An analysis of gender practice of Tamil Christian women with particular reference to women of Kodambakkam Church of South India Risen Redeemer’s Church in Chennai.

Thesis

How to cite:

For guidance on citations see FAQs.

© 2006 Beulah Herbert

https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Version: Version of Record
Link(s) to article on publisher’s website:
http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000fb33

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online’s data policy on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.
‘An Analysis of Gender Practice
of Tamil Christian Women
with particular reference to
Women of Kodambakkam Church of South India
Risen Redeemer’s Church in Chennai’

By
Beulah Herbert
B. Sc. and M. Sc., Madras University,
B. D. and M. Th., Serampore University

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Open University, UK

December 2005
Oxford Centre for Mission Studies
'An Analysis of Gender Practice of Tamil Christian Women with particular reference to women of Kodambakkam Church of South India Risen Redeemer's Church in Chennai'

by Beulah Herbert

ABSTRACT

This study looks at the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. The self-perceptions and self-constructions of the women of the sample from the Church of South India in Kodambakkam, Chennai, provide material to answer the research question, 'Who is a Tamil Christian woman at the turn of the millennium?' Focus groups and interview methods are used to collect the data. A feminist narrative methodology is adopted. For the narrative analysis, categories from relevant Indian family studies and those emerging from the fieldwork are used. This use of the narrative method enables the researcher to elicit the self-perceptions and self-constructions of the women, unlike some studies employing methods which produce perceptions and definitions about women by others and not perceptions by and of the women about themselves.

The analysis of the narratives reveals that the women neither perceive themselves nor construct their self-identities according to the usual rhetoric found in secular and theological gender studies. Religion plays an important role in shaping their self-perception and self-construction but according to their own understanding and interpretation, not as an oppressive doctrinal machine. Further the various narratives show that the perception and identity construction of these women are complex and multifarious. However it also emerges that the identity construction is a performance within the context of the narration adopted by the narrators to fit their common sense understanding of a 'tellable story' by the use of various strategies, tools and mechanisms of storytelling. Thus the answer to the question who a Tamil
Christian woman is at the turn of the millennium is achieved through the collective, complex, multifaceted stories of the narrators emplotting their lived experiences of gender practice.
A DECLARATION

The author declares that the work of this thesis is the result of her own investigation, apart from that duly acknowledged to other authors, and that otherwise none of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this, or any other, awarding institution.

Signed:

Date:

A STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No part of it should be reproduced without her prior consent, and information derived from it should be acknowledged. Permission is granted to the British Library, the Open University, and the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies to grant access to copies of the thesis held in their libraries and to make copies for library purposes only.

Signed:

Date:
DEDICATION

I dedicate this to the Triune God, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit whose faithfulness has enabled me to complete this work to the glory of the triune God.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The number of people whose contribution and support has enabled me to complete this work is numerous. Every name cannot be mentioned in this page. But each one is gratefully remembered. However as many as possible are mentioned here thankfully:

1. My husband who initially suggested my doing higher studies and kept at it for three years until I could begin to do it.

2. Dr. K. Rajaratnam, Rev. Mrs. Prasanakumari Samuel and Dr. D. W. Jesudoss of Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Insitute, Chennai, who encouraged me to do my Ph. D.

3. Canon Dr. Vinay Samuel and Canon Dr. Chris Sugden of Oxford Centre for Mission Studies who suggested the possibility of distance education and helped in every way at each step.

4. The late Ms. V. Augustus of Women’s Christian College and Gurukul, Chennai, who sowed the kernal of the research topic and also helped me become a member of the American Center Library, Chennai, to do some preliminary reading.

5. Dr. Eleanor Jackson who enabled me to get a research fellowship at St. Martin’s College, Lancaster to enable me to do the initial groundwork.

6. The Rev. Dr. John Sutcliff who as the chairperson of the agency that gave the fellowship through St. Martin’s, and also became a good friend who at that time being the head of the Luther King’s house in Manchester graciously housed me for a few days to use their library. He also introduced me to Dr. Elaine Graham and Rev. Myrtle Langley.

7. The head of the department of the Religious Studies and all the faculty of that department, the Principal and the library staff of St. Martin’s for their kind support.

8. The library staff of the Lancaster University who helped me to use their library.
9. Many friends who gave emotional and social support during my residency periods in the United Kingdom.

10. The members of the community of Oxford Centre for Mission Studies particularly Canon Dr. Vinay Samuel and Canon Dr. Chris Sugden.

11. The staff of the North Oxford Overseas Centre, St. Gregory's Orthodox Centre, Mrs. Hare and Mrs. Kathleen Gratton who gave me accommodation during my residency periods.

12. My uncle Mr. Ian McCafferty, Mrs. and Mr. Andrasaic, Dr. and Mrs. Sugirtharajah, Mrs. Elnora Ferguson, Mrs. and late Mr. Neilson, Rev. Antony Gann, Mrs. and Mr. Michael Hews, Mrs. Elisabeth Archibald, Ms. Judy Craddock, Ms. Judith Lane, Mrs. and Mr. John Abubakker, Mrs. and Mr. Joseph Abraham, Mrs. and Dr. David Wenham, Mrs. and Mr. Houiellebeck, Ms. Chris McKeon, Mrs. and Rev. Andrew Kirk, Dr. O. S. Mayoll, Ms. Eva Arrowsmith, Ms. D. Hamilton, Mrs. and Mr. Relph, Rev. D. Wolff, Ms. H. Guest and others who gave social and emotional support. Particular mention must be made of Mrs. Colleen Samuel who saw to it that I had a home away from home.

13. Rev. Dr. John Stott who recommended me to the Langham Scholarship program. Rev. Roopchand Carr who enabled me to meet Dr. Stott in person.

14. The Langham Scholarship which along with some other sources supported the work financially. The administrators Rev. Geoffrey Gardner and Canon Paul Berg who have been always gracious. Particular mention must be made that the scholarship agency made available extra funds for an extra trip to India when my mother passed away and for buying of books and a mini-disc player to facilitate the recording and transcribing of the interviews.

15. Rev. Navamani Peter the then-President of the Association for Theologically Trained Women of India who proposed me to attend a World Council of Churches conference for theological educators which provided added financial support.
16. The travel agents, Ms. Ruby then in Tusker Travels, The Travel People, JM Travels, Ms. Nissi, then in Puma travels and Mrs. Meera of Puma travels who always found the best possible option to work out maximum benefit.

17. Dr. Catherine Clarke Kroeger of Gordon Conwell Seminary, Boston who invited me to stay with her for two months to use her massive library and also enabled me to use the library of the seminary. She became a good friend and helped by giving quite a few books and journal articles. She also enabled the librarians Dr. Barton and Mr. James Darlack to send me quite a few articles. Further Dr. Kroeger put me in touch with some faculty members in their seminary who gave some academic advice.

18. Dr. Ninni Jacob and her family of Rhode Island who housed me and helped me use the library of Brown University.

19. Dr. Nancy Nason-Clark of Canada who gave some timely advice and sent copies of some journal articles.

20. Dr. Ruth Finnegan of the Open University for academic advice.

21. Ms. Erika Baber of Bremen and my cousin Mrs. Harris and her family of Kulalampur who gave accommodation enroute and helped in many ways.

22. The American Studies Research Center in Hyderabad which gave a scholarship to enable me to use their library.

23. Dr. Paul Appasamy formerly of and Dr. Padmini Swaminathan of Madras Institute of Development Studies who gave valuable advice and enabled me to use their library.

24. The Director and librarian of CRENEIO in Chennai for allowing me to use their library.

25. The staff of the library of Madras University for helping me to use their library.

26. The Registrar and librarian of the Mother Theresa Women's University in Kodaikanal to use their library.
27. The Director and librarian of Satya Niketan, Chennai for allowing me to use their library.

28. The Principal and library staff of the United Theological College, Bangalore for helping me use their library.

29. The Vishranti Nilayam, Bangalore in giving me accomodation to carry on my research.

30. The Principal, staff and librarian of the Union Biblical Seminary, Pune in helping me use the library and also in providing valuable advice and accomodation.

31. Dr. Stanislaus and Dr. Robert Bellarmine of the Loyala College, Chennai in giving academic help and enabling me to use their library; Dr. Mrs. Rajasingh and my aunt Dr. Mrs. Rani Siromani who put me through to them.

32. Dr. Mrs. Alexander of the Queen Mary’s College who put me through to some other faculty and also enabled me to use their library.

34. The head of the department of Education, Madras University who gave valuable advice.

35. Mrs. Colleen and Dr. Vinay Samuel of Divya Shanthi, Bangalore who gave accomodation and valuable advice. Dr. Samuel once carried some valuable books for me.

36. Dr. David Singh of OCMS who helped me get some photocopied articles from the Bodeleian library. Mrs. Elisabeth Fewkes of Scripture Union, England and Wales, who carried the photocopied material for me.

37. The late Mr. Jacob of Mindstorm, Chennai, who allowed me to use his computer for email and browsing during the early years when the internet facility in India was not prevalent.

38. Ms. Collin Redditt of the Christian Mission for Charitable Trust who allowed me to use her computer and also put me through to Ms. Judith Lane who met me at the airport and gave a lot of warm wear during my first visit.
39. Ms. Leelavathy Mannasseh of the Evangelical Fellowship of India who helped in many ways including the conducting of a preliminary focus group of women in Bangalore. She along with Mrs. Jean Jebagnanam, my sister Dr. Mrs. Hannah Anandaraj and my sister-in-law Mrs. Lilian Ebenezer helped me collect some responses for the preliminary questionnaire and also helped in some focus groups outside Chennai. My cousin Dr. Arul Siromani, my brother-in-law Dr. Meshach Kirubakaran and a friend Mr. Elango who gave some crucial help with computer skills.

40. Mrs. and Mr. R. Gilbert who carried some post and medicines.

41. The owner and staff of Students Xerox centre, Nungambakkam who computerised the transcribed bilingual narratives.

42. The TAFTEE staff and Dr. Hannah Anandaraj helped in procuring some books and photocopied material.

43. My cousin Mrs. Punitha Chelliah and her late husband Mr. Herbert Chelliah helped enormously in many ways particularly taking care of our sons while I was away for a prolonged period. Mr. Samuel, a family friend and his family also helped immensely in taking care of the family while I was away.

44. My sisters Dr. Mrs. Chellam Kirubakaran and Dr. Mrs. Hannah Anandaraj, my brother Mr. R. S. Baliah, my sisters-in-law Dr. Mrs. Flora Shanthi Baliah and Mrs. Lilian Ebenezer and niece Mrs. Hannah Ernest and their families helped me enormously while I collected the data and also during the writing period by providing accommodation and quality time which was needed.

45. My parents, parents-in-law and other family members who supported in every way particularly with prayer.

46. Dr. Eleanor Jackson, Dr. Linda Woodhead, Canon Myrtle Langley, Dr. Harriet and Dr. Fiona Bowie who provided supervisory help in the early stages.
47. Dr. Graham Houghton and the faculty and community of SAIACS, Bangalore who helped with giving guidance, accommodation and library use.

48. The librarian of the Tamil University, Thanjavur who helped me use their library.

49. Nancy Hardesty who put me through to Dr. Catherine Clark Kroeger and the Rev. Dr. Letty Russell who gave moral support and encouragement and also gifted a dictionary on feminism.

50. The pastors of the church in Kodambakkam, the Rev. Karunakaran and Rev. E. W. P. Christopher and the many members of the church who helped in the field work. The various others who helped being informants, gate keepers and participants, and providers of accommodation, emotional and prayer support.

51. The faculty of OCMS, Dr. Vinay Samuel, Dr. Chris Sugden, Dr. Bernard Farr, Dr. Ben Knighton, Prof. D. Belshaw, Prof. H. Wilmer, Rev. Michael Elliot, Dr. Rollin Grams and others who gave academic support, the staff who gave practical support particularly the librarians Mr. Allan Poe, Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Christian.

52. The two supervisors, Dr. Chris Sugden and Dr. Sujatha Ross who saw the work through.

53. Mr. Eapen Pullickal, a colleague and Mr. Edwin Gomaz, a student in the Gospel For Asia Biblical Seminary who helped with some computer skills.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A DECLARATION</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. PRELIMINARY ISSUES.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. THE AREA OF RESEARCH.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. THE EXPLANATION OF THE THESIS TITLE</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. PRESENTATION</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. SOURCES</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE LAYOUT OF CHAPTERS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. STUDIES OF GENDER THEORIES.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. BLEIER'S WORK</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. WORK OF KESSLER AND MCKENNA</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. GRAHAM'S WORK</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. DEFINITION OF 'GENDER'</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. INDIAN GENDER STUDIES.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. WOMEN IN INDIAN SOCIETY.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. WOMEN AND SOCIETY IN INDIA.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. INDIAN WOMANHOOD: THEN AND NOW</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. CULTURE IN ACTION</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. RELEVANT INDIAN FAMILY STUDIES</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. AN EARLY STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN AN URBAN CONTEXT.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Indiradevi's Study.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Theological Perspectives.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Two Evangelical Perspectives of Gender Theology.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Egalitarian View of Select Passages.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. The Methodology.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Choice and Justification of the Methodology.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Explication of the Narrative Methodology Used.</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Theoretical Background.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Patterns of Story-telling as a Communicative Norm in the Culture of the Women of the Sample Group.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Construction of &quot;Self&quot; in a Narrative.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Interviewee Bias.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Issues of Significance, Meaning and Truth.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. The Method of Construction of the Story.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Theoretical Background for the Dynamics of Fieldwork.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. The Exploratory Study.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Population for the Exploratory Study</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Questionnaire for the Exploratory Study</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Theoretical and Analytical Framework</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction.</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Relevance of the Study of Ross.</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Indiradevi's Study.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Construction of an Analytical Framework for this Research from the Foregoing Discussion</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Methods.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Theoretical Background for Analytical Framework.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD WORK

I. Introduction.                                             | 98   |
<p>| II. The Focused Intense Field Work.                         | 98   |
| A. The Choice of the Field.                                 | 98   |
| B. The Sample Population.                                   | 98   |
| C. Location of the Church.                                  | 99   |
| D. Socio-economic and Cultural Setting of the Kodambakkam Area. | 99   |
| E. The Socio-cultural Background of the Sample Group.       | 100  |
| F. The Denominational Background.                           | 100  |
| III. The Entry into the Field.                              | 102  |
| IV. Problems Faced.                                         | 103  |
| A. Gatekeepers.                                             | 103  |
| B. Constraints on the Conduct of the Focus Groups.          | 103  |
| V. The Status of the Researcher in the Field.               | 103  |
| VI. Ethical Considerations.                                 | 109  |
| A. Informed Consent.                                       | 110  |
| B. Confidentiality.                                        | 110  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. Permission from Relevant Authorities.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Anonymity.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Participant Risk Minimisation.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Value to those researched.</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Method of Primary Data Collection.</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Data Analysis.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FAMILY</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Description of the Method of Presentation</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Explanation of terms referring to the actions or strategies used by the narrators.</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Pattern of Conformity to Equality.</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Narrative Style of ‘Togetherness’</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Claim of ‘Equal Treatment’ of Children</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Stories Using Rationalisation, Justification and Explanation.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Stories Employing Rationalisation</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Use of Justification</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Stories Displaying Explanations.</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Stories of Women's Control</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Valorisation</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Styles of Explanation Used for Valorising</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Rooting in Custom to Valorise.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Valorising Using Negotiating Strategies.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Making a Claim for Valorisation</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Valorising with a Religious Claim</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Contrast Styles.</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Descriptive Styles.</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Stories Claiming Conformity to Culture.</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Praising the Following of Culture</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Style of Sheer Description.</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Explicit Indication of Conformity to Culture.</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Pattern of Non-conformist Experiences Using ‘But I’ Style.</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Contrast used in the stories.</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Style Using Several Details and Description.</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Use of Juxtaposition for Contrast.</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Use of Contrast Words.</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Using the Attitudinal Difference to Construct Contrast.</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Making a Claim to Portray Contrast</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Use of the Situation of Lack of Care for Contrast.</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Contrast Using the Pattern of Bringing Up the Children.</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Stories of Identity Construction</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Construction of Chivalrous Identity.</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Identity of Strength and Care.</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FIVE 209

PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION AND CAREER 209

I. INTRODUCTION. 209

II. EDUCATION AND CAREER TAKEN FOR GRANTED AS CULTURAL NORMS. 210

III. STORIES EMPIRISING THE NECESSITY OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND CAREER. 216
   A. STYLE OF INSISTENCE UPON EDUCATION. 218
   B. EXPLICIT EMPHASIS AS A STYLE OF CONSTRUCTION. 218
   C. USING AN EXPLICIT CLAIM OF NECESSITY AS A STYLE. 219
   D. LONG DESCRIPTIVE STYLE. 219
   E. FINANCIAL NECESSITY PUT FORWARD FOR CAREER. 220

IV. PATTERN OF GLORIFICATION. 222
   A. STYLE OF EXPLICIT STATEMENT. 225
   B. ELABORATE NARRATIVE STYLE OF DETAILS. 226
   C. STYLE OF USE OF SOME WORDS. 227
   D. GLORIFICATION OF MOTHERS. 229

V. STORIES EXPLAINING OR JUSTIFYING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN. 231
   A. USING AN EFFECTIVE DEVICE TO JUSTIFY. 233
   B. SWITCHING AROUND USED FOR JUSTIFICATION. 233
   C. EXPLANATIONS USED FOR JUSTIFICATION. 234

VI. RATIONALISATION OF EDUCATION USED AS A TECHNIQUE OF STORY CONSTRUCTION 238
   A. SIMPLE STRATEGY OF RATIONALISATION. 239
   B. TWISTS USED TO RATIONALISE. 240
   C. NECESSITY OF EDUCATION USED AS THE BASIS FOR RATIONALISATION. 240
   D. USING CONFLICTING STATEMENTS. 241
   E. PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATIONS USED FOR RATIONALISATION. 241

VII. ACHIEVER IDENTITY. 242

VIII. CONTRAST USED FOR IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN STORIES ABOUT CAREER 244

IX. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION.
   A. CLAIMS OF EQUALITY IDENTITY. 247
   B. CONTRASTING IDENTITIES. 247
C. IDENTITIES OF PARTICULAR PROFESSIONS.  
D. FAITH CLAIMS USED FOR IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF A CAREER WOMAN.  
E. DESCRIPTIVE DETAILS USED IN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION.  

X. STORIES CONSTRUCTED WITH VICTIM IDENTITY.  
A. PATHOS USED FOR CONSTRUCTION.  
B. DESCRIPTION USED TO BUILD VICTIMISATION  
C. EXPLANATIONS GIVEN FOR VICTIMISATION.  
D. CONTRAST USED TO BRING OUT THE VICTIMISATION  

XI. NARRATIVES THAT SHOW DISAPPROVAL OR RESTRICTION OF WOMEN’S CAREER.  
A. DISAPPROVAL OF SOME CAREERS  
B. DISAPPROVAL OF SOME AND GLORIFICATION OF SOME OTHERS.  
C. PROVIDING A RATIONALE.  

XII. PATTERN OF COMPLETE DISAPPROVAL OF WOMEN WORKING.  
A. DETAILS PROVIDED TO JUSTIFY.  
B. RATIONALISATION STYLE.  

CONCLUSION  

CHAPTER SIX  
RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE  

INTRODUCTION.  

SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN’S GENERAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE CHURCH.  

I. VALUING SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.  
II. STORY OF INNER PEACE AND CONTENT.  
III. ‘NO TALL CLAIMS’.  
IV. ENNOBLING OR VALUING WOMEN’S INVOLVEMENT.  
A. STYLE OF CONTRAST AND USE OF VARIOUS PHRASES.  
B. USE OF PHRASES TO RATIONALISE ENNOBLEMENT.  
C. BIBLICAL BASE USED AS THE RATIONALE  
D. BENEFITS POINTED OUT.  
E. CONTRAST STYLE.  
F. CONTRAST TO HIGHLIGHT THE BENEFITS.  

V. PATTERN OF BOLDNESS.  
A. EXPLICIT USE OF THE WORD ‘BOLD’.  
B. EQUIPPING POINTED OUT AS THE BASIS FOR BOLDNESS.  

VI. STORIES OF POWERFUL AND ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT.  
A. ELABORATE DESCRIPTION USED AS NARRATIVE STYLE.  
B. SHORT AND CRISP CONSTRUCTION.  

VII. RATIONALISING.  
A. NEGATIVE EXAMPLE USED EFFECTIVELY.  
B. PHRASES OF APPROVAL USED FOR RATIONALISATION  
C. RATIONALISING WITH SEVERAL POINTS.  

CONCLUSION
## SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN’S ROLES IN THE CHURCH

285

### I. Women Preaching and Teaching.

- **A. Defense Based on God’s Approval.** 285
- **B. Justification.** 287
- **C. Personal Approval.** 289
- **D. Eulogising.** 292
- **E. Approval with Reservation, Justification and a Claim of Paul’s Saying.** 294

### II. Women in Church Administration.

- **A. Disapproval.** 296
- **B. Approval.** 297
- **C. Vehement Advocating.** 299
- **D. Advocating as Valuable.** 300

### III. Discourse About Women’s Ordination

- **A. Personal Disapproval.** 303
- **B. Disapproval Rationalised.** 305
- **C. Disapproval Claiming Paul’s Saying.** 307
- **D. Ambivalence.** 308
- **E. Claiming God’s Approval.** 310
- **F. Approval Rationalised.** 311

## SECTION THREE. SOME CULTURAL PRACTICES AND BEHAVIOUR BASED ON RELIGIOUS MORES

315

### I. Narratives about Headcovering.

- **A. Demanding Compulsory Covering.** 315
- **B. Rejecting Head Covering as a Sign of Subordination.** 317
- **C. Rationalising.** 326
- **D. Rooting It in Cultural Practice.** 327
- **E. Compulsion with Flexibility.** 328
- **F. Trivialisation for Those Who do not Cover.** 329

### II. Narratives about Husband as the Head.

- **A. Constructing their own Interpretations.** 331
- **B. Interpretation of Adjustment.** 334
- **C. Acceptance Rejecting Domination.** 335
- **D. Moralising and Rationalising.** 338
- **E. Advocating Female Submission.** 340

**Conclusion.**

341

## CHAPTER SEVEN

347

### SOCIAL DISCOURSE

347

### INTRODUCTION

347

### SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT THE GIRL CHILD AND RELATED ISSUES.

349

### I. Positive Valuing of the Girl Child.

350
II. EQUALITY OR NO DISCRIMINATION. 352
   A. USING SPECIFIC TERMS 353
   B. GIRLS SHOWN TO BE BETTER. 353

III. OUTRIGHT CONdemNATION. 353
   A. ROOTING IN GOD’S WORK. 354
   B. ROOTING IN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY. 355
   C. CONTRASTING BOYS AND GIRLS. 355

IV. BEMOANING. 356

SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT CHILDLESSNESS. 358

I. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION WITH ACCEPTANCE. 358
   A. MAKING A FAITH CLAIM. 359
   B. SUGGESTING A SOLUTION. 360

II. IDENTITY OF ACCEPTANCE COUPLED WITH CHANGE. 361

III. IDENTITY OF POSITIVE VALUE. 362
   A. POSITIVE VALUING SEEING THE ADVANTAGES. 362
   B. POSITIVE VALUING OF THE CHILDLESS WITH ROOTING IN THE BIBLE 363

IV. THE CONSTRUCTION OF VICTIM IDENTITY 364

V. MORALISING. 365

SECTION THREE. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOWRy. 367

I. ANGRY RESPONSE AT VICTIMISATION OF SOME DUE TO THE PRACTICE. 367

II. DISAPPROVAL. 369
   A. SHEER DISAPPROVAL. 370
   B. POINTING OUT THE FEAR OF PARENTS. 370
   C. POINTING TO A BETTER WAY 371
   D. ELABORATION USING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. 371
   E. BASING ON FAITH CLAIM. 372

III. ROOTING IN CULTURE THAT SHOULD CHANGE. 373

IV. DISAPPROVAL WITH CONCESSION. 374

V. DISAPPROVAL WITH RATIONALISATION OF THE PRACTICE. 375
   A. JUSTIFICATION BASED ON LATER GOOD TREATMENT OF THE BRIDE. 375
   B. DRAWING FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. 376
   C. RATIONALISING WITH THE POINT OF FINANCIAL NEED. 376

VI. DISAPPROVAL SHOWING A HIGHER IDEAL. 377

VII. RATIONALISING THE PRACTICE. 378

SECTION FOUR. DISCOURSE ABOUT WIDOWHOOD. 381

I. POSITIVE COMPASSION 381
   A. POINTING OUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF WIDOWS. 382
   B. MAKING A BIBLICAL POINT. 383

II. ANGRY DISAPPROVAL OF MEAN TREATMENT 384

III. PATTERN OF CONTRAST. 385

IV. SEEING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE. 387
SECTION FIVE. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE STATUS.
I. 'NO PROBLEM'.
   A. MAKING A FAITH CLAIM.
   B. SINGleness IS NOT A DEFECT TO OstracizE.
II. VEHEMENt DEFENSE.
III. POSITIVE VALuING

SECTION SIX. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE PARENTHOOD.
I. DEFENSE AGAINST VICTIMISATION.
   A. ASSERTIONS.
   B. MAKING THE POINT IMPLICITLY.
II. ADVOCACY.
   A. LAMENTING STYLE.
   B. 'DO NOT KNOW'.
   C. MAKING A RELIGIOUS CLAIM.

SECTION SEVEN. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.
I. 'FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE IN THE FAMILY'.
II. OUTRIGHT CONDEMNATION.

SECTION EIGHT. DISCOURSE ABOUT RESPONSE TO SEX WORKERS
I. POSITIVE DEFENSE.
   A. COMPASSION TO THOSE FORCED INTO IT.
   B. EXPLICIT USE OF GOD'S FORGIVENESS
   C. ADVOCATING HELP TO COME OUT OF SEX WORK.
II. POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE.
III. APPARENT AMBIVALENCE
IV. IDENTItY CONSTRUCTION ROOTED IN CAUSAL FACTORS.
V. BLAMEING THE WOMAN
VI. VEHEMENt DISAPPROVAL.
CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY
I. BOOKS AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS
II. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS
III. FROM THE INTERNET

APPENDIX 1

THE CONTEXT AND SETTING OF THE STUDY AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHURCH CHOSEN FOR THE FIELD WORK
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

I. Preliminary Issues.

A. The Area of Research.

The area of this research falls within feminist theology and the gender practice of the members of the sample group. This sample has been chosen for the fieldwork of the descriptive study using the qualitative research of feminist narrative methodology. The method of focus groups has been used to collect the primary data of the narratives of the members. Narrative analysis has been used for the analysis of this material. The analytical framework has been constructed from relevant theoretical material and the data emerging from the fieldwork.

B. The Aim of the Research.

The reading of theoretical material and the exploratory study revealed that the women of the sample group did not perceive themselves as they are usually portrayed in the standard text books and academic discussions about Indian women. This made the researcher choose to elicit their self perceptions through their self construction by the method of narratives. The narratives are oral stories narrated by the women about their lived experiences. So they describe the experiences of the women from their perception and viewpoint. The narrative method is described later in the section on theoretical background in chapter two. Thus the aim of the research is to discover how the Tamil Christian women of the sample group perceive and construct the stories of their experiences that lived experiences are referred to as their gender practice.

1 These discussions are described in the literature review about Indian gender studies in chapter two.
C. The Explanation of the Thesis Title.

The thesis title 'An Analysis of Gender Practice of Tamil Christian Women with particular reference to Women of Kodambakkam Church of South India (CSI) Risen Redeemer’s Church in Chennai' needs some explanation. The analysis is an understanding, explication or exposition of the meaning of gender practice. The term 'gender practice' is used in a particular sense. For the purpose of this study it is understood in the way Elaine Graham describes it in the book form of her doctoral dissertation.

... gender is a fundamental form of social organization. Gender is but one manifestation of human social relations; it is not an ontological state, nor an intrinsic property of the individual. Theories about gender identity, gender regimes and the symbolic representations of gender are therefore theories about the formation of human culture; being a gendered person is about inhabiting a particular culture. Such social relations - and thus gender as a form of social relations – are generated and maintained by human practice, symbolic and material. ... Gender is therefore not an innate or ontological category, but the product of human action and social relations, forged by the transformation of the world around us into material and ideological systems.... gender is not a set of fixed attributes or certain traits in the possession of individuals, but a dimension of the culture in which we all live. It is more appropriate, therefore, to talk about the generation of gender traits; and of gender relations not as ossified or abstract set of differences, but as a performative reality. This makes the business of being a gendered person the consequence (although also the precondition) of inhabiting a particular culture.2

'Practice' is a loaded term especially in the context of social theory as Graham points out in her endnote.3 But in this study it is used in the sense Stephen Kemmis and Mervyn Wilkinson use it to refer to its five aspects, namely, the way the individual behaviour appears to an outsider, the patterns of social interaction as they appear to an outsider, subjective internal perspective of the practitioners and the internal social perspective of the members of the community, and all these four aspects in their historical dimension.4 So gender practice as

---


3 Graham, 1995, p. 231

used in this research is not an academic or theoretical construct or concept. It is constituted by the lived experiences of the members of the sample group as they perceive and construct those experiences.

The rest of the title provides the socio-cultural and geographical location of the sample group. The sample group will be later described in detail. For these women, being Tamil denotes their linguistic affiliation and also the ethnic identity. ‘Christian’ points to their religious affinity that is part of their socio-cultural context just as the linguistic and ethnic identities do. The term ‘women’ also refers to the space in the socio-cultural location that the members of the sample group occupy. They also occupy a geographical location with a specific reference to the church to which they belong. This places them in a particular denominational context. Detailed description of this particular church is provided in Appendix 1.

D. Background to the Research.

Theoreticians and practitioners describe the status and role of women as they are and as they ought to be. However no study has been so far carried out to examine the lived experiences of Tamil Christian women in Chennai to describe their self-perception and self-construction of identity. The researcher’s own socio-cultural location of being a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai, a theological educator and a Christian worker ministering to people in various capacities leads to the researcher’s motivation as a theoretician and practitioner to examine this particular area.
E. Presentation.

This study is presented more as a descriptive research of personal narratives. Riessman based on the viewpoint of E. G. Mishler claims that ‘Study of personal narrative is a form of case-centered research’. Further, because of the similarity of the descriptive nature of a single case study, the following characteristic of the case study method is applicable to this descriptive study.

Generally, case study reports are extensively descriptive, with "the most problematic issue often referred to as being the determination of the right combination of description and analysis" (1990). Typically, authors address each step of the research process, and attempt to give the reader as much context as possible for the decisions made in the research design and for the conclusions drawn. This contextualization usually includes a detailed explanation of the researchers' theoretical positions, of how those theories drove the inquiry or led to the guiding research questions, of the participants' backgrounds, of the processes of data collection, of the training and limitations of the coders, along with a strong attempt to make connections between the data and the conclusions evident.

The fieldwork carried out as part of the qualitative research forms the basis of the study and the presentation is a narrative.

F. Sources.

The theoretical material for the background, focus, methodology, methods and analysis use bibliographical sources. The fieldwork has generated the primary data used for the analysis and also serves as a source for constructing the analytical framework along with the theoretical sources found in relevant Indian family studies.

---


6 Writing@CSU, ‘Composing the Case Study Report’, available at http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002
II. The Significance of the Research.

There are many studies of Indian women, Tamil women and Christian women in India. As the researcher engaged with these in her professional academic life she failed to find in any of them an adequate representation of her own identity or gender practice as a Tamil Christian woman, or of those whose community she shared. The challenge was to find a method of discovering this identity and practice that would elicit the women’s own perceptions and descriptions. In the course of the research the writer found Narrative method offered the possibility of a most illuminating approach. This approach records and examines the actual stories that the women tell of their own lives. The analysis focuses not so much on the content

---

of the stories, the experiences particular to the woman interviewed, but on how the women tell their story: how they convey what they value, how they justify their own or other people's actions, how they incorporate religious awareness and teaching. This narrative method becomes the means by which access is gained to their self-perception and identity. The focus on how the women tell their story offered an opportunity to examine whether it was possible to uncover at greater depth their drives, values, perceptions and identity than pure self description or observation by others. It is the use of this approach, the exploration of what this approach uncovers, and a comparison of the results of this approach with the results of more usual studies that comprises the uniqueness of this study. The researcher from observing her own life identified a gap between the picture painted by the usual studies and what she knew from experience to be the case. The unique contribution of this research is the journey to examine whether, and if so how, narrative study can assist in overcoming the gap between previous studies of gender practice and reality. It will be argued that this approach makes a significant contribution to exploring the identity and perception of a group of people, in this case Tamil Christian women; that its results challenge some of the stereotypes in the academic literature to date of Christian women in India; that this approach could be used with profit in studying other groups who may be similarly misrepresented in academic studies, and that a re-evaluation is needed on the impact of the Christian religion on the identity of women in India.

Thus this research investigates the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai by collecting their stories of self-perception and self-definition related to the categories of their lived experiences. The new information revealed by this approach fills a gap in understanding the perception and identity of Tamil Christian women in this instance and shows that narrative study is significant for theoreticians and practitioners who are concerned to understand people's identity and perception of themselves. In the case of Tamil Christian women it raises
significant questions about some understandings of the role and impact of Christian religion in the lives of women in India.

In social research, issues of relevance of the topic and validity of the research project have to be addressed. Hammersley states two points of relevance to the topic – the public importance of the issue of the topic and the contribution the research makes to public knowledge. The knowledge of the status and position of gender practice in the lived experiences of Tamil Christian women is of importance not merely from an academic perspective, but also from sociological, missiological and pastoral standpoints. Mere theoretical knowledge gained from books is not sufficient for practitioners. It is important to know what the lived experiences of Indian women are and what their perspectives are. This knowledge contributes to the body of existing knowledge in an area in which to the knowledge of the researcher fieldwork has not been done. It would appear that no fieldwork has been done in the area of gender practice of Christian women of Tamil culture that is the socio-cultural, socio-geographical and socio-temporal setting and context to which the women of the sample group belong. Further, the method of oral narrative has not been used in this context. Moreover, the self-perception and self-definition of these women – the question of what it means to be a Tamil Christian woman at the turn of the millennium, elicited from their self-construction of their self-identity in the research setting and context appears to have not been explored at all. This study attempts to address this gap.

---


III. The Layout of Chapters.

Chapter one is the introduction dealing with preliminary issues.

Chapter two gives the theoretical background to the study.

Chapter three describes the fieldwork done.

Chapter four considers how the women construct the stories of self-identity within the network of family relationships, especially in the areas of spousal relationship and treatment of children.

Chapter five provides stories of their access to or lack of opportunities for education and career.

Chapter six looks at how the women narrate the aspects of their involvement in church and their understanding of or views about certain biblical passages and concepts regarding gender issues.

The final chapter, chapter seven discusses how these women construct the stories regarding their cultural discourse in the categories of certain socio-cultural gender issues raised in the focus groups.

CONCLUSION.

This study is an analysis of the gender practice of the women of Kodambakkam in Chennai. The conclusions drawn apply only within the limitations of this research. It is only about Tamil Christian women in Chennai and predominately concerns their gender practice in their lived experiences as it emerges from their oral narratives collected during the fieldwork. The self-perception and self-construction that emerge relate to this sample and are brought out only in the oral narratives that have been subjected to narrative analysis. Having considered the preliminary issues I move on to the theoretical background in the next chapter.
CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

I. Introduction.

This study is about gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. So I begin with a discussion of what is meant by ‘gender’ and a review of Indian material on gender. There is no major study on the aspects covered by this particular thesis regarding Tamil Christian women. This has necessitated the use of family studies of Indian women elsewhere as described later in the two Indian family studies\(^\text{10}\). These studies are also used in constructing the analytical framework. The literature review is conducted in the following areas – theories about gender, Indian gender studies, Indian family studies, pertinent theological perspectives and Narrative analysis. A review of gender theories is given below in section II of this chapter. Then the researcher moves on to a review of Indian gender studies in section III of this chapter. This review is undertaken because the study is about the gender practice of Indian women. The next section of literature review is in section IV of this chapter. It is about Indian family studies for lack of many studies to guide the contour of the study relating to the lived experiences of the Tamil Christian women in family, church and society. Section V of this chapter looks at the literature review of two perspectives of evangelical theology about the relationship of men and women. The theological material has been included because there are discussions by the two groups, the egalitarians and the complementarians\(^\text{11}\) about what should be the self perception and identity of women. But issues of identity and perception cannot be solved by theological argument alone. So this review is done in this study about Tamil Christian women. It is helpful to survey the views that impact on them or views to which they

\(^{10}\) The two studies on Indian families are described later in this chapter.

\(^{11}\) The egalitarians and the complementarians represent two viewpoints about gender theology in the evangelical stream. The egalitarians subscribe to a view of equality with mutuality while the complementarians hold a view of equality with difference. These groups and their views are described in section V below of this chapter.
respond in their own way of accepting, assimilating, inverting, reinterpreting, rejecting or negotiating with them. Section VI of this chapter looks at the choice of the methodology in sub-section A and in sub-section B an explication of the narrative methodology chosen.

The study of gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai for want of other significant studies lacks guiding principles to map the contour of the study. To gather the significant components or aspects of the study, an exploratory study was carried out with an open-ended questionnaire. The exploratory study is described in section IX of this chapter.

This exploratory study proved inadequate for the following reasons – the questionnaire in spite of being open ended did not provide adequate facility for the women to narrate their stories in the way they wanted to. It was however constructed by the researcher and carried with it the limitations of the perceptions and definitions of a researcher in a sense outside the sample group. Further it was a limited method of enabling the women to answer questions and not to construct stories of their lived experiences. The way the women wanted to write in detail revealed that they wanted to provide much more than answering questions.

As a result the researcher shifted the focus of the study and the method used to use oral narrative to collect and analyse the data. The focus shifted to the self-perception and self-construction of these women, which is the identity of the members of the sample group. The research question itself “Who is a Tamil Christian woman at the end of the second millennium?” emerged from the exploratory study. Further the exploratory study also led to the choice of the method for data collection and for data analysis. So for the intense fieldwork, focus group method was used for data collection. The narrative analysis method is used for the analysis of the data.
The study moves on to the literature review which has been divided into two parts – first, gender theories, Indian family studies and theological perspectives of gender are reviewed to demonstrate why there is a gap in the current understanding of gender practice. Second, the theoretical material for the methodology of feminist narrative study and the method of using narrative analysis as a tool for the data analysis of the narratives collected from the fieldwork of focus groups is drawn from pertinent literature.

II. Studies of Gender Theories.

A. Introduction.

Studies on gender theories are numerous and vast. However for the purpose of this study I present here some select writings that give an overall view of gender theories in order to justify the notion of gender that is adopted in this study.

B. Bleier’s Work.

I begin with Ruth Bleier’s book that looks at the ‘role of science in the creation of an elaborate mythology of women’s biological inferiority as an explanation for their subordinate position in the cultures of Western civilizations.’\(^2\) Bleier looks at ‘socio-biology, sex differences and brain structure and cognitive function, human cultural evolution and anthropology, and sexuality.’\(^3\) She argues that ‘Sociobiology is deeply flawed as science, and also that the genes-environment dichotomy underlying biological determinist theories is scientifically meaningless and, hence, useful only for political and ideological purposes.’\(^4\) She says


\(^{13}\) Bleier, 1984, p. vii

\(^{14}\) Bleier, 1984, p. viii
It is, consequently, not possible to separate biological from cultural factors in any adequate explanation of development of human behaviors and characteristics nor to defend the notion of an immutable core of \textit{instinct or nature} beneath and outside of culture and learning. Paradoxically, it is not our brains or our biology but rather the cultures that our brains have produced that constrain the nearly limitless potentialities for behavioural flexibility provided us by our brains.\textsuperscript{15}

She further surveys studies linking hormones and brain laterizations\textsuperscript{16} with sex differences and concludes that they are methodologically and conceptually unsound and inconclusive. She also claims that 'no Single Cause theory can fully explain human cultural evolution.'\textsuperscript{17} She draws from 'the work of feminist anthropologists that challenges traditional anthropological concepts and universalistic assumptions, such as the subordinate position of women' and 'describes some historical circumstances that may have characterized the emergence of patriarchal cultures.'\textsuperscript{18} Based on feminist science that discards dualistic assumptions and concepts of control, dominance and linear causality, she argues that one must accept the change, complexity, contextuality and interaction of natural and social causes in human lives. In this manner Bleier rejects biological and any such deterministic theories that propose natural intrinsic causes for women's subordination. She concludes that it is possible for our brains to break out of cultural constraints.

\textsuperscript{15} Bleier, 1984, p. viii

\textsuperscript{16} Ruth Bleier. \textit{Feminist Approaches To Science}. Pergamon Press, New York, 1986, pp. 153 – 155. According to how Bleier describes in these pages, 'brain laterization' or specialisation is the use of one or the other or both hemispheres of the brain for cognitive ability. Bleier says that for visuospatial ability women use both hemispheres while men use only the right one. So it is claimed that women are less laterised or specialised. On the other hand women are said to be more laterised to left hemisphere for verbal information. This linking of sex differences to the use of the hemispheres of the brain in Bleier's view is flawed

\textsuperscript{17} Bleier, 1984, p. ix

\textsuperscript{18} Bleier, 1984, p. ix
C. Work of Kessler and McKenna.

Next I turn to a different work. Suzanne J. Kessler and Wendy McKenna\(^\text{19}\) raise the question

> What does it mean to say that the existence of two sexes is an “irreducible fact”? and attempt to show that “this “irreducible fact” is a product of social interaction in everyday life and that gender in everyday life provides the basis for all scientific work on gender and sex.\(^\text{20}\)

They claim to have a theoretical position that ‘gender is a social construction.’\(^\text{21}\) They begin with a discussion of the primacy of gender attribution. Then they move on to discuss cross-cultural perspectives on gender showing that there is no universal criterion to distinguish males from females focusing on the institution of ‘berdache’\(^\text{22}\). They then discuss the contribution of biological factors to the development of gender. Their claim is that the social construction of gender is the foundation for the gender attribution based on biology. Having surveyed psychoanalytic, cognitive and social learning theories about the development of gender identity and gender role, they report their research about how children learn the rules for gender attribution. The discussion on transexualism is presented to gather information about gender as a social construction. They conclude with their argument that ‘the constitutive belief that there are two genders not only produces the idea of gender role, but also creates a sense that there is a physical dichotomy.’\(^\text{23}\)


\(^{20}\) Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. vii

\(^{21}\) Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. vii

\(^{22}\) Kessler and McKenna give a detailed description of the institution of ‘berdache’ in the section on definition of ‘berdache’. They say that it is the practice of some male (normally while in some cultures female also) young people being given the social approval of playing the role of the opposite gender. It is found in the North American Indian societies. Kessler and McKenna also mention that it is found in some other cultures also. Kessler and McKenna, 1978, pp. 24 -29

\(^{23}\) Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. xi
D. Graham’s Work.

Elaine Graham\(^{24}\) surveys the historical development of gender theories and the lack of engagement with these theories in theological circles. Her work focuses on gender identity, gender relations and gender representation. She organises her work on three subject disciplines – anthropology, biology and psychoanalysis and four themes – Bodies, Ideas of Nature, the Challenge of Difference and Knowledge. These are grouped in two parts.

The first subject discipline Graham looks at is anthropology. The discussion concentrates on ‘the significance of debates about the cultural representations and conceptualizations of gender, and whether or not universal and causal patterns can be discerned, both in the symbolic and material destinies of women and men.’\(^{25}\) Graham concludes ‘female subordination may be universal, but it is possible to provide a coherent account of the mechanisms of this which rests in actual human practice.’\(^{26}\) In her discussion on biology Graham surveys biological essentialism, socio-biology and the trends of determinism and reductionism. She notes that

As the unfolding hypotheses within the natural sciences about the nature of gender reveal, enquiry into gender difference leads us into questions about knowledge, rationality and objectivity, and the necessity of analysing how claims to know and report about ‘natural facts’ actually have their roots in social relations and human practice.\(^{27}\)

The section on psychoanalysis surveys the theories of Freud, his followers and later reinterpretations. Graham points out that psychoanalysis is a discursive practice with a model of human agency being both creators and products of a gendered culture.\(^{28}\)

\(^{24}\) Graham, 1995

\(^{25}\) Graham, 1995, p. 59

\(^{26}\) Graham, 1995, p. 76

\(^{27}\) Graham, 1995, p. 98

\(^{28}\) Graham, 1995, p. 118
The discussion on theories of ‘the Body’ expounds those of francophone feminism. Graham makes the point in conclusion:

Clearly, therefore, the story of how we inhabit our bodies in and against historical and cultural contexts, where meanings are contested by a variety of media – medicine, religion and politics, as well as whatever constitutes our sense of these categories we call selfhood, subjectivity and experience – is immensely complex. The fundamental claim of such enquiries yet remains: bodies are crucial actors in the cultural rendition of gender, even though critical access to them in order to analyse their participation in the process is fraught with difficulty.

