because of wife's own guilt feeling, i.e., where wife is worried after marriage about what will happen if husband gets to know about her pre-marital affair(s).

In the other twenty five percent of the cases problem is because of a dominating, hot-tempered and stingy husband or because of wife's wrong step.

Chapter - V

Conclusion

The present study was undertaken to observe the 'man-woman' relationship as projected in the fictional tales taken from different women magazines. Here, an attempt has been made to compare the marital relations as they appear in popular fictions in these magazines with the 'real life' problems taken from the 'personal column' from the same magazines.

Here, it may be mentioned that the sample size is small, thus, no generalizations can be made, however, on the basis of our findings certain inferences can be drawn. In order to have a clear insight of the 'man-woman' relationship, let us view this from two different perspectives, namely 'Courtship' and 'Conjugality'.

COURTSHIP :

The study reveals that courtship usually starts with the encounter of two persons of the opposite sexes, who live nearer to each other, i.e., work together, study together etc., and initiative is generally taken by a male partner. However, in a majority of the cases their relationship is strained because of misunderstanding between them or because of obstacle created by a third per-

-son or a party. It was observed that misunderstanding between the partners were usually because of jealousy, suspicion or the possessive nature of the women.

However, in the fictional narratives, obstacles were created by the parents of girls, or their kins and friends. But in 'real life' cases boys parents also create obstacles. In 'real life' stories caste, class and religion between the two partners are important reasons for causing problems. But, these problems are not significant in the fictional narratives.

Our studies show the courtship period as projected in the fictional tales and the real life problems are not free from obstacles. We may thus conclude that there is a close link between popular fictions and 'real life' cases. However, it may be mentioned here that, in the popular fictions obstacles are created mostly by the girl's parents. While in the real life cases it is the parents of both the partners who create problem in most of the cases. Mention may be made here that about fifty percent of the narratives end in marriage with their respective partners and rest of them results in break-up between the partners. This is contrary to the impression gained from Eng-

-lish romantic literature of the so called 'Mills and Boon' variety where most of the relationships result in marriage between the partners.

In general, it may thus be concluded that, courtship as an institution is new in India and contrary to the western romantic fiction model, a remarkable number of 'love-affairs' in Indian society do not end in marriage. Thus, we can say that courtship is not real courtship as such but it is a romance between the partners.

CONJUGAL RELATIONS :

Our study shows that conjugal relations are not free from conflict. However, it may be mentioned that most of the marital tensions are created by the wife because of anxiety, suspicion, insecurity, jealousy etc. But these conflicts are usually temporary in nature. It was also found that a mediator plays an important role. Mediation is usually done by an elderly person or a friend. Study shows that wives are mostly advised by the mediator to compromise with her husband even if conflict arises because of husband's fault.

Our study shows that even in the 'advi-

-se column' the wives are usually advised to compromise with their husbands for a peaceful family life.

When we compare fictions and advise column then the problems in marriage revealed in personal column are on the whole different from the fictional narratives, i.e., problems in the real life cases are mostly created by husbands whereas, in the fictional narratives problem in marital relations is projected as created by the wife, though infidelity or suspected infidelity is a common theme in both the cases.

A common point worth mentioning is, divorces are few in both the cases. In 'real tales' of failed marital relations divorce is shown as an extreme step which occurs because of mutual incompatibility between the spouses. Divorce is portrayed as an attempt to throw the women into insecurity. Thus, divorce is not a solution to marital unhappiness but a failure of mediation/compromise.

In general it may thus be concluded that courtship as an institution is a new phenomenon in Indian society. It may also be mentioned that marital relations are not free from conflict but they are mostly short -

lived. It reflects an invincible bond between husband and wife. Finally, it may be concluded that there is a close link between the fictional tales with the 'real-life' cases as they are projected in the popular fictions.

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B. Magazines

1. **Alive (family special)** : April (first), 1989.
2. **Eve's Weekly** : Vol. XLII; No. -1, (Jan-7-13) 1989.
3. _____ : Vol. XLVII; No. -4, (Jan 28-Feb 3) 1989.
4. **Women's Era** : Vol. 15, Issue-359, Nov (II) 1988.
5. _____ : Vol. 15, Issue-360, Dec (I) 1988.
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7. _____ : Vol. 16, Issue-363, Jan (II) 1989.
8. _____ : Vol. 16, Issue-365, Feb (II) 1989.
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13. _____ : Vol. 16, Issue-370, May (I) 1989.
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Appendix

Tales of Courtship

I. "When Day Light comes": S. Govindaraj (Alive; April 'I'; 1989).

The present story is about a middle aged bachelor, Kaushik (nursery owner) and a thirty years old divorcee, Hema, with a daughter, Revati. Hema is a marketing executive in a firm. Hema and Kaushik met each in a get together organized by an old man, Raghvan, who was known to both of them. Hema's daughter Revati introduced her mother to Kaushik (Revati used to play at his place) and Hema invites Kaushik for Revati's birth day party. Hema started liking him. After few days Kaushik met with an accident and fractured his wrist, after hearing this, Hema and Revati came to see him. When they were going back Hema saw Leela (a landscaper, who was taking horticultural support from Kaushik), going to Kaushik's place. Hema mistook Leela for Kaushik's girl-friend and stopped meeting him. One day Raghvan went to Kaushik's place and told him that Hema thinks highly of him and she stopped coming to his place because Leela might misunderstand her. Hearing this, Kaushik told Raghvan to convey his message to Hema that Leela is just a client and he also likes his company. The next day, Hema visited Kaushik and both of them decided to get married.

II. "The Tangled Web": Nurgesh Kothawala (W.E., 15, 359; 1988)

This story is about a twenty years old girl Nandini. She was friendly with a notorious boy Nilkant Rao. One day they went out for a car drive and on the way their car hit a tree and Nilkant injured his leg. They went to Dr. Shivram Sridhar's clinic. Nandini and Dr. Sridhar fall in love with each other at the first sight. Dr. Sridhar mistook her as Nilkant's sister and sent his proposal of marriage to Nilkant's father. As a result of his misunderstanding he got engaged to Nilkant's sister, Sabita, who already had a broken engagement for no fault of hers. Nandini got very angry after hearing this news, as she was very much in love with him. But Nandini's problem resolved when Sabita's former fiance came forward to marry her, requested the Dr. to break the engagement. In the end, Dr. Sridhar decided to ask Nandini's parents for their daughter's hand.

III. "News from Abroad": Sudha Palit (W.E., 16, 363; 1989)

This story is about a girl, Leela. Leela and Mahesh were working in the same office. Leela used to take dictation from Mahesh and in the process they fall in love with each other and got engaged. Soon after their engagement Mahesh has to go to States for his MBA course. On the other hand Leela was also friendly with a family friend, Ravi, who again was very good friend of Mahesh. When Mahesh

left for states, Leela and Ravi became more friendly with each other and one day both of them realized that they are in love with each other. When Mahesh was about to come back, both of them were in dilemma as both of them were guilty and did not know, what to do? But, their problem was resolved when Leela received a letter from Mahesh in which he had apologized for falling in love with a classmate abroad.

IV. "Cinderella's Sister": Kaveri (W.E., 15, 360; 1988)

The story is about a beautiful and arrogant girl Preeti. She is in love with Atul, and Atul is also quite friendly with her. She thought that Atul is going to propose her in the coming party. But, unexpectedly, Atul told Preeti that she is not the right girl for him and asked for her cousin Uma's hand who was a very simple girl.

V. "The Matchmaker": Himranjani Venkateswaran (Alive, April (1) 1989)

This story is about a 26 years old unmarried, independent and career woman, Uma, who was living all alone in Bombay. Her parents were looking for an appropriate match for her. But she was against arranged marriage. On her holidays Uma went to her aunty's place where she met Gautam, an architect, who was staying as a tenant at her aunty's place. Uma started liking him and also became friendly with him. Uma was very jealous of Gautam's female colleague, who used to visit him. After few days Uma was called by her parents, Gautam could not wait for long time and the very next day he went to Uma's place and asked for her hand. Finally they got married.