After considering theories of Nature and of human nature including some radical feminist discussions, Graham argues that one needs a model of personhood that transcends the present dichotomies. She says that one must pay attention to how human agency and practice go to ‘make the difference’. In conclusion Graham speaks ‘... of difference as created and enacted, not given: of gender difference as relational, not ontological and absolute; and the reflexive – as both cause and effect – permeation of gender relations in every aspect of human activity.’

Thus for Graham gender is a form of social relations and this suggests a model of humanhood that is relational, compatible with the Trinitarian model of God.

---

29 Francophone feminism is a particular strand or school of feminism. Three francophone feminists are Helene Cixous, Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray. Only Irigaray is French. Their writing in French gives them this group name. Some would include others also in this group. Their emphasis is on the reclamation of the ‘body’. They challenge the post-Enlightenment domination of reason. Thus they attempt to reclaim the ‘Other’. They reject the binary or bipolar divisions. Their writing focus on language, experience and the body. See, ‘French feminism’ by Deborah Wills in Lorraine Cade ed. Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories. Routledge, Abingdon, 2000, pp. 213 – 215

30 Graham, 1995, p. 145

31 Graham, 1995, p. 168

32 Graham, 1995, p. 190

33 Graham, 1995, p. 213

34 Graham, 1995, p. 223
E. Definition of ‘Gender’.

Having considered above gender studies and since this study has a feminist theological commitment which is based on the relational model of personhood formulated after the relational model of Trinity, Graham’s definition of ‘gender’ which is comprehensive from a theological perspective and is also based on the relational model of Trinity, is adopted in this study.35

... gender is a fundamental form of social organization. Gender is but one manifestation of human social relations; it is not an ontological state, nor an intrinsic property of the individual. Theories about gender identity, gender regimes and the symbolic representations of gender are therefore theories about the formation of human culture; being a gendered person is about inhabiting a particular culture. Such social relations - and thus gender as a form of social relations – are generated and maintained by human practice, symbolic and material. ... Gender is therefore not an innate or ontological category, but the product of human action and social relations, forged by the transformation of the world around us into material and ideological systems.... gender is not a set of fixed attributes or certain traits in the possession of individuals, but a dimension of the culture in which we all live. It is more appropriate, therefore, to talk about the generation of gender traits; and of gender relations not as ossified or abstract set of differences, but as a performative reality. This makes the business of being a gendered person the consequence (although also the precondition) of inhabiting a particular culture.36

III. Indian Gender Studies.

A. Introduction.

Having surveyed salient material on gender theories I turn to gender studies in India and about Indian women. There are numerous books, articles and papers published in this area. Four books have been selected to give a comprehensive view. Three of these are about Indian women and one is about how culture is used to control women in a North Indian city.

35 The feminist commitment of the researcher is described in section V. B of this second chapter and also in the section about the status of the researcher in section V of chapter three.

B. Women in Indian Society.

This is an anthology of essays by different writers edited by Rehana Ghadially. It consists, apart from the introductory section, of five sections, namely, Context, Stereotype, Violence, Media and Awareness.

Ghadially gives an overview of the status of women in India. She points out that there are three ways of studying the status of women — demographic study, women in development and the powerlessness of women. She claims that Indian women or women in India are a disadvantaged group. To display this, Susan Wadley brings out the duality of women as the benevolent and malevolent ones in Hindu ideology. Sudhir Karkar using the principles of psychoanalytic theory chalks out the development of women through various life stages. Ashis Nandy enlists the dynamics that keep women in their place. Suma Chitnis highlighting the pitfalls of adopting western models of liberation raises the issue of using Indian models suitable for the Indian context. The authors claim that Indian women are degraded and downtrodden.

38 Ghadially, 1988, p. 21-22
40 Sudhir Karkar, ‘Feminine Identity in India’ in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 44-68
41 Ashis Nandy, ‘Woman Versus Womanliness In India: An Essay in Social and Political Psychology’ in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 69-80
42 Suma Chitnis, ‘Feminism: Indian Ethos and Indian Convictions’ in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 81-95
43 Ghadially, 1988, p. 23
Using four studies which deal with sex role stereotypes in northern India and the US\textsuperscript{44}, sex role attitudes of college students in India\textsuperscript{45}, parental sex role orientation and sex stereotypes of children\textsuperscript{46} and the concepts of femininity and liberation in the context of changing sex roles in modern India and America\textsuperscript{47}, these writers point out how the traditional sex role stereotypes are deeply embedded in the Indian society.

They further discuss family violence such as wife beating\textsuperscript{48}, bride burning\textsuperscript{49}, sex determination and sex pre-selection tests\textsuperscript{50}, female infanticide\textsuperscript{51}, rape\textsuperscript{52}, media portrayal of women which consists of mistreatment of women in Hindi films\textsuperscript{53}, feminism and the cinema of realism\textsuperscript{54}, portrayal of women on television\textsuperscript{55} and sexist language of Indian school textbooks\textsuperscript{56}.

\textsuperscript{44} Renuka R. Sethi and Mary J. Allen, 'Sex Role Stereotypes in Northern India and the United States' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 99-108

\textsuperscript{45} V. V. Prakasa Rao and V. Nandini Rao, 'Sex Role Attitudes of College Students in India' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 109-123

\textsuperscript{46} Sukanya Das and Rehana Ghadially, 'Parental Sex Role Orientation and Sex Stereotypes of Children' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 124-135

\textsuperscript{47} Manisha Roy, 'The Concepts of 'Feminity' and 'Liberation' in the Context of Changing Sex Roles: Women in Modern India and America' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 136-147

\textsuperscript{48} Flavia, 'Violence in the Family: Wife Beating', in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 151-166

\textsuperscript{49} Rehana Ghadially and Pramod Kumar, 'Bride-Burning: The Psycho-Social Dynamics of Dowry Deaths' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 167-177

\textsuperscript{50} Vibhuti Patel, 'Sex Determination and Sex Preselection Tests: Abuse of Advanced Technology' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 178-185

\textsuperscript{51} S. Krishnaswamy, 'Female Infanticide in Contemporary India: A Case-Study of Kallars of Tamilnadu' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 186-195

\textsuperscript{52} Sohaila Abdulali, 'Rape in India: An Empirical Picture' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 196-206

\textsuperscript{53} Shamita Das Dasgupta, 'The Eternal Receptacle: A Study of Mistreatment of Women in Hindi Films' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 209-216

\textsuperscript{54} C. S. Lakshmi, 'Feminism and the Cinema of Realism' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 217-224

\textsuperscript{55} Jyoti Punwani, 'Portrayal of Women on Television' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 225-232

\textsuperscript{56} Narendra Nath Kalia, 'Women and Sexism: Language of Indian School Textbooks' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 233-245
The section on ‘Awareness’ has a variety of articles about autonomous women’s groups\(^{57}\), the experiences of a male activist\(^{58}\), teaching men about women\(^{59}\) and indigenous feminism\(^{60}\). The condition of Indian women, which despite some gains through improvement efforts, remains deplorable, is portrayed using these various examples.

C. Women and Society in India\(^{61}\).

Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj have co-authored this book\(^{62}\). They consider women’s studies in the West, in Asia and in India.

They provide an overview\(^{63}\) of the status of women in India describing how the normative structure of the traditional Indian society and the caste system perpetrate patriarchy and women’s subordination. A historical sketch of the position of women in the pre-colonial, pre-Independence period and contemporary periods is given showing how the position degenerated and what reforms have been attempted. They conclude that in spite of the constitutional guarantee of formal equality, economic policy and social welfare state, all is not well with the position of women in India.


\(^{58}\) Pritam Singh, ‘Forming a Women’s Group in Chandigarh: Experiences of a Male Activist’ in Ghadially, pp. 257-263

\(^{59}\) Rehana Ghadially, ‘Teaching Men about Women’ in Ghadially, pp. 264-269

\(^{60}\) Lawrence A. Babb, ‘Indigenous Feminism in a Modern Hindu Sect’ in Ghadially, pp. 270-287

\(^{61}\) Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj, *Women and Society in India*. Ajanta Publications (India), Delhi, 1987

\(^{62}\) Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987

\(^{63}\) Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 25-47
With regards to women and economy\textsuperscript{64}, the economic structure of India in the pre-British period and women’s place in it are described: women were profitably involved in work and their labour was not devalued. The British introduced the factory mode of production and women were displaced in the economy. Their entry into the factory impacted them adversely\textsuperscript{65}. In contemporary India also the displacement of women in the economic realm continues. Women are mainly employed in the unorganised sectors even in agriculture and industry with the resulting feminisation of poverty. There are differential earnings of men and women. The middle class employed women also have their share of struggles especially the double burden\textsuperscript{66}. The problem of unemployment is acute for women with fewer doors open for them. The impact of technology in agriculture\textsuperscript{67}, industry\textsuperscript{68} and export industries\textsuperscript{69} negatively affect women by pushing them out of the labour market or employing them as unskilled labour.

Further discussing education\textsuperscript{70}, structure of Indian families and changes in the structure\textsuperscript{71}, health\textsuperscript{72}, social issues\textsuperscript{73}, legal situation\textsuperscript{74} and the political involvement of women\textsuperscript{75}, the authors

\textsuperscript{64} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 50-147

\textsuperscript{65} The entry of women into the factory has impacted them adversely because women are poorly paid, they are unskilled and not much effort is taken to train them. They are pushed deeper into poverty. Their work becomes unrecognised. Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 62-68

\textsuperscript{66} The term ‘double burden’ or ‘double shift’ is also referred to as the ‘second shift’. It is the situation of working women having to work outside the home for paid work and also do the house work. According to Barbara P. Bergmann this phrase was devised by Arlie Hochschild. See Bergmann. The Economic Emergence of Women. 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., Palgrove MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2005, p.179

\textsuperscript{67} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 83-89, 112-115

\textsuperscript{68} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 89-101, 109-112

\textsuperscript{69} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 115-119

\textsuperscript{70} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 148-183

\textsuperscript{71} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 184-218

\textsuperscript{72} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 219-253
state that these become gender issues in India because they become part of the subordination of women in India. They highlight the plight of women in India in all these areas.

D. Indian Womanhood: Then and Now.

Jessie B. Tellis-Nayak edited this book\textsuperscript{76} that provides an overview of women’s situation in India historically, socially and culturally. She points out that women are left out in development and that the social, educational and cultural gap between men and women is increasing.

She tells the story of Indian women by tracing the degeneration from the Indus valley period and the uphill efforts in the reform and independence movements\textsuperscript{77}. Working through the problems of Indian women\textsuperscript{78}, she points out that the Indian society is patriarchal and the Indian woman is a step lower socially, economically and politically compared to an Indian man of the same ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, cultural and caste background. Areas such as health, education, employment, law and politics are cited as evidence\textsuperscript{79}. In bringing up an Indian girl life passages such as menstruation and marriage and other mechanisms of schools, drama, films and advertisements are used to socialise her\textsuperscript{80}. The discussion of issues of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{73} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 254-291
\item \textsuperscript{74} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 311-328
\item \textsuperscript{75} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 293-310
\item \textsuperscript{76} J. B. Tellis-Nayak, ed. \textit{Indian Women: Then And Now. Situation, Efforts, Profiles}. Satprakashan Sanchar Kendra, Indore, 1983.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Tellis-Nayak, ‘Indian Women – Their story’ in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 17-40
\item \textsuperscript{79} Tellis-Nayak, ‘Problems: Health Education Employment’ in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 43-51
\item \textsuperscript{80} Tellis-Nayak, ‘Bringing Up A Girl’ in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 52-62
\end{itemize}
purdah81, dowry82, dowry death, wife beating83, widowhood84, rape85 and prostitution86 reinforce this point87.

E. Culture in Action.

The fourth work is research that Steve Derne88 carried out among the high caste men of Banaras in North India. Derne focuses on how culture acts – how culture constrains people or how individuals manipulate culture for their own advantage. Four clusters of ideas – preference for joint families, preference for arranged marriage, restriction of women’s movement outside the home and restriction of contact between the husband and wife – are examined89.

Derne argues that control of women with joint family living, arranged marriages, limiting interaction between husband and wife and the influence of young wives on the family of their husbands and restricting the movement and demeanour of women, bolsters the power of men and advances their interests. The concept of honour and everyday micro interaction also are

85 Brito, M. L. ‘Rape’ in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 87-96
87 The question how some of these issues such as rape and prostitution are used to socialise a girl or a woman. However it is found that in many patriarchal cultures displaying subordination and oppression of women these issues or tools or mechanisms are also used to socialise a girl or a woman to accept and abide by her subordinate position with oppression.
89 Derne, 1995, pp. vii, x, 16-17, 28-35
used to subordinate women and advance the interests of men\textsuperscript{90}. Derne finds that women accommodate, bargain with or contest the dominant patriarchal culture to advance their own interests\textsuperscript{91}.

Next Derne examines how collectivist frameworks of social pressure and group actions used for understanding individual and group actions point to social pressures and distrust of individual action\textsuperscript{92} as being the cause for the way a group or individual would act. He also looks into how the focus on social pressure shapes the psyche, emotions and inner self of Hindu men\textsuperscript{93}. The Hindu culture provides contrasting values of both collectivism and individualism. Derne analyses how the concept of honour presses on Hindu men and women. These handle the pressure in various ways as true believers, cowed conformists, innovative mimetists and unapologetic rebels\textsuperscript{94}. He explains how culture works and the various ways in which people reject cultural imperatives. In conclusion Derne shows how culture works in the discussions by Hindu men about women, marriage and family. Culture reflects the ways in which the privileged group protects their privileges. Culture provides diverse languages to allow individuals to construct diverse actions. Though culture provides core contradictions that individuals may manipulate, common sense understanding shapes social life. Further ethnopsychology affects at the macro level of society or community and not merely the individual\textsuperscript{95}. Thus Derne's study brings out how culture works. Derne's study is about gender culture of high caste Hindu men in a North Indian city and shows women in that community to

\textsuperscript{90} Derne, 1995, pp. 28 - 35
\textsuperscript{91} Derne, 1995, pp. 17, 35 - 36, 106 - 113
\textsuperscript{92} Derne, 1995, pp. 38 - 65
\textsuperscript{93} Derne, 1995, pp. 68 - 81
\textsuperscript{94} Derne, 1995, pp. 106 - 120
\textsuperscript{95} Derne, 1995, p. 168
be subordinated from the viewpoint of men of that community\textsuperscript{96}.

IV. Relevant Indian Family Studies.

A. Introduction.

From Indian gender studies I move on to family studies in India. Aileen D. Ross’ study on the urban, mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore is one of the earliest (1961)\textsuperscript{97}. Her study examines the problems faced by the change in the structure of traditional families due to urbanisation and industrialisation. In the course of this study some conclusions are drawn in the areas of education and employment of urban middle class women. There are also some conclusions regarding the changes caused by women’s education and employment in division of labour and affectional bonds in urban middle class families. M. Indiradevi’s doctoral study (1987)\textsuperscript{98} of the impact of education and employment on the gender equation within family is seminal. These studies provide the academic context for this research. It appears that no single study has been done on the change in the gender equation in family and church among urban middle class Christians of Tamil Nadu.

\textsuperscript{96} Derne, 1995, p. 168

\textsuperscript{97} Aileen D. Ross. \textit{The Hindu Family In Its Urban Setting}. University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1961


1. Explication of the Study.

Ross's study is about the changes in the patterns of family in a city. She specifically states that the purpose of her research is not to conclude whether there is any change in the family structure or not due to urbanisation and industrialisation, but to highlight the problems faced by families subjected to change. The discussions devoted to the change in the substructures of rights and duties, power and authority, sentiments, and the ones on work, education, and changing friendship and marriage patterns in an urban context have drawn some conclusions regarding the impact of women's education and employment on the gender equation and gender practice.

Ross' sample consists of several middle class, mostly Brahmin, families in Bangalore, a South Indian city, with a control group from Bombay. It combines both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Ross suggests that small joint family seems to be the pattern of urban middle and upper
middle class families\textsuperscript{107}, while many have experienced life in different types of families. One crucial factor relating to women is that many women exposed to the influences of a city or education or modernisation have their own views and want to set up their own families, instead of moving into a joint family with probably restricted freedom, independence and more pressure and necessity to conform to an already established pattern\textsuperscript{108}.

Her findings suggest that rights and duties lead to gender segregation. Duties are divided into men's and women's work, the responsibility of training children and the work division for boys and girls. A significant observation is that the division of labour or duty on the basis of gender and age breaks down in cities, because of lack of several members of the same sex or age category to shoulder the responsibility of a particular type of work. This means that both men and women, and boys and girls need to do work within a flexible pattern without any strict gendered patterns. Ross concludes that because men’s work is more prestigious it raises the prestige of women who move into the public sphere of employment while men who have to share domestic duties find it more difficult to adapt. The mother in a nuclear urban family becomes pivotal in allocating responsibilities, and organising time, patterns and budget. This changes the status and position of the woman in the urban family especially if she is employed. While the affective bonds with the extended family may decrease on the other hand the sense of duty and responsibility to the wider society and nation may increase. A final conclusion is that if the affective bonds are kept up obligations and duties will be carried out\textsuperscript{109}.

\textsuperscript{107} Ross, 1961, p. 49
\textsuperscript{108} Ross, 1961, p. 50
\textsuperscript{109} Ross, 1961, pp. 86 – 90
Similarly with regard to power and authority, where the authority of different relationships - of the head of the household, mother and son, father, mother, husband and wife, brother and brother, sister and sister, uncles, aunts, father-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and other relationships - are considered, Ross concludes that the patterns of authority and power become more equalitarian as the structure of the family moves away from that of joint family. This helps to make children more independent, self-reliant and confident. She also analyses the patterns of punishment and obedience in later life of the children as they grow up. A significant observation is made that the power and authority of father and mother in a nuclear family tend to become equalised and more equalitarian patterns are established.

Stating that “AFFECTION AND LOVE are two of a society’s strongest binding elements” Ross examines in the substructure of sentiments, the affectionate intensity of different relationships - that of grandparents, parents and children, father and son, father and daughter, mother and son, mother and daughter, husband and wife including the wife’s and the husband’s roles, brother and brother, brother and sister, sister and sister, uncles, aunts, cousins, father-in-law, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and others. She observes that there is a change in the closeness of affectional bonds – a move away from that of the extended family and kin to friends and other wider social groups. She also finds that in a nuclear family the husband-wife and the parents-children bonds tighten.

---

110 Ross, 1961, pp. 91 – 135
111 Ross, 1961 p. 136
112 Ross, 1961, pp. 136 -179
In discussing work and family\textsuperscript{113}, Ross states that under the effects of industrialisation there is a change from caste to social class, the prestige of occupations changes, the standard of aspirations rises and the phenomenon of the self-made man emerges. The occupational problems include the phenomenon of the educated unemployed, the friction between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, occupational models, the problems of old age, and the careers of women. The problem of middle class working women in adjusting to their changing roles is extensively studied in terms of their adjustment to a 'male' role, the behaviour in the work place, and the facing of the challenge of a society confronted with the new element of working women. Any objection for working women whether from women themselves or men was mainly from the viewpoint of the women being primarily responsible for the domestic sphere. On the other hand men who preferred women to work had a variety of reasons such as contribution to the family income, economic independence for women, contribution to her own development and society and being active, not idle. Women who preferred careers for women listed the following reasons: self-development, not being idle, and contribution to society.

In studying education and the family\textsuperscript{114}, education was tied closely with ambition in life. The education of daughters was not primarily career oriented because marriage was the uppermost concern for the parents of girls. A move towards the priority in education of daughters to make them self-sufficient and to make them able to stand on their own feet in the changing economic situation was also observed.

\textsuperscript{113} Ross, 1961, pp. 180 -207

\textsuperscript{114} Ross, 1961, pp. 208 – 234
The analysis of changing friendship and marriage patterns are discussed under social life of men and women, and changing marriage patterns. The discussion of changing marriage patterns include several categories such as the age of marriage, arranged marriages, dowry, engagement, wedding and new marriage trends which include romantic love, inter-caste marriage, divorce and new marriage problems. In summary there are more positive attitudes towards mixed marriages, choice of the partners, participation of the young people in the choice of a partner and expectations of a mate.

2. The use of Ross' Study in this Research.

Ross' conclusion about the change in the status and position of women, especially the mother or wife in an urban family when it is moving towards the nuclear pattern is used in this study. The mother in an urban nuclear family becomes the pivot of the family and experiences change in her status and position especially if she is employed. This point is relevant for this research. The conclusion that the nuclear family in an urban situation engenders more equalitarian patterns is useful in this study. The reasons which women give for women preferring to have a career are such as that it is for financial contribution to the family, financial and social independence, development of the person and contribution to the nation and society. These reasons compare with those found in this research. In the chapter about perspectives on women's education and career in the section about emphasising the necessity of women's education and career, the stories of Mallimalar, Varam, Sweety, Jeyavathy and Saral display the financial contribution of career women. Jeyavathy's story about career portrays the financial and social independence of her sister and herself. Lita's stories using the style of contrast about career portray the development of the person and the contribution to the nation ans society. Similarly the reasons given for daughters' education – for total

---

115 Ross, 1961, pp. 235 - 279
development of the person, for employment, to provide means of standing on one's own feet and for meaningful participation in the affairs of the family, community, church and society, provide parallels with those discovered in the present research. In the chapter on perspectives on women's education and career, in the section emphasising the importance of women's education and career, the stories of Bina, Kamala and Varam about women's education emphasise the importance of women's education for standing on their own feet, total development of the person and for employment. The stories of Heera and Tiny about education portray the necessity of women's education for standing on their own feet, total development of the person and meaningful participation in the affairs of the family, community, church and society.

3. Differences between Ross' Study and this Research.

The present study is of Tamil Christian women in Chennai while Ross' study is of Hindu mostly Brahmin men and women in Bangalore. The objectives of the two studies are also different. In Ross' Study the overall objective is to study the problems faced by the change in the structure of the family while this research studies the gender practice of women. The methodology is also quite different. Ross's analysis uses semi-statistical method and focuses on content of material collected in interviews. This study uses narrative analysis of the stories collected in the focus groups.

C. Indiradevi's Study.

1. Objective and Approach.

Indiradevi in 1987 claims that sociology of family in India has not looked at spousal relationships in terms of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. Her

116 Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 14, 19
major objective is to assess whether education and employment of wives in urban Hindu families have produced any change in the direction of equalitarian patterns of spousal relationship. She seeks to discover this specifically in the areas of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. She has chosen an urban sample and uses statistical analysis of the responses collected through a structured questionnaire.

2. Examination of Background.

In examining the structure of families she follows the sociological model and analyses whether parents are co-residential or how far away the parental families live and the frequency of visits. In Indiradevi's opinion, the proximity or co-habitation of parents has more influence in trying to preserve the traditional patterns and values that will inhibit any change towards more equalitarian patterns. The socio-economic background of the families studied is examined in respect of four factors – parental background, achievement level, marital relationship and societal participation\textsuperscript{117}.

i. Parental Background\textsuperscript{118}.

In assessing the parental background components such as caste, education, occupation and income level of parents and rural or urban context are looked into. Her conclusions in this area are: 1. Caste does not have any significant difference 2. Parental education, occupation and income level produce favourable change towards education and employment of women 3. a greater positive change towards the education and employment of wives is produced if the background is urban.

\textsuperscript{117} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 57 -87

\textsuperscript{118} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 57 -66
ii. Achievement Level\textsuperscript{119}.

While assessing the achievement level, Indiradevi puts forward that if the educational level or urbanisation of the husband is higher, the attitude towards education and employment of the wives is more positive. The higher the educational level of the wives is, the higher is the move towards employment of women. More women of her sample are in the traditional occupations such as teaching and clerical work. The income of the wife gains more respect for her in her family and society. In Indradevi’s assessment, employment of the wife reduces the dowry that is put together with assets in analysing income.

iii. Marital Factor\textsuperscript{120}.

She looks into marital factors next. The lower the age of marriage of the wife, the lower the educational level of the wife is. Indiradevi explains this in terms of the less educated women being married off sooner. While looking at the type of marriage – whether parent-arranged or partners’ choice - she concludes that there is more room for personal choice if the level of education is higher. In her sample quite a few spouses were related before marriage. However, quite a few live far from the native place of their spouses that frees them from having to conform to traditional patterns and values.

iv. Societal Participation\textsuperscript{121}.

Indiradevi limits societal participation to participation in social organisations. This she seeks to measure in terms of participation in social organisations, position held in the organisations and frequency of visits. She concludes that participation outside the home influences

\textsuperscript{119} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 66 – 75

\textsuperscript{120} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 75 -81

\textsuperscript{121} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 81- 87
behaviour patterns by broadening the outlook and developing the personality. This she says promotes self-confidence and awareness. She also concludes that a great number of unemployed wives participate in social organisations because they have the leisure (time), the energy, and the urge to participate in an arena outside the home. Many women do not hold a position in a social organisation. Frequency of attending is greater if both husband and wife are employed and least for employed wives in comparison with unemployed wives. The caste factor does not make any significant difference.

3. Effects on Role Performance122.

Roles are grouped into three parts – financial, child-rearing and household tasks. In each part a list of tasks are made. She finds that traditional female and male roles are modified though not totally altered. There is flexibility in educated middle class urban families.

i. Financial Roles123.

In this group, control over money, control over expenditure, keeping track of money, purchase of household utensils, purchase of clothes and major shopping are listed. Her findings are varied. If the wife is employed and contributes to the family income, the traditionally male task of control over money is to some extent changed. She opines that control over expenditure is generally a male task. But in urban settings it is in the hands of the woman especially if the woman is educated and more so if she is also employed. The explanation given is that the educated woman has more knowledge. The employed woman by the fact that she contributes to the family income gains control over expenditure. The woman’s task in rural areas, and more so in urban contexts is keeping track of money and bills. Out of

122 Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 88 – 122
123 Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 93 -95, 111 - 113
necessity the purchase of household utensils is a female task. Another task, purchase of clothes, was earlier considered a male one but is changing in urban situations with educated and employed wives. Major shopping used to be done by men; but in urban contexts the pattern is changing. She says that it is according to convenience.

ii. Tasks Centred on Children\textsuperscript{124}.
Child care tasks comprise sending children to school which includes getting them ready and taking them to school, feeding the children, assisting the children in their lessons and disciplining them. In her opinion many of these have been shared or joint tasks. In an urban situation in handling tasks centred on children, a lot of flexibility, adjustment to situation and convenience are seen. Educated women participate more in helping the children with their home lessons, whereas employed women may not find the time for it.

iii. Household Tasks\textsuperscript{125}.
According to Indiradevi, there is definite male-female role distinction in this area. Cooking is considered a female’s job. Even the men who cook while the wife is in the house are not quite open to admit it. Chores other than cooking are either shared or managed with servants, time saving gadgets and in other ways. Taking care of the sick is not generally considered exclusively a woman’s job. In such household tasks, if the wife is educated and employed there is a definite move towards the equalitarian pattern. In the overall final analysis of role performance Indiradevi concludes that employment of the wife has a striking impact in changing the role performance and role extension.

\textsuperscript{124} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 95 -96, 113

\textsuperscript{125} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 96 -97, 113 - 115
4. The Impact on Decision-Making Patterns\textsuperscript{126}.

The conceptual framework used for decision-making includes having an awareness of the issues, the participation in evaluating the alternatives and making the final decision. The areas of decision-making are expenditure on food and entertainment, going to movies, visiting friends, children’s education, clothing, vacation, presents for friends and relatives, medical help or choosing a family doctor, housing – choice of a rented one or buying one, buying household durables, saving, wife’s work, buying jewellery and borrowing. Indiradevi groups these items into economic necessities, comforts, social and cultural factors. In her analysis and interpretation of the statistical data, she finds that education and employment of the wife affect patterns of decision-making. The education of the wife paves the way for a joint pattern; the employment of the wife tends to make her dominant in taking an upper hand in decision-making.

5. Patterns of Husband-Wife Interaction and Behaviour\textsuperscript{127}.

The measures of interaction and behaviour are in terms of going out together, addressing the wife by name and dining together. Indiradevi makes a strong assertion that education and employment of a wife enable the wife not to accept any subordination. In her analysis she finds that unemployed wives have greater urge to go out with the husband interpreting that as an indicator of ‘togetherness’. As for the custom of addressing the wife by name, she concludes that some cultural customs and traditions die hard and there is not much change in this issue.

\textsuperscript{126} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 123 -158

\textsuperscript{127} Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 159 -173
Indiradevi concludes that her objective of identifying any change in the behaviour patterns of spouses due to education and employment of wives has been in a modest way achieved. Education and employment of the wife promote equalitarian patterns of behaviour. She indicates implications for policy making\(^\text{128}\) that women's education and employment have to be adequately promoted. Of her several indications for further research, one major point is most relevant for this research. She says that empirical knowledge about Christian and Muslim communities are limited.

7. Positive Value of Indiradevi's Study.
Indiradevi's study was seminal in the field of Indian Family Sociology at a time when there were not many such studies. She has struggled with the conceptual and analytical frameworks, modifying western theoretical frameworks for the Indian context. Her doctoral work has a large section of statistical data collection and analysis. She seems to have achieved her major objective of finding out whether education and employment of wives have any part in changing spousal relationship towards equalitarian patterns. She has carefully defined her sample, her conceptual framework and the lists of items chosen for analysis. Her indications for policymaking and further research are also quite useful.

8. Congruence and Variances of this research from Indiradevi's study.
The primary congruence between Indiradevi's study and this research is that of studying the effect of education and employment in the lives of urban women while the variance in the sample is that of geographical location, language and culture and religion. So one may expect to understand the meanings of spousal relationship, treatment of children, education and career

\(^{128}\) Indiradevi, 1987, p. 195
in a different manner. The study of Indiradevi and this research are widely different in their methodologies. The former uses quantitative method and statistical analysis. This research uses qualitative method and narrative analysis.

These studies of Indian women by Ross and Indiradevi recognise that spousal relationship, treatment of children and opportunities for education and career are significant in the study of the lives of women. So these components or aspects along with other issues emerging from the fieldwork have been chosen for constructing the analytical framework. From these I move to consider the theological perspectives that inform the study. The reason for looking into theological perspectives is because the study is of Christian women and the nature of Christian teaching on the relations of men and women is relevant to the study. Further this is an area where there are contested views that are set out next. Since the women are orthodox and evangelical in their faith the study will focus on evangelical views.

V. Theological Perspectives.

A. Two Evangelical Perspectives of Gender Theology.

Some progressive evangelicals in the seventies began to work out a biblical egalitarian position and also respond to the questions raised by secular feminists. These evangelical feminists who were part of the Evangelical and Ecumenical Women's Caucus later organised themselves as the Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE, also a national chapter of Men, Women and God, International, an organisation associated with John Stott's London Institute for Contemporary Christianity)\textsuperscript{129}. This group espouses and promotes the egalitarian (feminist) view. Those who support the complementarian (conservative) view

\textsuperscript{129} The formation of Christians for Biblical Equality was reported in Christianity Today, October 16, 1987, p. 44. This has been cited in John Piper and Wayne Grudem. ed. Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism. Crossway Books, 1991, p. 403
founded the Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW) in 1987. Evangelical theology on gender issues can be divided into two mainly differing perspectives. Within each perspective there is major agreement in spite of minor disagreements.

The perspectives of gender theology put forward and promoted by these two organisations impact the Indian Christians. Other views do too, but the Tamil Christian women are evangelical so these are the views to which they will give serious attention. So it is only valid that these two theological viewpoints are examined. A theology of gender equality looks into the following aspects:

(1) the value and worth of men and women and their status before God
(2) the nature of men and women
(3) their roles
(4) their realms of activity
(5) their relationship

1. The Complementarian Viewpoint and the Relevant Literature.

Evangelical theology of gender equality can be broadly categorised into two main streams. Of these two the complementarian view is one of 'equality' and 'difference'. The description of this viewpoint is given below.

i. The Value, Worth and Status of Men and Women.

This strand of evangelical theology holds that the value and worth of men and women is equal because of their having been created by God in God's own image. Further their status before God is equal in their fallenness and the possibility of redemption.
ii. Their nature.

According to this view men and women have been created distinct in their manhood and womanhood\textsuperscript{130}. This means two different categories of persons not merely in their biological reproductive sexual nature, but also in their psychosocial and spiritual nature\textsuperscript{131}.

iii. Their Role.

As stated in the Danvers Statement and expounded by those who support this view, ‘Distinctions in masculine and feminine roles are ordained by God as part of the created order . . .’\textsuperscript{132}.

iv. Their Relationship.

‘Adam’s headship in marriage was established by God before the Fall . . . ‘and ‘Both Old and New Testaments also affirm the principle of male headship in the family and in the covenant community’. Therefore it is a relationship of men in authority and women in submission\textsuperscript{133}. Further, it also holds that men and women complement one another\textsuperscript{134}.

\textsuperscript{130} The Danvers Statement in John Piper and Wayne Grudem,1991,p.470; The Danvers Statement was produced by the Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood in 1987 as stated in Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.403


\textsuperscript{132} Piper and Grudem, 1991,p. 470

\textsuperscript{133} Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.470

\textsuperscript{134} Atkins, 1987; Brown, 1991; Clark, 1980; Elliot, 1979 and 1981; Tim and Beverly Lahaye, 1978; Tim Lahaye, 1991
v. The Labour Division.

Such an 'authority submission' pattern assigns definite tasks and roles to men and women. '... some governing and teaching roles within the church are restricted to men' and 'In both men and women a heartfelt sense of call to ministry should never be used to set aside Biblical criteria for particular ministries'\(^{135}\).

Thus the complementarian viewpoint of evangelical theology of gender puts forward a view of 'equality' with 'difference'.

2. The Egalitarian Perspective and Pertinent Literature.

The egalitarian view of evangelical feminism holds a perspective of equality with mutuality. The salient features of this view are listed below.

i. The Value and Worth and Status of Men and Women.

Evangelical feminism also holds that men and women are created equally in God's own image. Both men and women are fallen and are in need of and have the possibility of redemption.\(^{136}\)

ii. The Nature of Men and Women.

The 'complementarian' and the 'egalitarian' views differ in their explication of the nature of men and women. While the 'complementarian' view attributes a fundamental masculine/feminine distinction, the 'egalitarian' view holds on to a 'common humanity'\(^{137}\).

\(^{135}\) Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.470


sexual differentiation is a second step in creation\textsuperscript{138}. Thus, the sexual aspect is biological reproductive, without being the primary determining factor in the psycho-social and spiritual nature of men and women. On the other hand sexuality is also not 'skin deep'. The sexual relationship between two persons involves the whole person. Human sexuality is a paradox - neither the single most important factor nor merely 'skin deep'\textsuperscript{139} that is superficial, when the sexual relationship is considered. The fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5 is a powerful indication that there is no masculine/feminine categorising of persons as found in the Freudian psychoanalysis. The list in Gal.5 comprises qualities found in both the (so-called) masculine and the (so-called) feminine categories. All these are required of both men and women\textsuperscript{140}. Men and women cannot be categorised into two sex or gender classes. Primarily each human being is to be viewed as a 'person'.

iii. The Role of Men and Women.

The evangelical feminist view does not recognise a basic dividing of persons as two gender classes of masculinity and femininity. Therefore there is no masculine or feminine role distinction. There is no role stereotyping. Both men and women are called to fulfil the role/s that God wants that particular person to fit into\textsuperscript{141}.


\textsuperscript{139} Storkey, 1995


iv. The Realm of Activity or Task or Labour Division.

The fact that there is no role distinction removes the public/private or social/domestic cleavage. This allows labour division to be done away with.\textsuperscript{142}

v. The Relationship of Men and Women.

The important feature of evangelical feminist perspective of gender equality is the 'mutuality' relationship of men and women.\textsuperscript{143} This calls for relationships based on love, honour, respect and oneness. The mutuality relationship reflects the \textit{perichoretic} model\textsuperscript{144} of relationality within the Trinity. Thus it allows one to stand on one's own right without one's existence being merely defined by one's relationships only. Within the Trinity each person is distinct yet related with oneness (without fusion or confusion). There is independence and interdependence and no hierarchical or domination-subordination pattern of relationship.

B. The Egalitarian View of Select Passages.

From these two perspectives the egalitarian perspective is chosen for the theological theoretical underpinnings of this research. This view resonates with the theoretical assumption made about 'sex' and 'gender' as seen above in the definition of 'gender' taken from Graham's work in section II. E of this chapter. It seems to fit the biblical and theological model of Trinitarian relationships. This seems to best suit the data of women's narratives gathered from the fieldwork.

\textsuperscript{142} Hull, 1989; Langley, 1983; Scanzoni and Hardesty, 1986; Van Leeuwen, 1990

\textsuperscript{143} 'Men, Women & Biblical Equality', Statement produced by Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, 1989

\textsuperscript{144} The \textit{perichoretic} model of Trinity is one of the models of Trinity expounded in Christian theology. There is mutual interpenetration and indwelling of the three Persons of the Trinity. There is both individuality and sharing. It is referred to as the community of being. There is distinctive identity without losing the mutuality. It is a model of mutual relationships among three co-equal person. This model is used by present day theologians for communities and human relationships. All the three Persons of the Trinity mutually share in the life of the others. None is isolated or detached from the actions of the others. See, Alister E. McGrath. \textit{Christian Theology. An Introduction}. Third ed. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001, pp. 325-6, 586
1. The Egalitarian Interpretation of the Creation and Fall Narratives.

The egalitarian view of the Creation and Fall narratives, Genesis 1: 26-31a. 2:18-25. 3:1-21 bring out the following points. From these passages are expounded the identity of who a woman is, what her role is, that is, what she can and should do and her relationship, that is, what is the relationship between men and women.

i. The Interpretation of the Creation Narrative in Genesis 1.

From Genesis 1 one may conclude that both man and woman have been equally created in God's image vs.26-27. Both have the charge to be fruitful and multiply vs.28. Both receive the mandate to rule over the world God has created. Vs.26 – 31. The name *adam* is derived from the word *adamah* meaning 'the earth creature' and is for both man and woman. There is no sexual polarity or sexual stereotyping in creation. Between men and women there is both ontological and social equality.

ii. The Interpretation of the Creation Narrative in Genesis 2.

The creation narrative in Genesis 2, leads one to propound, that priority in the time of creation does not mean superiority. The man having heard the command of God not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge does not mean that he has special responsibility. The woman for the man is a vis-à-vis, face-to-face counterpart and help that is strong. This denotes common identity and not being identical. The man had no part in creating the woman and so cannot

---

claim superiority, authority or domination over the woman. The woman having been created 'from the rib' means equal partner side by side. She is not a subordinate person nor does she have a derivative existence or a secondary place. God having created the woman 'for' the man means that she is a companion for the human who was lonely and could not find a partner and an appropriate companion among all other creatures. This does not mean that the woman is a servant, an object to be used or a piece of convenience. The man does not name the woman as he did the animals, but describes the woman. The man leaves everyone else and everything else of his former life (cuts the umbilical cord) and cleaves exclusively and totally without separation with this one person in his life with life long exclusive total commitment, and both become one flesh. The ‘one flesh’ experience and existence denote and demand not merely in the sexual realm but also in every aspect of life oneness, unity, mutuality and equal partnership based on love, trust, honour and respect.

iii. The Egalitarian Interpretation of the Fall Narrative.

The Fall narrative gives rise to the following points that in the Fall, both the man and the woman are accountable. The woman is not more gullible. The man was with her when the serpent spoke. Probably she was tempted first since she might not have received the command directly from God; but, this does not minimise her responsibility. The man ate the fruit knowing fully well that it was forbidden. Both die according to what God has said earlier, recognise their nakedness and hide. Sin is both a personal and a social collective responsibility. The Fall narrative describes sin of disobedience to God’s command and authority. This does not mean that there was role reversal of the woman. The sin of the woman cannot be described as her having taken authority and leadership in her hands. It is not sin because she acted on her own without having asked the man for permission and disobeyed male authority. When questioned, the man shifts the blame while the woman tells the truth.
What God says that will happen are the inevitable descriptive consequences and not prescriptive curses. The Fall narrative lists only two curses, upon the serpent and the ground. The woman's conception was multiplied as a blessing that existed before the Fall; the pain is part of the mortal body of the fallen nature. Her desire had existed as before but the man has changed and assumes a dominant position desiring to rule over the woman. The sinful state also brings in the desire on the part of the woman to manipulate and control the man with desire. Female subordination is not God-ordained; it is not a necessary and automatic consequence of the sexual distinctiveness. It is a mark and a feature of human sin and sinful existence.

2. Passages Concerning Women in the Church\textsuperscript{146}.

Another set of passages that are crucial and raise a lot of controversy about women's status and role in evangelical theology is, 1Cor.11: 2 – 16; 1Cor. 14: 34 – 35; 1Tim.2:8 – 15. The egalitarian interpretation of these passages brings out the following points about the various issues raised, such as headcovering and silence of women during worship and injunction for women not to preach and teach.

i. Headcovering of Women during Worship.

Women's covering their head during worship is a cultural issue. Paul had to ask the women who wanted to uncover their head to cover. This is for them not to upset other women who thought that covering showed modesty and other members of the church who thought that uncovering implied seduction. The word 'head' in 1Cor.11: 3 (and also in Eph. 5:23), is to be interpreted as 'honour' or 'source' and not as 'authority'. Even if it means authority, it is not

for all men over all women at all times. To cover the head is said to be done not to bring shame upon the husband. Paul argues for ‘modesty’ and ‘propriety’ in their culture. The so-called argument from nature is that shaven head for women was understood to be against ‘nature’ in that particular culture. Paul argues for the stronger ones to have concern for the weaker ones and not to cause discomfort for others. Paul says that the woman has authority over her own head. So she could cover it giving up her rights. She may use her authority over her own head to do something that will neither offend others nor bring dishonour on the family. There is a word play on the words ‘glory’ and ‘image’. It is said in the Corinthian passage that women should cover their head because of the angels present at worship. It is not possible that the uncovered head of the women would distract these angels. If Paul is really talking about lusting angels, he would have made a forceful argument for women covering their head in every place at all times. It is possible that Paul is referring to the angels whom they will judge. Then the argument is that because they have this authority to judge the angels they should make responsible choices. The argument from nature refers to gender distinctions and not ranking of one gender over the other. This is an appeal to custom in that culture at that time and not for all times.

ii. The Issue of Women Speaking in the Church.

Another issue is raised from 1 Cor. 14. It is about women keeping silent during worship. This is about uneducated women who were disrupting the worship with their questions. The immediate solution is to ask them to keep quiet. The long-term solution is to educate them. The context is that of order during worship and Paul speaks about women not disrupting the order in worship. Paul is not speaking about women misusing spiritual gifts. If so Paul would have given instructions to regulate the use of gifts and not silence the women. Paul is against women learning too loudly in public; so he requests women to be silent only in that particular
context and not for every woman everywhere at any time. Paul has the general principle of order during worship. He particularly asked the Corinthian women not to disrupt Scripture exposition by asking irrelevant questions. This situation was caused by their lack of knowledge, not having had proper adequate opportunities to educate themselves. The women were less educated and so asked questions. So, they must keep silent and be taught by the more educated husbands at home.

iii. The Issue of Women Teaching.

The passage in 1Tim.2 raises the question of women teaching. There are two issues, women’s dress and teaching. Extravagant and expensive clothing and fashions that distracted and prompted jealousy were prohibited. Anything that was done simply to show off had to be banned because it does not befit behaviour in the covenant community of the redeemed. Paul’s admonition to learn in silence is to the women who were disrupting orderliness in the church by their foolish talk. These women attempted to teach without first having learnt properly. It is not an injunction for women to be forever quiet. Paul is warning against the domineering use of authority. This injunction is not transcultural (that is for all times everywhere), but applied to the specific situation and context in Ephesus at that time. Paul did not want the church to have a negative image before the outsiders; women spread much of the false teaching in Ephesus and unlearned women seeking to teach would do much harm. So, Paul wanted women to learn first so that they can teach after learning well, thoroughly and properly. Paul's reference to the creation of Eve after Adam and Eve having been deceived is an analogy. The argument could run like this. Eve's creation after Adam shows that she was not present when God gave the command to Adam and was later deceived in her ignorance or partial knowledge, just as the unlearned women in Ephesus. So, like Eve the women in Ephesus also will be open to deception and should learn before they attempt to teach. However, Paul goes
on to qualify his statement by saying that though the women in Ephesus can be deceived like Eve, Eve's fall has been reversed by the Christ child, who came through a woman. Or that a woman would be saved, that is delivered from the risks of childbirth if she continues in faith.

3. Interpretation of Passages Concerning Spousal Relationship\textsuperscript{147}.

A third set of passages concerning gender relations comprises Eph.5: 21-33, Col.3: 18-19 and 1Pet.3:1-7. The main point of the Ephesian passage is mutual submission, submitting to one another. The meaning of 'head' is not 'boss' or 'ruler'. The meaning is 'source' that shows the unity of the head and the body. In this case it shows the unity of the husband and the wife as one flesh. The analogy between Christ and the husband as the head is one of life-giving headship and not a ruling headship. The meaning of 'submit' is to align as in the case of falling in line in the army, in which lining up there is no ranking. Submitting oneself is giving oneself to be a support to the other person. Submitting does not mean obeying according to the Greek word used \textit{hupotasso}\textsuperscript{148}. The meaning of 'love' is being responsive to the needs of the other. Both 'submit' and 'love' mean being responsive to the needs of the other and placing oneself at the disposal of the other. Christ and the Church give the model of analogy for the relationship between the husband and the wife. Christ is the head, not to rule, but to love and cherish and to give him for the Church, to make it spotless. The husband and the wife are to be one with each other, in the one flesh relationship in which there is no issue of a hierarchy of two. Nowhere in the Old Testament are wives asked to obey or submit to their husbands. Sarah


\textsuperscript{148} Storkey, 1985, p. 182. Discussions of the meaning of 'submit' and what it means for women including the women in the Old Testament, are found in the writings of egalitarian evangelical writers. Some of the sources: Word study 'submit' from to women.org/studies/word/submit.htm, to women.org/studies/articles/Preato3.htm, to women.org/articles/vashti.htm and the article 'The Vashti – Esther Story' on website of Katharine C Bushnell, all accessed on 27March 2006
refers to her husband as 'lord' only in her reply to the angel's promise of a son. Only Abraham was once asked to obey Sarah, in the case of the treatment of Hagar. Husbands are asked to honour their wives. The wives are referred to as the 'weaker sex', since women were socially, economically and politically weaker.

These and other such texts and writings undergird and inform the theoretical background for the main focus of the study. The other aspects of theory with respect to the gender practice of these women are discussed in the section for analytical framework. This study is examining the gender practice of Tamil Christian women. It is important to dispel any misconceptions there may be about the nature of the material in Christian biblical sources on the relationship between men and women lest any pre judgements or assumptions be imported into the research about the Christian teachings on this relationship. It is the researcher's experience that some writing about the role of religion in the relationship between men and women misrepresents the Christian view and thus concludes that any orthodox Christian position is oppressive of women. For example the headship of men over women described in point four of the complementarian view explicated above is assumed to oppress women. Holding such an incorrect view would seriously compromise the ability of a researcher to hear the expressions of freedom and empowerment articulated by the women and often linked by them to the Christian religion. Further, when analysing the gender practice of the Tamil Christian women who are the focus of the research it will be important to have clarified the benchmark of orthodox Christian teaching against which to evaluate their own gender practice. Though the two versions of orthodox teaching offer different fundamental accounts particularly of headship and submission, nevertheless they are more like points on a common spectrum of respect and dignity than contradictory accounts. Complementarians affirm the equality and dignity of women, but point out that this is expressed in differentiation of roles. This study
does not assume, nor seek to identify, any particular view on this matter by the subjects of the study,

VI. The Methodology.

The methodology of a research project is the theoretical underpinning that informs the study. It is said in the theoretical background that this study uses a feminist narrative methodology\textsuperscript{149} Its feminist basis has also been explained. This study has been done with an evangelical egalitarian feminist commitment. The egalitarian theological perspective has been described in detail. The narrative methodology will be described in detail in a section below.

A. The Choice and Justification of the Methodology.

The reasons for adopting a feminist narrative methodology in this study need to be given. The commitment to an egalitarian evangelical theological perspective necessitates the choice of a feminist methodology. Further this is research by a woman about women for women. So it is only appropriate and just that this research adopts a feminist methodology.

The study has been structured to examine the ‘gender practice’ of women of the sample group. The research question is what it means to be a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai at the turn of the millennium. To investigate the lived experiences of the subjects it is only fit that the oral narratives of their own experiences as emerging through their self-perception and self-definition or self-construction are collected and analysed. As Riessman points out the traditional methods of interview results in the dominance of the investigator’s definition of meaning over that of the subjects.\textsuperscript{150} So for studying self-perception and self-definition

\textsuperscript{149} Feminist narrative methodology is described in the section below and in section VII of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{150} Riessman. 'Life Events, Meaning And Narrative: The Case Of Infidelity And Divorce', \textit{Soc. Sci. Med.} Vol.
the narrative method has been chosen, to ‘focus on the meaning of life events, “from the native’s point of view”’\textsuperscript{151}. ‘Narrative analysis is particularly well-suited to analyzing the process of making sense.’\textsuperscript{152} Riessman also quotes from Gee, ‘One of the ways – probably the primary way – human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in narrative form’.\textsuperscript{153} ‘Narrative analysis … gives prominence to subjects’ meanings and standpoints’,\textsuperscript{154} Riessman claims, ‘Narrators can emplot events in their lives in a variety of ways;’ and she quotes from Mishler that the narrators “select and assemble experiences and events so they contribute collectively to the intended point of the story … why it is being told, in just this way, in just this setting’’ and also from Goffman, ‘”How narrators accomplish their situated stories conveys a great deal about the presentation of self”’.\textsuperscript{155} Further, ‘Personal narratives are, at core, meaning-making units of discourse. They are of interest precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories, rather than reproduce the past as it was’.\textsuperscript{156} The analysis of oral narratives has to use a narrative methodology. Of the various narrative methodologies available the one used by Mishler and some others such as Riessman is found to be appropriate to analyse how the women of the sample group construct their narratives to describe their gender practice in their lived experiences.

\begin{flushright}
29, No. 6, 1989, p. 743
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{151} Riessman, 1989, p. 743
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{152} Riessman, 1989, p. 744
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{153} Riessman, 1989, p. 749
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{155} Riessman, 2002, p. 704
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{156} Riessman, 2002, p. 705
\end{flushright}
B. The Explication of the Narrative Methodology Used.

1. Mishler’s Overall Discussion.

Mishler gives an overall view of the different models of narrative analysis proposed by various theoreticians. He begins with the presupposition that interviewee responses are narratives or stories. He goes on to list with a particular example the general features of a narrative – 1. the scene or setting 2. the characters 3. their actions and events 4. the conflict 5. the resolution of the conflict 6. the point of the story. Mishler points out his role as the interviewer in allowing the respondent to hold the floor with an extended narrative piece and in being the audience to whom the interviewee is presenting himself in a particular light. Following this preliminary discussion Mishler proceeds to present three approaches of the narrative analysis of research interviewing.

2. The Various Approaches of Narrative Analysis.

In his detailed discussion of the three approaches in chapter four of his book, Mishler organises his material around a framework based on the three features mentioned by Halliday – textual, ideational and interpersonal.

---


158 Mishler, 1986, pp. 69-74

159 Mishler, 1986, p. 74


i. The Textual Approach or First Model.\textsuperscript{162}

In this approach Mishler discusses the method of Labov and Waletzky\textsuperscript{163}, its weakness and modification. This model consists of analysing the smaller units of speech, in fact the clauses and how they are interconnected. Labov and Waletzky hold that the smaller units are ordered in a temporal sequence corresponding to the order of the events that are being narrated. Reality congruence in the temporal ordering of the text, is that events that are being narrated follow the time sequence in which the events in reality happened. Mishler makes one overall criticism and two specific ones about this model. The overall criticism is that the narrative analysis is much more than the sequencing of clauses that have a temporal congruence to the reality that is being narrated, that is, they follow the sequence of the events narrated. The first specific criticism is that narrative analysis neglects the effect of the presence of the interviewer, as if the interviewer is unseen or inaudible. The second point made is that the earlier model of Labov and Waletzky focuses on the Evaluation clause which becomes a 'free clause' that can be placed anywhere in the narrative and does not have to follow the order of the events as they happened. This works against the basic premise of the model. However, a later modification using Goffman's 'Move'\textsuperscript{164} and Propp's\textsuperscript{165} functional analysis becomes more like the ideational model and not a textual model. Thus Mishler moves on to the discussion of the second model.

\textsuperscript{162} Mishler, 1986, pp. 77-87


74
ii. The Second Model or Ideational Approach.\(^{166}\)

Mishler gives a detailed discussion of this approach of Agar-Hobbs\(^ {167}\). He says that it focuses on the ideational 'coherence', that is how the narrator's intentions and narrative strategies produce a coherent story. This coherence is produced through the 'content' expressed through the emerging 'themes' or 'ideas' and their relationships. This emphasis on the coherence of ideas gives the name 'ideational approach'. In this model there are three types of coherence specified – global, local and themal. Mishler points out that though this model preserves the richness and complexity of the narrative, it focuses on one aspect and neglects the other issues.

Mishler raises four issues – the relationship between the levels, the issue of any particular structure of the narrative, the basis of the interpretation of meaning and the effect of the context of the interview situation. Agar-Hobbs' model neglects these. Another similar model proposed by van Dijk\(^ {168}\) differs in that the relationship between the levels is specified and narrative is considered as one type of a structure. However van Dijk also fails to specify the basis for interpretation and to work out the effect of the context of the interview.

\(^{166}\) Mishler, 1986, pp. 87-96


iii. The Interpersonal Model.169

Mishler uses Paget’s model170 of the interpersonal type in which Paget recognises and makes explicit the effect of the interview context. These issues are listed in the form of five questions by Mishler – the role of the interviewer, the part played in the joint construction, the particularity of interview narratives, the effect produced by differences in questions and the influence of the presence of the interviewer. Bell’s work171 combines the three approaches and produces a comprehensive approach. However Bell’s analysis also uses clauses and is closer to the textual model.

Mishler advocates the combination of the three approaches. He also argues against the traditional approach of validity questions in qualitative research. He proposes an approach appropriate for the study of social life, moving away from the traditional approach of qualitative research. Riessman also points out that ‘The “trustworthiness” of narrative accounts cannot be evaluated using traditional correspondence criteria. There is no canonical approach to validation in interpretive work, no recipes or formulas172. Mishler in a later work173 follows the method of using extended narratives in which the stories are not split into small clauses or textual bits but taken as whole stories. Each part of the story is looked at without removing it from the context of the whole narrative, because according to Riessman

169 Mishler, 1986, pp. 96-105


172 Riessman, 2002, p. 706

also ‘Meaning is constructed in context’\textsuperscript{174}. This preserves the setting and contextual significance of the textual, ideational and interpersonal levels.

\section*{VII. Theoretical Background.}

The earlier discussion of theoretical background\textsuperscript{175}, demonstrated that gender is a social phenomenon and a performative reality and not an ontological essence\textsuperscript{176}. It is also found from Indian gender studies that women in India live in a patriarchal society with their socio-economic condition changing with some gains. As for the two family studies in India, the doctoral dissertation by Indiradevi studies the effect of education and employment of wives on role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns in Hindu families\textsuperscript{177}. This she has done by conducting a statistical analysis of her findings with families in Andhra Pradesh. The study by Ross is about the effects of urbanisation on the Hindu family. This she studies in terms of division of labour, investing of authority, economic independence of the wife, affective bonds of the husband - wife relationship, interest in the education of daughters and career consciousness of daughters\textsuperscript{178}. These two studies show that the gender equation is being altered in Indian families. This has led to the research question of self-perception and self-construction of the women of the sample stated as who is a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai. For such a study of identity construction the quantitative methods used by the studies existent in India do not lend themselves. To study self-perception and self-construction a narrative methodology lends itself.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{174} Riessman, 1989, p. 744
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{175} See footnote 1 and also the theoretical background above in this chapter.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{176} See Section I. C of chapter one for the definition of gender by Graham.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{177} Indiradevi, 1987
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{178} Ross, 1961
\end{flushright}
The reason why a narrative methodology has been chosen may be given in the quotation:

Narrative inquiry is the process of gathering information for the purpose of research through storytelling. The researcher then writes a narrative of the experience. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) note, "Humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and collectively, lead storied lives. Thus, the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world." In other words, people's lives consist of stories. As Connelly and Clandinin also note, "Research is a collaborative document, a mutually constructed story out of the lives of both researcher and participant."

Narrative inquiry is appropriate to many social science fields. The entire field of study is often used in disciplines such as literary theory, history, anthropology, drama, art, film, theology, philosophy, psychology, linguistics, education, politics, nutrition, medicine, and even aspects of evolutionary biological science.\(^{179}\)

This research falls within the methodology of ‘personal narratives’, ‘personal stories’ or ‘narration of personal experiences’.\(^{180}\) With respect to literature of construction of ‘self’ through oral narrative with women outside India, Ruth Josselson and Amia Lieblich have edited the volumes in the *Narrative Study of Lives* series along with two individual titles\(^{181}\). Excellent samples of research methodology of narrative are given in Kim Vaz’s edited book, *Oral Narrative Research With Black Women*.\(^{182}\) Narrative methodology is not one monolithic single type. However within this broad field, the narrative methodology of Elliott G.

---

\(^{179}\) Writing@CSU, ‘Observation’, available at for Writers & Teachers/Writing Guide/Empirical Research/Observation, accessed in January 2002


\(^{182}\) Vaz ed, 1997
Mishler\textsuperscript{183} has been chosen as appropriate for the analysis of the oral narrative data collected, because it lends itself best for the analysis of the type of data in this study. This methodology has been explained in detail in the methodology section. It has to be explained why storytelling being the communicative norm in the culture of the women has been chosen.

A. The Patterns of Story-telling as a Communicative Norm in the Culture of the Women of the Sample Group.

Charles Briggs in his book, \textit{Learning how to ask}, forcefully and convincingly argues for getting at methodological problems and communicative blunders to develop sophistication in interviewing, which he terms as ‘learning how to ask’.

1. He lists three overall points\textsuperscript{184} that should shape our interviewing:

i. In oral narrative method, the researcher should recognise that in every culture or society there are broader patterns of social and cultural repertoire from which the narrator or storyteller draws the treasures of his or her narration.

ii. What the narrator relates is not something ‘out there’, lying ready to be just transported \textit{per se} from a treasure house unlocking its door and just handing over just as it existed or exists. Every narration or story is a ‘performance’, a dialogical or joint construction of the narrator and the audience, though the audience may be just the researcher listening to or recording the ‘story’. This has been recognised in the schedules of this research. One of the methods in which Indian women (but specifically Christian women, because of the social pattern and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Mishler, 1986; Mishler, 1999; similar works using narrative methodology, such as those of . \textit{Narrative Analysis}. Sage, Newbury Park, CA, 1993 and of Bell have also been used. Another source: Heather J. Richmond, ‘Learners’ Lives: A Narrative Analysis’, \textit{The Qualitative Report}, 7/3, September, 2002, available at , accessed in January 2003
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
tradition of ‘giving a testimony’ or ‘relating one’s experiences’) share their experiences is
‘narrative’ or ‘story-telling of personal experiences’. This communicative method accepted
and well recognised in the socio-cultural milieu of the researcher and the women interviewed
has been drawn on and used. Tonkin also holds that it is ‘more fruitful to tap into teller’s
expertise and not to insist on their confirming [conforming?] to the interviewer’s genre’.185

iii. The third point Briggs brings out is the existence of certain communicative norms in the
culture and society of the interviewees. There will be a communicative gap between the norms
of the researcher and those of the narrators. ‘The farther we move away from home, culturally
and linguistically, the greater the problem.’186 In this respect, this researcher has an advantage
of the research being in her own culture. However, the research has been greatly facilitated by
conforming to the communicative norms of the socio-cultural situation of the women
interviewed.

2. Further, Briggs lists four ways in which to approach the communicative problems187:

i. to approach the interview as a whole. This has been recognised in this research. The
collection, analysis and interpretation of the interviews or narratives or stories of these women
are carried out from the standpoint that information cannot be processed in an atomised (torn
or cut into small pieces) manner following the pattern of modernity, but as a whole with the
various aspects inter-related and holding together. This standpoint is taken in accordance with
what Charles Taylor points out following the method of Heidegger and Wittgenstein.188 The

185 Elizabeth Tonkin. *Narrating our past. The social construction of oral history.* Cambridge University Press,
Cambridge, 1992, p.54

186 Briggs, 1995, p. 3

187 Briggs, 1995, pp. 4 – 5

experiences of the women are analysed and interpreted within a comprehensive and over-all framework of gender practice with various aspects of gender experiences such as spousal
relationship, treatment of sons and daughters, opportunities for education and career and involvement in church.

ii. exploration of the communicative roots of the interview

iii. steps to overcome the communicative obstacles of the interview to be taken

iv. practical steps to be taken to make the best use of the interview recognising the nature and limitations of the interview

3. Briggs points out two more problems of methodology\(^{189}\)

i. pertaining to the nature of the interview and the role of the interviewer which affects the generation and interpretation of data, and

ii. relating to the context that is not merely physical and the social context of the narrative.

Regarding the nature of the interview and the role of the interviewer, Briggs elaborately analyses\(^{190}\) a communicative model in which he discusses issues of metacommunicative repertoire, communicative strategies, communicative events, social roles of the interviewer and the interviewee, the situation of the communicative event, and communicative norms and routines. He goes on to discuss the acquiring of communicative competence by the researcher.\(^{191}\) Finally, Briggs points out that designing appropriate methodology\(^{192}\) considering the communicative model that he has analysed or learning how to ask with sophistication would help a researcher overcome to some extent the communicative blunders that pose obstacles to the research.

\(^{189}\) Briggs, 1995, pp. 12 – 15

\(^{190}\) Briggs, 1995, pp. 39 – 60

\(^{191}\) Briggs, 1995, pp. 61 – 92

\(^{192}\) Briggs, 1995, pp. 993 – 111
The second problem that has been pointed out by Briggs is that of context. ‘Contexts are interpretive frames that are constructed by the participants in the course of the discourse’\(^{193}\) and any discourse including the interview is dialogical and contextualised.\(^{194}\) This means that the interviewee is not producing a mono or one-way discourse but producing a narrative in a dialogical fashion co-constructing it with the interviewer. It is also contextualised in the sense that it is a performance in the particular context of that interview.

B. Construction of ‘Self’ in a Narrative.

Another issue to be considered is what is being mediated in a narrative and how. Finnegan’s notion of the individual as creator\(^{195}\) is the starting point. Tonkin also agrees that ‘A narrative presentation of self is a social action’ and that life stories create \textit{persona}e\(\textit{s}\) and not transparent self-portraits.\(^{196}\) This point of a dialogical contextual construction of ‘self’ in narratives is brought out by anthropologists and oral historians\(^{197}\) such as Finnegan and Tonkin, using narrative forms as research methods and tools. Considering ‘self-as-narrative’\(^{198}\) validates and legitimises the analysis and interpretation adopted in this research along the lines of self-perception and self-description.

From a psychological perspective regarding self-perception, self-definition and identity construction, Ulric Neisser, in raising the question whether self-narratives are true or false,

\(^{193}\) Briggs, 1995, p. 12
\(^{194}\) Briggs, 1995, p. 13
\(^{196}\) Tonkin, 1992, pp. 56, 57
\(^{197}\) Finnegan, 1992 and Tonkin, 1992
\(^{198}\) Finnegan, 1998, p. 8
takes the following view:

Life narratives are often described as if they were the chief or even the only ingredient of the self: “They [life narrative] are the basis of personal identity and self-understanding and they provide answers to the question ‘Who am I?’” (Polkinghorne, 1991, p. 136). This claim goes too far: Self-knowledge depends on perception, conceptualization, and private experience as well as narrative (Neisser, 1988). Self-narratives are a basis of but not the basis of identity.199

Following this line of argument, Neisser goes on to explicate that in the issue of narrative and reality one must bear in mind that there are four parts, the historical self who participated in the actual event, the perceived self who experienced at the time of the event, the remembering self who recalls the past experience and event, and the remembered self as recalled, constructed and narrated later.200 Jerome Brunner in Neisser’s view is ‘psychology’s most eloquent advocate of the narrative mode’201. He describes in detail202 ‘some of the properties of a world of “reality” constructed according to narrative principles’. He holds that ‘narrative organizes the structure of human experience’.203 In an earlier article, Jerome Brunner taking a constructivist approach and using the idea of narrative construction explicates his idea (or thesis) that life (lived experiences) and narrative of that life (lived experiences) mutually interact with one another and construct one another in an interactive manner.204 Thus, the data collected through the narrative stories of the lived experiences of the women of the sample, in a legitimate and valid way, enables the researcher to look at the self-perception and self-definition of the women of the study. Riessman also points out that ‘It is now a sociological

200 Neisser and Fivush, 1994, p. 2
201 Neisser and Fivush, 1994, p.9
203 Brunner, 1991, p.21
axiom that the way people define a situation is reality for them, however ‘incorrect’ that may be from another’s point of view.²⁰⁵

**C. The Interviewee Bias.**

It is also recognised that educated women who are aware of the issues of gender experiences, especially in adopting the method of oral narrative of personal experiences involving identity construction or construction of ‘self’, may impose or give way to various sorts of distorted perception and deliberate selective construction to fit certain self-perceived criteria or frameworks. On the other hand, this is a crucial point in dealing with construction of self. A narrative is not treated as a hard fact or a piece of objective information. The subjectivity and the role of the interviewees are also recognised.

Martia Graham Goodson, writing on oral narrative in Vaz’s book, says that one of the things that she learned from Ophelia, an early Black American narrative researcher, was to believe in her informants. On the one hand the oral narrative researcher cannot accept everything the narrator says while on the other hand the researcher has to believe that the narrators have something of worth to say.²⁰⁶

**D. Issues of Significance, Meaning and Truth.**

Research based on the method of narrative and story telling of personal experiences and the self-perception and self-description of the population based on construction of self in narratives, has to deal with issues of significance, meaning and truth.

²⁰⁵ Riessman, 1989, p. 749
²⁰⁶ Vaz ed. 1997, p. 17
According to Briggs what is obtained through narratives is the 'social meaning' of what is narrated and this is what has to be evaluated. He would claim to objectivity on the part of the researcher as communicative hegemony and a false consciousness of objectivity. Tonkin also challenges claims of objectivity on the part of the researcher as useless, since in narrative forms what a person recalls is connected to identity and social role. This research seeks to find the social meaning of the narrative story telling of the personal experiences of the women of the sample group, to find the significance of their self-perception and self-description as they construct 'self' through their story telling.

Once the false dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity is removed, the claims of truth – falsehood also do not hold anymore in studies using narratives. Briggs strikes at the root of the problem. In his opinion when ethnographers say that natives lie or give inconsistent answers, the real problem is not one of truth and falsehood, but the lack of understanding on the part of the researcher to recognise the communicative method, strategies and norms which exist in the socio-cultural situation of the informants and the disparity between the communicative methods of the researcher and the informants.

In line with these positions of viewing the material gathered through narratives, this research does not focus on the question of truth, but seeks to bring out the meaning and significance of what the women of the sample group have narrated with respect to their experiences of gender practice.

207 Briggs, 1995, p. 14
208 Briggs, 1995, pp. 120, 124
209 Tonkin, 1992, p. 96
210 Briggs, 1995, p. 10
E. The Method of Construction of the Story.

It is not merely important to know what is being constructed in narrative forms, but also to know the method of construction. Finnegan in her book *Tales of the City* elaborately discusses the method of construction of 'stories' (narratives). She lists four features\(^\text{211}\) which can be discerned in an analysis of a 'story' – sequence, temporal or otherwise; an explanation giving coherence; the potential for generalisability of universal in particular; and, generic conventions of expected framework, protagonists and modes of performance. Thus, there is a lot of formulating, ordering, and validating of personal experience in personal narratives and stories of personal experiences.\(^\text{212}\) In this research it is recognised and claimed that this is what is happening in the story-telling method the women of the sample group have adopted.

VIII. Theoretical Background for the Dynamics of Fieldwork.

Having chosen the field of research, the research problem and the methodology and been informed with the appropriate theoretical background, it is only proper to choose the method of data collection using the appropriate research design.

After considering the different sub categories . . . and identifying a theoretical perspective, researchers can begin to design their study. Research design is the string of logic that ultimately links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of the study. Typically, research designs deal with at least four problems:

i. What questions to study

ii. What data are relevant

iii. What data to collect

iv. How to analyze that data

In other words, a research design is basically a blueprint for getting from the beginning to the end of a study. The beginning is an initial set of questions to be answered, and the end is some set of conclusions about those questions.\(^\text{213}\)

In keeping with the methodology of feminist narrative, it has been decided to use qualitative research involving fieldwork. This is social research in the sense that it examines the

\(^{211}\) Finnegan, 1998, p.9. This is the framework she uses in the whole book to analyse the various 'stories' of the city to bring out 'Tales of the City'.

\(^{212}\) Finnegan, 1998, p. 81

\(^{213}\) Writing @CSU, 'Case Studies', available at Case Study, accessed in January 2002
relationships between individuals and between individuals and family, informal social structures, formal social structures, the community and culture\textsuperscript{214}. Social research can be carried out either to detect regularities in social relations or to propose solutions to particular problems\textsuperscript{215}. This research is of the former kind. The question is to study the gender experiences of women. Since I wanted to address issues that are not frequently addressed in the works examined in the literature review, an exploratory study was carried out. The issues to be addressed in the focus group interview that is the data collection method for generating stories were identified through the exploratory study.

IX. The Exploratory Study.

A. Introduction.

In qualitative research

Unlike most scientific research methods, qualitative observational inquiry does not require the researcher to define a precise set of issues in the initial phases; these issues often emerge from the study over time. While some qualitative inquiries may begin with a set of questions, it is common for theories about group behaviour and interactions to emerge as a result of the observer's exploratory work (emergent design). And, those theories may identify relevant questions for further research.\textsuperscript{216}

So, from the literature survey an exploratory study was designed. The findings of the exploratory study enabled the researcher to recognise the research question to be explored.

It is important to note that ... in any qualitative descriptive research, while researchers begin their studies with one or several questions driving the inquiry (which influence the key factors the researcher will be looking for during data collection), a researcher may find new key factors emerging during data collection.\textsuperscript{217}

Thus, the research question was accordingly modified in this descriptive research.


\textsuperscript{215} Lin, 1976, p. 5

\textsuperscript{216} Writing@CSU, 'Defining the research question', available at , accessed in January 2002

\textsuperscript{217} Writing@CSU, 'Data Collection', available at http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002
B. Population for the Exploratory Study.

Based on the literature for background theory of secular and theological gender studies an exploratory study was carried out. An open-ended questionnaire\textsuperscript{218} of background, family, education, career, marriage, involvement in church and society and other issues was formulated. This was distributed to a broad random sample of mainly educated South Indian Christian women. In this research, the exploratory study was done by distributing this open questionnaire to several educated Indian Christian women from all walks of life, both career and non-career. Some forty responses were collected mainly from women from South India. A few Hindu women and a few North Indian women also volunteered to respond. The questionnaire was administered either in person by the researcher or the researcher’s friends and relatives, or it was sent by post with a covering letter explaining the research project. These responses have been entered in a database. For comparison, some thirteen women of rural agricultural background mostly from the Hindu background, but all part of the International Fund for Agricultural Development were also interviewed using the questionnaire. For these Hindu women only questions applicable to them were used. Questions about women’s involvement and role in the church, being inapplicable, were not used.

The sample group selected for the exploratory data collection was random, broad with respect to socio-geographical setting and confined to a small socio-temporal period between February 1999 and April 1999. It emerged from the responses that the women were concerned to share the self-perception and self-definition of their gender practice in their lived experiences.

\textsuperscript{218} This questionnaire is in Appendix 2.
C. The Questionnaire for the Exploratory Study.

From the preliminary background reading of literature the preliminary questionnaire was constructed. The research question being who a woman is, the questionnaire was constructed to elicit the experiences and views of South Indian Christian women. It emerges from Indian family studies that family relationships, educational and career opportunities, gender equality and views of sex and gender are quite significant. So the questionnaire contained questions about the parental and marital homes, including the relationships in the family, freedom in choice of the state of marriage or singleness and in the choice of marriage partner, educational and career opportunities and involvement in church activities. There was a question about their attitude to the state of marriage or singleness. It also had questions about their views about gender equality, gender, sex, women’s leadership roles in church and society, male authority and female submission, mutuality and equal partnership. These questions about women’s involvement and roles in church were inapplicable for the Hindu women and not used for the population of Hindu women. The respondents were questioned about the concept of equality and the equality that women want. They were asked about the shaping influences, the struggles, problems and changes wanted in their lives with respect to gender equality.

The open questionnaire gave flexibility for the respondents to give information going farther than the questions and also allowed them to tell of their varied experiences and views. The method of distribution provided the facility to explain the questions and concepts that were not clear or not understood by the respondents. For the rural women the researcher collected the information by way of note taking during the interview. While the educated women wrote in English (because the questionnaire was written in English), the researcher explained the questions in Tamil for the rural women.
X. Theoretical and Analytical Framework.

A. Introduction.

Family studies in India have in the past mostly focused on the change in the structure of the family especially in that of the joint family. Many have focused on women's education and employment, but in terms of their status and role. There are not many studies on the impact of urbanisation, education and employment in effecting change, if any, in the gender equation in the family in India. Ross' study on the urban, mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore is one of the earliest (1961). Her study examines the problems faced by the change in the structure of traditional families due to urbanisation and industrialisation. In the course of this study some conclusions in the areas of education and employment of urban middle-class women are drawn. There are also some conclusions regarding the changes caused by women's education and employment in division of labour and affectional bonds in urban middle class families. Indiradevi's study (1987) of the impact of education and employment on the gender equation within family is seminal. No single study of any major contribution has been done focussing on the change in the gender equation in family and church among urban middle class Christians of Tamil Nadu. These studies provide the academic context for this research and have been described in detail in the section above on theoretical background.

B. Relevance of the Study of Ross.

Ross's study on mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore seems to be the earliest study of the changes in the patterns of family in a city. She specifically states that the purpose of her research is not to conclude whether there is any change in the family structure or not due to


222 The theoretical background for Indian family studies is explained above in section IV of this chapter.
urbanisation and industrialisation, but to highlight the problems faced by families subjected to change. The chapters devoted to the change in the substructures of rights and duties, power and authority, sentiments, work, education, changing friendship and marriage patterns in an urban context have helpful insights regarding the impact of women's education and employment on gender equation and gender practice.

C. Indiradevi's Study.

Indiradevi in 1987 claims that Sociology of Family in India has not looked at spousal relationship in terms of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. Her major objective is to assess whether education and employment of wives in urban Hindu families have produced any change in the direction of equalitarian patterns of spousal relationship. Thus in a specific manner she seeks to discover the change in the areas of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. She has chosen an urban sample and uses statistical analysis of the responses collected through a structured questionnaire. Indiradevi concludes that education and employment of the wife promotes equalitarian patterns of behaviour. She indicates that empirical knowledge about Christian and Muslim communities are limited. This is quite important for this research that attempts to examine the perspectives on education, employment and career of the sample group of Tamil Christian women.

Looking at these two studies, the opportunities for education and employment of women have significant impact on the identity of women. So, the components of opportunities for education and employment have been chosen for analysis of gender practice of the women of the sample group in the area of their self-perception and self-definition of their lived experiences in the area of society.
D. Construction of an Analytical Framework for this Research from the Foregoing Discussion.

This research is focused on the self-perception and self-definition of gender practice of the sample group, which consists of women of Kodambakkam Risen Redeemer’s CSI church in Chennai. These women are Tamil Christians, urban, middle class, educated and some employed and some not, from teenage to about eighty and married, young not-yet-married and few who have chosen single status. So, studies focusing on families and gender in India are relevant for this research. The two studies described in the foregoing sections are the closest and most helpful in constructing the analytical framework of this research. Apart from choosing the categories to be examined from the research by others, a strong reason for the choice of the particular analytical framework is that these analytical categories emerge from the stories or oral narratives of these women. Another guide that has been used is the material collected in the exploratory study of educated middle class Christian women mostly from South India. The theological works of the egalitarian and complementarian perspectives examined also strongly undergird the choice of the particular framework used.

Both Ross’ and Indiradevi’s works strongly underline the fact that education and employment are crucial in the lives of Indian women. The stories themselves have given a lot of importance to education and employment of these women. So, two of the areas that have been chosen are education and employment of these women – what experiences of education and employment these women have had, how they perceive themselves as educated and employed or not employed women, and, what is their attitude to and view of their own experiences and that of other women in the areas of education and employment.
The theological material on evangelical gender perspectives also analyses the biblical material in terms of women's identity, their role and relationship\textsuperscript{223}. This biblical material forms an important factor in the lives of the women being studied. So, in this research of self-image and identity, the women's stories are analysed in terms of who these women are and what their relationships in family, church and society are, both according to themselves, and according to how they understand the biblical material. The studies of Ross and Indiradevi focus on the role and relationships of women in family and society.

The analytical framework has a part focussing on the experiences of these women in family. In this area the components highlighted are spousal relationship and treatment of children and a select concept of 'male headship'. The select concept of 'headship of husband' figures significantly in the theological literature of evangelical views of gender\textsuperscript{224}. So it is examined under the category of religious discourse.

The fieldwork shows that religious life and participation in church activities for Indian Christian women is crucial for their self-perception and self-definition of who they are. This discussion of biblical material of women in church life is found in the theological material also. For a Christian community participation in the life and activities of the church is extremely important. It emerges from the exploratory study and fieldwork that the participation of these women in the life of the church is not merely significant for identity construction but also crucial for their empowering, resourcing and negotiating their lives. Another major part of the analytical framework is constructed to examine the participation of these women in the life and activities of the church. This aspect along with other issues raised

\textsuperscript{223} Described earlier in this chapter, section V.

\textsuperscript{224} See footnote above.
in the biblical material is investigated under the religious discourse. The categories analysed in this section of religious discourse are women’s general involvement in the church, women’s roles in the church such as preaching and teaching, women’s involvement in church administration and priesthood recognised by ordination, and some cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores such as headcovering during worship and headship of husband.

The narrative analysis of one category of material pertains specifically to this study because it arises from the data of the narratives of the women. This is the material related to gender issues in society analysed through the social discourse. These are discourses about the girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers.

Thus, the four major areas examined are:

i. Relationships in family particularly spousal relationships and treatment of children

ii. Perspectives on education and career

iii. Religious discourse of participation in church and gender issues found in some biblical passages.

iv. Social discourse of certain gender issues in society.

A significant difference between this study and other material used is that while the other studies examine the content of the discourse this study investigates the narrative structure or analysis of the stories of the women of the sample group. These stories of gender practice in their lived experiences reveal narrative patterns pertaining to self-perception and self-construction.
XI. Methods.

The intense focused fieldwork was done after the exploratory study. For this the qualitative research method of collection of narratives in the focus groups was used for data collection. The sample group of Indian Christian women for the research was chosen. The women narrated their lived experiences in the areas relevant for the study. The data collected through these persons narrating their lived experiences in the mode of ‘testimonio’, ‘story’ or ‘sharing of experiences’ in the focus group discussions were systematically categorised and analysed. The analysis followed a descriptive procedure of bringing out significant ‘voices’. The emerging patterns and themes were used along with the theoretical framework to construct the analytical framework that is explicated in the section on methodology and method in this chapter.

XII. Theoretical Background for Analytical Framework.

Some studies of Indian families have been already identified as relevant.\textsuperscript{225} These have been used in constructing the analytical framework. Rudestam and Newton hold that a prior tentative theoretical conceptual framework adopted to bound the study, may change as the study progresses.\textsuperscript{226} Thus these relevant works and the categories emerging from the fieldwork were used inductively for the analytical framework.

CONCLUSION.

This chapter has looked at the theoretical background of literature, methodology, research method and the analytical framework that has been constructed with the components arising

\textsuperscript{225} Aileen Ross, 1961 and Indiradevi, 1987

from relevant theoretical studies and also inductively from the fieldwork. The theoretical background of literature is reviewed in four parts. The review of studies of gender theories describes the notions about 'gender' and provides the definition of 'gender'. The Indian gender studies reveal the academic view of the Indian women being described as downtrodden, oppressed and marginalised. The relevant Indian family studies provide the academic context for the fieldwork and some components for the analytical framework. The examination of the evangelical theological perspectives of gender provide the biblical and theological background which highlights some of the issues to be explored in the field work and included in the analytical framework. The review of literature pertaining to methodology provides the description of the feminist narrative methodology. The theoretical background of the method describes the need for the exploratory study and the construction of the questionnaire for the exploratory study. From an examination of this theoretical background, the analytical framework has been constructed with the components that emerge from the relevant Indian family studies, evangelical perspectives of gender theology and the fieldwork. The next chapter records the fieldwork undertaken.
CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD WORK

I. Introduction.

The previous chapter surveyed the relevant theoretical background, methodology, methods and analytical framework. From that survey I proceed to a description of the field and the fieldwork done. The fieldwork was done with a particular sample. The following section describes the choice of the field, the description of the sample population with the location of the church, socio-economic and cultural setting of the area, the socio-cultural and denominational background of the sample group.

II. The Focused Intense Field Work.

A. The Choice of the Field.

For a narrowed down and focused fieldwork, the women members of the CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam\(^{227}\) were chosen as the sample and population for the study. A descriptive method has been adopted to suit the study of behaviour and relationship between two or more social activities\(^{228}\).

B. The Sample Population.

The sample group has been chosen from the members of the Kodambakkam CSI church. Because the study is about Tamil Christian women this Tamil church has been chosen. Detailed description of the church, its members, its beginning and growth and its activities are given in the report in Appendix1. In many types of qualitative research the study '... can

\(^{227}\) The background report is in Appendix 1.

\(^{228}\) Lin, 1976, p. 8

98
use one participant, or a small group of participants. However, it is important that the participant pool remain relatively small. The participants can represent a diverse cross section of society, but this isn't necessary. The participant pool is kept small to be manageable.

C. Location of the Church.

A succinct description is given here to understand the geographical and socio-cultural background or setting of the sample group. The Kodambakkam area lies west of the Chennai Beach-Tambaram railway line. It is one of the areas developed as Chennai (then known as Madras) city (now a metropolis) began to expand west of the railway line in the 1950s. By the turn of the twentieth century, Kodambakkam being well within the metropolis is no more the growing edge of the city. Kodambakkam is close to the Beach – Tambaram electric train line (the commuter line) which gives greater facility of mobility to those who live here.

D. Socio-economic and Cultural Setting of the Kodambakkam Area.

Socio-culturally the area has a variety of people from various caste backgrounds. None of the people living in the Kodambakkam area can boast of their ancestors having lived there for several centuries, since the entire area is one of city expansion and development. This socio-geographical setting of the area being a newly developed one has given the flexibility for its residents to grow out of their socio-cultural moulds and traditions and the opportunity to attempt innovative patterns.

The economic background of the population of the Kodambakkam area is varied - from the rich to the poor. Though not an elite residential area, it is an area where all facilities are available. The environment of the Kodambakkam area in its socio-cultural, economic and

229 Writing@CSU, 'Participant Selection', available at http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002
temporal setting delivers public goods such as good roads, transport, petrol stations, markets, shopping facilities, restaurants and hotels, computer centres, postal and telephone facilities, metro water facilities, sewerage and drainage systems, schools and colleges, worship places of temples, mosques and churches, hospitals, cinema theatres, parks and play grounds.

E. The Socio-cultural Background of the Sample Group.

The members of the CSI Risen Redeemer’s church in Kodambakkam are predominately Tamilians. The sample chosen consists of Tamil Christian women. The members are varied in their socio-cultural background. Female education is not an issue, an opportunity to be fought for or the privilege of a few. All women are educated. Women may either take up a career or be housewives. Employment and career are not seen as necessary or a necessary index of status or independence. Marriage for women is seen to be the socio-cultural norm though there is some flexibility for women to choose the life of a spinster. But marriage is not viewed as a necessary evil or a fettering imprisonment. The economic background of the congregation members is varied, from the affluent (not the elite) to the poor. The women of the older age group, who have entered the labour market, seem to have taken up the more traditional or the not-too-innovative jobs, for example Lita, Jeyavathy, Amar, Lila, Saguna, Gem, Saral and Sampoorna have been teachers. On the other hand the younger ones have entered the non-traditional jobs, for example Udhaya an engineer.

F. The Denominational Background.

The Risen Redeemer’s church in Kodambakkam was started in 1958. Hence, it began and developed as a CSI church and not as a mission church like the British Wesleyan (Mount Wesley, Egmore Wesley, Broadway Wesley, Royapettah Wesley, Perambur Wesley), High Anglican (St. Mathias), low Anglican (St. Paul’s), London Missionary Society (Missionary
Chapel), the Army (Perambur Holy Cross, Garrison church in St. Thomas Mount) church or the Anderson chapel of the Madras Christian College in front of the High Court. It is also not a church planted with the new converts of an evangelistic effort.

From the members of the Kodambakkam CSI church, the sample population for the study was drawn at random. They are from teenage to above 80 years. They hail from urban, semi urban and rural backgrounds with respect to their parental homes while all of them are residents of Kodambakkam by virtue of which they are located in a metropolitan city. All of them have been educated up to various levels and in diverse fields. The group consists of married women with grandchildren or children, spinsters who had chosen the single life style and young girls who are not yet married. Some of the participants are career women while some others have chosen to be non-career women. The participants whose background has been described above formed the focus groups. The focus group discussions gave rise to the primary data of oral narratives for the analytical part of the study.

Six focus groups were conducted of various sizes. The participants were of various types. There were totally thirty-one participants. The description of each group is given in a Table in Appendix 3. Four of the groups had three members each. One had six and the other thirteen. Three groups each with three members consisted of older married women. The one with six women had older and younger married women and one younger unmarried woman. The group with thirteen members consisted of older and younger married women and one older unmarried woman. One group of three members was entirely composed of younger unmarried women. The group of younger unmarried women was of all college students. The other groups had members of different educational, career and social backgrounds.
According to the convenience of each group the meetings were arranged. Two groups of older married women and the one group of younger unmarried women met only once each. In these single time meetings the discussions of the two sessions were carried on one after another. One group with three older married women, the group with thirteen members and the one with six members met twice. In these meetings at two separate times the discussions of the two sessions were carried out. The places of meeting also were different. Four met in houses while the other two met in the church compound.

III. The Entry into the Field.

Having chosen the field, the entry into the field was made in the following manner. The researcher initially approached the pastor of the CSI church and asked for permission to collect the data for the research. The pastor gave a typed letter of introduction and permission. However, there was no occasion when this had to be used. Apart from gaining the confidence and permission of the pastor, the researcher approached the women leaders who have house prayer cells in their homes. These introduced the researcher to some other women also. They also helped by allowing some focus groups to be conducted in their homes. Some of these and other members helped in introducing the researcher to other members and in taking the researcher to the houses of other members. Further, the pastor had given the lists of addresses of the members (organised according to the areas for the benefit of Christmas Carol rounds) for the use of the researcher. This greatly helped the researcher in covering each area systematically. There was no need for covert research. Moreover, there did not seem to be any particular obstacle in gaining access and being able to be an observer or a participant observer.
IV. Problems Faced.

A. Gatekeepers.
The pastor, the leaders of the house prayer cells, active female members and some of the elderly members may be described as gatekeepers. However, as can be seen from the section on the social acceptance and relationship of the researcher, the gatekeepers placed no major obstacle.

B. Constraints on the Conduct of the Focus Groups.
The focus groups had to consider the convenience and availability of the members. Not every member of three groups that met twice could be present in both the meetings. In the largest group that had thirteen participants, some had to leave early. Along with the constraint of time not every participant would have responded to each issue in this large group. In the other groups also some members might not have talked about any issue that probably was not significant for them. The problems of bilinguality and transcription are described in detail in Appendix 4. Sometimes the failure of the recording would have missed some parts or some clarity.

V. The Status of the Researcher in the Field.
The fieldwork has been done by the researcher as an insider - outsider. N. Lin lists the advantages and limitations of the researcher being an outsider. The advantages of being an outsider are acceptance, being able to receive open and uninhibited responses since the researcher is not part of the 'establishment', not having too much rapport and objectivity. However, if the researcher is not identified enough, there is some threat to the respondents, the researcher will not be allowed to see the intimate details and there will be less support from the authorities. 'An outsider role also should work better for the researcher if the respondents
have socioeconomic characteristics similar to those of the researcher.\textsuperscript{230} This helps in building the rapport. In this count the researcher is an insider-outside that has been an advantage.

The researcher who is also the interviewer is a 'sister- outsider', a phrase borrowed from Audre Lorde by Joycelyn Moody in her chapter on 'Professions of Faith' in the section on 'Ancestor Mothers' in Kim MarieVaz's edited book on methodology of narrative research with black women.\textsuperscript{231} Charlotte Aull Davies in her book mentions how the multiple identities of the researcher doing native ethnography produce complex ways of being an 'insider' and also the possibility of distancing as an 'outsider'. She gives various examples such as Abu-Lughod, Narayan and Motzafi-Haller.\textsuperscript{232}

T. N. Madan an Indian sociologist writing of a leading Indian sociologist, M. N. Srinivas' study of his own community in Karnataka after Srinivas' education in Britain, writes that it is a worthwhile technique to use a deliberate exercise of anthropological surprise (doubt) to study one's own society. This involves a certain amount of distancing while the researcher is also an insider.\textsuperscript{233} Lila Abu-Lughod has followed this method of the researcher being both an insider and an outsider at the same time, for its advantages in her study of the Bedouin women.\textsuperscript{234} Lila Abu-Lughod having been taken in as a daughter-guest of a prestigious Bedouin family

\textsuperscript{230} Lin, 1976, p. 198

\textsuperscript{231} Vaz ed., 1997, p. 25


\textsuperscript{233} T. N. Madhan. \textit{Pathways. Approaches to the study of society in India}. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 48

could not study all aspects of the Bedouin culture as a cultural anthropologist might have wanted to. However, her acceptance as a daughter-guest was the only way she could have lived among the Bedouins and collected her data. Especially as a young unmarried woman, it was important she had to be located among the people and identified with tribe relationships. This paid a rich reward in that she was not only able to have an insider’s ‘view’ of the lives of the Bedouin women, but also experience as a ‘daughter’ some aspects of the lives of Bedouin women which she might not have been able to otherwise.