VI. "The Hurting Heat": Kumud Bhatnagar (W.E., 16; 370; 1989)

The story is about a girl Nisha who falls in love with a Muslim boy, Sarwar. They got married secretly according to Hindu rites. But when Nisha's sister got to know about it, she took Nisha to a far off place and never allowed her to meet Sarwar. After few years she met Rohit and they got married. However, after marriage she is happy with her husband but she has not told her husband about her secret marriage. Moreover, she is unable to forget Sarwar.

VII. "The Best Friend": Romola Shanbhag.

Manju, only child of her parents fall in love with Satish during her college days. Whereas, Satish was only after her money. When Manju's parents got to know about her affair they opposed it and tried to marry her off to some other person. Meanwhile, Satish and Manju planned to elope. But, Manju's friend Rekha knew about their plan and told her parents about it, finally they were caught and Manju was then forced to marry some other person with whom she is happy.

VIII. "Fragrance of Love" : Chitra Ramaswamy (W.E., 16, 363; 1989)

This story is about an Indian girl Priya. she was in love with an Australian, Ian. Both of them were teaching in the same university. In spite of her parental opposition, Priya got married to Ian. Everyone advised her not to go for this marriage as marriage is a sacred bond in Indian society and just a contractual bond in western society. But she stayed happily ever after her marriage.

IX. "Mirage" : Krishna Garg (W.E., 15, 359; 1988)

This story revolves around, Anubha who was in love with Vikas. In fact, both of them were living together in Delhi. But when Anubha got to know that Vikas is already married, she could not help herself as she was very much in love with Vikas. Vikas used to visit his village during the holidays. During one of his such visit, he took Anubha along with him to his native place and there she was introduced as 'the wife of his friend! In Vikas's place she saw his wife and son and their relationship with Vikas, she realized her own position that she is denied of the rights of a wife and she can only be his mistress. Meanwhile, she plans to go back leaving the couple behind.

TALES OF CONJUGAL RELATIONS

X. "The Open Door" : Lily Tripathy (Alive, April '1'; 1989)

This story is about a newly married woman, Aruna, who is unable to adjust with her in-laws because of which she became indifferent towards her husband. Moreover, she thinks that he likes his mother more than her. So, she was competing with her mother-in law for Siddheshwar's love. Her marital conflict was resolved by Siddheshwar who opened up one night and exhibited his love to her.

XI. "Change of Heart" : Meena Das (W.E., 16, 367; 1989)

This story is about a housewife, Ranjana, who was happy with her husband and two children. But, her relationship with her husband became tense when she saw Ravi with his secretary, Julie, in a restaurant. She left her house and started staying with her parents along with her children. After few months Ranjana's mother told Ranjana to think about her future and advised her to visit Ravi at least once, by narrating her own story with happy ending. Thus, Ranjana went to meet Ravi and was welcomed by him.

XII. "A Holi to be Remembered" : Alope Saxena (W.E., 16, 367; 1989)

This story revolves around Usha, who was unable to stay with her husband Naresh in an 'Adivasi' locality where he was transferred.

Usha did not like the place and started staying with her parents. Meanwhile, Naresh was feeling lonely. Naresh's friend Ramprasad resolve their conflict in a dramatic way by sending a letter to Usha in which he had written that Naresh is taking in another girl. After reading the letter, Usha came back to Naresh.

XIII. "The Verdict": Pramila Bharat Singh (W.E., 16, 368; 1989)

The present story is about a woman, Roopa, who anxiously wants to have a child but couldn't conceive even after four years of marriage. Once she missed her periods and went to doctor along with her husband. Her husband told that she is not pregnant and will not conceive in future because of her pre-marital delivery about whom Dheeraj did not know. Roopa got very disturbed, but her mother-in-law and husband were very understanding. But when Roopa got to know that Dheeraj knows about her pre-marital delivery, she became very anxious and thought that their marriage might break up. But Dheeraj was very understanding and told her that he will not allow their marriage to break and advised her to adopt a child.