This posture of taking up an appropriate social role within the culture or people whom the researcher chooses to study is important. Charles Briggs in his explication of the sociolinguistic method emphasises that the researcher must adopt a social role or stance within the culture, in order to effectively study the communicative patterns.\textsuperscript{235} ‘The SOCIAL ROLES assumed by the interviewer and respondent(s) prove to be of special importance to the success of the interview.’\textsuperscript{236} Briggs describes elaborately how his experience in the Mexicano society helped him to understand the necessity of social roles of the interviewer and the respondents to follow adequate and appropriate communicative patterns suitable for the group or community that the researcher has chosen.\textsuperscript{237}

In this study the researcher has had the special advantage of an appropriate social role. The researcher is an insider in that the researcher hails from a community to which many of the women interviewed belong; the researcher is situated in a well-established tradition of women studying women in order effectively to study; the researcher is also a Tamil Indian Christian,

\textsuperscript{235} Briggs, 1995
\textsuperscript{236} Briggs, 1995, p.41
\textsuperscript{237} Briggs, 1995, pp.56 – 60
educated, having a career, married with a family and also living at the time of the fieldwork in Chennai in which the women of the sample group live; during the fieldwork the researcher lived for a few days not in another part of Chennai, but right in the area in which the women live, with one of the families. Apart from these aspects that give an edge for the researcher as an insider, the researcher’s parents lived in the same area and had been active members of the same church for about thirteen years. During the first part of this period the researcher had resided with the parents either during vacation or during work in the city and was a participating member of the same church. Later the researcher had lived in another part of Chennai, but had been a frequent visitor to the home of her parents. This has not only given a social relationship for the researcher with many members of this church, but has also given an advantageous social role. Many of the women could consider the researcher as a daughter or a sister or an aunt. This acceptance in the community and being affirmed, as ‘one of us’ is quite important as Lila Abu-Lughod points out in her study of the Bedouins.

However, the researcher also has the added advantage of not being a member of the community in a sense of not having been a member all through life and also during the research. The researcher commuted from another part of Chennai to Kodambakkam. This gives sufficient distancing. Unlike the researcher none of these women was a paid ‘full-time Christian worker’ at the time of the research. Moreover, there are socio-economic and environmental differences between the area where the women of the sample group live and the area of residence of the researcher. Except for two women, one who has had a short training for women for rural church work and another who has had some training for cross-cultural missions, none of these women has had a full-fledged, formal academic theological education that the researcher has had.
The researcher cannot completely and totally escape subjectivity. It has been recognised that the age, experience, sex and ethnicity of the researcher influences the researcher's role in the field.\textsuperscript{238}

The assumptions and framework of personal commitment to the topic being researched by the researcher are recognised and acknowledged.\textsuperscript{239} Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson propose that an ethnographic (social) research has the character of reflexivity that confers upon the research the imprint of the socio-historical location of the researcher and makes it impossible to conduct social research without the influence of the social processes and personal characteristics.\textsuperscript{240} It has to be explicated what implications the framework undergirding the research has for method, analysis and evaluation. Charlotte Aull Davies elaborately discusses how the theoretical framework and the personal commitment of the researcher inform and undergird the research at every stage reflexively.\textsuperscript{241} She cites several examples of how the same topic is researched into differently by researchers using different theoretical frameworks. From the initial stage of formation of the research questions, through the data collection using appropriate methods to the analysis and evaluation the theoretical orientation of the researcher guides the research design and project.


\textsuperscript{239} J. A. Maxwell also discusses the reactivity of the researcher. J. A. Maxwell. \textit{Qualitative Research Design.} Sage, Newbury Park, USA, 1996, p. 91


\textsuperscript{241} Davies., 1999, pp. 38 - 44
Finnegan raises the important issue of who researches on whom. Is it an outsider, a superior armed with academic or research methodological expertise?\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^2\) Her humorous use of the term ‘the Martian anthropologist’\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^3\) reveals the sticky position of an outsider, in studies involving other cultures or societies. She argues that a researcher whether studying a different or their own culture or society, should consider the interviewees or informants as colleagues who cooperate.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^4\) The “researcher is co-creator of the narrative, generated typically through interviewing.”\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^5\)

However, Finnegan also points out the problems in own-culture research which has the advantage of an insider’s view but also poses the obstacle of detached analysis.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^6\) She goes on to emphasise the need for human courtesies, respect for those on whom the research is conducted and an interactive process without a top-down pattern.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^7\) This research has the advantages of the researcher being an insider and also an outsider. Further, the researcher (having observed and displayed the patterns and norms\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^8\) of social interaction of the culture of the interviewees) has had the advantage of collecting the personal narratives – stories – of these women, because of the stance the researcher has adopted. The researcher did not go to the sample group in an attitude of a superior research scholar. The roles that were adopted were of the interviewees being benefactors, helpers and providers and the researcher being a

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^2\) Finnegan, 1992, p.26

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^3\) Finnegan. 1998, p.2

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^4\) Finnegan, 1998, p.54. Briggs’ argument for learning to develop knowledge of the communicative patterns and norms of the culture of the informants to avoid communicative blunders also advocates an attitude of learning as a novice without any superiority attitude.

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^5\) Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p. 34

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^6\) Finnegan, 1992, pp.54 – 55

\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^7\) Finnegan, 1992, pp. 219 –225

recipient and a learner. Most often the way the researcher introduced the purpose of the visit was: 'I am doing research on women. I have come to listen to your stories and experiences. I am doing research on how the women of this church live in their family, in church and in society.' Asking to listen to their 'stories' opened up the way to collect personal experiences. One woman exclaimed, 'It is an auspicious time that you have come. It is great that you have come to hear our stories.' Rudestam and Newton also emphasise that in the interview or extended conversation, the researcher has to develop the skills to listen, observe and display empathetic alliance.\textsuperscript{249} Christine Obbo in Vaz insists that a collector of oral narratives must be familiar with rapport, listening and writing.\textsuperscript{250}

As Henige\textsuperscript{251} points out, what has been collected is not some vague unrelated personal stories or experiences, but personal experiences in the context of a larger problem; that of gender practice in the lived experiences of a particular group of women.

**VI. Ethical Considerations.**

The discussion of ethical issues is given detailed consideration by most of the methodology books. This section of the writing directly depends on Charlotte Aull Davies.\textsuperscript{252}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{249} Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p.33
\textsuperscript{250} Vaz ed. 1997, p. 62
\textsuperscript{251} Henige, 1982, p.106
\textsuperscript{252} C. A. Davies, 1999, pp. 45 - 58
A. Informed Consent.

The focus, framework and objectives of the research were explained to the interviewees and their consent was freely sought. There was no need to reward or pay in cash or kind, except in verbal expression of profuse gratitude.

B. Confidentiality.

The issue of confidentiality was not difficult. However, most of the women had to be told for what purpose the research was done and whether the researcher would be an 'informant' to any intimidating or threatening element. There was no necessity to carry on any covert research or deception.

C. Permission from Relevant Authorities.

It has been already noted that the appropriate and necessary permission had been sought from the pastor, the pastorate committee and other leaders to conduct the research.

D. Anonymity.

In keeping with the concern to keep confidentiality anonymity is kept. The participants of the focus groups have given their names to make it possible for the researcher to identify them. However in the extracts taken from the transcribed material and the text of the analytical chapters fictitious names have been used to protect the identification of the participants.

E. Participant Risk Minimisation.

The issue of participant risk minimisation has not been forgotten or ignored. However in this particular research there has been no participant risk involved. So it has not been necessary to undertake any risk minimisation procedures.
F. Value to those Researched.

The value of this research to those researched lies in the following areas:

1. It contributes to the self-understanding of the sample group.
2. It will hopefully help the sample group to move towards greater egalitarian patterns and follow biblical models.
3. It will help the sample group and similar groups theologically, pastorally and missiologically.

VII. Method of Primary Data Collection.

For the primary data collection, the method of focus groups was used with six groups of the women of the sample group. According to Kitzinger and Barbour, focus groups are for exploring experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns, and for a study of attitudes and experiences around specific topics. The strength of the use of focus groups is multi-faceted. Focus groups give vivid and rich descriptions, opinions and attitudes, ‘what goes on in people’s minds’ and different points of view, and are in-depth qualitative interviews and not one way information as in one-to-one interview. Focus groups are used to assess many dimensions of a topic and for in-depth work. ‘The emphasis is on insights, responses, and opinions rather than specific facts. The result often is a richer understanding of what is


needed.\textsuperscript{256} 'Focus groups generate qualitative data -- feelings, fresh ideas, insights, interactivity and a wide expression of views.'\textsuperscript{257}

These groups were based on outlines of studies of Bible passages. Kitzinger and Barbour point out that in focus groups the basic outline is provided.\textsuperscript{258} This study's outlines are in Appendices 5A, 5B and 5C. The biblical passages were passages crucial to theological gender perspective. This material is also given in the literature review section of chapter two. The composition of the focus groups with some description of the members is given in Appendix 3. The women narrated the stories of their gender practice in their lived experiences in the following areas: 1. relationships in the family including patterns of spousal relationships comprising decision making, handling finance and chores; and treatment of children displayed in child rearing practices. 2. perspectives on education and career 3. religious discourse consisting of their general involvement in church activities, women’s roles in church such as preaching and teaching, participation in church administration and women’s ordination; and issues such as women’s covering their head during worship and headship of husband in the family, arising out of the bible study material distributed 4. social discourse about gender issues such as girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers, in society.

The questions, issues and areas\textsuperscript{259} explored are listed in Appendix 6. These issues and

\textsuperscript{256} US Army Family Advocacy, 'Focus Groups Build Excellence', in the focus group handbook.htm, available at the focus group handbook.htm, last modified 16May, 1996, accessed in January 2002

\textsuperscript{257} James Ross. 'Focus Groups: What are they and how can they help you?', available at Focus Groups – What Are They.htm, accessed in January 2002

\textsuperscript{258} Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999, p.11

\textsuperscript{259} 'The specific focus group interview questions, their order, and probes are usually unstandardized (unlike a general public survey). Questions are open-ended. Usually at least a dozen questions are prepared in advance. Questions may have subportions. The order of the questions is usually influenced by the direction the conversation takes. Probing is crucial', EDF 5481, 'Basics on Focus Groups', available at Educational Research Methods.htm, accessed in January 2002
questions arise from the literature used for constructing the analytical framework, the Bible study material used and inductively from the fieldwork of the narratives themselves. These focus group discussions and interviews were tape-recorded, since the participants were selected persons whose willingness for tape-recording was obtained. Ruth Finnegan states that the acceptability of the use of particular equipment should be considered, because of its effects on relationships, contacts and performance that in turn will influence the research. Especially with the focus groups tape recording makes the data collection richer.

The language used was either Tamil or English or a mixture of Tamil and English (which many of the educated urban Tamil people use in conversation). The flexibility of oral narrative of the experiences of the women in the form of story-telling or testimony sharing, choice of language and the method of recording were chosen to suit the social patterns of communicative norms as elaborately discussed by Charles Briggs. The choice of the language of the people has its limitations and problems. The problems and constraints of transcribing are described in Appendix 4.

260 Finnegan. 1992, p. 67
261 Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, p. 15
262 Briggs, 1995. Further, 'Focus Groups are a particularly useful method of data collection in Asia due to our strong oral tradition. Talking and discussing comes naturally: ...whether it is in the coffee house or on the mobile phone. Asians are naturally social. As people who have visited Asia would know, due to many factors, the exchange of information by word of mouth is central to not only our cultures, but also the way business is done. Business means building up a relationship, and only when you have met and talked to people over an extended time do relationships move to the level of more open exchange of views that are central to good business. And the same applies for consumers. Asian people value their flexibility, and to put something down on paper often signals a commitment that can be referred to later! Life changes so fast that it is a commitment that many don't want to make.

There is an additional benefit of the focus group method just as important as the natural affinity for oral communication referred to above. Many countries like China, Taiwan, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines are multi-cultural. Many consumers in Asia are at least bi-lingual and more often than not people can talk and converse in certain dialects, while to read or write in those dialects is far more difficult. Translating questionnaires often results in changes in the "meaning" of questions, resulting in misunderstanding and invalid results. The focus group setting can reduce a lot of these difficulties.' – ‘Focus Groups in Asia’ available at Focus Groups in Asia, A Management Guide.htm accessed in January 2002
VIII. Data Analysis.

The data analysis uses the narrative analysis method. So the material collected in the focus groups was transcribed and extracts for particular analytical components were marked with several different colours. The marked extracts of a particular component were then organised into groups falling into various different narrative patterns. These were then used in the analytical chapters to describe and report. The process of the construction of the analytical framework used for the data analysis is described in an earlier chapter.

CONCLUSION.

This chapter has described the research procedures of the fieldwork for data collection with appropriate and adequate theory for each section and each step of the work. It has described how the field and sample for the focused intense fieldwork were chosen. The location of the church to which the participants belong, the socio-economic and cultural setting of the area in which the church is situated, and the socio-cultural and denominational background of the sample have been described. The entry into the field gaining appropriate permissions has been described. The problems faced in terms of gatekeepers and constraints of the conduct of the focus groups have been noted. The status of the researcher in the field as an insider and also an outsider has been explained. Ethical considerations such as informed consent, confidentiality, permission from relevant authorities, participant risk minimisation and value to the participants have been noted. The method of primary data collection was in the focus groups. The six focus groups with their constitutions have been described. The materials distributed in the focus groups are found in appendices 5A, 5B and 5C. The focus group participants are listed in Appendix 3 with the pseudonyms. The problems of recording and transcribing are explained in Appendix 4. Appendix 6 lists the issues and questions raised in the focus groups. Having collected the primary data in the focus groups the researcher subjected them to
narrative analysis. The thesis proceeds to describe the method of presentation and results of the analysis.
CHAPTER FOUR
RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FAMILY

I. Introduction.
The previous chapter presented the methodology, method for data collection and the description of the field work in which the material for the analysis was collected. The analysis of the narratives of the women reveals various patterns. These patterns display the many different strategies the narrators use to construct their stories. The question arises why these women narrators employ these strategies and techniques. The purpose of creation of these stories is pointed out in literature about narrative analysis. According to Berger and Luckman 'the "sociology of knowledge" must focus on "what people ‘know’ as ‘reality’ in their everyday” lives because these commonsense notions constitute “the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist.”263 This is quite relevant for the consideration of the purpose of construction of stories by the narrators. It is important to recognise and acknowledge the fact that commonsense understandings give meaning to everyday lives.

What do the narrators do to make sense of their lives fitting the commonsense understandings they have? It is recognised that they employ various strategies of construction to achieve their purposes. Finnegan also raises this question.264 'How do individuals actually go about constructing meanings for events that happen to them?’ Riessman answers this in stating, ‘... how people look back on an eventful experience to construct a meaningful and coherent


264 Finnegan, 1998, p. ix
account of it.\textsuperscript{265} The analysis of the narratives shows that the women employ several different strategies such as identity construction, rationalisation, justification, explanation, valorisation and glorification\textsuperscript{266} to achieve their purposes. In each of the stories it is also found that there are three main moves – the beginning or context setting, the core or the main point and the closure or the end.\textsuperscript{267} Riessman also notes that “They have shown that narratives have a recognizable beginning, middle and end…”\textsuperscript{268} The narrative construction and styles are quite complex and multifaceted. It may be perceived that the narrators employ many different strategies and styles in one and the same piece of narrative. So the complex nature may place the same narrative in various different patterns and styles.

Riessman notes that the purpose of narrative analysis is to ‘… see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives.’\textsuperscript{269} She also goes on to say that

A primary way individuals make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form …. Narrators create plots from disordered experience, give reality “a unity that neither nature nor the past possess so clearly. In so doing, we move well beyond nature into the intensely human realm of value.” …. Precisely because they are essential meaning-making structures, narratives must be preserved, not fractured, by investigators, who must respect respondents’ ways of constructing meaning and analyze how it is accomplished.\textsuperscript{270}

This point about the narrators making meaning out of their stories and the way they construct their narratives is quite important. This answers the question raised earlier. Why do the

\textsuperscript{265} Riessman, 1989, p. 743

\textsuperscript{266} These and other terms referring to the strategies, methods, techniques or tools the narrators use to construct their stories are explained in a later section.

\textsuperscript{267} This separation into three moves or parts is noted by David R. Olson. “Thinking About Narrative” in Bruce K. Britton and Anthony D. Pellegrini ed. \textit{Narrative Thought and Narrative Language}. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, Hillsdale, 1990, p. 101

\textsuperscript{268} Riessman, 1989, p. 744

\textsuperscript{269} Riessman, 1993, p. 2

\textsuperscript{270} Riessman, 1993, p. 4
narrators do what they do? What is the purpose of the narrative construction? It is to make meaning out of the experiences of life in the way they construct their stories.

Thus, to make meaning out of their stories, as Charlotte Linde points out

... coherence is both a social demand and an internal, psychological demand. ... Coherence is a property of texts; ... The coherence of a text is created at a number of levels. The first of these levels is imposed by the structure of narrative itself. ... The second level of the creation of coherence is the level of coherence principles – a social level that strongly influences what can count as an adequate account. ... The third (and higher) level of the creation of coherence is the level of coherence systems. These are social systems of assumptions about the world that speakers use to make events and evaluations coherent.271

The above quotation from Linde needs explaining. Narrators construct stories with coherence. Their methods of construction impose coherence. To make a story ‘tellable’ there must be coherence. Coherence is a social demand. It is also an internal psychological demand on the part of the story tellers. A narrator does not simply throw out an incoherent piece. It has to be primarily coherent in the minds and to the psychological context of the storyteller. According to Linde coherence may be created at a number of levels. The structure is produced in such a way the story is coherent. The second level of social level of coherence is achieved by producing a ‘tellable story’. The other levels of coherence Linde speaks about are derived from the socio-cultural understanding and world views of the narrators. The purpose of coherence of the narrative is to produce an adequate account. This fits well with Riessman’s further point about the narrative being a ‘tellable story’ and a performance.272

Mishler also speaks about strategies that provide coherence and organisation. He holds that if the story makes sense it is coherent and speaks of ‘the “artful” practices through which speakers “do” coherence.’273 He adds that the ‘... response to each question reflects a general orientation or responsive stance, an intent to present themselves in a particular way and give a


272 Riessman, 1993, p. 20

273 Mishler, 1999, pp. 84, 85

118
sensible account of their experiences. It is important to recognise that the narrators present 'a sensible account of their experiences'.

In the narratives about relationships in the family, spousal and treatment of children, and also in the stories about the opportunities for education and employment for women, one significant theme, namely equality seems to overarch. The narrators do not specifically state at all times that this theme of 'equality' is undergirding their perception and presentation. However being urban educated women in Chennai at the turn of the millennium these narrators have a notion of 'equality'. They might have been impacted by education, religious discourse, media presentation and other sources that have made them aware of gender issues and the notion of equality. There is no formal specific discussion of the concept of 'equality'. The claims to 'equality' in their narratives of women in the family, in society and church also may have various content and concept of 'equality'. This theme of 'equality' supports and characterises their stories.

This study is about the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. The term 'practice' as explained earlier is used in the sense Kemmis and Wilkinson use it to refer to its five aspects, namely, the way the individual behaviour appears to an outsider, the patterns of social interaction as they appear to an outsider, subjective internal perspective of the practitioners and the internal social perspective of the members of the community, and the fifth being all these four aspects in their historical dimension. This is used along with the

274 Mishler, 1999, p. 23

275 Shashi Jain. Status And Role Perception Of Middle Class Women. Puja Publishers (Regd.), New Delhi, 1988, p. 322, notes that there is social change in India with regard to the status of women.

significant components that emerge from evangelical theologies regarding gender issues, the aspects that are highlighted in relevant family studies in India and also the salient patterns and themes that arise from the field work of the narratives of the lived experiences of the women of the sample group. The various aspects, themes or categories are analysed and presented in the four analytical chapters. In this first analytical chapter, the aspect of relationships in the family is considered. This comprises the spousal relationship and treatment of children. The following chapters deal with issues of career and education as preparation for career, religious narratives of gender and social narratives of gender issues.

Perceptions of relationships in the family are a significant aspect of the research question of who a woman is. Spousal relationship is spoken of in terms of relationship, finance handling, decision making and chore sharing, both in the parental and the marital homes. For women who are not yet married the stories about their future marital homes are projections of what they envisage. Another important relationship in the family is between the parents and children. In this area the category of treatment of children in the parental and marital homes, in the future homes of not yet married young women and in the discursive material is also analysed in this chapter.

II. Description of the Method of Presentation.

The organisation of the presentation of the results of the narrative analysis follows a particular method. The results are grouped into patterns following the action or strategy that the narrators use to construct their stories such as rationalisation, justification, moralisation and identity construction. Within each group or pattern a further division is made according to the techniques, tools and methods the narrators use to achieve their construction. These may be use of words, elaboration, use of contrast and some such tool. Thus each major subdivision
and further subdivision within the major subdivision is adopted for presentation. This particular method of grouping pertains to the action or strategy employed in the main core of the narrative. The narrative is seen as comprising three parts or moves – the opening, the core and the closure.\(^{277}\) Within the grouping according to the action of narrative construction employed in the core of the narrative, the narratives of various types of openings are described. After the openings are dealt with the core of the narrative is dealt with according to the action used. Then the ways in which the narratives are closed are described.

III. Explanation of terms referring to the Actions or Strategies used by the Narrators.

The narrators use a variety of strategies, methods or actions to construct their stories and give coherence. These terms are explained below.

**Rationalisation:** This is the strategy of story construction the narrators use when they rationalise their story by attempting to provide a good enough reason for their story to appear acceptable in a situation in which the outsider, the listener or the audience may not see any rational reason.

**Justification:** The method of justification in the narrative construction is slightly different from that of rationalisation in that the story has a good enough reason which appears plausible for the audience. There is already a reason present and the narrator does not have to attempt to provide a reason.

**Explanation:** This technique is a simple use of giving some plain explanation.

\(^{277}\) See the section in the introduction to this chapter with the two footnotes citing David R. Olson and Riessman.
Valorisation: The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble.

Juxtaposition: The method of juxtaposition is one of placing two items side by side.

Identity construction: The storytellers use this method, strategy or technique to construct some particular identity.

Chivalrous identity: This is one of the identities the narrators seek to construct. It is an identity of nobility, goodness and strength.

Victimisation: The narrators use this method to construct stories of a person being victimised or appear to be victimised, in the sense of the person being a victim, a target of some unfair, unjust, helpless, harsh, painful or some such action, attitude or treatment.

Glorification: The storytellers use this strategy to glorify, magnify, place on a pedestal, make great, praiseworthy, commendable, good or high.

Ennobling: This method of construction is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent.

Eulogising: The narrators use this strategy to praise, make good or noble.

Complicating action: In constructing a story the teller makes it a problem or produces a situation of dilemma or difficulty that needs to be resolved. The narrator may or may not in
the story resolve or indicate how it may be resolved, but the problem is posed in the construction.

**Ambivalence:** This method is used by some narrators in displaying some doubt, a sense of not being certain, not being able to make up their mind or make a final decision.

**Moralising:** The strategy of moralising is used by the narrators in providing a moral claim, explanation or making a story appear morally good or sound.

**Trivialising:** The narrators use this technique to put forward something that attempts to say that a particular point, attitude or action is not important. It is saying, ‘It does not matter’. The narrators construct their stories using these and many other techniques and methods to present a ‘self’ according to a ‘tellable story’.

**IV. Pattern of Conformity to Equality.**

The narratives about spousal relationship have one set of stories that are constructed with the claim that there is no problem in the spousal relationship, which conforms to equality. Spousal relationship is a significant aspect of the position of the woman in the family. Many in narrating about their parental homes, their marital homes, their future homes and speaking about women’s position construct stories that display a sense of or a picture of well being and a claim of ‘equality’. Some of these narratives or their parts may be analysed from a

---

278 Of the many areas explored by Vimala Mehta in her book *Attitude of Educated Women Towards Social Issues*. National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, woman and her position in the family is a significant area

279 This pattern of spousal relationship claiming equality seems to resonate with the conclusion of T. K. Sundari Ravindran, ‘Female Autonomy in TamilNadu’, *Economic and Political Weekly*. April 17, 1999, WS34-WS44, that women in southern states enjoy greater autonomy, freedom and decision-making authority.
different viewpoint of construction or styles, which will be dealt with in the other sections also.

Similarly some of the stories about treatment of children explicitly claim equality.\textsuperscript{280} This is woven into the structure of the narratives. I also look into these stories about parental, marital and future homes and equality discourse in this section. In constructing the narratives the participants use various narrative styles in the stories that may be analysed according to the structure of the emerging patterns of the openings, core stories and closures\textsuperscript{281}.

A. Narrative Style of ‘Togetherness’.

Some of these stories display the style of ‘togetherness’ in the claim of equality in spousal relationship which I will examine later in detail. The narrators use various techniques of openings. Udhaya\textsuperscript{282}, Kamala\textsuperscript{283}, Saguna\textsuperscript{284}, Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{285}, Bina\textsuperscript{286}, Varam\textsuperscript{287} and Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{288} begin with words such as ‘in our house’. Melody gives a description about her


\textsuperscript{281} Entrance and exit talk and clearly bounded stories, , Riessman, 1993, pp. 17, 18

\textsuperscript{282} The narratives about spousal relationship (SR) are given in Appendix 7. Udhaya - Young Married Woman (YMW), SR9. Acronyms are used to give the description of the narrator the first time a particular narrator is mentioned. Young Married Woman (YMW); Older Married Woman (OMW); Young Unmarried - not yet married – Woman (YUM); Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSM)

\textsuperscript{283} Kamala – YMW, SR2

\textsuperscript{284} Saguna – Older Married Woman (OMW), SR10

\textsuperscript{285} Jeyavathy – OMW, SR11

\textsuperscript{286} Bina – OMW, SR3

\textsuperscript{287} Varam – OMW, SR12

\textsuperscript{288} Ranjithamani – OMW, SR5

124
parents. Arunkumari prepares the listener by describing the helpfulness of her husband. Mariam indicates that she is talking about her marital home. Amar, Swarna, Jeyam and Sneha give lengthy descriptions. Joy, Melody and Priya specifically state that they talk about their future homes. Lita's opening is quite different in beginning about God's creation. In their own different ways the narrators use these methods of opening to prepare the listener for the story that will follow or to lead into the story.

Having used different techniques for their openings, the 'togetherness' is also constructed in various ways. Some talk about togetherness in a general, overarching manner or in everything without specifying in what aspect or area it is 'togetherness' in the spousal relationship. Melody describes the relationship of her parents as 'sharing' and discussing. Kamala elaborates the style of discussion with the statement that none acted independently. Bina constructs her story in a similar fashion that it was with discussion and not independent. Arunkumari uses the term 'united' and describes the consultative pattern. Ranjithamani speaking of her marital home uses descriptions such as 'combined' and 'not independently'.

289 Melody – Young Not yet or Unmarried Woman (YUW) SR1
290 Arunkumari – YMW, SR4
291 Mariam – OMW, SR7
292 Joy – YUW, SR14
293 Melody – SR15
294 Priya – YUW, SR16
295 Lita – OMW, SR19
296 Melody – SR1
297 Kamala – SR2
298 Bina – SR3
299 Arunkumari – SR4
300 Ranjithamani – OMW - SR5
Swarna\textsuperscript{301} having begun with the initial situation of her marital home in which the husband expected her to do as he instructed moves on to the change in his sharing in ‘everything’. Mariam\textsuperscript{302} uses the word ‘friendly’ and constructs her narrative of ‘togetherness’ in the spouses advising one another and helping. Jeyam’s\textsuperscript{303} long story about spousal relationship highlights the consultative pattern in handling finance, decision-making and other matters such as chores without further explanations.

Some others specifically mention ‘togetherness’ in handling finance. Probably this is to put forward that their ‘togetherness’ is powerful to the extent of handling finance. Udhaya\textsuperscript{304} states that her parents used discussive pattern for handling finance. Saguna\textsuperscript{305} uses the phrase ‘combined’; but this is in handling finance. Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{306} about her marital home claims that it was equal and consultative in handling finance and in anything. Varam’s\textsuperscript{307} marital home displays combined action in budgetting and being helpful to one another.

\textsuperscript{301} Swarna – OMW – SR6. Swarna in this narrative piece about her marital home states that her husband expects her to stay home when the children come home. This in her opinion seems to restrict her freedom. Fransella and Frost also note that some women feel that the children restrict their freedom, see Fay Fransella and Kay Frost. \textit{On being a woman. A review of research on how women see themselves}. Tavistock Publications, London and New York, 1977, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{302} Mariam – SR7

\textsuperscript{303} Jeyam – OMW, SR8

\textsuperscript{304} Udhaya – SR9

\textsuperscript{305} Saguna – SR10

\textsuperscript{306} Jeyavathy – SR11  
Jeyavathy and some other women narrate that finance handling in their homes was consultative. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 123

\textsuperscript{307} Varam – SR12
Amar having given an elaborate description clinches her point of ‘togetherness’ with the mode of buying presents for the children. This is one story with this surprising example of how there was togetherness in buying presents for the children. Probably Amar’s use of the word ‘to our satisfaction’ underlines that the ‘togetherness’ is not merely pervasive but also specific even in some act such as buying presents.

Some narrators provide examples of communication, chore sharing and various other points to describe their ‘togetherness’. Joy, Melody and Priya about their future homes construct stories of ‘sharing’ and ‘equality’ in various aspects such as ‘communication’, ‘finance’ and ‘chores’. Priya is specific in stating ‘both of us have to be equal in decision making and in all other things’. Sneha’s long narratives about her expectations for her future home with ‘equality’ in chore sharing and handling finance has an insert of an example of her father making briyani, a special rice meal, and also laughs about her not sharing in any chores in her parental home.

Similar to that of Amar, Lita’s story is one of its kind in narrating about equal responsibility in having children. Lita emphasises ‘equal responsibility’ in the aspect of having children noting how this equal responsibility in procreation is equality in God’s creation. Thus using

308 Amar – OMW – SR13

309 Joy – SR14. Joy expresses her expectation that in her future home she wants her husband to share in child care and domestic chores. Fransella and Frost note that there is no questionnaire asking whether men share in child care and domestic chores, p. 35; Joy, Melody and Priya about their future homes and Lita about her marital home speak of the husband sharing in domestic chores. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 125

310 Melody – SR15

311 Priya – SR16

312 Sneha – YUW – SR17, SR18
In her two narratives about her expectation for her future home, Sneha speaks of her adjusting to the situation. Fransella and Frost also note that wives make more adjustment than husbands, Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 109

313 Lita – SR19
examples or words referring to various aspects of spousal relationship these narrators construct their stories of ‘togetherness’ in their claims of equality.

These stories may be closed differently. Udhaya closes with her note of ‘discussion’ and ‘equality’. Melody ends with her parents’ consultative action. Kamala, Jeyavathy and Varam close with the claim of ‘unity’. Arunkumari and Ranjithamani end with consultative action and discussion. Saguna does not seem to have a formal closure probably because she feels that her construction of ‘togetherness’ needs none. Bina closes firmly with the claim that ‘it is a point’. Amar ends indicating ‘satisfaction’. Both Mariam and Jeyam about their marital homes close their narratives with the statement about the husbands’ help with the chores. Melody ends with the note of ‘consultation’ while Sneha’s closure is about ‘mutual understanding’ and ‘cooperation’. Lita winds up reiterating her point about God having created us equally. Thus these various closures reiterate and firm up the point of ‘togetherness’ in these narratives.

Thus one may find that these women construct stories of ‘togetherness’ displayed in spousal relationship in a general manner, by sharing, not acting independently, in a united, consultative pattern, in a friendly way of advising and helping one another, togetherness in handling finance, buying presents for the children, communication and chore sharing. For these women ‘togetherness’ in spousal relationship means equality, freedom and empowerment. Any story that may not portray ‘togetherness’ may use strategies such as rationalisation and justification to negotiate with the situation of lack of togetherness. Such stories will be examined in later sections describing strategies used to handle the situation of lack of togetherness.
B. Claim of ‘Equal Treatment’ of Children.

Many of the narrators claim equal treatment for children\textsuperscript{314} in the parental, marital and future homes. The openings and closures may use various techniques to strengthen the core of the ‘equality’ claim. Udhaya\textsuperscript{315} and Amar\textsuperscript{316} in some narratives have a brief opening using words such as ‘children’, ‘sisters’ and ‘brother’. Melody’s\textsuperscript{317} brief opening begins with the parents’ taking care of the studies of the children. Priya\textsuperscript{318}, Joy\textsuperscript{319}, Swarna\textsuperscript{320}, Bina\textsuperscript{321} and Saguna\textsuperscript{322} in one story each explicitly indicate that they are talking about children. Flora’s indication about treatment of children\textsuperscript{323} strangely has a story of lack of mother’s love and concern equally to daughters and sons. Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{324} and Lila\textsuperscript{325} go straight into the story. Amar in one story\textsuperscript{326} has a description of her mother’s impartial disciplining of the daughters and the son which leads into the core and in another\textsuperscript{327} begins with her children’s obedience. Jeyam\textsuperscript{328} and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{314} Compare this claim of equal treatment to sons and daughters with unequal treatment of daughters noted by Paul H. L. Nillesen and A. Gelfert, 26Oct.2002, p. 4382
  \item \textsuperscript{315} Udhaya – TC(Treatment of Children)1. The narratives about Treatment of Children are found in Appendix 8. Many such as Udhaya, Amar, Ranjithamani, Melody, Priya and others explicitly and implicitly in these narrative pieces claim that there was no differential treatment between sons and daughters. This is similar to the finding of Shashi Jain in her book, 1988, p. 61, that there is no differential treatment in mother’s attitude towards dispute between sister and brother.
  \item \textsuperscript{316} Amar – TC3
  \item \textsuperscript{317} Melody – TC11
  \item \textsuperscript{318} Priya – TC12
  \item \textsuperscript{319} Joy – TC13
  \item \textsuperscript{320} Swarna – TC15, TC16
  \item \textsuperscript{321} Bina – TC6
  \item \textsuperscript{322} Saguna – TC7
  \item \textsuperscript{323} Flora – OMW, TC14
  \item \textsuperscript{324} Ranjithamani – TC9, TC18
  \item \textsuperscript{325} Lila – TC10
  \item \textsuperscript{326} Amar – TC4
  \item \textsuperscript{327} Amar – TC5
\end{itemize}
Saguna\textsuperscript{329} in another story begin with chore allocation. Compared to the narratives about spousal relationship it may be said that the stories of treatment of children have no elaborate setting, description of the context or background. The openings are quite brief or bald. It may be surmised that the narrators feel the necessity of elaborate opening for spousal relationship because of the possibility of challenge for equality in this aspect. On the other hand it is possible that the area of treatment of children may go unchallenged when equality is claimed.

The construction of the core of the narratives of claims of equality in the treatment of children use various tools and strategies. Udhaya\textsuperscript{330} uses words such as ‘both boys and girls’ and ‘equal rights’. Amar\textsuperscript{331} in citing the case of marriage claims that it was not special for the brother or the sisters. In another narrative\textsuperscript{332} she repeatedly uses ‘not a different treatment’, ‘in the same way’ and ‘no difference’ in the treatment and sibling relationship. In her story\textsuperscript{333} of her mother’s disciplining the children she elaborates with phrases ‘not more for the boy’ and ‘not more for the girl’. In her narrative about her children’s obedience\textsuperscript{334} Amar uses the word ‘all three’ repeatedly to emphasise equality. Bina\textsuperscript{335} uses the word ‘equal’ elaborating it with the explanation that children are ‘like friends’. Saguna\textsuperscript{336} explicitly uses the statement that there

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{328}Jeyam – TC17
\item \textsuperscript{329}Saguna - TC19
\item \textsuperscript{330}Udhaya – TC(Treatment of Children)1
\item \textsuperscript{331}Amar – TC2
\item \textsuperscript{332}Amar – TC3
\item \textsuperscript{333}Amar – TC4
\item \textsuperscript{334}Amar – TC5
\item \textsuperscript{335}Bina – TC6
\item \textsuperscript{336}Saguna – TC7
\end{itemize}
was no difference for her children. Joy\textsuperscript{337} speaking of her future home in the aspect of treatment of children uses the phrase ‘same to both the sex’.

Some narrators explicitly use the phrases ‘no partiality’ and ‘equal treatment’. Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{338} constructs her narrative about her parental home in this manner using repeatedly words such as ‘all alike’ and ‘all children’ in treatment and disciplining. Lila\textsuperscript{339} emphatically uses ‘no partiality’ again and again. Melody\textsuperscript{340} also uses the term ‘no partiality’ and ‘treated equally’. Priya\textsuperscript{341} claims ‘no preference for one kid’. Joy\textsuperscript{342} states in what area her mother displayed equality in wanting all the boys and girls to learn. While this is the case with the self-perception of this participant of the focus group of this sample taken for this research, some other writers note a situation that is different. Shashi Jain writes that the education of the male child takes precedence.\textsuperscript{343} Tellis-Nayak notes in her book that according to the census of 1971 the literacy rate for women in India was lower than that of men and the enrolment and dropout for girls at all levels of education displayed disparity.\textsuperscript{344}

Flora\textsuperscript{345} narrates her mother’s lack of love and concern in sending the children to government school that is supposed to be cheap education. The claim of equal treatment is that both herself

\textsuperscript{337} Joy – TC8
\textsuperscript{338} Ranjithamani – TC9
\textsuperscript{339} Lila – OMW - TC10
\textsuperscript{340} Melody – TC11
\textsuperscript{341} Priya – TC12
\textsuperscript{342} Joy – TC13
\textsuperscript{343} Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62
\textsuperscript{344} Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 46-47
\textsuperscript{345} Flora – TC14
and her younger brothers and sisters were not given freedom or any care for development and growth.

Swarna’s parental home displayed equal treatment for the son and the daughters in that there was no disparity in buying gifts. Similarly in her marital home also she claims equal treatment for her son and daughter in buying presents and in disciplining.

Jeyam narrates equal treatment for daughters and sons in her parental home in chores. Ranjithamani also claims equal treatment for her daughter and son in the area of sharing chores. Saguna about chore allocation in her marital home claims equal treatment for her three children. Thus in various ways of constructing the core of the story the narrators use words, phrases, repetition for emphasis and specify the category in which equal treatment was given.

The story tellers may use various methods of closure. Udhaya, Amar, Lila, Melody, Priya, Joy, Swarna, Bina, Ranjithamani in one story and Saguna close with the claim of equal treatment. Some others have a brief closure such as Ranjithamani’s narrative about her parental home with the statement of well being, Flora’s bemoaning of the lack of mother’s love and concern or Jeyam’s claim of her father not having to do chores. There is not much elaborate closure as in the case of opening. Probably as has been already noted the claim of equality in the aspect

346 Swarna – TC15
347 Swarna – TC16
348 Jeyam – TC17
349 Ranjithamani – TC18
Ranjithamani speaks of both the son and the daughter having to do domestic chores. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 35
350 Saguna TC19
of treatment of children does not necessitate any elaborate opening or closure. The issue may have been taken for granted by the narrators such that there is no room for any debate or questioning. Such a construction with firmness leaving no room for any debate or questioning may point to the clear and strong perceptions of these women about themselves. They seem to know what they are talking about and also articulate by the way they construct their stories to display their perceptions.

V. Stories Using Rationalisation, Justification and Explanation.

In the stories about spousal relationship, one of the patterns consists of the narrators constructing their stories that do not appear to be or are not claims of ‘equality’. However, some rationalisation, justification, or explanation is given to establish the claim made or the description given. Many of the stories about treatment of children also display rationalisation and justification. Stories of these patterns are considered together because of the thin line of difference seen between these actions in these stories. I examine how these women employ these strategies of rationalisation, justification and explanation. These three strategies share the common structure of explaining the core point of their stories by giving a reason, trying to find a reason or providing an explanation that serves as a reason. So these stories are grouped together. In the stories of rationalisation the storytellers seek to find a good enough cause or reason to make their stories look plausible or valid. In the stories employing justification the narrator justifies by providing a reasonable explanation. She does not have to

---


352 See section III of this chapter for an explanation of these terms referring to the actions employed by the story tellers to construct their narratives.
attempt to look for a good enough cause, but it is an already existent rationale. Thus, it makes the claim valid. At times, it is not easy to label the action the women employ. The structures of rationalisation, justification and explanation are not clearly demarked. However, I shall look into these separate categories in considering the narrative styles adopted in the core construction.

Gem’s provision of the context for her story about spousal relationship is clear with her statement that her husband did everything according to his will and wish, and it was difficult. This probably prepares the audience for the necessity of rationalisation just as in the stories of Sneha beginning with a description of the context of her future home. One story of Jeyam begins with the indication of the context of the parental home. Lovely begins her story with the description of the context of freedom she had in her parental home.

Gem begins another story with a statement that makes clear the subject matter of treatment of children. Bina and Udhaya indicate the subject matter of bringing up children at the beginning of their stories. Ranjithamani, Priya, Joy, Heera, Bina, Mariam and

353 Gem - OMW, SR36
354 Sneha – SR17
355 Jeyam – SR21
356 Lovely – YMW – SR35
357 Gem – TC33
358 Bina – SR33
359 Udhaya – TC26
360 Ranjithamani – TC51
361 Priya – TC48
362 Joy – TC8
Lovely\textsuperscript{366} are brief in opening their stories about treatment of children. The brief opening leads the listener into the core without much delay. This brief style is adopted by Arunkumari\textsuperscript{367} in displaying her theme in the beginning of her story about treatment of children.

Bina, Varam, Sweety, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Lita, Amar, Saral, Sneha, Swarna, Jeyam and Lovely in their stories about treatment of children are elaborate in their openings which not merely give a clue about what they are about to say but also set the stage in detail. Arunavathy's\textsuperscript{368} story about her son is elaborate and descriptive in stating that it is difficult to discipline her teenage son at his age, that the parents cannot beat him and they can leave him to his ways while continuing to pray for him.

Gem opens her stories of treatment of children with the cultural context of not sending the daughters but the sons out for errands.\textsuperscript{369} Amar\textsuperscript{370} in speaking about marketing, Arunavathy\textsuperscript{371} about bringing water from a roadside tap and Lila\textsuperscript{372} about not mingling with boys also use the cultural context. Lila\textsuperscript{373} in one story opens with the claim of ‘no partiality’. Saguna\textsuperscript{374} in one

\textsuperscript{363} Heera - OMW, TC21, TC22
\textsuperscript{364} Bina – TC25
\textsuperscript{365} Mariam – SR42
\textsuperscript{366} Lovely – TC32
\textsuperscript{367} Arunkumari – TC24
\textsuperscript{368} Arunavathy - OMW , TC20
\textsuperscript{369} Gem – TC82, TC33, TC34
\textsuperscript{370} Amar – TC55, TC35, TC36
\textsuperscript{371} Arunavathy – TC37
\textsuperscript{372} Lila – TC38
\textsuperscript{373} Lila – TC10
\textsuperscript{374} Saguna – TC7
story has an unusual beginning as if she began to say about children and then picks up the point of the daughter that has been forgotten. This point about the father loving the daughter more seems to prepare the listener for the main point. Betty’s detailed count of children\textsuperscript{375} in her parental and her father’s parental homes is meant probably to prepare the audience. Lila\textsuperscript{376} also begins one story with the count of the children and a disclaimer that there was no partiality. Tiny’s story\textsuperscript{377} begins with a lead of special tenderness towards the daughter.

Bina\textsuperscript{378} has a formal opening of stating her opinion that girls are particularly affectionate towards the parents. Amar\textsuperscript{379} also has a formal opening about her brother’s discipline taken care of by his teachers in expressing their concern about the friends her brother would have. Heera’s two stories about her daughters\textsuperscript{380} open formally stating that it is about their education and marriage. Tiny\textsuperscript{381} begins another story with the cause for the situation that has to be rationalised. Saguna\textsuperscript{382} opens her story about her children’s education with a religious claim that it was by God’s grace. Swarna\textsuperscript{383} goes directly into the point of her story about treatment of children in her parental home. These various styles of opening such as providing the context, being descriptive or brief, indicating the subject matter, being formal and rooting in the cultural or religious claim are used by the narrators.

\textsuperscript{375} Betty - OMW – TC40  
\textsuperscript{376} Lila – TC91  
\textsuperscript{377} Tiny - OMW– TC41  
\textsuperscript{378} Bina – TC42  
\textsuperscript{379} Amar – TC74  
\textsuperscript{380} Heera – TC21, TC22  
\textsuperscript{381} Tiny – SR27  
\textsuperscript{382} Saguna – TC23  
\textsuperscript{383} Swarna – TC31
A. Stories Employing Rationalisation.

Several of the narrators rationalise their perception or practice. They try to find or give a good enough reason. Their rationalisation shows that they have good enough reasons for themselves and therefore they think that others should accept them.

1. Rationalisation of Separation of Domestic and Social Spheres.

In narrating about domestic work, Ranjithamani and Joy rationalise the division of labour as social and domestic with the claim that the employing of a domestic help means that men do not need to share in the chores. Jeyam does a similar rationalisation with regard to domestic work in her parental home with the rationalisation that the children helped the mother. It is rational for Sweety that her husband was quite busy with church work while she shouldered the responsibility for the domestic realm. Joy rationalises her father’s taking care of the financial responsibility without any further explanation.

---

384 Ranjithamani - SR5
Joy – SR20

385 Some such as Joy rationalise the division of labour as domestic and social. With respect to division of labour as domestic and social, '...sex roles, or the division of tasks by sex, do not necessarily imply inequality of economic, social, or political status; relationships of subordinance and dominance; or hierarchies of values, worth, autonomy, or decision-making power....in some nonstate societies, the sexes or their roles and responsibilities may be sharply separated yet may be viewed as equal in worth and status.' – Bleier, 1984, p. 146

386 Jeyam – SR21

387 Sweety – OMW – SR22
This pattern of an educated wife shouldering extra responsibilities such as going to the bank, ration shop and the doctor, is noted by Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p. 104

388 Joy – SR23

137

Some use defense strategies in this style of construction. Bina uses rationalisation to defend her behaviour of short temperedness and her husband’s criticising her. Betty’s rationalisation is used in an entirely different area. She defends herself in the financial freedom she had in her parental home. She proceeds to rationalise her situation of not having financial freedom in her marital home with the moralising that God’s grace helped her. Heera defends her position with the rationalisation that her situation of having all conveniences was different from that of other women who had to do all the house work without any help and also teach in college. Tiny describes her father’s behaviour of buying clothes for the children uniformly, rationalising it with his work background of the police department and the fact that there were no struggles. In her story about her marital home also she defends the situation with the claim of smooth sailing. Tiny rationalises the treatment of children in her parental home with several points of defense style such as her father being a police officer, her mother subduing the grumbling children, the children not being able to see the father much and the father having a soft heart towards the children especially the daughter. Heera rationalises the conflicts over finance in spousal relationship in her parental and marital homes. Amar rationalises her giving finance management to her husband when the husband retired from the military and came home to stay. Her rationalisation of sending

---

389 Bina – SR24
390 Betty – SR25
391 Heera – SR26
Heera’s story is a self-representation, , p. 11
392 Tiny – SR27
393 Heera – SR28, SR29
394 Heera – SR30, SR31
395 Amar – SR13
the men for outside work rests on the claim that the men took over the responsibility. Bina rationalises her inability to take proper care of her children because of her work. Saral’s story is elaborate in her rationalisation of her own initial negative attitude towards her husband because she did not like him, his low paid job and the inconvenient housing. She also rationalises her husband’s not attending church while he is participating in the Jesus Calls ministry and prays well. Sneha rationalises her expectation of spousal relationship in her future home. Because of the liberty she has in her parental home she expects liberty while not wanting to demand equal participation in chores based on her lack of participation in domestic chores in her parental home.

Swarna rationalises her not fighting against her husband’s initial dominating behaviour with her own response of praying for him. Arunavathy rationalises her stand about how she should deal with her son making a religious claim that they could pray and leave it to God while not wanting to beat a teenage son and discipline him. Heera rationalises her daughters’ education and marriage with moralising with a religious claim that they left it to God’s will and a disclaimer that they did not seek influence to get a medical seat. Saguna rationalises her story about the education of her children with a religious claim and moralising

396 Amar - SR32
397 Bina - SR33
398 Saral - OMW - SR34
399 Sneha - SR17, SR18
In her two narratives about her expectation for her future home, Sneha speaks of her adjusting to the situation. Fransella and Frost also note that wives make more adjustment than husbands, Fransella and Fay, 1977, p. 109
400 Swarna - SR6
401 Arunavathy - TC20
402 Heera - TC21, TC22
that it was by God’s grace that they did well in studies.\textsuperscript{403} Arunkumari rationalises her questioning the husband’s leniency towards the children, her husband’s defense of his treatment of the children and her feeling the difference between her parental and marital homes.\textsuperscript{404} Bina has a brief but clear rationalisation of what she could not do for the children as a working woman using trivialisation which is claiming that it does not matter.\textsuperscript{405} Udhaya rationalises her taking care of the child because the husband is busy.\textsuperscript{406} Gem rationalises gender discrimination in her marital home with her claim of having been used to it in her parental home.\textsuperscript{407} Sneha\textsuperscript{408} builds her elaborate rationalisation with moralisation of being open and trustworthy. Her second piece in the same story and her second story are constructed to rationalise her lack of participation in domestic chores. Her third story of giving freedom to children is rationalised using the situation of the year 2000 when there is advancement in many fronts and she does not explain it further.

Swarna\textsuperscript{409} claims that in her parental home freedom to spend and shop was given to the children. She goes on to add that they would go with the mother to buy clothes. Probably she recognises that this may raise a question about the freedom. So she immediately defends the freedom given to them in shopping attempting to rationalise with the claim that they went with the mother because they felt that it would be better or nicer to go with the mother. Jeyam

\textsuperscript{403} Saguna – TC23

\textsuperscript{404} Arunkumari – TC24

\textsuperscript{405} Bina – TC25; See, Riessman, 1989, p. 743 where she points out that trivialisation is one strategy in narrative.

\textsuperscript{406} Udhaya – TC26

\textsuperscript{407} Gem – TC27

\textsuperscript{408} Sneha – TC28, TC29, TC30

\textsuperscript{409} Swarna – TC31
rationalises her father’s lack of participation in chores with the children helping.\textsuperscript{410} Lovely rationalises her story with the difference in upbringing between her and her husband.\textsuperscript{411} Her husband was brought up trained in frugality while she was not so and was more interested in books rather than in finance. This difference appears to spring from the family background and how each family functions. The phrase used is ‘totally different’. She also rationalises the ‘fair, clear, open-cut relationship’\textsuperscript{412} between her and her parents. This she evidences with the statement that she used to recite everything to the mother who was like a friend. Lovely continues to rationalise saying that the relationship is damaged the moment children begin to hide.\textsuperscript{413} Thus, she emphatically rationalises the pattern of treatment of children in her parental home.

These women in their construction of rationalisation use various strategies of defending or moralising. This enables them to produce a good enough or satisfactory story. Producing a good enough or satisfactory story is their strategy of rationalisation. It may not necessarily be satisfactory to the listener or an outsider; but it may be satisfactory to the narrator. The narrator may try to project it as a satisfactory story. In sum, what does using the analysis of rationalisation tell us about what the women are prepared to accept: they are prepared to accept and give reasons for a range of differences in the treatment and behaviour of men and women, of husbands and wives and the treatment of children.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{410} Jeyam – TC17
\textsuperscript{411} Lovely – SR35

\textsuperscript{412} Lovely uses the term ‘an open-cut relationship’. Probably she means that it is a relationship of trust and honest sharing without hiding. This may be surmised from the rest of the story in which she says that she used to tell her mother of everything that happened in school or college and also that the moment children try to hide there is no proper honest and open or transparent relationship.

\textsuperscript{413} Lovely – TC32
Lovely moralises her husband’s frugal ways of handling finance, see , Riessman, 1993, p. 3, making a moral point
\end{footnotesize}
3. Style of Conformity to Culture used for Rationalisation.

The conformity to culture or custom is a rational cause in the stories of Gem\(^{414}\), Amar\(^{415}\) and Arunavathy\(^{416}\) about treatment of children. For Lila not conformity but breaking of it is rationalised\(^{417}\). Amar rationalises her mother allowing her brother to join the Air Force because of his interest\(^{418}\). Lila elaborately constructs her story of rationalising the differential treatment given to the brother and the sisters. She seems at some points not to rationalise but bring back her story in line with her opening claim of 'no partiality'.\(^{419}\)

4. Tenderness towards the Daughter used as a Style of Construction.

Saguna in one story rationalises in detail the differential attitude and treatment given to her children in the celebration of their birthdays.\(^{420}\) But it is in contrast with the story of Lila in which the son is given a preferential treatment. Lila rationalises the difference in the freedom given or restriction imposed.\(^{421}\) It is surprising that Saguna rationalises the differential treatment from the standpoint of the sons that they did not mind it. Betty rationalises the pampering she received in her parental home with the fact that she was the first girl child in a

\(^{414}\) Gem – TC33; Gem speaks about keeping the tradition, see Derne, 1995, p.8
Gem – TC34
Shashi Jain also notes that household work is the responsibility of women. Shashi Jain, 1988, pp. 122-25; see also Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 115
Gem notes that men were not compelled to do the domestic chores. Patricia Caplan. *Class & Gender In India*. Tavistock Publications, London, 1985, pp. 95-96

\(^{415}\) Amar – TC35, TC36
Men do the shopping and not the women as also noted by Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 135; also Derne, 1995, p. 24

\(^{416}\) Arunavathy – TC37

\(^{417}\) Lila – TC38

\(^{418}\) Amar – TC39

\(^{419}\) Lila – TC10

\(^{420}\) Saguna – TC7

\(^{421}\) Lila – TC10
family whose father had no sister. She sharpens the rationalisation with the provision of the detail of her not knowing how to wash clothes until she was married. Tiny rationalises her father’s affectionate attitude towards her with the claim of his soft heart.

5. Styles of Discourses Using Rationalisation.

Bina’s story of discourse about the pros and cons of having sons and daughters is constructed elaborately with much rationalisation. She opines that it is easier to give some education to a daughter and get her married off. It may be difficult to discipline a son who has not fared well in education and career, because the parents will have to take responsibility for such sons. She continues to rationalise saying that the presence of a son is helpful because he can be sent with the daughter as an escort and also be sent for outdoor errands. Amar also constructs detailed rationalisation of the advantages and disadvantages of having daughters and sons.

In her opinion daughters are affectionate towards the parents while the sons may leave the parents and go away to foreign countries.

In sum, the analysis of rationalisation tells one about what the women are prepared to accept: they are prepared to accept and give reasons for a range of differences in the treatment and behaviour of men and women, of husbands and wives and of children. The separation of domestic and social spheres is rationalised. It does not in any way undercut their ideas and perceptions of ‘equality’ in the spousal relationship and treatment of children. For example,

---

422 Betty – TC40
423 Tiny – TC41
424 Bina – TC42, TC43
425 Amar – TC44
Jeyam (SR21)\textsuperscript{426} does not find it difficult to accept the fact that her father did not get involved in chores. She rationalises it by saying that the father gave the responsibility for everything to her mother and that there was no need for the father to do any domestic chore when there were the children to help the mother. Some may use the style of defense to rationalise. Betty (SR25)\textsuperscript{427} defends her husband asking her to submit account for her expenses by claiming the grace of God who sustained her. Another strategy the women use to construct their stories of rationalisation is conformity to culture. It is all right for men to do the marketing and not the women, because this conforms to the culture. In fact the women would perceive themselves as culture keepers and derive a sense of satisfaction and well being from it. The display of tenderness towards a daughter in the stories of Saguna and Tiny do not portray any discrimination or partiality. It is rationalised in Saguna’s story with how the sons did not mind it and the husband was also loving towards the sons. In Tiny’s story, it is rationalised with the father’s soft heart. Bina does not seem to slip into any partiality in her discourse about the pros and cons of having sons and daughters. She rationalises every point as shown above in the previous paragraph.

B. Use of Justification.

These stories differ from the ones that use rationalisation in that these give a good reason without trying to find a good enough reason.

1. Justification using Family Circumstances.

Gem\textsuperscript{428} justifies her husband taking his own decisions and handling finance with the good

\textsuperscript{426} See footnote 93
\textsuperscript{427} See footnote 128
\textsuperscript{428} Gem – SR36

reasoning that they had to manage with one person's income. This is because of her not working while they lived in North India according to her husband's wish. Further she had mentally socialised herself to the situation with the reasonable cause that they had to avoid debt. Lovely\textsuperscript{429} narrates her story of her smart mother and justifies the mother shouldering all responsibilities along with the reason that her father was stationed in a different town. Her long story of her marital home also uses justification.\textsuperscript{430} She justifies herself for not taking full responsibility for finance and for wanting to go out for a meal once a month. She justifies her husband's frugal ways with his background and display of understanding.

2. Using Ethical and Faith Claims to Justify.

Lita\textsuperscript{431} is another person who employs justification of her actions because she would go out for involvement in church or school only after having completed her domestic duties. This is good enough reason why she could do what she wanted to. Jeyam\textsuperscript{432} justifies her handling finance and her husband not being able to help with the domestic chores. Her justification of the spousal relationship emerges from the fact that her husband also had recognised God's hand in giving them a son after ten years and several miscarriages. In these stories of justification, these storytellers employ reasons that appear to be just in their perspective.

\textsuperscript{429} Lovely - SR37
\textsuperscript{430} Lovely - SR35
\textsuperscript{431} Lita - SR38
\textsuperscript{432} Jeyam - SR8

Gem finds it proper that her only son helped her in chores.\textsuperscript{433} This does not flout the tradition\textsuperscript{434} or custom of the family. Lita\textsuperscript{435} justifies her attitude towards her daughter-in-law who is an ordained priest with a claim of giving freedom and support and presenting her view toward women's ordination. Devar\textsuperscript{436} finds it reasonable that they gave their son pocket money in two lots. Joy\textsuperscript{437} finds it justifiable to allow her future children to do what they want and also the children's choosing what is good. Melody\textsuperscript{438} lets the final decision be made by her future children justifying personal interest. Priya\textsuperscript{439} also like Joy and Melody finds interest and goodness justifiable causes to allow her future children to make their choices. However, her story has a slight difference. She tempers her justification with the fact that by then she would have more experience. For Amar\textsuperscript{440} the interest of the children is just cause for them to choose the education the children wanted. Her justification is heightened with her pointing out the negative effect of the parents enforcing their will and choice upon the children.


Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{441} justifies her parental treatment because it was impartial and without gender discrimination. In her story about her marital home she justifies the son not having studied

\textsuperscript{433} Gem – TC34
\textsuperscript{434} Keeping the tradition, Derne, 1995, p. 8
\textsuperscript{435} Lita – TC45
\textsuperscript{436} Devar - OMW – TC46
\textsuperscript{437} Joy – TC8
\textsuperscript{438} Melody – TC47
\textsuperscript{439} Priya – TC48
\textsuperscript{440} Amar – TC49
\textsuperscript{441} Ranjithamani – TC9
much with his lack of interest and is careful not to attribute it to discrimination. Saguna finds lack of discrimination a just cause for allocation of chores.

5. Discipline a Core Concern in the Narrative Style.

Sampoorna’s story of justification of her mother’s handling the children is descriptive of the rigorous discipline maintained. Ranjithamani justifies her father’s disciplining her brother when he refused to study. Devar justifies their not being able to enforce much involvement in church activities for their premature son. She explicitly gives this reason. She also firms up her justification by indicating that they might have liked to have more of his involvement in church activities if it had not been for his frail health. Jeyam’s story about her mother is not only constructed about her preference for the sons but also about her strict discipline in making the children write Scripture exams. Jeyam justifies her mother and moralises with the benefit Jeyam has reaped. Jeyam’s story about her marital home is worked out with justification and moralisation with a religious claim of having received a son after ten years of perseverance with God.

Both in their stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children the women justify some behaviour, treatment, attitude or situation with various ways of justifying with a plausible

442 Ranjithamani – TC18
443 Saguna - TC19
444 Sampoorna - Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSW) – TC50
445 Ranjithamani – TC51
446 Devar – TC52
447 Jeyam – TC53
448 Jeyam – TC54
reason present in their stories. Gem (SR36)\textsuperscript{449} justifies her husband taking decisions and handling finance with the situation of the family. Jeyam justifies her handling finance and her husband not helping her with domestic chores with the faith claim that the husband understood that it was God’s grace that helped them have a son after nine years of marriage. Some like Amar justify their giving freedom to the children with their interest in the welfare of the children. Ranjithamani justifies the treatment of children in her parental home with the claim that there was no discrimination. For her the fact that her father would restrict her movement outside the home after her attaining age, does not harm the good treatment they received. Sampoorna likewise justifies the equal treatment of discipline all children received in her parental home with the point of discipline being a core concern. The justification helps the women to portray their spousal relationships and treatment of children in a way that any doubt or question about equality, well being or freedom is dismissed.

C. Stories Displaying Explanations.

A few of these stories employ explanation to make them appear good enough for the narrator and also in the narrator’s perspective of what is being projected or portrayed before the audience. Priya in describing her father’s role does not attempt to rationalise or justify but simply explains that he would not do chores but would help with the shopping.\textsuperscript{450} Varam explains\textsuperscript{451} how her mother managed the family beautifully when the family had fallen into bad times. Betty’s story of rationalisation also has explanation\textsuperscript{452} how God’s grace helped her

\textsuperscript{449} See footnote 91
\textsuperscript{450} Priya – SR39
\textsuperscript{451} Varam – SR40
\textsuperscript{452} Betty – SR25

148
and she did not feel the difficulty of economic strictures in her marital home. Swarna explains how her mother took care of the family responsibilities while her father was away and could have workers to take care of the lands. She explains why her father later took care of handling finance because her mother was not careful. However the mother also had financial freedom. Mariam also uses the strategy of explanation to describe how her mother encouraged the children in education and involvement in church. Her story about her marital home is also one of explanation of how she and her husband correct and advise one another and handle finance and chores. She explains why she did not take the responsibility for finance handling because of her work and having to take care of the children. Thus I find some narrators use explanations that produce good enough stories.

In closure the participants use various styles. Gem, Sneha, Swarna and Mariam reiterate their points to give a firm closure to their stories about spousal relationship. Sweety claims that she is also involved in church activities and this in her story seems to rationalise further the point she has made. Similarly, Tiny, Lita, Amar, Saral, Jeyam and Lovely also make points that serve their purpose of producing the story they want. Gem, Amar, Arunavathy and Bina close their stories about treatment of children with a firm affirmation.

The stories of Ranjithamani, Priya, Joy and Bina seem to end abruptly just as they began abruptly. This may be because they want to rationalise the point by ending abruptly.

---

453 Swarna – SR41

454 Mariam – SR42

455 Mariam – SR7
Arunkumari’s story of rationalisation ends abruptly which is probably meant to be the closure. Bina, Varam and Heera in one of her stories close stating that it was so. It seems that no further discussion is allowed. Betty’s claim of God’s help gives an end leaving no room for any question. Heera’s rationalisation itself serves as the end. Amar’s story about her brother ends with a rationalisation of her mother’s decision. Lila closes her story with a claim about her mother following the discipline of her grandmother adding to the strength of her rationalisation. Devar about her son closes with the justifying cause. Heera’s stories end with the religious note that is probably supposed to buttress her moralising. Saguna having rationalised the treatment of children brings back her story to a well constructed closure of non-discrimination. Another of Saguna’s stories ends with the religious claim. Lovely closes her story with the moralisation of her husband’s frugal ways.\footnote{Riessman, 1993, p. 3, making a moral point}

Bina in her story of discourse about children leaves the end open that helps her to make her rationalisation firm and explicit. Amar carrying on her thinking through the negative effect closes her story with what might have happened if the children had been forced against their interest. Thus, she ends her story with valid justification. Ranjithamani’s story about her children appears to end with no relationship with the main point; but in fact her rounding off is sealing her justification. The closure is abrupt giving effect to the story. Swarna’s closure is an emphatic and clear statement and claim. Gem’s emphatic closure seems to leave no room for any counter argument. Lita’s story also ends emphatically. Joy, Melody and Priya all close their stories with reiteration probably for emphasis. Saguna reiterates her point in closing probably to emphasise it\footnote{Repetition for emphasis, , Riessman, 1993, p. 37; Susan E. Bell. ‘Becoming a Political Woman: The Reconstruction and Interpretation of Experience Through Stories’, in A. D. Todd & S. Fisher eds. Gender and discourse: The power of talk. Ablex, Norwood, 1988, p. 114; F. N. Akinnaso and C. S. Ajirotutu, 1982, p. 128}. Sampoorna’s story just as it began has an emphatic statement at
the end. Ranjithamani’s one story ends briefly, but firmly. Jeyam closes her story about her marital home with an emphatic claim that mentions the husband’s recognition of God’s grace. This gives strength to her religious claim of persevering with God.

Betty simply closes with the statement of the extent of pampering. Tiny also simply closes with the father’s soft heart. Amar’s story closes with a well rounded off finish to her point. Gem closes her rationalisation with a statement about her son helping her in chores. Sneha closes her stories with a claim that she would do the chores if necessary that lets her off the hook. The description by Jeyam about chores in her parental home closes the story. Thus the narrators use styles such as reiteration, emphasis and abrupt ending. Just as it was seen in the constructions of rationalisation and justification, explanation helps the narrators to hold to their perceptions of equality, well being, strength and freedom.

VI. Stories of Women’s Control.

One pattern of the narratives is that of women describing women’s control, claiming the rights or control by women. This section describes these stories about spousal relationship. The narratives about treatment of children do not display this pattern.

In opening her story Arunavathy in spite of talking about bringing up children constructs a story about women in control. Her opening is quite descriptive leading into the main point about women’s control. Amar, Swarna and Mariam have descriptive and explanatory

---

458 Arunavathy – TC110
459 Amar – SR13
460 Swarna – SR41
461 Mariam – SR42
openings. Jeyam begins one story with the point of the story\(^{462}\) and another with an elaborate description\(^{463}\) about how decisions were made in her parental home.

Devar\(^{464}\), Sweety\(^{465}\), Mallimalar\(^{466}\), Kamala\(^{467}\), Sampoorna\(^{468}\), Heera\(^{469}\) and Lovely\(^{470}\) go straight into the point of the story explicitly stating with the use of appropriate words or phrases which indicate that they talk about their families.

Priya's lead does not seem to give a clue about her construction except that the listener may know that she is talking about her future marital home\(^{471}\). Varam also uses a strategy of beginning with a point other than her main story\(^{472}\). Arunkumari's two stories begin differently. However, the focus is upon her, upon what she says and what she does. Thus, the women employ various styles to enter into the main point of their stories.

Within the commonality of their stories of the women being in charge or control, these narrators construct stories about various aspects of the family life—some talk about finance,
some about total home management, some about rearing children\footnote{This is similar to the idea that childrearing and household tasks are female work as noted by Alfred de Souza ed. Women In Contemporary India. Traditional Images and Changing Roles. Manohar, New Delhi, 1975, pp. xvi, xvii and xx.} and some about being the breadwinner\footnote{Women's economic self-sufficiency, , Riessman, 1993, p. 10}. Thus, these women achieve in various ways their purpose of projecting an image of the woman being in control.

Priya\footnote{Priya, SR16} in her projection of her future life demands her right to be in charge of her life and of the family in participation with the husband. This right she specifically wants in the areas of overall responsibility in everything and in decision making, handling finance and chore sharing.

Sweety's\footnote{Sweety - SR22} story about her marital home, Kamala's\footnote{Kamala - SR43} and Mariam's\footnote{Mariam, SR42} stories construct an image of the women being in charge of the overall management of the family and not in specific details.

Varam's\footnote{Varam, SR40}, Sweety's story about her parental home\footnote{Sweety - SR44}, Mallimalar's\footnote{Mallimalar - SR45} and Sampoorna's\footnote{Sampoorna - SR46} stories focus on the mothers being the breadwinners. This presents a powerful image of these
women. In the stories of all these four women the mothers took up employment to be the breadwinners for the family when the fathers were not able to bring in enough income to run the family.

Devar's, Mallimalar's, Heera's, Amar's, Swarna's, Lovely's and Jeyam's construction is about the woman managing the family including finance. The specific statement that the women managed the finance is probably meant to show that the women in the family had power and authority.

Interestingly Arunavathy's core story is constructed about the rights of women to rear and discipline children. She perceives women to be the rightful controllers. Thus women are perceived to be able to have the right to control. A similar picture is seen in the stories by Arunkumari in claiming the rights of the woman to control and discipline children.

---

Sweety, Varam, Mallimalar and Sampoorna narrate that their mothers were breadwinners for the family. Compare Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 21

483 Devar, SR47
Devar about her mother and herself, Sweety about her mother, Sampoorna about her mother, Mallimalar about her mother and Heera about her mother note that the women managed the family finance. This is noted by Shashi Jain also, 1988, pp. 129

484 Mallimalar – SR48
485 Heera – SR49 SR30
486 Amar – SR13
487 Swarna – SR41
488 Lovely – SR37
489 Jeyam – SR21
490 Arunavathy – SR50
491 Arunkumari - SR51, SR52
Having made her claim Arunavathy closes with an assertion that only women and not men know how children should be reared. Devar and Swarna end with a claim of ‘no hitch’ probably to defend the pattern of the woman being in charge. They also probably mean that there was ‘no hitch’ by way of problem or conflict in the pattern of the woman being in charge. Priya and Arunkumari in one story seem to be giving some allowance at the end. Varam, Arunkumari in another story and Mallimalar about her marital home close with reiteration possibly to strengthen their stories. Sweety and Lovely ending with the focus on the woman probably emphasise the main point. Mallimalar’s story about her parental home has a peculiar closure that contrasts the father with the mother in charge. This again probably is to reinforce her point. This contrast strategy is used by Kamala also at the end of her story. Sampoorna has a strong ending defending the correctness of her mother having been in control. Similarly, Heera also has a glorious report of her mother’s management of the family because the father was a camping officer and could not take care of the family as the mother did. However, her story about herself ends with a negative note of her lack in handling finance. Amar’s and Mariam’s stories close with a positive note but not merely of the woman being in control but of a participatory mode of action. Jeyam in both her stories having constructed stories of women in charge lets the men off the hook of taking responsibility for the family. Thus these various stories portray a picture of women in control either in overall management of the family, in being the breadwinner, in making major decisions or in taking care of control and discipline. This helps their building a picture of these women empowered, strong and bold.
VII. Valorisation.

Some of the narrators in describing the spousal relationship valorise their practice or construct a valorised discourse. The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it to look noble. This pattern of valorisation is seen also in the stories of treatment of children. Some valorise either the treatment they have had in their parental home, the one they have given to their children in their marital homes, the one they hope to give to the children in their future home or some aspect of treatment of children in a discourse.

Gem’s opening in her narrative about spousal relationship appears to be a claim for men also to share in chores that gives a clue to the subject matter of the story to follow. Her construction that follows the opening will show what she says and how she achieves valorisation as explained below in the description of the core of the story. Similarly Ranjithamani’s story of valorising her parental treatment of children gives the clue right at the beginning of what is to follow with the phrase ‘a good type only’ which is the pattern followed by Arunkumari about her father’s upbringing in her parental home. In their stories about the treatment of children, Gem, Amar, Arunavathy, Saguna, Kamala,

---

492 Valorisation, Mishler, 1999, p. 40

493 Valorisation: The narrators use valorisation which is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it to look noble.

494 Gem – SR54

495 Ranjithamani – TC59

496 Arunkumari – TC95

497 Gem – TC34

498 Amar – TC55, TC68

499 Arunavathy – TC37

500 Saguna – TC19
Tiny\textsuperscript{502} in one story, Heera, Udhaya, Flora\textsuperscript{503}, Gem about her parental home, Saral\textsuperscript{504} and Sneha reveal the subject matter of their stories which is treatment of children. In other stories, Lita, Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{505}, Lila\textsuperscript{506} and Amar\textsuperscript{507} begin with a claim about treatment of children in various aspects such as allowing them to make their choices or treating without partiality. Devar opens her story saying indicating when their son was quite young. This adds to the valorisation she is about to construct\textsuperscript{508} because of the parents’ desire for the son at a young age. Swarna’s statement about what she is speaking also adds to the valorisation. Priya’s story about her future children begins with a claim\textsuperscript{509} that is in line with her valorisation. Lila begins with the rationale\textsuperscript{510} for her valorisation. Sweety\textsuperscript{511}, Arunkumari\textsuperscript{512} and Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{513} begin with a religious claim about treatment of children.

Ranjithamani about spousal relationship in her marital home, Priya about chores in her parental home, Lila about finance in her parental home, Varam about her mother’s overall

\textsuperscript{501} Kamala – TC77
\textsuperscript{502} Tiny – TC78
\textsuperscript{503} Flora – TC73
\textsuperscript{504} Saral – TC62, TC63
\textsuperscript{505} Ranjithamani – TC9
\textsuperscript{506} Lila – TC10
\textsuperscript{507} Amar – TC2
\textsuperscript{508} Devar – TC46
\textsuperscript{509} Priya – TC48.
\textsuperscript{510} Lila – TC38
\textsuperscript{511} Sweety – TC71
\textsuperscript{512} Arunkumari – SR52
\textsuperscript{513} Ranjithamani – TC72
management, Arunkumari about her husband's helpfulness and Sweety about her taking care of all domestic affairs in her marital home use the device of no formal opening to lead the listener directly into the story. Bina, Jeyavathy, Tiny, Arunkumari, Mallimalar, Saguna about her children, Sneha about her future children and Jeyam go straight into the point of the story in which a bald opening shows the sharpness of the point.

Saguna\footnote{Saguna - TC58} begins her stories with a claim about her childhood that is different from the main point about spousal relationship in her parental home. Varam\footnote{Varam - TC70} in one story and Mallimalar\footnote{Mallimalar - TC80} use the strategy of beginning with an entirely different statement. These narrators probably use this style of beginning with a point different from the main or core point of the story to make the listener curious.

In their stories about spousal relationship Joy in one of her stories, Jeyavathy, Bina, Varam, Sweety, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Amar, Swarna, Jeyam and Lovely have descriptive openings. Varam, Heera, Saguna about the parental home, Mariam, Jeyam about her son and Lovely about her parental home begin with a description of the background. Just as has been seen in the other patterns, in this pattern of valorisation of spousal relationship and treatment of children, these narrators use several different styles such as making a point or a claim, making a religious claim, having no formal opening or bald opening, using an entirely different point and giving a descriptive opening in the beginning of their stories.

\footnotetext{Saguna - TC58}
\footnotetext{Varam - TC70}
\footnotetext{Mallimalar - TC80}
A. Styles of Explanation Used for Valorising.

Saguna\textsuperscript{517} valorises her husband's handling finance with the explanation that he is wiser. Similarly Lovely\textsuperscript{518} claims the smartness of her mother for valorisation of her mother’s handling finance and management of the family. Lila\textsuperscript{519} uses the naivete of the children in her parental home in the children not knowing about finance to explain the valorisation of her parents’ spousal relationship. Amar valorises her handing over finance to her husband\textsuperscript{520} and the menfolk doing the shopping.\textsuperscript{521} Amar\textsuperscript{522} valorises the practice of not sending out girls for shopping in her parental home with the explanation that ‘full responsibility was upon the younger brother’. Such valorisation is found in her story\textsuperscript{523} about shopping in her marital home. Her valorisation about the marital homes of her children is found in the statement that the women did not have the responsibility and only the menfolk took care of it\textsuperscript{524}. Lovely also valorises her husband’s handling finance and his concern for her desire to eat out once a month\textsuperscript{525}. Amar\textsuperscript{526} valorises her opinion of the affection that daughters display towards parents with explanation of how this happens. Bina uses words such as ‘in a good manner’ and ‘my mother did everything’ to valorise the role of her mother\textsuperscript{527}. Gem valorises her having been

\textsuperscript{517} Saguna – SR10\textsuperscript{518} Lovely – SR37\textsuperscript{519} Lila – SR53\textsuperscript{520} Amar – SR13
\textsuperscript{521} Menfolk doing the shopping, Derne, 1995, p. 24\textsuperscript{522} Amar – TC55\textsuperscript{523} Amar – TC35\textsuperscript{524} Amar – TC36\textsuperscript{525} Lovely – SR35\textsuperscript{526} Amar – TC44\textsuperscript{527} Bina – TC56
used to discrimination with an explanation of trivialisation\textsuperscript{528}. Thus the valorisation of practices and attitudes is achieved with explanations in the aspects of spousal relationship, handling finance, chores and treatment of children.

\textbf{B. Rooting in Custom to Valorise.}

Gem constructs her story to valorise her practice of not letting her husband do chores\textsuperscript{529}. She repeatedly and emphatically uses reasons such as ‘I do not like’, ‘It is not the custom of our family’ and ‘I do not allow’. Gem having quoted the custom of her family that only girls did the chores, valorises her only son having helped her in domestic chores with ‘he did every thing as a help for me’ and ‘he was like that only’. It is interesting to note how she would not let her husband do chores while valorising her only son helping her in chores.

\textbf{C. Valorising Using Negotiating Strategies.}

Finding other ways of handling chores becomes a negotiating strategy. Ranjithamani in her marital home\textsuperscript{530}, Priya\textsuperscript{531}, Joy\textsuperscript{532} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{533} about their parental homes valorise such negotiation strategy to find other ways of handling chores. Udhaya\textsuperscript{534} valorises her taking care of the child with the disclaimer that her husband has a busy life. These women valorise their pattern of handling chores and childcare using negotiating strategies.

\textsuperscript{528} Gem – TC27

\textsuperscript{529} Gem – SR54

\textsuperscript{530} Ranjithamani – SR5

\textsuperscript{531} Priya – SR39

\textsuperscript{532} Joy – SR20

\textsuperscript{533} Jeyam – SR21

\textsuperscript{534} Udhaya – TC26
D. Making a Claim for Valorisation.

Varam\textsuperscript{535}, Mallimalar\textsuperscript{536} and Swarna\textsuperscript{537} valorise the mother’s role saying that she maintained the family beautifully. This vision of handling beautifully is found in Arunkumari’s\textsuperscript{538} valorising of her pattern of handling children. She also valorises the spousal relationship with the claim of mutual help and consultation\textsuperscript{539}. Tiny\textsuperscript{540} effectively uses valorisation of her mother’s subduing the children who grumble about the father and her own giving in when her husband would not accept her decision. She uses the word ‘soft heart’ to valorise her father’s attitude towards children\textsuperscript{541}. Saguna wraps up her story about her parental home in valorising her happy childhood\textsuperscript{542}. Ranjithamani uses valorisation to describe her father’s attitude towards her mother\textsuperscript{543}. Amar glorifies the tenderness of her husband to valorise\textsuperscript{544} their treatment of children. These narrators make claims using descriptions of attitudes and feelings to display the valorisation as it is described in this paragraph.

Some narrators use phrases and words to achieve their construction. Ranjithamani constructs the main point of her valorisation of treatment of children in her parental home using terms and phrases such as ‘father a good type’, ‘of a good conduct’ and ‘brought us up in good

\textsuperscript{535} Varam – SR40
\textsuperscript{536} Mallimalar – SR45
\textsuperscript{537} Swarna – SR41
\textsuperscript{538} Arunkumari – TC57
\textsuperscript{539} Arunkumari – SR4
\textsuperscript{540} Tiny – SR27
\textsuperscript{541} Tiny – TC41
\textsuperscript{542} Saguna – TC58
\textsuperscript{543} Ranjithamani – SR55
\textsuperscript{544} Amar – TC59
upbringing. Thus she valorises the restriction for her after she came of age not to go out collecting water. Joy in her story about her second home valorises making tall claims about her proposed pattern of sharing chores with repeated statements such as ‘I don’t find anything wrong’ and ‘I don’t mind’. Amar in speaking about her three children uses words ‘all three children’, ‘obedient’, ‘giving respect’ and ‘doing everything’. Bina valorises her treatment of the children with ‘they are like friends’. Jeyavathy also has a similar story using terms such as ‘rights’, ‘freedom’, ‘friendly’ and ‘the family being united’. Priya uses words such as ‘open to them’, ‘very good to them’, ‘whatever they want’ and ‘I would have more experience by then’. Amar in the story about her mother’s treatment of the daughters and the son uses phrases such as ‘as they wanted’, ‘not special for the brother’ and ‘according to their capacity’. Ranjithamani in another story uses ‘all children alike’. Lila valorises making claims with phrases ‘all for good’, ‘foolishly’, and ‘not at all necessary’. Saral repeatedly uses the word ‘well’ in her stories about her parents-in-law and about her children. Sneha also constructs her story of valorisation with words such as ‘good’, ‘gems’, ‘God’s children’, ‘best examples’, ‘caring’ and ‘balanced’. Swarna makes her valorising...
claim about freedom to shop given to children in her parental home with words ‘free’ and ‘it will be good’. She states that they always accompanied their mother because they considered it to be good. Mariam\textsuperscript{558} uses the word ‘encourage’ to show her valorisation. Lovely uses phrases such as ‘full liberty’, ‘more or less friend’, ‘still remember’, ‘so in fact’ and ‘totally different’\textsuperscript{559}.

Another strategy used is making a claim rooted in cultural practices. Arunavathy’s story about her son not wanting to send the sister to the roadside pump to collect water is valorised with her claiming that the son did not do that earlier but is taking care of it\textsuperscript{560}. Amar valorises the pattern of finding a bride for her brother with the claim that the brother left it to the care and satisfaction of the mother\textsuperscript{561}.

Lita’s attitude towards her daughter-in-law is valorised with the claim that the daughter-in-law has her own identity and that the parents-in-law are supportive\textsuperscript{562}. Devar valorises their practice of giving pocket money to their son with the claim that he also should learn to handle finance\textsuperscript{563}.

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{557} Swarna – TC31
\textsuperscript{558} Mariam – TC67
\textsuperscript{559} Lovely – TC32
\textsuperscript{560} Arunavathy – TC37
\textsuperscript{561} Amar – TC68
\textsuperscript{562} Lita – TC45
\textsuperscript{563} Devar – TC46

163
Thus many narrators use various tools such as different phrases and words or methods to make a claim to valorise the spousal relationship and treatment of children. Some describe how the mother managed beautifully, how the children are handled, what the spousal relationship is or how their childhood has been.

E. Valorising with a Religious Claim.

Several of the narrators, Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{564}, Bina\textsuperscript{565}, Varam\textsuperscript{566} in her two stories about her marital home, Sweety\textsuperscript{567}, Betty\textsuperscript{568}, Tiny\textsuperscript{569}, Swarna\textsuperscript{570}, Jeyam\textsuperscript{571} and Mariam\textsuperscript{572} use religious claims to achieve valorisation about spousal relationships. Amar\textsuperscript{573} and Arunkumari\textsuperscript{574} valorise the treatment of children with a religious claim. Arunavathy\textsuperscript{575} valorises her story about disciplining her son with a religious claim that she left it to God in prayer. Varam's story about the son having died is valorised with a religious claim that God took him\textsuperscript{576}. Sweety in her valorisation of her mother-in-law uses\textsuperscript{577} terms such as ‘a spiritual mother’, ‘I learnt a lot

\textsuperscript{564} Jeyavathy - SR56
\textsuperscript{565} Bina - SR24
\textsuperscript{566} Varam - SR57, SR12
\textsuperscript{567} Sweety - SR22
\textsuperscript{568} Betty - SR25
\textsuperscript{569} Tiny - SR58
\textsuperscript{570} Swarna - SR6
\textsuperscript{571} Jeyam - SR8
\textsuperscript{572} Mariam - SR7
\textsuperscript{573} Amar - TC69
\textsuperscript{574} Arunkumari - TC57
\textsuperscript{575} Arunavathy - TC20
\textsuperscript{576} Varam - TC70
\textsuperscript{577} Sweety - TC71
from her' and 'devotedness'. Arunkumari578, Heera579 and Ranjithamani580 also use religious claims to valorise their treatment of children. Heera in one story indicates it with the phrase 'in the Lord'. Ranjithamani narrates that her daughter became a child of God at a young age. Saguna581 in her valorisation claims that she was brought up in prayer. About her children she uses phrases such as 'by God’s grace', 'no problem' and 'God did everything'. Flora582 also with a religious claim valorises her taking care of the spiritual nurture of the children. Jeyam583 valorises her mother’s strict discipline in spiritual nurture. Her story584 about her having a son after nine years of marriage uses a religious claim.

F. Contrast Styles.

Heera585 constructs her story of her reaction to the situation of women in families using the style of contrast for valorisation of her reaction to the situation of other women and her own situation.

---

578 Arunkumari – TC57
579 Heera – TC21, TC22
580 Ranjithamani – TC72
581 Saguna – TC58, TC23
582 Flora – TC73
583 Jeyam – TC53
584 Jeyam – SR8
585 Heera – SR26
G. Descriptive Styles.

Saguna’s valorisation of treatment of children in her marital home describes how the chores were allocated. Bina valorises her opinion about the affection of daughters with description. She elaborately narrates how a girl child behaves properly and ‘definitely got its advantages’. She goes into lengthy description of the birth of her daughter and son. Valorising the affection of girls, she in great detail describes her own experience of having her mother live with her and how her mother finally died out of loneliness. While Bina had to go abroad her mother had to shift to Bina’s brother’s house. There the mother had to stay in a ground floor room because she could not climb up to the first floor where the rest of the family lived. So the mother could not bear the loneliness. It is interesting to note that Bina tells that one may dress up a girl nicely. She valorises having a girl with the phrase ‘one grade superior’. Amar uses description of what measures of discipline her mother used in valorising the discipline her mother followed and the concern her brother received from his teachers displayed in the teachers keeping a watchful eye on her brother. In another story Amar uses phrases and words such as ‘not unnecessary’, ‘what is necessary’, ‘not lavish’ and ‘disciplined and modest’. Her use of the phrase ‘to the satisfaction’ valorises the treatment of her children. Kamala’s valorisation is descriptive and effected with the claim that she did what the children needed. Similarly Tiny valorises the treatment of her children by her husband with

---

586 Saguna – TC19
587 Bina – TC42, TC43
588 Amar – TC4
589 Amar – TC74
590 Amar – TC75
591 Amar – TC76
592 Kamala – TC77
593 Tiny – TC78
the description and the claim that he did well. Arunkumari also uses description of how she treated her children by taking them to the bakery once a week and taking care of their spiritual nurture. Mallimalar gives evidence that her mother saved even from her meagre earnings to take care of the children. She also claims that her mother did everything. Another story of Mallimalar uses valorisation of her father’s advice not to hurt her mother who took care of the family. Varam valorises how her mother beautifully managed the family when the family went through hard times and uses humour about school uniform being bought instead of the new clothes for the festival.

Thus these narrators use different styles in constructing their stories of valorisation. In the closure they also follow a variety of styles. In some of these stories, the valorisation itself is the closure. Gem, Ranjithamani about domestic chores in her marital home, Priya, Joy, Saguna in her story about her marital home, Lila, Jeyavathy, Varam about her marital home, Arunkumari, Sweety, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Ranjithamani about her parental home and Amar in one story appear not to provide any formal closure for their stories of spousal relationship. Bina seems to leave one story about treatment of children open that probably is meant for the listener to accept the point without any questioning. Udhaya’s and Gem’s valorisation itself serves as the closure.

594 Arunkumari – TC57
595 Mallimalar – TC79
596 Mallimalar – TC80
597 Varam – TC81
Joy in her story of her expectation about spousal relationship, handling finance, chore sharing and treatment of children in her future home, Bina in her stories about daughters and sons, Varam about her parental home about financial difficulties which made them buy only school uniform as new dress for a festival and Amar in another story about the treatment of children in her marital home use elaborate descriptions. Arunkumari in one story, Mallimalar, Saguna about her parental home, Swarna, Jeyam, Lovely and Mariam provide a brief closure of affirmation of the spousal relationship. In stories of treatment of children Ranjithamani rounds off her story with the statement that the seven children have been brought up well. Gem also affirms with the claim that her son was like that. Bina in another story closes with the claim that she thought of a girl child as superior. Jeyavathy’s claim about the family being united closes the story. Devar’s explanation closes her story. Priya closes her story with moralising about her not helping in the domestic chores but in outside shopping and errands. Lila and Sneha use contrast to close the story that brings out the valorisation. Varam in claiming God’s act in her son’s premature death, Sweety in claiming her mother-in-law to be a godly mother, Arunkumari in bringing up her children in spiritual nurture, Heera in her daughters’ education and marriage, Saguna in claiming God’s grace in her children’s education and her having been brought up with prayer, Ranjithamani in claiming the spiritual bent of her children and Flora in claiming her taking responsibility for the spiritual nurture of her children use their religious claims to close their stories. In one story, Sneha in closure uses a disclaimer of not taking responsibility for the situation in her future home in which she may have to work and also take care of the family.

Amar in her stories, Arunavathy, Saguna, Bina, Lila, Kamala, Tiny, Arunkumari, Mallimalar, Varam, Heera, Saguna, Sneha and Lovely close with reiteration of the point made about the
treatment of children. Lita, Tiny, Sneha, Swarna, Mariam and Jeyam close by emphasising their claims.