XIV. "Catch the Right Moment": Kusum (E.W., XLII, 1; 1989)

This story is about a newly married typist, Shanta who is staying in Bangalore. But her husband, Ramchandran is an Engineer in Madras. After a month of marriage, relationship between them became strained because of Shanta's job. Ramchandran wanted Shanta to leave her job and join him in Madras. Whereas, Shanta was not ready to leave her job. After constant confrontations, Ramchandran left for Madras all alone. Both of them kept writing to each other. After few days she started missing her husband and planned to take leave for few days in order to join her husband. She went to her boss Dr. Rao and asked for a leave and when he got to know that Shanta wants to join her husband. He told her not to miss the opportunity and to compromise with her husband narrating his own story with unhappy ending. Dr. Rao assured Shanta that he will try for her transfer in Madras.

XV. "Made for Each Other": Gemini (W.E. 15, 361; 1988)

This is the story of Sudha, a social worker who is married to Manish, a doctor. Sudha became very anxious when she got to know that a famous play back singer Mrinalini (who was Manish's girl friend) is coming for her show. Sudha was very disturbed when she saw Manish and Mrinalini together during the show. But, finally Sudha got to know that Manish told Mrinalini about their married life together, she was relieved of tension.

XVI "Roma's Earnings": Ela Mitra (W.E.,16,363;1989)

This story is about a working girl, Roma, who has no right on her own earnings. She gets married to an executive of a multinational company, Anil. Anil was very dominating. He forced Roma to change her job and proposed her to open a joint account in a bank in order to save money for a flat. Anil never allowed Roma to spend her money on herself. The conflict arises when Anil withdrew Rs. 50,000 from their joint account for a car, without consulting Roma. She realized that her own earnings are of no use for herself. In the end she resigns from her job without telling her husband about.

XVII "Making up for Lost Time": Meena Das (W.E.,16,363;1989)

This story is about a middle aged frustrated woman, Purnima, who is fed up of her present life because of her dominating and demanding husband, Arun. After 25 years of married life she wants to breathe freely and want some change in her life, and then her new neighbour, Anjali Menon, comes in her life. Purnima became friendly with Anjali against her husband's wishes, and started learning paintings. In this process she neglected her husband. Then Anjali made Purnima realize her mistake by neglecting her husband. In the end, conflict between Arun and Purnima is resolved.

XVIII "The Holiday": Aruti Nayar (W.E.,16,370;1989)

This story revolves around a school teacher, Swati Mehta, who used to be an independent and most-headstrong girl in the school. After marriage, she became only a housewife who simply looks after her family. She was fed up with the daily routine of her life and wanted to spend her holidays in Mrs. Shipstone's cottage. But, Nitin was too busy to accompany her. Moreover, he was not ready to spend his holidays on charity, so, Swati went all alone to the cottage. In the beginning she enjoyed the peaceful life of the cottage. After a week, she realised the difficult possibilities of her husband and children and felt guilty for enjoying holidays all alone. Thus, in the end she goes back to her husband where she was received with open arms.

XIX "The Lamp": Rukmini Parthasarathy (W.E.,16,366;1989)

This story is about a housewife, Durga, who had no child. Durga became very anxious after reading her mother-in-law's letter written to her husband, Mukund, in which mother-in-law had mentioned about a girl. Durga thought that her mother-in-law needs a grandchild so badly that she is trying to fix up another marriage for him. But, her suspicion was resolved when her mother-in-law took her to a children home and told her to adopt a child. In the end,

Durga was double-minded, whether to adopt a child or not, but her thinking was positive.

XX "Sita": Gita Aravamudan (E.W., XLII, 4; 1989)

This story is about a woman, named Sita. She is fed up of her husband's infidelities and wants to divorce him. Sita's husband, Raghu, has kept a mistress. He even beats Sita as she has started working. Sita suffered for two years because of her daughter Priya, as she did not want Priya to grow up without a father. But now she is unable to tolerate and tells her grand mother about her decision to leave Raghu and to find her own path.