The narrators use the method of constructing stories of valorisation to portray a picture of goodness and strength. Lovely (SR37) explains how her mother was smart to manage everything. Gem (SR54) valorises her not allowing her husband to do the chores by rooting it in the custom of the family. Many such as Ranjithamani use the construction of negotiating strategy by valorising her employing domestic help. For her it is immaterial that the husband did not do domestic chores. This does not jeopardise her sense of equality and freedom. Varam, Mallimalar and Swarna valorise their mothers’ managing the family by stating that they did it beautifully. The use of a religious claim (Section E above) to valorise spousal relationship and treatment of children is perfectly all right for these narrators in their perspective. Heera valorises her situation by contrasting it with other women who are in oppressive situations. Amar is descriptive in her valorisation of the discipline the children received and the concern her brother received from his teachers (TC74). They would go to the mother and caution her about the friends he would have. This for Amar is not oppression.

VIII. Stories Claiming Conformity to Culture.

One significant pattern in the construction of stories about treatment of children or rearing children is making a claim of conformity to culture. It appears as if the women who make this claim also feel satisfied that they or their parents are not culture or tradition breakers.

Ranjithamani’s598 opening sets the mood for the narrative. Her claim ‘my father a good type’ prepares the listener for what is to follow about how her father followed culture in rearing

598 Ranjithamani – TC60
children. One story of Gem⁵⁹⁹ uses an introduction, 'an only son' that gives a clue to what her story is about. Amar⁶⁰⁰ and Arunavathy⁶⁰¹ indicate in what aspect they followed tradition.

Tiny's⁶⁰² opening about the father also prepares one for the story about her father conforming to culture in treatment of children. Apart from these styles of opening in which the narrators set the scene for the story to follow, Gem in two stories goes directly to the point of following culture.

A. Praising the Following of Culture.
Ranjithamani⁶⁰³ constructs her story about the restriction for daughters to go out freely to display the conformity to culture with words such as 'good type', 'good conduct' and 'good upbringing'.

B. Style of Sheer Description.
Gem's⁶⁰⁴ bald description of what the mother and she did helps her indicate the cultural conformity. In describing what she did she uses the phrase 'that in ours...' which seems to assume some knowledge of the practice on the part of the listener. Her mother would send only her brother to hire a cart. Gem followed culture in not allowing the men of the family to do chores. Amar⁶⁰⁵ in her stories just describes the pattern of behaviour, such as the menfolk

---

⁵⁹⁹ Gem – TC33
⁶⁰⁰ Amar – TC36
⁶⁰¹ Arunavathy – TC37
⁶⁰² Tiny – TC84
⁶⁰³ Ranjithamani – TC60
⁶⁰⁴ Gem – TC82, TC33, TC34
⁶⁰⁵ Amar – TC83, TC35, TC36, TC68
doing the shopping and the mother finding a bride for the son, to display that they followed the culture. Arunavathy also similar to the construction of Amar describes that her son does not allow his sister to go out to collect water in order to show the conformity.

C. Explicit Indication of Conformity to Culture.

Gem in one story is explicit, ‘We kept the tradition’. Tiny uses phrases such as ‘of those olden days’ and ‘controlling and strict’ to construct her story. These narrators use particular terms and phrases or describe the custom or practice to construct their stories of cultural conformity.

Most of these women close their stories with reiteration – Ranjithamani’s ‘brought up well’; Gem’s ‘did not send us’, ‘difficult’ and ‘he was like that’; Amar’s ‘did not send us’, ‘only the son bought’, ‘only the menfolk took care of shopping’ and ‘married to the satisfaction of the mother’; Arunavathy’s ‘You should not come out; only I shall collect the water’ and Tiny’s ‘It was like that’. These emphasise how these narrators construct stories of keeping the tradition or following the culture. Following the culture in the perception of these women is something good. For Ranjithamani it was not restricting her movement when she came of age, because her father was of a good type. Arunavathy simply describes her son following the culture in not allowing the sister to go out to take water from the roadside pump. Instead he did that chore. This is good according to Arunavathy’s portrayal and construction. Following the culture that is in the books portrayed as patriarchal and oppressive for women is not at all a problem for these narrators because of the way they construct their stories.

606 Arunavathy – TC37
607 Gem – TC33
608 Tiny – TC84
IX. Pattern of Non-conformist Experiences Using ‘But I’ Style.

Some of the stories about the treatment of children display a pattern of the non-conformist in their construction. Two participants use this strategy. The stories of Lita about how her parents brought her up and Lila telling about the freedom she has given to her daughter are examples of this pattern. The construction of these stories are considered descriptively in the paragraphs below.

Both Lita and Lila use the same type of strategy to open their stories of non-conforming behaviour. Lita begins with her being a girl child and Lila begins with her social behaviour having been affected by not having had much exposure to mingle with the opposite sex. How these stories display non-conformist action is described below.

Lita constructs an elaborate description of several evidences of breaking the mould. Her narration is a ‘but I’ type. She uses several forceful statements such as ‘all said’, ‘I was also like that’, ‘You consider those days’, ‘In my days none did that’, ‘like that’ and ‘I had done a man’s role’. The action of not conforming is heightened by the reaction of the relative. It is further deepened by her father’s response about allowing the daughter to do what girls in those days did not do such as going for marketing. Lila is also elaborate but not long. She repeats the phrase ‘to some extent’ and explicitly states that they do not mind sending their children out.

609 Individuals negotiating and contesting cultural norms and meanings, Derne, 1995, p. 2
610 Lita – TC85
611 Lila – TC38
612 Lita – TC85
613 Lila – TC38
614 Riessman, 1993, p. 3
However the two narrators round off their stories of non-conformists in different manners. Lita in closure emphatically reiterates the breaking of the conforming role she had adopted based on the teaching and nurture she had received. She had not been given the idea or feeling that a woman should be a subordinate and submissive. Lila also roots her narrative in the socialisation process. But she goes back to her limitation effected by socialisation. She also powerfully ends her story with the strong description that if she had peeped outside and her brother chased her in, she had to go in immediately. She was taught and nurtured into socialisation of subordinate and submissive role. However in the case of her daughter she has broken this cultural mould of the girl having to be subordinate and submissive. It is interesting to note that both these stories of non-conformists are about the bringing up of a girl child. These two women do not have any problem in constructing their stories as non-conformists. It adds to their picture of these women who are strong, bold, free and independent.

X. Contrast Used in the Stories.

One strategy the storytellers use is that of contrast. There are some stories that may not be classified as those of non-conformist behaviour such as those in the previous section, but are to be described as using a contrast pattern.

Lita takes some pain to describe the context of her marital home when she was married. Amar and Swarna use elaborate descriptions that clearly set forth the context. Saral’s narration is long woven with many brief pieces of contrast and descriptions. Sampoorna’s context is elaborate. Lovely begins with an elaborate description about her parental home that sets the background for her later construction.
Varam’s opening is brief but clear conveying the context\textsuperscript{615} of her married life and her situation at the time of the interview. Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{616}, Arunkumari\textsuperscript{617}, Sweety\textsuperscript{618}, Sampoorna\textsuperscript{619}, Betty\textsuperscript{620}, Mallimalar\textsuperscript{621}, Kamala\textsuperscript{622}, Heera\textsuperscript{623}, Mariam\textsuperscript{624} and Lovely\textsuperscript{625} also use brief openings such as ‘in our house’. But it leads into the story and shows what the narrator is about to tell.

Amar’s story about sending daughters for shopping and Jeyam’s story about her parental home go directly into the subject matter of treatment of children. Lita’s and Lila’s stories fall into different categories. They begin with formal statements. Arunkumari’s\textsuperscript{626} and Amar’s\textsuperscript{627} openings display the contrast they are about to use. The first word is ‘but’. Saguna\textsuperscript{628} also begins with a word ‘no’ that leads into her point. Bina\textsuperscript{629} opens with a statement of her opinion that girl children are better than boys. Lila\textsuperscript{630} opens one story with an indication of about what

\textsuperscript{615} Varam – SR60, SR12
\textsuperscript{616} Jeyavathy – SR56
\textsuperscript{617} Arunkumari – SR61
\textsuperscript{618} Sweety – SR44
\textsuperscript{619} Sampoorna – SR46
\textsuperscript{620} Betty – SR25
\textsuperscript{621} Mallimalar – SR63
\textsuperscript{622} Kamala – SR2, SR43
\textsuperscript{623} Heera – SR28
\textsuperscript{624} Mariam – SR42
\textsuperscript{625} Lovely – SR35
\textsuperscript{626} Arunkumari – TC86
\textsuperscript{627} Amar – TC2
\textsuperscript{628} Saguna – TC7
\textsuperscript{629} Bina – TC42
\textsuperscript{630} Lila – TC91
she is to speak by giving the count of children in her parental home. Arunkumari, Arunavathy and Flora indicate that they are talking about treatment of children. Sweety begins with the point of her story of her learning from her mother-in-law. Arunkumari in her story about the change in her parents' attitude towards her begins with her perception of the cause of the change.

Tiny and Saral in two stories begin with the effect of what happened in the parental home. Tiny begins with the observation that the way her father treated the children was similar to the functioning of the police department. Saral in her story about treatment of children strangely begins with her parents' relationship of the stepmother dominating the father and not taking the responsibility for getting the stepdaughters married. From these varied openings I move on to look at the various tools used to construct the core of the stories and at the end the ways in which the narrators close their stories.

A. Style Using Several Details and Description.

Lita constructs the contrast between her background and the background of her husband. She uses several phrases such as 'I was like that, but not so in the house of my mother-in-law',

---

631 Arunkumari – TC88
632 Arunavathy – TC87
633 Flora – TC73
634 Sweety – TC71
635 Arunkumari – TC86
636 Tiny – SR27
637 Saral – TC89, TC90
638 Saral – TC89
639 Lita – SR59
'only male domination', 'terrible village', 'rural areas' and 'those ideas'. She with many details about the way she was brought up and her husband’s background powerfully and effectively constructs her story of contrast. The contrast is between the traditional pattern and the way in which her parents brought her up allowing her to play a 'man's role'.

Varam’s story also has several details to accentuate the contrast – domination of the parents-in-law to the extent of controlling the time of eating, watching the television, reading the newspaper and the time of going to bed. Her construction of contrast has an interesting turn of her later well being of having been cured from mental illness and being reunited with her husband, after separation from him. Varam provides several details not just to give interesting details but also to bring out the contrast sharply. Varam’s story about the contrast between the earlier years of her married life and the situation at the time of this study is worked with details such as ‘the one who used to tease’, ‘he has been changed’ and the repeated use of the word ‘at present’ or ‘now’.

Sweety uses description to contrast her father and mother, and ‘but’ to convey the contrast between former and latter days. Sampoorna constructs her story with description along with the statement ‘in our house our mother was ‘all in all’ juxtaposing it with a statement about the father. She does not explicate what she means by her statement ‘all in all’ and probably

---

640 Lita – TC85
641 Varam – SR60
642 Varam – SR12
643 Sweety – SR44
644 Sampoorna – TC50
645 Riessman gives examples of juxtaposing; see , Riessman, 1991, pp.50 and 60, and also , Riessman, 1989, p.750
leaves it to the listener to understand or surmise. Betty also uses ‘but’ and describes how she was handling finance in her parental home while she found accounting difficult in her marital home. Mallimalar in one story uses description of how she took responsibility for marketing. Heera simply brings out the contrast with alternate descriptions about her mother and father.

Amar in her elaborate story about the change of handling finance in her marital home when her husband retired from military service, uses one clinching phrase ‘but what happened’ to show the contrast. Saral constructs her long story with descriptions and details. She brings out the change in her attitude towards her husband in her early and later married life, the difference between the comfortable lifestyle of her parental home and the uncomfortable living conditions of her early-married life, and the contrast between the harsh attitude of her parents and the loving nature of her parents-in-law. Mariam uses description of the difference in the way the mother encouraged the children also to participate in the church activities while there was difference in the way the father and mother handled family finance. The father being in a small business gave for domestic expenses and took care of major expenses such as marriage, while the mother handled domestic expenses with what the father gave.

---

646 Betty – SR25
647 Mallimalar – SR48
648 Heera – SR28
649 Amar – SR13
650 Saral – SR34
651 Mariam – SR42
Jeyam uses description of how the mother had the responsibility of handling finance and the father also entrusted it to her and uses ‘but’ to show the contrast. Another contrast in Jeyam’s story is the description of the mother and the children doing chores in her parental home while the father did not have that responsibility. Lovely in her long story uses description, details, ‘but’, ‘totally different’ and ‘now’ to show the contrast between her and her husband in handling finance and in her husband’s concern to be sensitive to her desire to eat out once a month. Amar elaborately describes the contrast between the attitude of daughters and sons towards the parents by bringing out the difference in the affection the daughters show and the way the sons leave the parents and go abroad. Bina constructs her two long stories about the contrasting advantages and disadvantages of having daughters and sons. One example of the difference is that a girl cannot be sent out alone especially late in the night while a boy may be asked to go for any outside errand at any time anywhere.

B. Use of Juxtaposition for Contrast.

Varam narrates the contrast between her and her sister with ‘but’ repeatedly. She places side by side their economic comfort and the contrast of the peace Varam’s family has with the quarrelling and lack of peace of the families of the sisters. Jeyavathy brings out the contrast of the situation of spousal relationship in her parental home using ‘after they have changed, after that’. She also contrasts her parental and marital homes with mere juxtaposition of how her father dominated including handling finance and how in her marital home it is a
relationship of equality even in handling finance. Kamala brings out the contrast between her parental and marital homes with ‘I am not like that in my family’, juxtaposing the two homes and also herself and her husband, using ‘but’. It is simply juxtaposing details in Amar’s story about not sending the daughters for shopping. She constructs her story of contrast giving details that she did not send her daughters for shopping and even in their marital homes the same pattern is followed. The contrast is between the daughters and their husbands. While the daughters did not go shopping the husbands did by taking up that responsibility.

C. Use of Contrast Words.

Arunkumari uses word devices to achieve contrast – ‘apart from that’, ‘but now’, ‘formerly’, ‘but now’, ‘now’ and ‘God has brought me to that extent’. Her story contrasting her parental and marital home uses ‘totally different’ and ‘but’ repeatedly. Her story about the dress code also uses ‘but’ and descriptions to achieve the contrast in the dress code prescribed by her husband for herself to cover herself with the end of the saree and the children to have more freedom in the way they dressed. Mallimalar uses ‘but’ in the story contrasting the initial financial suffering in her parental home and the change when her mother took up some work, and also to show the difference between her father and mother portrayed in the advice given by her father. Swarna achieves contrast with the repeated use of the

---

658 Kamala – SR2, SR43
659 Amar – TC35
660 Arunkumari – TC86
661 Arunkumari – SR61
662 Arunkumari – SR62
663 Mallimalar – SR63
664 Swarna – SR6
word 'but' in the story about the spousal relationship in her marital home. Lila using
‘because of that’ and ‘so’ brings about the contrast between the way she grew up with strict
discipline about mingling with boys and the way she is bringing her daughter up giving more
freedom in mixing with boys. Arunavathy using ‘but’ repeatedly brings about contrast
between her daughter and herself in boldness and in relating to the brother.666

D. Using the Attitudinal Difference to Construct Contrast.
Saguna’s construction is a contrast between the attitude of the father towards the daughter
in celebrating her birthday well and the attitude towards the sons in not giving much
importance to the celebration of their birthdays; but she also defends with a claim of ‘no
difference’. Amar contrasts her attitude towards the children with the tender heart of her
husband. Tiny’s contrast is interesting in the way the father, a police officer, displayed a
pattern of the police department in buying clothes like uniforms and also a soft heart.
Sampoorna constructs contrast between the mother’s patient attitude in doing everything
and the father’s short temperedness without patience. Arunkumari in her narration sees
contrast in the difference she wants in the attitude of her husband and herself towards the
children. When she is narrating about her parental home she constructs contrast in their earlier
attitude towards her marriage across religions and their later positive attitude.

665 Lila – TC38
666 Arunavathy – TC87
667 Saguna – TC7
668 Amar – TC59
669 Tiny – TC41
670 Sampoorna – TC50
671 Arunkumari – TC88
672 Arunkumari – TC86
E. Making a Claim to Portray Contrast.
Arunavathy\textsuperscript{673} makes a claim to contrast the capability of women and men in bringing up children with discipline. Sweety’s\textsuperscript{674} story displays contrast of the spiritual interest in her parental and marital home with the claim that her mother-in-law was a good spiritual mother for her.

F. Use of the Situation of Lack of Care for Contrast.
Flora\textsuperscript{675} contrasts her taking up responsibility to bring up children with the lack of love of her husband. Saral narrates many pieces of contrast – between the negative reaction of her brother and the reaction of lack of hostility of the sisters to the father’s lack of care\textsuperscript{676}; the happy married life of her one sister and the others while the parents did not care about the marriage of the daughters\textsuperscript{677}; and, about the loving nature of her parents-in-law and the lack of care of her parents\textsuperscript{678}.

G. Contrast Using the Pattern of Bringing Up the Children.
Lila uses contrast to show the behaviour of her brother and the sisters\textsuperscript{679}. Lovely contrasts the way she was brought up with freedom and the frugal nature of her husband\textsuperscript{680}.

\textsuperscript{673} Arunavathy – SR50
\textsuperscript{674} Sweety – TC71
\textsuperscript{675} Flora – TC73
\textsuperscript{676} Saral – TC89
\textsuperscript{677} Saral – TC90
\textsuperscript{678} Saral – TC62
\textsuperscript{679} Lila – TC91
\textsuperscript{680} Lovely – SR35
The narrators in these stories may achieve the resolution of the contrast in various ways. Lita ends with achievement of change towards ‘equality’ in her marital home, with the claim ‘But after that I have brought him well’. The contrast of backgrounds has been resolved. Varam’s story about her mental illness is resolved with ‘in the end my husband changed his mind and brought me back’. She closes her story about her marital home at the time of the research with ‘now we are much united’. The story about the contrast between her and her sisters is resolved with the wish to continue in her situation of peace and witness. Similarly, Jeyavathy also resolves the contrast with an affirmation of the state of well being. Mallimalar ends her stories pointing to the changes in her parental and marital homes. Amar like Lita closes one story with no conflict in the spousal relationship in her marital home and the other reiterating the practice she had followed in not sending the daughters for shopping. Saral’s long narration and Swarna’s story end with a sense of well being. Mariam and Jeyam resolve the contrast closing the gap between the father and the mother. Lovely’s story is also like that of Lita closed with the sense of the husband coming around with understanding.

Arunkumari closes her three stories in three different ways – making a religious claim about the change in the attitude of her parents towards her marriage across religious difference, a rationalisation about the way she wanted her husband and herself to handle child rearing and a negative comment of the domestic help towards the dress code of covering herself with the end of the saree which her husband prescribed for her in her marital home. Sweety and Betty also close with a religious claim, the former about the spiritual devotedness of her parents and the latter about God’s grace being with her in her marital family.

Sampoorna’s claim about the correctness of what her mother did firmly closes the story. Saguna closes claiming equal treatment for her children and Bina in one story closes claiming
that we need both girls and boys. This way of ending with a claim for ‘equal treatment of children’ is different from the contrast portrayed in the treatment of sons and daughters in the stories. Arunavathy in her story about women’s control closes with a strong claim. Similarly, Sweety in contrasting her parental and marital homes and Flora in her taking care of her children end with a religious claim. Saral’s contrasts end with a negative in some stories and in some other positive statements.

Kamala simply presents the situation to close the story. Heera seems to leave it open. In their stories about treatment of children, Lita, Lila, Arunavathy, Amar, Bina in one story, Tiny, Sampoorna, Arunkumari and Lovely end with the contrast they have described in their stories. Thus the different stories adopt various styles and routes. This pattern of contrast is used by some of the narrators to construct their stories. Lita and Varam use it to portray how they achieved liberation and freedom in their marital homes. For Sweety, Jeyavathy and Mallimalar about their parental homes and Betty, Saral and Amar about their marital homes it is the contrast between the former and latter days. Varam brings out the contrast between her and her sister’s marital homes to portray the sense of well being and liberation she enjoys. Arunkumari uses contrast to resolve the conflict between her and her parents when she married a Christian. Swarna uses contrast between earlier and later days to describe the resolution of conflict in her spousal relationship. Sweety contrasts the difference in the attitude of her father while he enforced a rigid pattern and also showed softness in the treatment of children. Sweety portrays a sense of well being in contrasting the spirituality in her parental and marital homes. Flora uses contrast between the lack of care of her mother and her husband and the interest she herself has taken in the welfare of her children to portray a picture of well being, strength and care. Lila and Lovely use contrast in the way children were brought up to portray freedom and liberation.
XI. Stories of Identity Construction.

In many of these stories, the narrators construct their identities. ‘Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives’.681 These identities may have several different features and contours. However, the basic action the storytellers are displaying is that of identity construction.682.

The narrators adopt a variety of styles in opening their stories of identity construction in the aspects of spousal relationship and treatment of children. Gem opens one story683 with a sense of victimisation of the husband doing everything according to his will and wish which could have produced a sense of being a victim. She opens another story with an egalitarian claim of equality and sharing in stating that men also should share in domestic chores684. Lita’s opening claim gives a clue to her later identity construction of equality685. Amar and Bina begin with the point of the story that tells the listener what the stories are about. Joy and Bina go straight into the story that probably firms up their point by displaying the point right away.

Several of these narrators, Lita686, Varam687, Arunkumari688, Sweety689, Sampoorna690, Mallimalar691, Kamala692, Betty693, Tiny694, Saguna695, Heera696, Ranjithamani697, Amar698,

681 Riessman, 1993, p. 2
682 Identity Claim, Mishler, 1999, p. 21
683 Gem – SR36
684 Gem – SR54
685 Lita – SR59
686 Lita – SR59
687 Varam – SR60
688 Arunkumari – SR61
689 Sweety – SR70
Sneha, Swarna, Mariam, Jeyam and Lovely begin with a description of the families. Some of these give descriptions that lead into the main point. Heera begins two of her stories with elaborate description of how she, a college professor advised her students in college about spousal relationship. Saral’s long narration starts with a description of her situation of having had problems with the step-mother in her parental home and her experiencing of love and care from her parents-in-law.

A. Construction of Chivalrous Identity.

Gem’s one story about spousal relationship gives a picture of a chivalrous person. Amar, Saguna, Betty, Tiny and Bina have specific stories of treatment of children.

---

Chivalrous identity: This is one of the identities the narrators seek to construct. It is an identity of nobility, goodness and strength.

---

Amar – TC68
constructing identities of chivalry. These have been also looked at in the pattern of valorisation.

**B. Identity of Strength and Care.**

Joy\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^0\), Sampoorna\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^1\) and Heera\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^2\) about their mothers construct an identity of a strong person who did everything or took care of everything. Arunkumari\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^3\) in one story pictures herself as a careful and accountable person in desiring to run the family well. Bina\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^4\) pictures herself as one who takes responsibility for chores. Mallimalar\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^5\) in her two stories about her mother constructs an identity of a capable and careful manager of the family especially in handling finance. Heera\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^6\) describes herself as a militant woman and a promoter of women’s cause in her stories of her advice to her students. Kamala\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^7\) perceives herself as shouldering all responsibility. Heera also presents her mother as careful in handling finance and dominant while she sees herself as careless in handling finance\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^8\). Jeyam\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^9\) and Lovely\(^7\)\(^2\)\(^0\) picture their others as good managers.

\(^7\)\(^0\) Saguna – TC58  
\(^7\)\(^0\) Betty – TC40  
\(^7\)\(^0\) Tiny – TC41  
\(^7\)\(^0\) Bina – TC56  
\(^7\)\(^0\) Joy – SR20  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^0\) Sampoorna – SR46  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^1\) Heera – SR49  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^2\) Arunkumari – SR61  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^3\) Bina – SR64  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^4\) Mallimalar – TC79, TC80  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^5\) Heera – SR26, SR65  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^6\) Kamala – SR43  
\(^7\)\(^1\)\(^7\) Heera – SR49, SR30
Many of these story tellers, Arunavathy, Devar, Amar, Kamala, Tiny, Mallimalar, Udhaya, Flora, Saral, Sneha, Swarna, Mariam, Jeyam and Lovely construct identities of strength and care in their narratives of treatment of children. These may be identities constructed in the areas of overall care, discipline and control, taking care of studies and spiritual nurture and buying things for them.
C. Identity of Freedom and Liberation.

Lita\textsuperscript{735} in her marital home presents herself as an achiever and a liberated egalitarian in bringing her husband also around to her position of 'equality' in spousal relationship. Amar sees herself as non-oppressive in the spousal relationship in her marital home\textsuperscript{736}. Sneha sees her mother as a good manager and herself as independent and egalitarian\textsuperscript{737} in her stories about her future home. Lita\textsuperscript{738}, Bina\textsuperscript{739}, Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{740}, Udhaya\textsuperscript{741}, Melody\textsuperscript{742}, Priya\textsuperscript{743}, Arunavathy\textsuperscript{744}, Amar\textsuperscript{745}, Joy\textsuperscript{746}, Sneha\textsuperscript{747} and Lovely\textsuperscript{748} speak of freedom and liberation in their narratives of treatment of children in the aspects of treating with 'equality' like friends, giving rights, correcting them, sending out for errands, choosing the field of education and career, allowing them to go out, mix with others and socialising and maintaining an open relationship.

\textsuperscript{735} Lita – SR59, SR38  
\textsuperscript{736} Amar – SR13  
\textsuperscript{737} Sneha – SR17, SR18  
\textsuperscript{738} Lita – TC85  
\textsuperscript{739} Bina – TC6  
\textsuperscript{740} Jeyavathy – TC61  
\textsuperscript{741} Udhaya – TC1  
\textsuperscript{742} Melody – TC47  
\textsuperscript{743} Priya – TC48  
\textsuperscript{744} Arunavathy – TC87  
\textsuperscript{745} Amar – TC35  
\textsuperscript{746} Joy – TC8  
\textsuperscript{747} Sneha – TC94, TC28, TC30  
\textsuperscript{748} Lovely – TC32
D. Identity of Equality without Discrimination or Partiality.

Udhaya\(^749\), Ranjithamani\(^750\), Saguna\(^751\), Amar\(^752\), Lila\(^753\), Melody\(^754\), Priya\(^755\), Joy\(^756\), Bina\(^757\) claim identities of 'equality' in treatment of children in the aspects of rights, overall treatment, allocation of chores, not showing discrimination or partiality or preference and giving educational opportunities.

E. Identity of a Disciplined Person.

In the aspect of treatment of children Amar\(^758\), Lila\(^759\), Sampoorna\(^760\), Arunkumari\(^761\), Ranjithamani\(^762\) and Jeyam\(^763\) tell stories of discipline or a disciplined person.

---

\(^749\) Udhaya – TC1  
\(^750\) Ranjithamani – TC9  
\(^751\) Saguna – TC19, TC7  
\(^752\) Amar – TC3  
\(^753\) Lila – TC10  
\(^754\) Melody – TC11  
\(^755\) Priya – TC12  
\(^756\) Joy – TC13  
\(^757\) Bina – TC6  
\(^758\) Amar – TC4  
\(^759\) Lila – TC91  
\(^760\) Sampoorna – TCS0  
\(^761\) Arunkumari – TC95  
\(^762\) Ranjithamani – TC9, TC51  
\(^763\) Jeyam – TC93, TC53
F. Identity with Spirituality.

Arunkumari’s one story claims a religious change in her\textsuperscript{764} in crossing over religion from Hinduism and marrying a Christian. Sweety describes her mother-in-law as a spiritual mother\textsuperscript{765}. Swarna also claims to handle the family situation carefully with a religious perspective of praying that God should guide her husband aright and to preserve the peace of the family\textsuperscript{766}. Several women construct stories with claims of spirituality, religiosity, spiritual discipline or nurture. Amar\textsuperscript{767} tells of the spiritual discipline her mother enforced and the care she took to enforce Sunday observance in her marital home\textsuperscript{768}. Tiny talks about the spiritual growth of the family and the spiritual discipline her husband required\textsuperscript{769}. Arunkumari speaks about taking care of the spiritual nurture of her children\textsuperscript{770}. Arunavathy claims victory by faith in the issue of guiding their son in the good path\textsuperscript{771}. Jeyavathy speaks of her father’s demand for spiritual discipline\textsuperscript{772}. Sampoorna describes the spiritual discipline followed by her mother\textsuperscript{773}. Bina claims that her mother brought the children to the Lord Jesus Christ\textsuperscript{774}. Varam claims that she and her husband have come to the Lord\textsuperscript{775}. Sweety describes the

\textsuperscript{764} Arunkumari – TC86
\textsuperscript{765} Sweety – TC71
\textsuperscript{766} Swarna – SR6
\textsuperscript{767} Amar – TC4
\textsuperscript{768} Amar – TC96
\textsuperscript{769} Tiny – SR58, TC97
\textsuperscript{770} Arunkumari – TC57
\textsuperscript{771} Arunavathy – TC20
\textsuperscript{772} Jeyavathy – TC98
\textsuperscript{773} Sampoorna – TC50
\textsuperscript{774} Bina – TC56
\textsuperscript{775} Varam – TC70
spiritual interest she developed in her marital home\textsuperscript{776}. Heera tells about her mother's guiding the children in religious nurture\textsuperscript{777}. Ranjithamani claims that her daughter and son are spiritual and children of the Lord\textsuperscript{778}. Flora claims responsibility for the spiritual nurture of her children\textsuperscript{779} and Jeyam describes the spiritual nurture her mother gave.\textsuperscript{780}

G. Identity of Well Being.

Several storytellers, Varam\textsuperscript{781}, Tiny\textsuperscript{782}, Saguna\textsuperscript{783}, Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{784}, Amar\textsuperscript{785}, Saral\textsuperscript{786}, Swarna\textsuperscript{787} and Mariam\textsuperscript{788} construct stories of spousal relationships using the strategy of identity construction to produce a sense of well being. Varam narrates about the peace she and her husband have because of having come to the Lord. Tiny in relating about her parental home constructs an identity of well being, though her father being a police officer followed the pattern of his departmental rule at home also in buying clothes of the same sort like uniform. She constructs a similar identity of well being in her marital home though her husband did not always accept her suggestions. Saguna had a sense of belonging in being with

\textsuperscript{776} Sweety - SR22
\textsuperscript{777} Heera - TC99
\textsuperscript{778} Ranjithamani - TC100
\textsuperscript{779} Flora - TC73
\textsuperscript{780} Jeyam - TC53
\textsuperscript{781} Varam - SR57
\textsuperscript{782} Tiny - SR27
\textsuperscript{783} Saguna - SR66
\textsuperscript{784} Ranjithamani - SR55
\textsuperscript{785} Amar - SR13
\textsuperscript{786} Saral - SR34
\textsuperscript{787} Swarna - SR41
\textsuperscript{788} Mariam - SR7
her relatives as one family. Ranjithamani’s father’s attitude towards her mother allowing her to participate in the small family business and using the income for her needs displays an identity of well being.

An identity of well being is constructed by Amar in her story of narrating how she was in charge of home management when her husband was in the defense service and how they both used consultative pattern to their satisfaction in buying presents for the children. Saral narrates an elaborate story of how her sense of well being has been achieved in her marital family after she changed her initial negative attitude of not liking her husband’s low salary and the inconvenient housing they had. Her husband’s understanding behaviour and the love and care shown by her parents-in-law during Christmas and at the time of childbirth changed her initial negative attitude. Swarna perceives and constructs an identity of well being in the spousal relationship in her parental home in which at first the mother was managing everything because the father was in the military. Further she also had a sense of well being because she and her siblings were taken shopping and given money liberally to spend. Though Mariam handed over finance management to her husband because she was a career woman, their spousal relationship makes her construct an identity of well being because they practiced ‘equality’ advising one another with the Lord’s help. Arunkumari in her one story claims to have been brought up well in her parental home. Amar, Heera, Saguna and Saral tell stories of treatment of children constructing an identity of a person experiencing well being.

789 Arunkumari – TC95
790 Amar – TC39
791 Heera – TC99
792 Saguna – TC58
793 Saral – TC62
J. Identity of Flexibility.

Lovely⁷⁹⁴ presents herself as understanding. Heera⁷⁹⁵ in one story sees herself as giving in to the husband in money matters. Gem⁷⁹⁶, Arunkumari⁷⁹⁷ and Tiny⁷⁹⁸ produce apart from a victim identity an identity of an accommodator. These various stories of identity construction have also been dealt with in the other sections of different constructions.

Many of these narrators, Gem, Joy, Bina, Lila, Arunkumari, Sweety, Sampoorna, Mallimalar, Heera in three of her stories, Kamala, Tiny, Saguna, Ranjithamani, Amar, Saral, Sneha, Swarna, Mariam, Jeyam and Lovely close their construction with no further elaboration. Lita provides an explanation for her achievement in one story and for her perspective in the other narratives. Varam neatly ends her story of sense of well being. Heera ends one of her stories with a moralising claim about herself that she was not careful about spending, as her father was not. In another, she closes with her father’s behaviour that he was carefree in spending by living for that day. Heera uses affirmation of the spousal relationship in her parental and marital homes to close two narratives. Sneha seems to draw away from her construction of her mother’s identity; but probably she is only setting it in relief by contrasting herself with her mother. Thus in the opening, core and closure the narrators use a variety of styles and methods. Through different ways they all speak of their well being in their identity. Examples of an identity of well-being have been noted and are expressed in a variety of ways. But participants also expressed some sense of being victims as will be seen in the next section.

⁷⁹⁴ Lovely – SR35
⁷⁹⁵ Heera – SR31
⁷⁹⁶ Gem – SR36
⁷⁹⁷ Arunkumari – SR64
⁷⁹⁸ Tiny – SR27
XII. Construction of Victim Identity.

Some of the narrators in their stories of relationships in the family construct a victim identity. The stories of victim identity differ in the way the narrators bring out a sense of ill treatment, helplessness, weakness, powerlessness or of being trapped, oppressed or receiving unjust treatment. These are different from the stories of identities of well being and strength while the narrator may use the story to portray how the storyteller handled the situation, negotiated or turned it around. The storyteller may also use other strategies of rationalisation, justification, explanation and claiming God’s help or conformity to culture to portray different pictures. They use various types of openings.

Gem\(^{799}\) begins with the background of her marital home in which her husband made all decisions according to his will. In another extract, she begins with the difficulty of partial treatment of children in parental home\(^{800}\) that sets the scene for the identity to be constructed. Bina’s story shows that in the area of handling chores the victim identity is constructed\(^{801}\). Bina also begins another story with the statement of domination in her parental home\(^{802}\). These openings portray the context that leads into the point of the story that is a construction of victim identity.

\(^{799}\) Gem – SR36

\(^{800}\) Gem – TC27

\(^{801}\) Bina – SR64

\(^{802}\) Bina – SR69
Varam’s story of victimisation of her mother starts with an entirely different point of her not having liked her name. Though this seems to distract, it in fact leads into the point of construction of a victim identity in the story because of the negativism displayed. Varam in her narration of her victimisation after her marriage similar to that of Flora and Bina begins with a negative point of the domination of her father-in-law. Arunkumari begins her story about her parents’ negative attitude to her with her a Hindu having married a Christian. This gives the clue that the victimisation is related to religion. In her story about her husband’s demand about dress for her to cover herself with the end of the saree the opening is quite different. It begins with negative feeling that her husband wanted her to cover herself but allowed more freedom to the children. Thus these narrators use the tool of negativism that is the use of negative feeling, point or attitude to construct a victim identity.

Sweety begins both her stories about spousal relationship with a reference to the family. Betty begins with reference to the family contrasting her parental and marital homes that prepares the listener. Mallimalar shows that her stories concern her mother. Tiny’s initial statement that her father was a police officer leads into the story about the treatment of children. Lita also begins her story of victimisation of women with reference to the family.

---

803 Varam – SR40
804 Varam – SR60
805 Arunkumari – TC86
806 Arunkumari – SR62
807 Sweety – SR72, SR44
808 Betty – SR25
809 Mallimalar – SR63
810 Tiny – SR27
811 Lita – SR38
Heera's\textsuperscript{812} story about spousal relationship in her marital home begins with reference to the family. These stories begin with reference to the family and sometimes indicate the aspect of the family life either spousal relationship or treatment of children about which the story is constructed.

Flora in both the stories explicitly states that her mother was dominant in the parental home and her husband in the marital home\textsuperscript{813}. Heera\textsuperscript{814} explicitly states that her stories are about her advice and warning to her students. Swarna’s beginning indicates explicitly that it is about her marital home\textsuperscript{815}. Tiny’s one story about the treatment of children in her parental home with her father following the pattern of police department\textsuperscript{816}, Flora’s statement about the lack of love and care of her mother\textsuperscript{817}, Gem’s statement about partial treatment of children in families\textsuperscript{818}, Saral’s saying about not having had a happy childhood\textsuperscript{819} and Jeyam’s indication of her mother loving the sons more\textsuperscript{820} in their narratives about treatment of children start with explicit display of victimisation. Thus some narrators employ in the opening explicit display or statement of the point of the story.

\textsuperscript{812} Heera – SR31
\textsuperscript{813} Flora – SR67, SR68
\textsuperscript{814} Heera – SR26, SR65
\textsuperscript{815} Swarna – SR6
\textsuperscript{816} Tiny – SR27
\textsuperscript{817} Flora – TC14
\textsuperscript{818} Gem – TC27
\textsuperscript{819} Saral – TC101
\textsuperscript{820} Jeyam – TC53

196
Lita’s story plunges straight into the point of victimisation of women in the family in that she
opens with her mother-in-law’s unhappiness about having brought her in as the daughter-in-
law. She probably uses this strategy to maximise the effect. Saral has a long story of several
points of victimisation with one of them opening the narration. Heera has a long descriptive
opening of how her mother wanted to save up for the children while her father had no such
idea. Thus the narrators use various strategies and styles to begin their stories. This variety in
the beginning or opening of the stories, as it is stated below about the various strategies
employed and also seen in throughout the narrations about any one aspect of their lived
experiences, shows that these women are not singing a pre-set common song or dancing to a
pre-agreed tune. Their experiences are multifaceted and various. They cannot be put in well
defined categories or boxes. Their articulation and narration arise from their lives with them as
active subjects and not as passive objects.

A. Style of Acceptance of Victimisation.

Gem⁸²¹ constructs her victim identity in her marital home in the areas of making decisions and
handling finance. She had to accept and agree with this pattern of her husband making
decisions and handling finance without giving her any freedom. This construction sharpens the
victimisation of her not having freedom.

B. Style of Use of Helplessness in Victimisation.

Gem’s⁸²² story about gender discrimination in both her parental and marital homes is
constructed to display her helplessness of having to accept the pattern and exasperation of not

---

⁸²¹ Gem – SR36
⁸²² Gem – TC27
being able to do anything about it. She has no further description. Bina\textsuperscript{823} highlights the intensity of her victimisation in the area of chores in her marital home with an emphatic statement that her husband would not even boil some water.

**C. Styles of Construction of Pathos.**

Flora\textsuperscript{824} makes brief but strong statements of her victimisation in her parental and marital homes with categorical claims of the family being without love. Bina's\textsuperscript{825} story of victimisation of her mother is constructed to show her pathetic situation by stating that the father held all authority without giving any freedom in handling finance and making decisions though her mother also earned. The word 'all' is repeated to heighten the sense of victimisation.

**D. Descriptive Style used for Constructing Victim Identity.**

Varam's\textsuperscript{826} story about her life in the home of the parents-in-law is narrated with a lot of description to make the listener get at the acuteness of victimisation. It is sharpened with the bit about her mental illness and separation from the husband. Betty\textsuperscript{827} is elaborate in her construction. To show the sharpness of her victimisation in her marital home in the area of finance she goes into detailed description of how she had financial liberty in her parental home to the extent of forging the father’s signature while buying groceries.

\textsuperscript{823} Bina – SR65
\textsuperscript{824} Flora – SR67, SR68,
\textsuperscript{825} Bina – SR69
\textsuperscript{826} Varam – SR60
\textsuperscript{827} Betty – SR25
Amar’s story of victimisation of parents whom the sons abandon is long and descriptive about the lack of love of the sons and emotional hurt of the parents. Tiny’s story about treatment of children in the parental home is also descriptive with key phrases such as ‘we used to grumble’ and ‘we used to fight’. Arunkumari also uses several phrases in her descriptive narrations about treatment of children in her marital home displaying the victimisation – ‘burden’, ‘it is difficult’ and ‘cannot’. In another story, she just uses description of the victimisation caused by the demand by her husband in requiring her to cover herself with the end of the saree. Saral narrates her several stories of victimisation by the stepmother with long and many details. She uses minute details, reference to attitudes, treatment, lack of love and care, failure to fulfil parental responsibilities and many such features. Jeyam constructs her elaborate story of victimisation providing the difference in the attitude of the mother towards the sons and daughters, and also the strict discipline the mother imposed in learning the Scripture. Swarna constructs her story of victimisation in her marital home in the early years. She gives descriptive detail of how the husband wanted her to follow what he said and controlled her movement outside the home and in financial matters.

828 Amar – TC44

829 Tiny – SR27

830 Arunkumari – TC88

831 Arunkumari – SR62

832 Saral – TC101, TC102, TC103, TC104, TC105

833 Jeyam – TC53

834 Swarna – SR6
E. Mother Victimised with Financial Burden.

Varam\textsuperscript{835} shows that the difficult situation of her parental home victimised her mother because she worked hard and struggled to bring up the children. Sweety\textsuperscript{836} tells of her mother’s victimisation by way of her father not taking responsibility and the mother having had to take up a job. Mallimalar\textsuperscript{837} accentuates her mother’s victimisation by describing how her father would refuse to go for work if he would see the meagre earnings of the mother. She constructs another story\textsuperscript{838} narrating her father’s acknowledgement of the mother’s victimisation and his advice to Mallimalar not to hurt the mother.

F. Oppression Used for Victimisation.

Arunkumari’s two stories are narrated to show the negative reaction of the parents to her marriage. She gives the details that it was her choice of marriage and across religion (she a Hindu marrying a Christian) that angered the parents.\textsuperscript{839} Arunkumari describes her sense of victimisation in her marital home in her husband’s demand for her to follow a particular dresscode of covering herself with the end of the saree.\textsuperscript{840} Sweety’s\textsuperscript{841} story about her mother-in-law is told differently. Her mother-in-law was a victim of the domination and anger of her father-in-law. Heera\textsuperscript{842} describes the victimisation in her parental home because the parents had to give dowry for her sisters by selling the house that in her narration is oppressive. In her

\begin{itemize}
\item Varam – SR40
\item Sweety – SR44
\item Mallimalar – SR45
\item Mallimalar – SR63
\item Arunkumari – TC86
\item Arunkumari – SR62
\item Sweety – SR70
\item Heera – TC99
\end{itemize}
warning and advice to her students\textsuperscript{843} she constructs a victim identity of women in general describing the oppression in society. Flora\textsuperscript{844} constructs her story of victimisation of the lack of love and care of her husband while she has had to take responsibility for the upbringing of the children.

\textbf{G. Brief Construction.}

Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{845} is short in her narration about her father’s strictness meted out with beating. Devar is brief in narrating the victimisation of her only son who struggled with frail health. She\textsuperscript{846} was unable to make him involve in spiritual activities as much as she would have liked to. Gem has no description but a mere brief statement of the victimisation of gender discrimination\textsuperscript{847}. She does not explicitly state that it was gender discrimination, but it appears to be so.

\textbf{J. Claims, Assertions and Humour Used as Narrative Styles.}

Tiny constructs her narration of victimisation of her as a girl child based on a cultural tradition\textsuperscript{848}. Arunavathy describes the victimisation of women when they do not have the freedom and right to take care of children’s discipline\textsuperscript{849}. Her story is characterised with assertions that women know how to discipline children and should have the freedom to do so.

\textsuperscript{843} Heera – SR26, SR65  
\textsuperscript{844} Flora – TC73  
\textsuperscript{845} Jeyavathy – TC106  
\textsuperscript{846} Devar – TC52  
\textsuperscript{847} Gem – TC27  
\textsuperscript{848} Tiny– TC107  
\textsuperscript{849} Arunavathy – TC108
Varam in describing the victimisation of her parental family in a time of financial difficulty uses humour about the new clothes bought for the festival. Lita describes the victimisation by the disapproval of her mother-in-law and also in general of women. Thus these narratives of construction of victim identity are built with various styles.

In closure Gem firms up her construction of victim identity with phrases such as ‘like that, like that’ and ‘no other way, yes’. Tiny closes with a short affirmation ‘like that’ and ‘had that of police department’ emphasising the strict regime the father imposed like that of a police department. Amar, Varam, Devar and Flora end with a reiteration of the points they have each made in their respective stories. Arunkumari and Jeyavathy also use affirmation. Flora winds up her two stories differently, one with an assertion of the victim identity. The other has a closure with a claim to God’s help. For a story of victimisation to be closed with a claim to God’s help seems not fitting or not proper. Varam closes one of her stories with an assertion and the other with a positive note similar to that of Flora. Arunkumari closes her three stories in different ways – one she focuses on her parents’ anger, another similar to Flora brings out her faith aspect and in the third she deepens the victim identity with the comment about her dresscode from the domestic help why Arunkumari should dress in that manner. Sweety in both her stories and Betty close with a positive religious claim contrasting the victim identity. Mallimalar also ends one of her stories on a positive note of her father’s advice. Heera ends her stories with a contrasting identity construction of her as a no-problem person, a militant woman and an adjusting spouse. Sweety also uses this contrast device to smooth out her construction. Lita effectively uses generalisations to complete her stories. Swarna also like...

850 Varam – TC81
851 Lita – SR38, SR73
Lita voices out her opinion that women are not merely childbearing machines. See Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 182
some others has a positive note at the end. Arunavathy ends with a claim for the rights of women.

Bina formally closes her one story with the statement that it was a point. She does not explain what she means by this point. Heera turns from victimisation to a sense of well being in closing. Gem closes with moralising her reaction to victimisation. Jeyam sees the positive value of the victimisation she perceives. Saral closes her long narration of victimisation by her step-mother in forcing her to marry someone she did not like and her not having been able to accept her marriage, with a long description of the change and a happy married life.

Thus the various narrators use different tools and methods to wind up their stories of victimisation. They are able to articulate and give reasons for why there has been victimisation from some point of view, but how they may be able to rationalise, justify, explain, make claims of God’s grace or conforming to culture, negotiate, invert or contest what has been happening.

CONCLUSION.
One can see in these stories about spousal relationship and treatment of children that the women narrators use several different strategies and methods to construct their stories. These stories fall into many patterns such as claims of equality and well being, rationalisation, justification and explanation, women being in control, valorisation, conformity to culture, claims of non-conformity, contrast, identity construction and construction of victim identity.

The variety of methods and strategies used display the various means and tools the narrators employ to construct stories that are acceptable and ‘tellable’. Further they are not ‘singing or
dancing to one common stereotypical tune’. Their experiences are varied and multifaceted. They cannot be put into straitjackets or pre-set boxes or categories of oppression or lack of freedom. Moreover the women are not passive objects but active subjects. These patterns and styles are used to make meaning correlate with their commonsense understanding of everyday life. The narrators attempt to make sense of their everyday experiences and actions. The stories are constructed to be adequate accounts and tellable performances. These adequate accounts are undergirded by the overarching theme of ‘equality’. So the narrators claim, rationalise, justify, explain, valorise, constrast and construct identities to fit their overall theme of ‘equality’. The narrators rationalise the separation of domestic and social spheres, conformity to culture and tenderness towards the daughter. They justify family circumstances, lack of discrimination, ethical and faith claims and interest in the welfare of children. The storytellers justify discipline as a core concern. The narrators use explanation, the strategy of rooting in custom, negotiating strategies, the tool of making a claim, the use of a religious claim, contrast and description to construct a story of valorisation. In constructing stories of contrast they use various devices such as detail, description, juxtaposition, contrast words, attitudinal differences, claims, situation of lack of care and pattern of bringing up children.

The narrators construct various types of identities that may be listed as chivalrous identity, identity of strength and care, identity of freedom and liberation, identity of equality without discrimination or partiality, identity of a disciplined person, identity of spirituality, identity of well being and identity of flexibility of accommodating or adjusting or being flexible or being able to negotiate. The storytellers construct victim identities with acceptance of victimisation, of helplessness, characterised by pathos, with description, of a mother victimised by financial burden and of oppression. These victim identities are also constructed using brief statements, claims, assertions and humour. The women explain how these stories of victim identities may
be looked at from a different point of view. The women use other strategies to negotiate, explain, rationalise, justify, invert or contest the victim identity. At the end of the day these are not denying equality or portraying oppression. Using these patterns or strategies to construct their stories the women narrators bring out their perceptions of spousal relationships and treatment of children to build their self perception of who a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai is at the turn of the millennium.

These self perceptions portray women claiming ‘equality’ in general, in finance handling, decision making, sharing chores, rearing children in spousal relationships and treatment of children. Where their claims of equality may be challenged, questioned or debated, they may be rationalised, justified and explained. In cases in which there is inequality the narrators construct an appropriate identity or victimisation born out of inequality. They also claim control exercised by women in their stories. Their claims use contrast and patterns of culture keepers or culture breakers. The story tellers valorise their perceptions of equality or apparent lack of equality.

Thus they construct stories of self perception and self construction which do not fit the academic discussions of Indian women seen in the literature review of the books by Ghadially, Desai and Krishnaraj, Tellis-Nayak and Derne in chapter two. These academic books on Indian gender studies portray Indian women as subordinated and the girl children being given a secondary place.

In contrast, the women of the sample group construct stories of spousal relationship claiming equality displayed in ‘togetherness’, and ‘equal treatment’ of children. If their stories do not fit their perceptions of ‘equality’ and ‘freedom’, they may rationalise. The separation of domestic
and social spheres are rationalised in such a way that these women do not find it problematic that they or others in their stories were in charge of the domestic spheres while the men participated in the social sphere. The rationalisation may also be a tool used to defend their situation of conforming to the culture or in the case of the children of Saguna to rationalise the tenderness of her husband towards the daughter.

Likewise the treatment of children also may be rationalised. In the case of Bina’s discourse about the pros and cons of having daughter and son, rationalisation is used to show that both are valuable or a daughter is preferred in some circumstances or a son in some others. Gem justifies the spousal relationship with her husband by narrating the family situation. This does not in any way seem to be oppression for her. Lita also uses the ethical claim to justify her stand that she would go out for societal participation only after having completed the household chores. Stories about treatment of children where the son helped in domestic chores or a daughter-in-law took up the profession of ordained ministry are justified with the interest in the welfare of the children. Ranjithamani justifies the lack of discrimination in the treatment of male and female children both in her parental and marital homes. Sampoorna also justifies the treatment of children in her parental home with the claim of discipline being a core concern. Varam and Swarna explain how their mothers managed the family. This method of explanation is used by Betty to portray her spousal relationship with her husband with a claim to God’s grace. The stories of women’s control present a picture of women of strength and ability.

Saguna explains her husband handling finance with valorising that he was wiser and she left it to him. This story does not portray Saguna as a subordinate or an oppressed person. She has found her husband to be wiser in handling finance and has chosen to leave it to him. Gem
valorises her not letting her husband do the domestic chores. It has not been oppression for her because it is the custom in the family and she does not like the husband doing the domestic chores. Once again it is her choice. On the other hand it is not oppression or breaking of custom when she valorises her only son helping with the domestic chores. For some women such as Ranjithamani the woman is in charge of the domestic chores. But she finds negotiating strategies of employing some domestic help and valorises this aspect of her spousal relationship.

Many women valorise the role of their mothers by portraying their managing the family beautifully. Several women make a religious claim to valorise the spousal relationship or the treatment of children, bringing in God’s work, grace, help or will. Heera in her story about how many women are oppressed valorises her situation using the tool of contrast that her situation was different. Some valorise the spousal relationship or the treatment of children by valorising with description. The strategy of conforming to culture is used to portray either spousal relationship or treatment of children which otherwise may be contested from an egalitarian perspective. On the other hand there are stories of spousal relationship or treatment of children as in the case of Lita which portray breaking of culture and produce a picture of freedom. Both in stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children the tool of contrast is used to portray pictures of equality and freedom. Many of these women construct identities of chivalry, strength and care, freedom and liberation, equality without discrimination or partiality, discipline, spiritutality, well being and flexibility. When they construct stories of victim identity, there is acceptance, helplessness, pathos, financial necessity, oppression, a claim, assertion or humour is brought in. These stories of victim identity as may be seen in the sections dealing with other strategies of construction, do not portray oppression since they rationalise, justify, explain, contrast, claim to follow culture, claim God’s help and grace or
use some such negotiating, inverting or contesting strategies. This contributes to the overall aim of the thesis to discover the self perception and self construction of these women.

From here I move on to look at the self-perception and self-construction of these narrators in the area of perspectives on education and career.
CHAPTER FIVE
PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION AND CAREER

I. Introduction.

The previous chapter presented the aspect of relationships in the family. Within this area of consideration the components of spousal relationship and treatment of children were taken for discussion. The narratives pertaining to these two components were analysed and presented under the various patterns of construction that emerged. The styles of construction revealed the self-perception and self-construction of the storytellers. The focus was on how they constructed the narratives, what emerged and why the stories were constructed in the way the tellers narrated them.

The perspective on education and career is the subject matter of this chapter. Education and career are two important aspects of the lived experiences of the women of the sample group. These are also shown to be significant in the relevant family studies in India. In evangelical theologies of gender also the issues of education and career of women are important for the question who a woman is. Joyce Baldwin and I. Howard Marshall argue that there is no role distinction either regarding the tasks in home and society or in the church. This displays the

---

852 Vimala Mehta in her book has explored several areas also women and education and women and professions. She also notes that the multi-dimensional forces of industrialisation, urbanisation and socio-educational advancement affect various aspects of the traditional Indian society, Mehta, 1979, p. 51


importance of career for women. Another particular example is the argument of Elaine Storkey about women in the workplace. Having done away with role distinctions, the evangelical feminists with their view of freedom in Christ to fulfil the role one is called to, would argue for education and career for women. This makes these two issues important for the discussion of who a Tamil Christian woman is. Thus the self-perception and self-construction of the narrators about education and career need to be examined. Education is seen as preparation for life and in a narrower sense as preparation for career. In the narratives also both these are linked together in various ways. So this chapter deals with these two themes or aspects.

II. Education and Career taken for granted as Cultural Norms.

Several participants construct their narratives of educational opportunities for women taking for granted that education for women is not an issue for debate. They assume that women’s education is the norm of the day. Similarly in some of the stories about women’s career, the narrators project, assume or take for granted that career is the ‘done thing’ or the normal and the usual pattern for women. The narratives about education in this pattern have no elaborate description of the setting about the situation of women’s education or any formal descriptive opening. The listener is expected to know about the situation of women’s education that is the subject matter of the narratives.


857 See also the description of egalitarian view in Chapter two, section V, A, 2.
In some of the stories phrases or statements occur which are probably meant to give some clue or lead into the story. Joy\textsuperscript{858} begins with ‘I don’t know about studies’, while she makes it clear in one extract that she is talking about her future family\textsuperscript{859}. Sweety gives a count of her four daughters and the two girls of her mother\textsuperscript{860}. This count is used to highlight the significance of women’s education. Ranjithamani just as Sweety, uses the count that she has one boy and one girl\textsuperscript{861}. Gem begins with the single word ‘education’\textsuperscript{862}. Melody\textsuperscript{863} begins with ‘And children also, studies,’ Mariam’s response to the question\textsuperscript{864} about studies is quite brief with the opening ‘Yes, it’s all so ....’ This gives a forceful agreement because of its short crisp statement.

In most of the narratives about career in a pattern similar to the narratives about education, there is no elaborate setting or description of the context. The narrator straightaway begins with the issue of career. By this action the listener probably is expected to surmise the context of the stories or probably the very fact that women’s career is taken for granted by the storyteller allows her to proceed without any elaborate descriptive opening.

Sneha’s story about her situation in her parental home and her attitude to career seems to be the only one with an elaborate beginning. This beginning is also about the ‘liberty’ her parents

\textsuperscript{858} Joy – E(Education)1. The narratives about education are found in Appendix 9.

\textsuperscript{859} Joy – E2

\textsuperscript{860} Sweety – E3

\textsuperscript{861} Ranjithamani – E4

\textsuperscript{862} Gem – E5

\textsuperscript{863} Melody – E6

\textsuperscript{864} Mariam – E7
have given her and the guidance they give her. Sneha’s other extract about her being a working woman elaborately describes her enjoying being a working woman. The other stories in this category begin with the issue of career.

In these narratives about women’s education the style of claims of freedom is used. In the construction of these narratives following the pattern of taking women’s education for granted, the women make different statements to assert their core point. However, freedom for education is emphasised to be a woman’s prerogative. Joy asserts that in her parental home they were given the freedom to study whatever the children wanted to, ‘studies like whatever you want to learn you can learn’. Her narrative of her future home is slightly different. She makes her core point with the statement ‘naturally what they want’ and proceeds to give an explanation that ‘if we learn we can be well’. Sweety also displays the style of freedom for education in stating that they educated their four daughters according to what they wanted and clinches the point with ‘there is no problem in it’. Ranjithamani also makes the point that her daughter completed her first degree. Gem asserts the freedom for women to study as

---

865 Sneha – C(Career)1. The narratives about career are found in Appendix 10.

866 Joy – C1
Melody – C3, C4
Gem – C7
Ranjithamani – C8
Saguna – C9
Joy – C2
Priya – C5
Sneha – C12

867 Joy – E(Education)1
Compare this with what Shashi Jain says about equal opportunity for the education of both sons and daughters. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62

868 Joy – E2

869 Sweety – E3

870 Ranjithamani – E4

871 Gem – E5
much as they wanted. Melody's story\textsuperscript{872} explains that she would help her future children in their education. However she asserts the freedom they would have in making their final decision. Mariam\textsuperscript{873} in her brief statement of two words agrees that in her experience women had the freedom to study as much as they wanted. In all these ways of talking about the education of women the narrators construct their stories with the assumption that women's education was and is normal. There is no elaborate stage setting or question raised or debate about the education of women. Women's education is taken for granted without any denial or negative challenge. The question whether women should be educated at all is not raised at all.

Similar style of claims of freedom is used in these narratives about career also. Having begun to talk about career, the women proceed to display their assumption or concept that a career for women or being a career woman is not out of the usual pattern of the lived experiences they are narrating. Joy\textsuperscript{874} uses phrases such as 'we chose our career', 'naturally what they want', 'usually people nowadays', 'if I'm doing a job' and 'if they are working, naturally they'. Melody states that her mother is a doctor\textsuperscript{875} and claims parental support for her\textsuperscript{876}. Priya in her future marital home wants freedom to be a career woman without marriage restricting it\textsuperscript{877}, and wants to give the same freedom to her future children\textsuperscript{878}. Gem\textsuperscript{879} states that in her parental home she was allowed to work. Ranjithamani narrates about her mother's

\textsuperscript{872} Melody – E6
\textsuperscript{873} Mariam – E7
\textsuperscript{874} Joy – C(Career)1, C2. Narratives about career are found in Appendix 10.
\textsuperscript{875} Melody – C3
\textsuperscript{876} Melody – C4
\textsuperscript{877} Priya – C5
\textsuperscript{878} Priya – C6
\textsuperscript{879} Gem – C7
involvement in the family business of a small bakery. Saguna talks about her parental home without restriction for her work. A similar claim is made by Saral regarding her children. Sneha in her two extracts about her parental and future marital homes claims freedom to be a working woman. These are all used as devices to make the listener surmise that a career for a woman was neither totally banned nor was it unusual. In all these extracts the narrators attempt to present the situation of women’s career as the pattern and norm for women. This end is achieved by the way they speak of their experiences or expectations.

Having constructed their stories with the assumption that women’s education and career are taken for granted, these extracts about education do not display any elaborate closure except for some brief statements by some of them. In her closure of the narration about the education of children in her parental home Joy asserts that her mother wanted all the daughters and sons to learn. This probably is also meant to put forward a claim of equality among the sons and daughters. In her story about her future home she closes differently by making the statement that education is natural. This reinforces the pattern of women’s education not being contested. Sweety emphasises women’s education by three statements – that they gave equal educational opportunity for their four daughters, they allowed them to study whatever they wanted and that there was no problem in that. This final statement of assertion becomes the closure. Gem firmly closes her story with the statement ‘Yes, that is all’. Ranjithamani’s story of assumption of the naturality of women’s education closes with the claim that her daughter

---

880 Ranjithamani – C8
881 Saguna – C9
882 Saral – C10
883 Sneha – C11, C12

Sneha’s speaking of her mother as a role model is attested by Fransella and Frost, 1977, pp. 116 – 117, that many teenagers spoke of their childhood and teenage identification with their mothers as role model.
studied well according to her desire. Melody speaking of the education of her future children closes the narration with the assertion that she would give them the freedom to do according to their interest. It has been earlier stated that Mariam closes with a firm agreement with the education of women. Finally these stories close with a firm and strong agreement that education is valid and natural for women.

In the stories of attempts to display a career as the norm for women, some narratives are left open ended and some have a conclusion pertaining to women’s career to wind up the story. Joy in her two extracts has a conclusion about their parents allowing them to choose their career and her wanting to follow the same pattern in taking care of her future children. Melody’s stories have similar conclusions about men and women, her mother and she having freedom to work that is also the core point of the story. Thus she constructs her story to display her point of freedom for women’s career. Priya, after making her statements in her two stories, concludes with a concession about her willingness to put in some extra effort on the domestic front in her marital home and to concede to her future children’s choice. Gem and Ranjithamani close their stories with statements such as ‘they did like that’. Saguna and Saral end their narrations claiming that there was no objection to women working. Sneha brings to conclusion her two elaborate stories about her experience in her parental home and what she wants in her future marital home, affirming her present position of having a good job and an expectation of a balanced life of a working woman and a caring mother.

Thus in all these narratives the main point of accepting careers for women as the norm is worked at in the opening and in the closure. There is no debate or doubt. The listener is just made to listen to the stories and accept them without raising any question. The way the narrators talk about women and careers shows that these women are resolute and committed to
women having careers; there is no debate, no discussion, and no hesitancy. This shows that
this concept is well accepted in their community by men and women. This sits at odds with
statements in some of the academic writing. For example, Ghadially’s edited book concludes
that the traditional sex role stereotypes are deeply embedded in Indian society. Ghadially,
Desai and Krishnaraj and Tellis-Nayak claim that women are discriminated against in the
opportunities in both education and career. 884

III. Stories Emphasising the Necessity of Women’s Education and Career.
Another set of stories is constructed to emphasise the necessity of educating women.
Sometimes it may be an open claim, it may be implicit in a different claim, or it may have to
be inferred from the construction or a claim. Some stories are constructed to display that a
career for women is a necessity or some women had taken up career out of necessity. 885

Some stories about education have some descriptive material while others simply make the
point with no elaborate construction of a beginning, setting or description. Joy, Sampoorna
and Mariam have no formal setting of the context. However they show that they are speaking
about education 886 that gives a clue to the subject of the narrative. Bina 887, Kamala 888 and

884 Ghadially, 1988, pp. 99 – 147
See also Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 148 – 183
See also the point made by Tellis – Nayak referred to in Chapter two, Section III. D. Also, Tellis – Nayak, 1983,
pp. 43 -51

885 Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 21 and p. 118, note that many women are at work either out of necessity or
choice while many are sole supporters of their families. See also P. Caplan, 1985, p. 87 for the situation that
many women work out of economic necessity.

886 Sampoorna – E9
Mariam – E10

887 Bina – E13

888 Kamala – E14
Varam all straightaway begin with their statement about the importance of women's education. The three stories follow various trajectories later.

Heera and Tiny describe what their parents had expressed to give a clue to the main core of the story about women's education. Jeyam has an elaborate description of the positive and encouraging attitude of her parents towards education. Similarly Jeyavathy also has an elaborate description of her father's initial negative attitude to women's higher education that she contrasts with her uncle's attitude positive attitude to allow women to go to college, to lead the listener into the story about women's education. Thus all these women make clear in some way or other that they speak about the necessity of educating women which is described in the sections below about the core points of the stories using various styles of construction.

Mallimalar's story of the necessity of work for her mother in her parental home sharply begins with the reason of financial need. Varam's extract about her mother also has a similar context. Sweety's mother's background is also similar to these two mentioned above. Jeyavathy's construction about her career is elaborate and descriptive about the attitudes of her father and uncle regarding women's education. Varam speaking about herself begins her story

889 Varam – E15
890 Heera – E11
891 Tiny – E12
892 Jeyam – E17
893 Jeyavathy – E16
894 Mallimalar – C13
895 Varam – C14
896 Sweety – C15
with the assertion that women’s education is essential for women to pursue some career to have a decent income. Saral’s story begins with her experience of victimisation of her stepmother wanting her to bring in income, becoming the necessity for her search for a job. All these narrators begin their stories with either an elaborate or short description of the context.

A. Style of Insistence upon Education.

Joy’s brief statement ‘my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn’ emphatically puts forward the point. Similarly Sampoorna also makes a firm statement about her mother that she was quite strict in the matter of discipline, education and attending school. Mariam makes a brief but emphatic statement that all the children had received equal importance for education from both her father and mother.

B. Explicit Emphasis as a Style of Construction.

Both Heera and Tiny explicitly state their parental emphasis on the necessity of women’s education. However Heera’s mother is depicted as someone quite interested in the daughter’s education even up to postgraduate level while the story is different for Tiny. Tiny’s father, though insisting upon her being educated, had a different rationale for it. He is shown by Tiny as someone not interested in women’s education as a preparation for career but for the

---

897 Varam – E15
898 Saral – C17
899 Joy – E8
900 Sampoorna – E9
901 Mariam – E10
902 Heera – E11
903 Tiny – E12
See also Caplan, 1985, p. 86 for the notion that girls must have training even if they do not use it.
improvement of knowledge. Thus the stories are constructed with different content to display the importance and necessity of women’s education.

C. Using an Explicit Claim of Necessity as a Style.

Bina, Kamala, Tiny and Varam, all explicitly claim that education for women is a necessity. However each one of them, or in the case of Tiny her father, also gives a different reason for their claim. Both for Bina\textsuperscript{904} and Tiny\textsuperscript{905} it is for economic reasons if the woman has to be the main breadwinner. Kamala sees her lack of proper education causing her to limit her involvement in church activities\textsuperscript{906}. Varam\textsuperscript{907} sees her lack of higher education as a limitation in not having been able to get a good job to improve the economic status of the family.

D. Long Descriptive Style.

Jeyavathy constructs a lengthy story\textsuperscript{908} of how her father was not interested in higher education for women. She proceeds to bring out sharply the necessity of women’s education by contrasting her uncle’s attitude of support for women’s higher education with her father’s limiting the level of women’s education and also by bringing out her desire to become a graduate. Her emphasis on women’s education is brought out clearly by her own efforts for further education and the encouragement she gave to her sister.

\textsuperscript{904} Bina – E13
\textsuperscript{905} Tiny – E12
\textsuperscript{906} Kamala – E14
\textsuperscript{907} Varam – E15
\textsuperscript{908} Jeyavathy – E16

Varam’s view that a woman’s work would support or improve the living standard of their families is evidenced by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 118
Jeyam’s story is discussed in other sections but from a different perspective of the narrative construction. Here her construction of her story of her mother’s emphasis on education may be used to highlight the importance of women’s education.909

E. Financial Necessity Put Forward for Career.

In some of these narratives the storytellers put forward financial necessity as the reason for women’s work outside the home. The reason is placed as the basis of their claim and assertion. Thus Mallimalar910, Varam911, Sweety912, Jeyavathy913 and Saral914 pose financial necessity as the reason for making some women seek employment outside the home. However, they in no way subscribe to the view that these women have been unproductive in their homes. In many of these stories the woman is also in charge of the domestic responsibility. The mothers of Mallimalar and Sweety sought work outside the home to augment the family income or to help the family in a time of financial crisis. But their stories (see Chapter four section VI) about their mothers being in control and strong, do not present a picture of helplessness or weakness. Varam gives a picture of her sister being in a good position because of being a career woman. Jeyavathy also in talking about herself and her sister having been working women, portrays a picture of independence, well being and strength.

---

909 Jeyam – E17
910 Mallimalar – C13
911 Varam – C14
912 Sweety – C15
913 Jeyavathy – C16
914 Saral – C17

For Jeyavathy her career is a proof of her independence while for Sneha it is to show as in the case of her mother that her mother is a good wife and mother. On the other hand for Sweety, Varam, Sampoorna and Mallimalar the employment of their mothers showed the inability of their fathers to provide adequately for the family. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 13
The brief stories of Joy, Sampoorna and Mariam have no formal closure. These three do not have any lengthy opening also. Probably the narrators feel that their point of the importance and necessity of women’s education displayed through their experience in their parental homes is emphatically put forward in a brief manner.

Jeyavathy closes her story with the statement of her sister’s education that had enabled her sister to become a teacher. Similarly Heera also gives a closure with the success note. Both Bina and Kamala in closure emphasise the importance of women’s education. Tiny leaves it open with her father’s rationalisation for her education while Varam closes her story with her own rationalisation.

Jeyam’s story of her mother’s emphasis on women’s education is constructed with an elaborate detail of her education and closes with her successful completion of her studies culminating in her procurement of a job. These narrators may not use widely different techniques of constructing their stories of the importance of women’s education but make their point emphatically.

Each of these narratives about women’s career is wound up to a closure with a clear resolution of the problem of financial necessity by presenting the solution of women’s work. Mallimalar, Varam and Sweety in narrating about their parental homes claim that their mothers worked and brought them up. Jeyavathy does not claim any dire financial necessity. She tells her story of her sticking to her career in spite of difficulties of her husband and herself not having found work in the same place for a while. Her father-in-law also pressurised her to resign her work and go to the place of her husband’s work. She brings her story to a close highlighting the need for extra income and her family enjoying financial stability in retirement because of her
having stuck to her career. In a similar vein but with a difference Varam closes her story about her marital home with the claim that women’s career and employment would positively contribute to the family’s finance and well being. Saral’s extract about having needed to work is closed with her having procured a job, but it has a painful note of her not having been married until a late age. In one way or another these narratives claim the necessity of women’s work.

Apart from the stories of freedom and liberty these women had or in their view women should have, some narratives insist on the necessity of women’s education and career. It is not merely being free to have education and career but also the necessity to have education and career. This brings out the importance given to women’s education and career in the community of the narrators. The idea of having freedom may give room to raise the question whether these women after all should have education and career. This will raise a debate. These narrators do not want any debate or issue raised about women’s education and career. The issue of women’s education and career is settled and well established in their minds. It is necessary. There is no further question raised about that.

IV. Pattern of Glorification.

Not surprisingly, given the resolute commitment to education for women, one also finds in their narratives the glorification of education. The storytellers use this strategy to glorify or magnify or placing on a pedestal or make great or praiseworthy or commendable or good or high. The women in their narrations glorify either a person who encouraged them or the

---

915 Glorification: The story tellers use this strategy to glorify or magnify or placing on a pedestal or make great or praiseworthy or commendable or good or high.
opportunity given or the achievement. Similarly some of these narratives glorify and approve of the career of women and career women.

The stories about women’s education in this section have a general context. The core action being ‘glorification’ most of these begin with a positive note or tone. Lila\textsuperscript{916} begins with the claim of ‘no partiality, no partiality’. Amar in one extract\textsuperscript{917} begins with the interest of the husband and in another adopts a matter of fact tone\textsuperscript{918} of stating that it was the responsibility of the children to go to school regularly, learn the lessons and do the homework. Heera\textsuperscript{919}, Amar\textsuperscript{920} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{921} who glorify the interest of their mothers specifically state the interest of the mother right at the beginning. Varam, as pointed out in the previous section begins with an assertion of the necessity of women’s education\textsuperscript{922}. Saguna’s narration\textsuperscript{923} prepares the hearer for the positive construction with what happened in her childhood days while she was in school and her older brother was in college. Heera claims\textsuperscript{924} her emphasis on God’s will as the preparation for her positive construction about her daughters’ education. Lovely\textsuperscript{925} begins with a claim to a miracle in her life about how she was able to switch streams in her engineering

\textsuperscript{916} Lila – E18
\textsuperscript{917} Amar – E19
\textsuperscript{918} Amar – E20
\textsuperscript{919} Heera – E11
\textsuperscript{920} Amar – E27
\textsuperscript{921} Jeyam – E17
\textsuperscript{922} Varam – E15
\textsuperscript{923} Saguna – E21
\textsuperscript{924} Heera – E25
\textsuperscript{925} Lovely – E23
studies without any extra payment and much after the courses had begun. Mariam\textsuperscript{926} narrates her story as a response to the question about the level for women’s education\textsuperscript{927}.

Tiny’s story has no formal opening except that she begins indicating that it is about her husband\textsuperscript{928}. Saguna’s extract about her children’s education\textsuperscript{929} goes straight into the story. Saral has no elaborate beginning\textsuperscript{930}. Lacking an elaborate or specific beginning is one of the ways in which a narrator may construct the story. This may indicate the narrator’s assumption of inside knowledge of the audience or it may just be one of the various methods of construction. Narratives may not have set patterns of construction. Those who begin with similar openings may follow different methods of construction in the core of the narrative. Then the closure also may vary. Thus the storytellers may follow various trajectories of construction.

The various narrators begin their stories of glorification of career in different ways. Lila\textsuperscript{931} and Amar in her extract about her brother\textsuperscript{932} and in the one about her mother\textsuperscript{933} open with the context of career.

\textsuperscript{926} Mariam – E7

\textsuperscript{927} It should be noted that the narratives had some general contours. It was not always necessary for the researcher to prod someone to respond to a particular issue within a major area. This was one such case.

\textsuperscript{928} Tiny – E24

\textsuperscript{929} Saguna – E22

\textsuperscript{930} Saral – E26

\textsuperscript{931} Lila – C26

\textsuperscript{932} Amar – C20

\textsuperscript{933} Amar – C21
The opening of other narratives such as another extract about Amar’s brother\(^{934}\) becoming an officer in the air force, Amar’s discourse about women in high positions\(^{935}\), Amar’s extract about her children\(^{936}\) and Saral’s narratives about her husband\(^{937}\) and her daughter\(^{938}\) shows what the storyteller wants to lead into. The desired purpose of glorification of career is revealed right at the beginning.

Sneha has an elaborate description about the liberty her parents had given her\(^{939}\). Thus the beginnings are different. Jeyam’s story at the outset does not seem to have a sense of satisfaction because she begins with what she wanted to become\(^{940}\). This beginning of not having received the education that she would have desired is probably deliberately used to show her later glorification of her education.

A. Style of Explicit Statement.

The central action of ‘glorification’ in these narratives about education is made explicit without any construction that attempts to hide facts or uses a long detour through winding paths of story telling. Lila\(^{941}\) displays her emphasis on her father’s interest by repeatedly stating that he encouraged the children much. Mariam has no detail or elaborate description;

\(^{934}\) Amar – C19

\(^{935}\) Amar – C22

\(^{936}\) Amar – C24

\(^{937}\) Saral – C27

\(^{938}\) Saral – C28

\(^{939}\) Sneha – C11

\(^{940}\) Jeyam – C18

\(^{941}\) Lila – E18
but her brief affirmation about her parents allowing the children to learn up to whatever level of education they wanted and whatever course they desired, appears as glorification\textsuperscript{942}.

**B. Elaborate Narrative Style of Details.**

In two stories Amar\textsuperscript{943} has an elaborate narration of a lot of interesting details of how her husband poured his interest and effort into the education of their children. She lists his care to see that the children had enough light to study, snacks to eat while preparing late in the night for exams, helping them get the exam hall ticket, looking up their seat in the exam hall and waiting outside the exam hall for them to complete. This is done to help her achieve her construction of glorification. Saguna’s story also is a category by itself. She also provides many details\textsuperscript{944} in glorifying her school days. Similarly in her narration about her children’s education\textsuperscript{945} also she displays quite a few details of glorification such as their excellence, lack of any problem and the situation of not having to give any special coaching. This probably is a disclaimer of the parents not having had any undue worry. Varam’s story stands apart. She painstakingly lists the benefits of good education in getting a good job and faring well in life. She achieves her glorification\textsuperscript{946} with these details described in the previous sentence, of what might have been if she had had a good education. Lovely\textsuperscript{947} constructs an elaborate story with many details. She gives a detailed description of how she was able to switch courses without extra payment that the other students had to give. She painstakingly describes how within a short time she was able to score well in the final exam which high percentage she was not able

\textsuperscript{942} Mariam – E7

\textsuperscript{943} Amar – E19, E20

\textsuperscript{944} Saguna – E21

\textsuperscript{945} Saguna – E22

\textsuperscript{946} Varam – E15

\textsuperscript{947} Lovely – E23
to procure later. Her repeated use of the moralising phrase 'through prayer' helps her construction of glorification.

Jeyam uses a slightly different strategy for her career narrative. She works through her story with a detailed description of glorification\(^{948}\) not of her career initially but of her performance in school. However her closure of having procured a good job clinches the point of glorification of career.

**C. Style of Use of Some Words.**

Tiny's construction uses words\(^{949}\) such as 'much' and 'for several boys' to achieve the desired result of glorification of education. Heera also uses repeatedly words and phrases\(^{950}\) such as 'best school' and 'studied well' to achieve her construction of glorification of education of her daughters. Saral narrates how her two daughters studied well by mentioning\(^{951}\) the prized courses such as 'engineering', 'computer' and using the word 'well'.

Amar's stories about her brother's career\(^{952}\) are constructed to show the glorification by using such phrases as 'successful', 'high', 'good' and 'good salary'. Her story about her mother as a career woman\(^{953}\) is also told to reveal the 'glorification' by the use of such words as 'authority', 'hands full of money', 'boldness', 'standard decisions', 'proud to be her children', 'discipline' and 'punctual'. Amar seems to use this strategy of use of words of positive

\(^{948}\) Jeyam – C18

\(^{949}\) Tiny – E24

\(^{950}\) Heera – E25

\(^{951}\) Saral – E26

\(^{952}\) Amar – C19, C20

\(^{953}\) Amar – C21
attitude and glorification in most of her extracts in this section to build her case. In her
discourses about women in high positions\textsuperscript{954} and women who have to be helped for income
generation\textsuperscript{955} she uses words such as ‘high’, ‘influence’, ‘development of brains’, ‘respect’,
‘intelligence’, ‘beneficial’ and ‘satisfaction’ to construct her stories displaying nobleness of
women’s work. However it is strange that her story about women in high positions reveals
some ambivalence of both appreciation and also pointing to their dependency and weakness.
Similar construction of use of words is seen in Amar’s narratives\textsuperscript{956} about her children’s
career. She uses words and phrases such as ‘good’, ‘no lack’, ‘by God’s grace’, ‘successful’
and ‘being in prayer’.

Lila’s construction of the story seems to show some ambivalence of women’s career with her
mother’s insistence of the daughters becoming teachers that is a noble profession. However
naming her career of a teacher as ‘dignified’ Lila attempts to achieve her end result of
glorifying women’s career\textsuperscript{957}. Saral also has a similar construction of words that display a
positive attitude glorifying the careers of her husband\textsuperscript{958} and her daughter\textsuperscript{959}. One word she
repeatedly uses is ‘good’. Sneha’s narrative though elaborate and long also uses phrases and
terms\textsuperscript{960} such as ‘according to my taste’, ‘what I like’, ‘wide’, ‘can come up’ and ‘good’. Most

\textsuperscript{954} Amar – C22

Compare this claim of Amar with the study about women rising to the top and women CEOs in Information
Technology in the US in the study of S. Uma Devi, ‘Globalisation, Information Technology and Asian Indian
‘Women Engineers in India’, \textit{EPW}, 10Jan, 2004, pp. 193-201

\textsuperscript{955} Amar – C23

\textsuperscript{956} Amar – C24, C25

\textsuperscript{957} Lila – C26

\textsuperscript{958} Saral – C27

\textsuperscript{959} Saral – C28

\textsuperscript{960} Sneha – C12
of these women achieve their desired result of glorification of career by the use of phrases and words that give a sense of goodness, well being and satisfaction. This glorification of career tells us once again that career for women in the perspective of these women is good, liberating, making them strong, independent, contributing to family and society. It dispels any negative attitude towards career women. They are portrayed in a positive light.

D. Glorification of Mothers.

Heera\textsuperscript{961} builds her story of her mother’s interest in the education of the children by enumerating her mother’s advice, her effort for Heera to get into postgraduate studies and her zeal. Amar\textsuperscript{962} glorifies her mother’s education by giving a short oral history of how her mother studied and developed. Jeyam\textsuperscript{963} has a slightly different way of constructing her story of glorification of her mother’s effort. She emphasises the strict ways of her mother and juxtaposes it with her father’s ways of advising.

In these stories of glorification of women’s education the narrators provide definite and clear closure. The stories are neither left open nor hanging in mid air. This probably is deliberately done in order not to leave room for any question to be raised about the glorification. An assertion is made and the story is closed. That is the end. There is no contestation. Lila’s closure itself appears as part of the glorification because it is a claim to her educational achievement. Amar also ends with a claim to success attributed to the father’s interest and effort. In her second story about the education of her children she ends with a similar note of success. Heera’s claim of her mother’s interest, Amar’s story of her mother’s educational

\textsuperscript{961} Heera – E11
\textsuperscript{962} Amar – E27
\textsuperscript{963} Jeyam – E17
development and Jeyam’s story of not going for higher education because she had procured a job all have the closure of success stories. Similarly Varam’s narration, Saguna’s stories about herself and her children, Heera’s construction about her daughters and Saral’s story about her daughters all end with claims of well being. Varam’s story is not a success one in actual reality of her experience of not having had high education and of not having become a career woman, but in her projection of what might have been if she had had these opportunities. Claims such as ‘it was like that’ (Saguna), ‘not for us to boast’ (Saguna) and ‘no problem in it’ (Heera) close the construction of glorification.

The closure also may differ in detail in the different narratives about women’s career. Amar ends her construction about her mother in both the extracts with the claim that she was a disciplined lady. This claim is emphasised with repetition. Her one story about her brother and siblings is brought to a close with the end of their work life with retirement whereas her other story about her brother is closed with the glorified position he attained in his career. About her children’s career also she closes with the claim of a good position. This sense of well being is displayed in her opinion about helping single women in their income generation. Saral also closes her stories about career in her marital home with a sense of well being.

Tiny has no formal end; but her brief story of glorification of education in her marital home seems to end with a tone of emphasis and finality. Saral’s story about education of her daughters has no formal end but the brief construction puts forward the point. Mariam’s closure for her narration about education is just one word ‘yes’. But this achieves her desired end of her story. Lovely’s detailed story about her education is also firmly closed with the statement ‘That is my experience’. It has been already said how the narrators may begin,
proceed and close in various ways which is the pattern of various trajectories of construction of stories.

Sneha has quite a strange closure. Probably she wants to accentuate or sharpen her glorification of her career stating the opposite of what it might have been if she has chosen a different field. Her expression of her doubt that she might not have got a good job highlights her construction of having got a good job. Jeyam also closes in a different manner. Her claim of having got a job is the closure. This itself reveals the sense of achievement and well being used for the glorification of career.

Education and career for women is not merely allowed and insisted upon. These narratives go further. They glorify education and career opportunities for women. Both Lila and Mariam make explicit statements about how their parents encouraged them in education. Amar and Lovely have elaborate stories about the educational opportunities given to women to glorify or praise the opportunity given. Amar glorifies the career opportunities for her brother and children by using words that bring out the goodness and success. Some narrators such as Amar, Heera and Jeyam glorify the mothers who encouraged their children in education. This method of construction adds to the firmness and decisiveness of these narrators in the way they perceive the opportunities for education and career given to women in their community.

V. Stories Explaining or Justifying Educational Opportunities for Women.

One group of stories fall within the pattern of the narrators explaining or justifying the educational opportunities for themselves or their children or the lack of them. The structure of their construction contains explicit statements of explanation or justification.
Many of these stories have an opening or clearly indicate the subject matter. Some have extensive description of the context. Saguna begins to say that there was no problem in her parents educating her. But the elaboration proceeds with a ‘but’ and a description of her father having become old. She sets the stage by remembering her father’s age and claiming that he was old though she could not remember the exact age. She prepares the listener by stating that she was married off quickly. Sweety’s opening is of a different type. Her description of her having been timid and her sister having been bold may not seem to have any relationship with her story of education of women. However, this is how she begins to manoeuvre the listener into her point. Heera also describes how both – it is not made clear who these two were, whether the parents or the two daughters – were interested. This claim to have ‘interest in education’ prepares the ground for her story.

Ranjithamani also gives a good description of how many children her parents had which is necessary for her explanation given in the story. This is probably used deliberately to highlight the significance of equal opportunities for sons and daughters for education. About her son and daughter also her opening is a formal statement. Lovely’s story is elaborately constructed with a detailed description of how she switched the field of her study. Sneha’s narration is also about her choice of the field of study. She goes into detailed description of how her parents guided her. Mariam has a lengthy story. The elaborate details prepare the listener for the justification strategy used. Jeyam has an interesting story of her son being

---

964 Saguna – E28
965 Sweety – E29
966 Heera – E30
967 Ranjithamani – E31
968 Ranjithamani – E32
969 Jeyam – E35
sent to a distant school to have better educational opportunities. Though this is not about women’s education it is constructed to display the experience of women with regard to the education of their children.

A. Using an Effective Device to Justify.
In all these extracts the women narrators use the technique of explanation or justification in the main part of the story. This is the complicating action of the stories. The complicating action in the construction of the story attempts to produce a problem or dilemma which later the story teller may or may not resolve in the construction. Within this broad pattern they use different strategies. Saguna\textsuperscript{970} justifies her educational opportunity in her parental home with the fact that she had procured a first class in her first degree that led her to the undergraduate studies\textsuperscript{971}. She begins by asserting that there was no problem. But strangely she proceeds to state that because her father was old she was married off quickly. These two parts of the story seem to be contradictory or conflicting. Thus Saguna effectively uses this device to emphasise the fact that she had the opportunity for college education. The good reason given is her excellence in studies. This is the reason for her not being married off after her high school education, but having been allowed to go on for college education.

B. Switching Around Used for Justification.
Sweety’s core\textsuperscript{972} reveals why her opening is about the two different temperaments of herself and her sister. This is to portray effectively the opportunity her sister had for medical.

\textsuperscript{970} Saguna - E28

\textsuperscript{971} In the Indian educational system there was a in-between study after the high school education, which served as a preliminary to the undergraduate study in college. Colleges and not schools also administered this. This was not the undergraduate course but a preliminary course and attached to the college.

\textsuperscript{972} Sweety – E29
education while she did not want to have a professional education. Probably this is used as a disclaimer that also justifies and explains.

Heera also uses similar techniques of switching around and justifying with the use of moralising. Her story begins with the interest for her daughters to become doctors, but this is turned round to state that medical education was not what the girls had. The reason given that one girl did not get enough marks, complicates the action of the story. Heera proceeds to give a totally different explanation. The parents did not have the ‘thing’ to meet influential persons to achieve their end. This probably is a disclaimer used by Heera to achieve her story of justification. The story is woven through more twists and turns of explanations to emphasise the fact that the daughters had educational opportunity. The rationalisation provided for the second daughter not to become a doctor is that the parents did not have that ‘thing’ to see influential persons though the father was in the medical directorate. She also proceeds to state that otherwise the daughter could have got into medical education. The interesting point about Heera’s construction with many explanations is the surprising final moralising rationalisation that it was God’s will.

C. Explanations Used for Justification.

Ranjithamani’s story also has quite a few explanations. The action is the initial statement that she herself has had only primary education. But she immediately proceeds to justify it with the explanation that she could not study further because that was not her ‘cup of tea’. She also goes on to emphasise that in her parental home daughters had no problem of education. Describing how one younger sister had teacher’s training and another went on to high school.

973 Heera – E30

974 Ranjithamani – E31
brings this about. Adding that the older brother was not interested in education in his young
days brings about the complicating action. This is brought in by Ranjithamani probably to
emphasise effectively that women’s education was not a problem. She once again explains
why she did not study much. This probably is a disclaimer that is used for rationalising
because the others have studied well. Ranjithamani’s marital home also has a similar story.
She constructs the story about her daughter and son also in a similar pattern. The daughter
had no problem and the son did not want to go beyond school. This once again is the
technique of justification and rationalisation.

Lovely, Sneha and Mariam all weave elaborate explanations and rationalisation. In narrating
about how she studied computer engineering Lovely uses the device of explanations. She
begins with the switching of the field of study. The story is built by accentuating how she was
the last one to switch, that also quite late and further without giving any donation money. Her
rationalisation is expanded with the high percentage of marks she had in the first exam.
Sneha’s explanation is different. Appropriate advice and guidance given by the parents
rationalise her choice of her field of study in her story. Further this is rationalised by Sneha
by the job she has. Earlier in her story she uses this as a device. Her parental guidance is based
on their knowledge of her taste and also the career opportunity. So quite rightly their guidance
has worked well for her according to her construction of her story.
Mariam constructs her story of her further education elaborately\textsuperscript{978} using a lot of explanations and rationalisation such as her mother’s desire, her own prayer, her father’s concern and later her opportunity to study further while working. An interesting turn in her story is Mariam’s building of it by bringing in the apparent obstacles she faced after she had joined the course for further education. She was a married woman who was working and studying and also conceived while trying to hold a job and study. However she builds a success story of overcoming obstacles. These obstacles are not the same as those that I shall look at in another pattern of stories of some women. In the latter ones it will be obstacles used to obstruct women’s education. In Mariam’s story these are not obstacles to obstruct women’s education but the obstacles of practical situations that seemed to make it difficult for her to gain further education. In these analyses the difficulties enumerated by the storyteller are different from the obstruction placed by family members in the stories of some other women who construct a victim identity in their stories about women’s education.

Jeyam’s story about her son’s education\textsuperscript{979} is unlike the other stories in its content. But she builds it with the technique of explanation that in spite of the husband refusing to send the boy to a distant school, she was able to guide the decision making process. Probably she expects the listener to surmise that she sent him to a good school. The clinching explanation provided is probably the fact that she took the decision.