'Real-takes' of Failed Marital Relations

XXI "Towards loneliness and misery": Neelima Sharma (W.E., 16, 359; 1989)

This is a real life story written by a divorcee, who is a working woman. Her husband was from orthodox Hindu family and used to pray his mother like a Goddess. Even gave his pay to his mother only. Neelima was also told to do the same. She had some difficulty in adjusting herself to his ideology and ways and had to sacrifice even her hobbies for the sake of a peaceful life. Later on, her husband was transferred to Andhra Pradesh and she stayed with her in-laws because of her job. On their second marriage anniversary Neelima decided to visit her husband. When she reached there she found her husband with an other girl. She left him and goes back to her parents and stayed separately for two years. Finally, she divorced her husband. At present she is regretting about her decision of divorce. She feels that patience, maturity and more understanding might have saved her marriage.

XXII "It's Over Spilt Milk That I Cry": (Name withheld on request)

This real life story is written by an unknown woman. Writer's mother-in-law was a very shrewd lady and her husband was under mother's thumb. Few months after her marriage she became pregnant and felt sick, but she was not getting care from her in-laws. So, she went back to her parents place and delivered a baby girl. Four months after the delivery her husband came to take her and she went back to her husband's house. After few months she again became pregnant and wanted to go for the abortion. But her mother-in-law and husband did not agree to it. But, she got aborted on her own signature and went back to her parents and after two years her father advised her to divorce her husband. Now she feels whether her father was her friend or enemy as he gave an adverse advice to her and she is regretting on her own decision of divorce.

II

I. 'Real-life' Courtship problems from the 'Personal Column'

- I(1) 20 years old girl is in love with her brother-in-law. She could not marry him because of parental opposition. Now parents are searching for a groom. She has written several love letters to him. She is afraid that there can be trouble for her after marriage.
- I(2) A Hindu girl is in love with a Muslim boy. They want to marry but boy has put a condition that she must convert to Islam before marriage.
- I(3) A 30 years old working girl got married to a boy 8 years younger to her.
- I(4) A Hindu girl is in love with a Christian boy and wants to marry him.
- I(5) A Muslim girl is in love with her cousin who is not interested in her. While, a doctor proposed to her but she is not ready to marry him.
- I(6) A working girl is in love with a married man.
- I(7) A girl has a broken affair and is guilty about it.
- I(8) A girl is in love with a boy of different caste and girl's mother is creating problem for her.
- I(9) A girl is in love with a boy two years younger than her. She wants to know, whether there is a law preventing such marriages.
- I(10) A girl is in love with a boy who has gone abroad. She is unable to decide whether to wait for him or not as his parents are rejecting her.
- I(11) A Hindu girl is in love with a Muslim boy and wants to marry him.

II. 'Real-life' Problems from the 'Personal Column'

- II(1) Marital problem is because of alcoholic husband who even beats his wife publicly.
- II(2) Husband has become friendly with another woman and because of which wife is tensed.
- II(3) The wife is worried because of drunkard husband.
- II(4) The wife wants to do something at home in order to earn money, as her husband's business has suffered a loss.
- II(5) Husband has read his wife's personal diary and came to know about all the bad things she has done. Since then he is misbehaving with her and even beats her.
- II(6) The wife told her husband about her pre-marital affair (with physical relations), since then he is very upset and depressed.
- II(7) Husband is very dominating and money-minding. He is pressing his wife to ask her parents for her share in the ancestral property, because of which she is very upset.
- II(8) Husband is working in Dubai and is having an affair with a married woman. The wife was left in Delhi to her parents place. Now husband is asking for divorce.
- II(9) A woman was in love with a boy before marriage. The boy is also married now. Both of them hate their spouses and still love each other and want to get married.
- II(10) The wife is worried because her husband is an epileptic and a drunkard.
- II(11) The couple has no children. Husband is alcoholic and wife wants to divorce her husband.
- II(12) The woman is worried that her husband might get to know about her pre-marital affairs.

- II(13) This lady herself is a second wife and is disturbed because her husband had sexual relations with another girl.
- II(14) The wife wants to divorce her husband. Whereas, husband is not ready for it.
- II(15) This letter is from a frustrated lady whose husband belongs to a Scheduled Caste and do not allows her to spend her own earned money on her cloths, because of which she is very disturbed.
- II(16) The wife is disturbed because her husband told her that she is too old for him and he is in love with her younger sister.