All these stories using various tools and strategies of justification are brought to a well-constructed end. Probably these women narrators do not want to leave any loose ends or leave the listener in doubt about the educational opportunities they, or their siblings or their children

\textsuperscript{978} Mariam – E34

\textsuperscript{979} Jeyam – E35
have had. For Saguna the closure is the successful completion of her studies. Sweety’s story ends with a reiteration of her timidity. Heera closes with a firm moralising claim to it being God’s will. For Ranjithamani the end of her story is that all her siblings have had more education. Similarly her story about her children’s education is firmly closed with her son’s refusal to go for higher education. Lovely has a simple but firm closure of stating that it was her experience of how she was able to have a professional education. Sneha brings her story to a close by emphasising the good job opportunity she has had. Jeyam’s closure is strange. It is not about education; but about the consultative pattern of decision-making. However this closure emphasises what she has already narrated about her son’s education.

Thus in these stories the women use effectively and interestingly the strategy of justifying and rationalising to make their points about their experiences of education in their parental and marital homes. The listener is probably left to conclude that women’s experiences of educational opportunities were justified and not problematic. The women experienced no discrimination against them in their desire for education. So the affirmation of women’s education is not new with this generation – it is rooted in the attitude of their parents all of whom are reported as having been encouraging and supportive. Further they experienced no discrimination in the process of education. Thus this affirmation is expressed in the school and university system. So the women are reporting not only their own identities, but their perceptions of the educational institutions of society. This type of constructing stories of justification strengthens the self perception and self construction of these narrators. It bolsters their earlier stories of freedom, necessity and glorification by adding to their perception of women’s education and career as an unquestioned or unchallenged issue.
VI. Rationalisation of Education Used as a Technique of Story Construction.

This set of stories may be considered to differ slightly from the previous group. The previous group of stories use justification by providing a good enough reason. This set uses rationalisation that is trying to find a good enough reason or a plausible reason. It may be a good enough reason according to the claims of the narrator. It may not be so in the perspective of the audience.

In this set of stories it is not difficult to recognise what these are about. Some may lack a formal description of the context or setting. Priya has an elaborate beginning of the story of how she would deal with her future children. Melody begins at a different note of her parental advice. Amar begins with the statement that there was no discrimination between herself and her sisters on the one hand and her brother on the other. This prepares the listener for what she has to say about their education. Another extract about Amar’s education begins with the rationalisation the mother offered for sending the son to college while the daughter was not sent to college because of having to spread the meagre finance over the education of all children. Tiny’s story begins with the rationalisation for women’s education. This prepares the ground for what follows.

Varam also begins with the statement of the necessity of education for women. Another extract from Varam’s story also emphasises the necessity of women’s education before she
proceeds to the fuller construction of the story of her experience. Sweety’s story described earlier in the previous section also begins with the rationale about her not having a professional education like that of her sister. Another extract from Amar’s narration describes her experience before providing the rationale. Lila just as Amar begins\textsuperscript{986} with her mother’s attitude to the education of the daughters and the son. Heera goes straight into the subject matter of her story about the education of her children. Gem’s narration\textsuperscript{987} is interesting in that it does not begin with women’s education but with a rationale for the level of education that was allowed. Ranjithamani’s two extracts have been dealt with in the previous section. One begins with a long description of the number of children in her parental home and the other begins briefly stating that she had one son and one daughter. Sneha, Swarna, Mariam and Jeya about her parental home, all have elaborate stories of their experiences of education. Sneha’s (E33) and Mariam’s (E34) have been already dealt with in the previous section. Swarna and Jeya have stories similar to some others of rationalising their experiences of having studied something different from their initial interests, which are dealt with in the section below with plausible explanation.

**A. Simple Strategy of Rationalisation.**

Priya’s claim about her future children\textsuperscript{988} is that ‘children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them’. Her rationalisation of her advice given to her future children is that by that time she would have gained experience and also that the children themselves would be willing to accept and act upon good advice. This helps her construct her story with the strategy of

\textsuperscript{986} Lila – E42

\textsuperscript{987} Gem – E43

\textsuperscript{988} priya – E36
rationalisation. Melody also provides simple rationalisation of her education, ‘But since I wasn’t interested in it, they said, ‘O.K.’ Probably this is a disclaimer.

B. Twists Used to Rationalise.

Amar’s description rationalises her mother allowing each child to do what the child desired. But this does not rationalise the story of freedom Amar probably wants to construct. So it turns out to be a story of each studying unhindered what they wanted. But there is one more twist to the story. Amar seems to rationalise cleverly her mother’s stand that she herself should take care of her higher studies. Another extract from Amar plainly states the rationalisation of the mother in not having been able to give higher education to Amar because the mother could not afford to send both the son and the daughter to college. This rationalisation does not seem to produce any conflict with the earlier statement of absence of discrimination. At this point the listener may understand why Amar opened her construction with such a statement.

C. Necessity of Education used as the Basis for Rationalisation.

Tiny’s story is constructed with different content. She also rationalises; but her experience was different. Having begun with the statement of the necessity of education for women, she switches around to provide the rationalisation of her own education that was given for the improvement of knowledge. Varam also begins her story with the claim of the necessity of education for women. However the core of her story is different. The rationalisation is that if she had been educated

989 Melody – E37
990 Amar – E38
991 Amar – E39
992 Tiny – E12
993 Varam – E15
well she could have had a good job and improved the financial position of the family. This is
totally unlike the rationalisation provided by Tiny in whose case education was not for career
opportunity.

D. Using Conflicting Statements.

Varam's one extract is interesting. She uses the technique of rationalisation\textsuperscript{994} both to defend her
younger sister who had been educated and is a career woman and also her own position of a non-
working woman without higher education. This type of conflicting statements is resolved by the
use of rationalisations. Similarly Sweety's story,\textsuperscript{995} which has been dealt with in the previous
section, uses rationalisations effectively to defend both her younger sister's higher education and
her own lack of professional education. But unlike Varam, Sweety roots her rationalisation in the
difference in temperament and not in their family situation.

E. Plausible Explanations Used for Rationalisation.

Another set of stories of rationalisation come from Amar\textsuperscript{996}, Lila\textsuperscript{997}, Heera\textsuperscript{998}, Gem\textsuperscript{999},
Swarna\textsuperscript{1000} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{1001} in that some sort of plausible explanation is given for not having been
able either to get the type of education they wanted or the level up to which they wanted to be
educated. Ranjithamani's two stories have been dealt with in the previous section. She

\textsuperscript{994} Varam – E40
\textsuperscript{995} Sweety – E29
\textsuperscript{996} Amar – E41
\textsuperscript{997} Lila – E42
\textsuperscript{998} Heera – E30
\textsuperscript{999} Gem – E43
\textsuperscript{1000} Swarna – E44
\textsuperscript{1001} Jeyam – E17
rationalises\textsuperscript{1002} the lack of much education in her own experience and in the case of her son with the reason of not having the interest. Sneha\textsuperscript{1003}, Mariam\textsuperscript{1004} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{1005} with respect to her son's education as seen in the previous section provide stories of rationalisation for having achieved what they wanted.

In each of these stories the narrator has a definite closure with the rationalisation firmly established. There seems to be a sense of achievement either of the point of their stories or their own achievement of educational experience in life. The rationalisations do not seem to allow any further questioning or discussion. From these stories one may find that having narrated stories of women's education and career that display freedom, insist on them as a necessity and glorify them, they are also careful to justify and rationalise any possible point that may raise a question, debate or challenge.

\textbf{VII. Achiever Identity.}

Jeyavathy's story about her and her sister's education may be considered from many angles of construction. One way to look at her story is to look at her construction of an identity of an achiever of success. Jeyavathy's story opens\textsuperscript{1006} with her father's negative attitude towards women's education. He is depicted as one who did not approve of women's higher education. For him it is sufficient for women to have some basic education.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1002} Ranjithamani – E31, E32
\item \textsuperscript{1003} Sneha – E33
\item \textsuperscript{1004} Mariam – E34
\item \textsuperscript{1005} Jeyam – E35
\item \textsuperscript{1006} Jeyavathy – E16
\end{itemize}

242
Jeyavathy's story does not end with the negative note. She proceeds to construct her story of achievement\(^{1007}\). She goes right to the root of the whole matter. Her uncle had sent his daughters to college. This in Jeyavathy's story becomes the source of her desire and encouragement. Her cousins were her role models. She aspired to be educated just as they were. Thus she proceeds with her story of success brought by self-effort and perseverance. She narrates how she had made herself a graduate and a trained teacher. She does not stop with her achievement. Her story of success is constructed to narrate the positive change in her father's interest in the education of the daughters. This is not the end of the story. There is more to come. Jeyavathy constructs a story of success and achievement by narrating how she encouraged her sister to become a trained teacher. The forcefulness with which she narrates the story does not seem to give any space for any question to be raised. However her sister having become a trained teacher without becoming a graduate teacher raises the question whether the father was initially negative towards women's higher education or higher education that may lead his daughters to become career women. This question is neither raised nor answered. However this is not problematic for Jeyavathy.

Jeyavathy closes her story with a sense of achievement and success. Both she and her sister have become trained teachers. Her desire to become a graduate looking at the model of her cousins has been fulfilled. Thus the story is closed with a sense of well-being. From this construction of an achiever identity, the listener may surmise that these women who perceive freedom in their educational and career opportunities, justify, explain and rationalise any point that may raise questions. Further some like Jeyavathy construct an achiever identity that portrays overcoming, freedom and success.

\(^{1007}\) Jeyavathy – E16
VIII. Contrast used for Identity Construction in Stories about Career.

One group of narratives reveals the women's identity construction by using some pattern of contrast. The narrator may construct a different identity in each. However, the structure falls within the area of identity construction.

There are five stories about career by Lita in which she uses the strategy of contrast to construct the identity. Four of these are from her career and one from the situation of the career of her daughter-in-law. Each clearly begins with the indication of the context of career\textsuperscript{1008}. There is no ambiguity about this.

In her first extract about her workplace Lita draws the contrast\textsuperscript{1009} that it was a boys' school with her being one of the five women teachers among seventy teachers. She draws the contrast between the men and the women teachers. In the second extract she constructs the contrast between the other teachers who felt suppressed and herself\textsuperscript{1010} to whom the others turned in their time of need. The next extract\textsuperscript{1011} contains some short pieces of contrast. The first contrast Lita draws is between the women teachers who kept quiet while leaving the decision making task to the men teachers. The same bit contains a contrast between the earlier period and the later period. Lita's identity of a person who was not just following the men teachers is brought about in this contrast between the earlier and the later periods. She also constructs the contrast between herself and other women teachers. Through these contrasts she constructs her identity though she has a disclaimer that she was not a revolutionist. The final contrast is

\textsuperscript{1008} Lita – C29, C30, C31, C32, C33

\textsuperscript{1009} Lita – C29

\textsuperscript{1010} Lita – C30

\textsuperscript{1011} Lita – C31
between the other women teachers who stayed behind without taking part in decision making and herself who incurred some difficulties in stepping forward to assert her rights. The identity she constructs for herself is of a person independent, responsible, bold and taking charge. The fourth story about her workplace is narrated with the contrast drawn between men and women. She effectively draws the contrast between men and women projected by others and her own view of not having any discrimination or bias. Her last story about her attitude to the profession of her daughter-in-law is drawn with the contrast between her initial attitude and her support, the contrast between another role model of the same profession and her daughter-in-law. The other was a spinster while her daughter-in-law was a married woman. She contrasts her admiration of the appreciated role model with her ambiguous attitude towards her daughter-in-law taking up the same profession. In all these stories she constructs her own identity using pieces of contrast.

Lita having constructed her identity closes these stories with a claim. In the first one she claims that the situation she had narrated existed in an earlier period of her career. The second extract closes with how she had established her identity in her school. The next story closes with a short piece that appears to be victimisation. The fourth extract is drawn to a close with an assertion based on her identity. The last one about her attitude to the profession of her daughter-in-law ends with a positive claim of support to her daughter-in-law. Thus Lita uses contrasts to construct her identity of a strong person. Lita’s stories about her career and her attitude to the career of her daughter-in-law bring out the sense of achievement, strength, success, acceptance and liberation in effectively using contrast. These women know and have

1012 Lita – C32
Lita’s narratives attest the reference of Derne that some women openly subvert gender expectations, Derne, 1995, p. 17

1013 Lita – C33
experienced some obstacles; but they have overcome and achieved. In their minds there is no question about women's career or career women. This is the picture they want to project to the audience about themselves and other women in their community.

IX. Identity Construction.

Several storytellers have narratives that construct the identity of career women. Each narrative has a definite opening and context setting that provide the background for the later identity construction the narrator is achieving. Lita speaks of her situation\(^{1014}\) of both she and her husband being career persons when she and her husband began the family. Sweety contrasts\(^{1015}\) the different temperaments of herself and her younger sister. Speaking of her parental home she also begins with the family of her parents\(^{1016}\). Bina's extract may also be seen from a different perspective of narrative structure. It opens\(^{1017}\) straightaway with the issue of women's career. Jeyavathy\(^{1018}\) begins her narrative with her desire to become a teacher that prepares the listener for what is to follow. Lita speaking of the profession of her daughter-in-law\(^{1019}\), without explicitly naming the profession, prepares the listener with the clear opening statement of her difficulty in accepting that particular profession for her daughter-in-law. Heera constructs her story about her daughters with the context of the interest\(^{1020}\) that they had to take up the study of medicine. Varam\(^{1021}\) constructs the identity of her younger sister with

\(^{1014}\) Lita – C34
\(^{1015}\) Sweety – C35
\(^{1016}\) Sweety – C15
\(^{1017}\) Bina – C36
\(^{1018}\) Jeyavathy – C39
\(^{1019}\) Lita – C32
\(^{1020}\) Heera – C37
\(^{1021}\) Varam – C38
her sister’s education. Saral opens her stories of identity construction with an elaborate description of the context of her career in two places. Sneha describes her attitude to her being a workingwoman as the opening for her identity construction. Mariam and Jeyam also have lengthy stories of their identities as career women beginning with the start of their career lives.

A. Claims of Equality Identity.

Lita constructs an identity of a workingwoman displaying ‘equality’ with her husband. She claims that because both she and her husband were career people there was ‘equality’. In the perspective of Lita the equalising base for the husband and herself was their identity of being career people.

B. Contrasting Identities.

Sweety narrates a story of contrasting identities of her younger sister and herself. She was timid while the sister was bold and good at studies. Another positive point is built on to the identity of her sister who became a career woman – a professional. Sweety’s story of her mother as a career woman is built with the mother’s identity of taking charge while the father did not take much care of the family.

1022 Saral – C40, C17
1023 Sneha – C12
1024 Mariam – C41
1025 Jeyam – C42
1026 Lita – C34
1027 Sweety – C35
1028 Sweety – C15
Bina’s story\textsuperscript{1029} constructs an identity of a career woman who faces problems. Her envisioning of a non-career woman also has a clear identity of an educated woman who follows God’s pattern. Her education will help the woman stand on her own feet if there is a necessity to use the education to procure employment. In Bina’s view God has created the man to earn and the women to take care of the home. When we break this pattern there is a hitch. If the woman takes care of the domestic responsibilities she does not have to depend upon domestic help and will avoid the hitch that arises when both the husband and the wife return from work tired. She is also capable of standing on her own feet when necessary.

Heera constructs\textsuperscript{1030} the identity of her two daughters who instead of becoming doctors as they might have done according to their initial interest had become women of some other career. The story rationalises the identities constructed. The identity of Varam’s younger sister is an educated working woman who is ill treated by her husband. This Varam contrasts\textsuperscript{1031} with her own identity of one who has not been highly educated and hence not having had the opportunity to be a career woman, but still having peace.

C. Identities of Particular Professions.

Jeyavathy describes\textsuperscript{1032} how her interest for her younger sister helped her to create an identity of a teacher. Lita’s story\textsuperscript{1033} of her initial difficulty of her accepting the identity of her

\textsuperscript{1029} Bina – C36
Bina’s claim that it is difficult to combine professional work and mother’s role is supported by Alfred de Souza in his book, 1975, p. xviii.

\textsuperscript{1030} Heera – C37

\textsuperscript{1031} Varam – C38

\textsuperscript{1032} Jeyavathy – C39

\textsuperscript{1033} Lita – C33
daughter-in-law in her profession of an ordained minister is rationalised with her construction of the identity of another person of the same profession.

D. Faith Claims Used for Identity Construction of a Career Woman.

Saral’s stories have many details with how she was asked to move to where her parents were in order for them to look for a bridegroom, her and her sister coming to Madras and how God’s grace kept her and her sister in a hostel in Pune. They are quite descriptive. Her construction of an identity of a workingwoman living in a hostel1034 is built on the positive image of not having become wayward. In her story she attributes this to God’s care and protection. In another extract she builds1035 the identity of a woman who was victimised by having been forced to take up a career. But her procuring a job is attributed once again to God’s grace.

E. Descriptive Details Used in Identity Construction.

The stories of Sneha, Mariam and Jeyam are lengthy and detailed with much description. Sneha1036 constructs her vision of her identity in her future marital home – she projects an image of a working woman who wants to pattern her life following the role model of her mother who is a career woman also taking care of domestic responsibilities. Her story proceeds with more aspects of the identity construction – a woman with financial independence who will combine the many roles of a good wife, career woman and caring mother balancing everything. Mariam constructs her identity of a workingwoman1037 who also

1034 Saral – C40
1035 Saral – C17
1036 Sneha – C12
1037 Mariam – C41
took up further studies while having been married and expecting a child. Jeyam’s identity construction\textsuperscript{1038} winds through her initial efforts to get a job, joining work in a Christian place, more efforts taken to get some other job and final staying on in the work she had first taken up.

Most of these stories of identity construction have a clear and definite closure. Lita ends her own identity construction with a firm claim to equality. Sweety projects herself as a timid fearful person. On the other hand she describes her mother as one who took care of the family while the father was not taking much care. Bina’s identity construction of a career woman drawn from her experience as a career woman closes with a clear statement of her opinion that career should be only a standby for emergency. Jeyavathy’s positive picture of her younger sister who was a teacher is completed with a note of successful career life and retirement. Lita’s story of the identity of her daughter-in-law having wound through various stages ends with her claim to have been supportive of her daughter-in-law. The story of Heera’s two daughters who did not become medical doctors however ends with a positive claim of Heera leaving everything to God’s will. Varam constructing her sister’s identity with both positive and negative aspects closes with her own identity of a person having peace. Saral in her stories about her career displays clear construction of positive identity. Sneha closes her long story of the construction of her identity as a married woman with a career and also being a caring mother with her expectation of mutual understanding and cooperation. Mariam’s story also ends with a sense of having built a positive identity. Jeyam also having narrated her story of establishing her career closes with the identity of a person wanting to be truly teaching in the Sunday school with a sense of being ‘in the Lord’. These narrators in constructing their identities of being career women display identities of equality, strength, freedom, being persons

\textsuperscript{1038} Jeyam – C42
of faith and success. These add to and strengthen their perception and portrayal women’s
career and career women in their community.

X. Stories Constructed with Victim Identity.
From stories with constructions of various positive identities I turn to stories of specific victim
identity. Some narrate stories of possible or apparent victimisation in the area of education of
women with respect to either the type or the level or purpose of education. Some narrators
have stories of their being victims or having been victimised because of their career or their
wanting to be career women. This pattern is dealt with separately and not with the pattern of
identity construction of some other women.

The various narrators use a variety of openings to set the context. Flora\textsuperscript{1039} in speaking of
education for her children begins with a positive note. Varam\textsuperscript{1040} also in constructing her
identity in contrast to her sister’s begins with a positive note.

Heera in a strange manner begins\textsuperscript{1041} with explanations of her spiritual situation of not having
been ‘in the Lord’ at the time of the beginning of her story about her career and her career
advancement. Mariam’s story of working and also enrolling for higher education while being
a married woman is a story of both achievement and victimisation with descriptive
explanation of how she enrolled for higher education while being a working woman and
married, also conceived after the enrolment and completed her higher education while having

\textsuperscript{1039} Flora – E47
\textsuperscript{1040} Varam – E40
\textsuperscript{1041} Heera – C44
a child, being a married woman having domestic responsibilities and a career woman holding a job. It begins with her claim of following God’s will.

Jeyavathy explicitly states that it is about women’s education. Most of these identity constructors begin with a description of the background or context about career. Only Sweety in her narrative about the general situation of both the husband and the wife working stops with just a short statement about the main point indicating that she is talking about career. Sweety in her story about her mother specifies that she is talking about her parental home. Saral in her stories about her career gives elaborate description of the background of her parental home.

Both Amar in describing the struggles of women in education and Flora in speaking of her parental home go straight into the subject matter of their construction of victim identity in the area of women’s education.

Bina begins with her claim about career. Lita also has the opening sentence making a claim of negative feelings. Heera begins in two extracts with a disclaimer. Varam’s extract

1042 Mariam – C41
1043 Jeyavathy – E16
1044 Sweety – C46
1045 Sweety – C15
1046 Saral – C43, C40, C17
1047 Amar – E46
1048 Flora – E45
1049 Bina – C36
1050 Lita – C33
does not initially seem to be about victimisation of her sister\textsuperscript{1052}. Thus building the context helps these women to move towards the main point of their stories.

A. Pathos used for Construction.

It is strange that Flora\textsuperscript{1053} who begins with a positive note suddenly switches over to a different note. She begins with the claim that she put her children in a Christian school as she desired and did everything placing it at the feet of God. While the listener is giving ear to this story with a sense of peace and satisfaction, Flora with no warning or caution suddenly brings in the lack of her husband's love and cooperation in her marital home. This construction of a victim identity jolts the listener into listening. Flora constructs the identity more painfully and sharply by referring to the same situation in her parental home.\textsuperscript{1054} This sharpens the pain created by the victim identity. Her construction in the other extract about her parental home is sharp all through. She bluntly begins with the lack of maternal interest she had experienced from her mother. She proceeds to deepen the pain of the victim identity by further points. She feels victimised that she and her siblings had to study in a government school that is not highly prized. Further she was not further educated after the completion of schooling. Her recognising that it was not only the daughters but also the sons who were victimised by a denial of good education heightens her sense of victimisation. Denial of freedom and lack of interest in the total development of the children all are mentioned to contribute to the construction of the victim identity.

\textsuperscript{1051} Heera – C45, C37

\textsuperscript{1052} Varam – C38

\textsuperscript{1053} Flora – E47

\textsuperscript{1054} Flora – E45
B. Description used to build Victimisation.

Jeyavathy's story of her parental home has been already dealt with to bring out a different pattern of construction. Her story about her educational opportunity has been dealt with from the perspective of construction of an achiever identity above in section VII. In this section the same story is seen from the perspective of construction of victim identity. From the perspective of what Jeyavathy achieved in procuring higher education it is a contraction of achiever identity; but from the viewpoint of the initial negative attitude of her father towards women's higher education it is a construction of victim identity. Her construction of the story of victimisation in the area of education\textsuperscript{1055} begins with her father's attitude towards women's education. This is accentuated by her detailed description of how she had to take every effort for going to college and her father neither had interest nor gave any help.

Amar's construction of a victim identity is not her's. She has a story\textsuperscript{1056} of victim identity of women. She begins with no elaborate opening, but goes straight into the identity construction of women who want to be educated or have professional education. With elaborate details she constructs the story of how it is a great struggle to get into a professional course, the special coaching to be given, the money that has to be spent even for the preparation and the uncertainty of procuring a seat in spite of the time, effort and money spent. She proceeds to make the identity sharper and sharper by stating that it is huge expense for the parents, then the girls become a burden for the parents and there is no other way to solve the problems. Thus Amar in describing the situation of education for women constructs a sharp victim identity.

\textsuperscript{1055} Jeyavathy – E16

\textsuperscript{1056} Amar – E46

254
Saral’s three extracts of her victim identity are quite elaborate. The context of victimising parental home situation elaborates the stories. In the first her identity is one of a person having to educate herself while working and also not having control over her income. In the second one the victimisation is that of a young woman left to fend for herself staying in a hostel with the possible danger of becoming wayward. Her third story is quite sharp. The victimisation comes from the stepmother who drives her to find some work to bring in some financial support. Mariam’s construction of her victim identity is also elaborate and is dealt with in various sections from different perspectives of identity construction with descriptive details in the section above. Her victimisation arises from her having to enrol for higher studies while working and also being overloaded with the pressure of having become a pregnant woman with a double shift of studies plus family responsibilities added to her career.

C. Explanations given for Victimisation.

Heera constructs her story of one phase of her career being a victimising experience for her because of her health having been affected by overwork. She gives elaborate explanations. Sweety also gives explanation of her mother’s victimisation of having had to work because of financial necessity though her explanation is not as elaborate as Heera’s. Bina paints a picture of victimisation of herself and women with the double shift. Her explanation rests on her claim that God has created the woman to take care of the home with the domestic role.

---

1057 Saral – C43
1058 Saral – C40
1059 Saral – C17
1060 Mariam – C41
1061 Heera – C44
1062 Sweety – C15
1063 Bina – C36
Just as Heera does she also gives elaborate explanations drawing from her own experience of she and her husband both doctors could not give much time to child care when her children were young.

Lita’s story is not a construction of victim identity for her daughter-in-law but of herself in not having been able to accept the profession of an ordained minister her daughter-in-law had chosen. She also steers her construction through elaborate explanation. However much of her explanation is implicit and not explicit. She does not name the profession of her daughter-in-law nor indicate why she found it difficult to accept it in the beginning. Heera constructs a story of victim identity for her two daughters who had not been able to become doctors according to their interest. How she rationalises and trivialises has been already seen in an earlier section. She also builds a victim identity of women with a double shift in her claim of her advice given to her students. It is interesting to note how she excuses her experience by contrasting it with that of other women. Varam’s sister is seen as a victim of a harsh spouse with the depth of victimisation accentuated with her having no financial independence in spite of the position she was holding. Sweety’s claim brings out the victim identity of working women who find it difficult when both the spouses are working by simply stating without much explanation that it is difficult when both spouses work. She must be thinking of the situation in which the woman has to continue to bear the burden of the responsibility for housework while the man is unable to give much help.

1064 Lita – C33
1065 Heera – C37
1066 Heera – C45
1067 Varam – C38
1068 Sweety – C46
D. Contrast used to bring out the Victimisation.

Varam\textsuperscript{1069}, like Flora, begins her construction about her marital home with a positive note. However soon the listener finds that the story is one of victimisation. Though Varam highlights the positive benefit of her sister’s education and employment, she quickly narrates the story of victimisation. Varam constructs the victim identity of her sister who has no financial freedom and is treated like a slave. Varam brings out the depth of pain by stating that in her parental home only her sister was further educated and she is the one who suffers at present. She proceeds to construct the identity more sharply by drawing the contrast between her and her sister. Strangely she also claims that her educated sister is victimised by being oppressed without having financial freedom, while she without much education has peace. Her closure indicates the reason for the situation that is her finding peace though she is not highly educated and employed. Thus these stories display victimisation due to situational factors and due to the treatment given by somebody in the family.

Flora closes her two stories differently. Her story about the victimisation of the children in her parental home ends with the painful note that the mother had no interest in their development. Amar’s story of the education of women similar to the story of Flora about her parental home ends on a negative tone. Her construction of a victim identity for women who want to be professionally trained closes on a dark note of hopelessness. Sweety’s statement about the double shift of workingwomen ends with just one word meaning ‘it is difficult’. Saral’s stories of the victim identity of herself all close with a painful note showing that she and her sisters were ‘helpless’; her parents did not make any effort to look for a husband for her and her colleagues in school enquired about her not having been married at such a late age.

\textsuperscript{1069} Varam – C38
In her story about her marital home, Flora closes by contrasting her care for the children and her trust in God with her husband’s lack of love and cooperation. Similarly Jeyavathy also has a positive closure. Having begun to construct a victim identity in her parental home in the area of education of daughters, she ends with a positive picture of the father’s interest in her education and her and her sister’s success. Varam also has a similar closure of bringing out a positive point. She contrasts her life with the victimised sister and claims that her peace comes from her trust in God. Heera’s story of her own experiences in her career closes with and without a sense of having been a victim. She feels a victim of having had a heavy load of work while her health had not been good; but she also works around this in describing how the sisters in her work place were quite understanding and gave her religious and spiritual support with prayers and sharing. She also adds that she had all convenience and did not have to struggle like some workingwomen with a career and the domestic responsibilities.

Similarly Sweety’s story about her mother ends with a sense of a strong person taking care of everything. Bina also trivialises her construction about working women with the claim of this being her opinion. Lita does not explain away or trivialise but closes with the claim of a positive supportive role for her daughter-in-law who is an ordained priest. Heera closes her story about her daughters with a positive moralising claim of her leaving everything to God’s will. Her advice to her students ends with a severe warning and caution about the victim identity she has built about women with a double shift. Varam does not turn around her construction as some others have done but closes with a positive identity of her contrasted with the victim identity of her sister. Just as some other stories Mariam’s story also ends with a positive claim of her having successfully completed her higher education with God’s help. Thus these stories of construction of victim identity end either in a positive or in a negative
tone after the storyteller constructs the main core of the story that attempts to portray a victim identity.

The narratives in this section are seen from the perspective of construction of victim identity. This may seem to produce a negative picture. But in each of these stories narrative strategies are used for construction to bring out some positive note in the end. Flora while speaking about the lack of love and care of her husband constructs a story of her having taken charge of the care of their children. Varam in portraying the victimisation of her sister by her sister's husband, brings out the peace and content she and her husband have in spite of having limited education. Heera constructs a story of victim identity in her earlier years of career, but brings out the positive perspective of her career advancement and the support of the religious sisters. Mariam in narrating about her enrolling for higher education while being a married woman brings out a story of achievement in how she was able to complete her higher education according to God's will. These narrators may use the tools of pathos, description, explanation and contrast to construct their stories of victim identity; but, they also through these reject, explain away or trivialise the victim identity. On the other hand there may be constructions of positive identities.

XI. Narratives That Show Disapproval or Restriction of Women's Career.

Some stories about women's career are constructed to display disapproval or restriction of women's career. These women construct stories of emphatic disapproval of women's career\(^{1070}\) either explicitly or implicitly.

In each of these stories of disapproval or restriction the narrator begins with either an outright

\(^{1070}\) Shashi Jain also notes that there is still the notion that women should not work. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 221
statement of disapproval or restriction or a situation of limitation that is used to lead into the story. Joy begins\textsuperscript{1071} with her statement of restriction that they have to follow the culture in the choice of career.

Lila\textsuperscript{1072} has an ambiguous beginning as shown in the next sentence. Is she valorising her combining career and studies, or is she preparing the listener for the restriction that follows later?

Amar in her expressing of her opinion of women in high position intertwines ambivalence, restriction, disapproval and glorification. This going back and forth between two positions is explicit in her opening statement itself\textsuperscript{1073}. Speaking of herself in her parental home she begins\textsuperscript{1074} with the restriction. Amar’s story about her younger daughter has a lengthy beginning\textsuperscript{1075} of aspiration, preparation and limitations faced which give no clue to what follows in the main story that is later constructed about her younger daughter’s education and career. Jeyam’s narrative begins\textsuperscript{1076} with a detailed description of the limitation and the glorification that prepares the listener partially for the story to follow. Thus these women may or may not explicitly produce the context of their stories in their opening.

\textsuperscript{1071} Joy – C47
\textsuperscript{1072} Lila – C26
\textsuperscript{1073} Amar – C22
\textsuperscript{1074} Amar – C48
\textsuperscript{1075} Amar – C49
\textsuperscript{1076} Jeyam – C18
A. Disapproval of Some Careers.

Joy's story\(^{1077}\) of a career that is not following the culture and disapproval of some types of work is a lengthy interaction of questions and responses. However she is quite clear that certain careers are not approved. This is displayed by the repeated use of such phrases as 'modelling', 'they get spoiled' and 'they go out of track'.

B. Disapproval of some and Glorification of some others.

Lila is also quite explicit in her narration of what type of jobs was not approved by her mother for the daughters\(^ {1078}\). In the course of this construction she also brings out the pattern of glorification of some type of career such as the teaching profession for women. Amar in her narrative about women in high positions\(^ {1079}\) repeatedly emphasises the limitations and disapproval while also glorifying them. She brings in many points such as the backing of men being essential and the delicate nature of women that she also attributes to God's creation. She attributes the limitation of women not being as powerful as men and being vulnerable and helpless in some situations, to a lower position of women, and attributes women attaining prominence and eminence in high positions to the backing of men folk and the possibility of having climbed up the ladder upon the shoulders of men.

\(^{1077}\) Joy – C47
Alfred de Souza also notes the idea that only certain jobs are 'respectable' or suitable for women, de Souza, 1975, p. 16; compare this with Joy's narrative and Amar's, C

\(^{1078}\) Lila – C26

\(^{1079}\) Amar – C22
C. Providing a Rationale.

Unlike the story of Lila, Amar's story\textsuperscript{1080} of the restriction her mother placed upon her career was not a point of noble work, but of the family's financial situation and the necessity to educate the son well. This construction of restriction and limitation is founded squarely upon a rationale. Similarly her story about her younger daughter is also woven skilfully to rationalise the restriction and limitation\textsuperscript{1081}. Jeyam's story\textsuperscript{1082} of her not opting for her earlier much-dreamt-of career of becoming a college professor is also much rationalised to display the limitation and also the glorification of her final procurement of a job. The skilfully woven stories are also closed well.

Joy closes her story with an agreement to women taking up not any career but a career that is not against the culture as she stated in her opening. Thus Joy produces a well-rounded narrative. Lila also closes with a positive note but one of glorifying some career while displaying her mother's disapproval of some types of career. Amar in her description of the situation of women in high position such as being a prime minister or a managing director of a company emphatically closes with her claim of limitation. Her story of her own career is also brought to an end of what she became under the limitation. A similar well-constructed story about her younger daughter is brought to a close with what career she entered into. Jeyam's story is also similar to those narrated by Amar about her career and that of her younger daughter. Jeyam brings her story to a closure of glorification though she began it with some reservation and limitation. In these stories of limitation and disapproval either the story is

\textsuperscript{1080} Amar – C48
Compare this with what Shashi Jain notes about middle class families having limited means and so the education of the male child taking precedence. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62

\textsuperscript{1081} Amar – C49
Shashi Jain also notes that the teaching profession is preferred for the daughters. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62. Compare this with what Amar says about her parental and marital homes.

\textsuperscript{1082} Jeyam – C18
constructed to display it explicitly and clearly or it is displayed with some twists and turns of narration intertwined with glorification. In the end the narrators however attempt to portray perceptions of strength, freedom, well being and goodness.

XII. Pattern of Complete Disapproval of Women Working.

There is a distinct group of narratives in which the women display the disapproval of either themselves or someone in the family towards women’s career or women who work. Various strategies are used to justify their stance. This is a total disapproval of career for women unlike the attitude dealt with in the previous section in which it was the construction of disapproval of either the type of work or the level of work or some such partial ambivalence towards women’s career or career women.

Bina emphatically opens her narration of her opinion and experience with the claim of disapproval of career for women. Tiny, Sweety and Gem set the stage for the disapproval of the father or the husband with clarification. Sweety’s other narrative is quite strange. She has only one sentence about the difficulty of workingwomen. It is ambiguous whether she is expressing her own disapproval or just stating the explicit difficulty of the situation. The context is clear from the first word ‘work’.

A. Details Provided to Justify.

Bina is the only one who has an elaborate narration of her main point. She moves in her story from her opinion to God’s creation to her own experience of having been a career woman. She goes into great detail about the workingwoman having to depend upon the domestic help, not being able to take care of the family well and having to face the difficulty of double shift.
B. Rationalisation Style.

Tiny, Sweety and Gem in their constructions display the disapproval and rationalise the disapproval. For Tiny\textsuperscript{1083} it was the father who educated her just for the sake of improvement of knowledge and not for becoming a workingwoman. This rationalises the fact that Tiny's father disapproved of career for women. For Sweety\textsuperscript{1084} the disapproval comes from her husband. She is quite explicit in stating that he did not like women working. However this disapproval of women's career is rationalised by the statement that they had enough to eat though it was only one person's income. Gem\textsuperscript{1085} rationalises her husband's disapproval of her being a workingwoman with the fact that he did not like it because they were in North India. There is no further explanation given. It is left to the listener to surmise the reason. Sweety in another extract\textsuperscript{1086} makes a statement of the difficulty of both the husband and the wife working. The question may be raised whether she expects the listener to conclude that this is disapproval or whether she leaves it open for the listener to make any conclusion. However this story is not a construction of a positive outright approval of women's career.

Bina's story of emphatic statements is brought to a modest closure of her claiming it to be her view. The stories of Tiny, Sweety and Gem have a firm closure of disapproval of career for women with explicit rationalisations. Similarly Sweety's expression about the difficulty faced by career women is also firmly closed with the emphatic statement of the difficulty. These women construct stories of emphatic disapproval of women's career\textsuperscript{1087} either explicitly or

\textsuperscript{1083} Tiny – C50

\textsuperscript{1084} Sweety – C51

Sweety’s claim that her husband did not want her to work similar to that of Gem has parallels with Derne’s observation that most of the upper middle class men did not want their wives to work. Derne, 1995, p. 4

\textsuperscript{1085} Gem – C52

\textsuperscript{1086} Sweety – C46; see also P. Caplan, 1985, p. 85

\textsuperscript{1087} Shashi Jain also notes that there is still the notion that women should not work. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 221
implicitly. But these do not seem to detract from their perception of freedom, strength, well
being and satisfaction, because these are balanced with the other stories of freedom, approval
and identities of strength, achievement and success.

CONCLUSION.
Thus the various stories about women's education and career are narrated using several
different techniques. The women construct their narratives using the strategies of taking for
granted or assuming to be the cultural norm, claims of necessity, glorification, explanation,
justification, rationalisation, constructing achiever identity, identity construction, construction
of victim identity, restriction and complete disapproval. These reveal the perspectives and
attitudes of these women about women's education and career.

Several claim that education for women is taken for granted and women enjoy freedom and
liberty as to the type or level of education. In the case of women's career there does not seem
to be such an outright claim of women's work being taken for granted with freedom and
liberty. At the same time some women experience no restriction or disapproval of their being
career women. However where there is a seeming lack of freedom and liberty it may be
rationalised, justified or explained. On the other hand there is also a view that only some types
of education or career are appropriate for women. This view of women choosing some type of
education or career may be glorified.

As for the level of education for women while there seems to be no restriction on the one
hand, there may be some limitation on the other. This may be explained with the situation of
the family or other constraints such as the financial position of the family. In such cases
priority may be given to the education of men that may be narrated in such a way that there is
no explicit gender discrimination or it may not be attributed to any gender bias or differential treatment. There are instances of some limitations or restrictions placed on women’s education. The women may accept this and rationalise or overcome the obstacle and gain an achiever identity.

In cases of an outright obstacle the women may perceive and construct a victim identity. This construction of a victim identity is part of assuming that education and career is a legitimate expectation that is illegitimately denied. But there are indications or pointers either in the same story or in another story that the victimisation either is not accepted or inverted. Flora’s story of victimisation through the lack of care of her mother and her husband is narrated with the strength of her taking charge of the children’s education and nurture. Amar’s discourse about the victimisation of girls trying to get into professional courses has to be seen against the educational situation of any child wanting to get into a professional course. Whether it is a male or female the rules of the game are same – lots of money spent on coaching, much money given as donation to get a seat and not procuring an adequate job. Her story has to be seen against the other stories about education and career she narrates. These display strength and freedom. Saral’s story about victimisation of having to work also has the inversion that God protected her and she readily procured a job in Chennai when she had to come to Chennai to be with her father and stepmother. Her stories about the education and career of her two daughters display satisfaction, strength and well being. Though these stories may be interpreted as stories of victimisation in the end there is rejection, inversion, negotiation or circumventing of the victimisation.

In the case of women’s work one finds women who have become breadwinners of the family or have taken up work to contribute to the family income. Unlike with women’s experience of
education there is some outright disapproval of women’s work. This also has its rationalisation. Some women feel victimised in having been forced to work while some others feel victimisation in not being allowed to work. There is a clear recognition of the problem of the double shift of working women. While the problem is recognised it does not seem to alter the gender role allocation. On the other hand it makes some opt for not taking up work or to advocate a domestic role for women.

The identity of who a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai is at the turn of the millennium is built up through these narrative constructions which contributes to the overall aim of this research to uncover the self perception and self construction of these women. Once again their self perceptions and self construction do not fit the academic discussions as seen in the literature review in chapter two. Further it is noted that the experiences of these women cannot be placed in well-defined slots or boxes of academic discussion. See the footnote at the end of section II of this chapter for the portrayal of women’s education and career in the books about Indian gender studies. These are also found in chapter two. These books describe that women do not have the freedom for education and career. But in this chapter on education and career the women of the sample group describe themselves as having freedom of education and career. This may be seen in the stories found in section II of this chapter.

Having looked at the aspects of education and career for women in this chapter, I move to consider issues of religious discourse in the next chapter. The identity these women are constructing of a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai at the turn of the millennium has several areas or aspects or facets. So far I have considered their identity in the family through their perceptions of spousal relationship and treatment of children. I have also analysed the construction of identity in who a woman is in the area of the opportunities she has or does not
have with respect to education and career. The identity of a woman has aspects in the areas of family, religion and society. For a Christian woman her religion and her religious activities or involvement in church are very important. The identity of any woman is shaped significantly by her religion or the religion of her community. So the narratives of religious discourse are analysed which comprise both the experiences and the views of the narrators. These are also found to be their responses or reactions to the issues raised in the focus groups. So having looked at the aspects of education and career for women in this chapter, I move to consider issues of religious discourse in the next chapter because religion and religious activities shape the identity of its adherents significantly.
CHAPTER SIX
RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

Introduction.

The previous chapter discussed the participants' narratives about education and career. In the focus groups the narrators tell stories of their 'gender practice' in the categories of their lived experiences of relationships within the family namely spousal relationship and treatment of children, and opportunities for women's education and career. These have been looked at in the previous two chapters. In the focus groups they also narrate their attitudes, views and understanding of select aspects of 'gender practice' in response to the Bible studies distributed and other issues that arise. This they do orienting themselves to their self perception and self construction in the religious and social milieu of their lived experiences. The social realm, culture and religion of a member or members of a community shape the beliefs and experiences of the members. Members of a community are both creators and actors of the social milieu, culture and religion of that community. So these narratives are significant in their self-perception and self-construction. The narratives may be categorised as religious discourse\(^{1088}\) and social discourse. The religious discourse pertains to the general involvement of women in church, the roles they are permitted to take up in church, such as preaching and teaching, women's involvement in church administration and women's priesthood allowed by ordination, and some cultural practices and behaviour pertaining to religious mores such as women's headcovering during worship and husband's headship in the family. These are important because religion shapes the identity construction of a person. The narratives about their experiences have parts about their religious life, views about religious issues and also

---

\(^{1088}\) Religious life is a significant area for exploration in gender studies and studies about gender practice. See Vimala Mehta, 1979. This is one of the areas she explores in her study of attitude of educated women towards social issues.
include religious claims. The social discourse is constituted of social issues pertaining to women and their gender practice. This chapter deals with the analytical material regarding the religious discourse. The women use several different strategies and tools such as approval, disapproval and ambivalence to construct their narratives of their activities in the religious realm based on their views, attitudes, understanding and experiences. These emerge from the pattern of their claims and views.

SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN’S GENERAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE CHURCH.

These narratives are free responses to the issue raised about these women’s involvement in church and in general about the involvement of women in church. However this section deals with only the narratives pertaining to activities of these women. Further these also relate to those activities these women undertake in the religious realm even if they are not organised by or occurring within the church.

I. Valuing Sunday Observance.

One participant, Amar has stressed the valuing of Sunday observance in her parental home. Amar explicitly straightaway gives the context by stating that they did not miss going on Sunday\textsuperscript{1089}. However she does not in the first sentence say where they went on Sunday. This probably presumes the knowledge of the listener based on the cultural understanding that it is going to church that she is talking about.

\textsuperscript{1089} Amar – IC(Involvement in Church)1. The narratives about involvement in church are found in Appendix 11.
The construction of the core is rather untidy as it may be expected of narratives. However she is clear about the point that there was no excuse for not going to church on Sunday contrasting it with taking leave for going to school. She emphasises the lack of peace of not having gone to church by stating the same over and over again. She further emphasises the importance given to Sunday observance by stating that there was no skipping of church. The value of Sunday observance is further highlighted by the encouragement given to attend Sunday school and young girls’ meeting. With this emphasis the story is over. Thus Amar effectively uses contrast, repetition and emphasis to construct her story. Amar closes her story with no formal ending with the firm emphasis on valuing Sunday observance.

II. Story of Inner Peace and Content.

Varam has a story of her spiritual activities that evince peace and content. She constructs her story of inner state of peace and content using the technique of contrasting her husband’s eagerness and her laziness. This story has elaborate descriptions. Varam is explicit in stating the context of her narration – her involvement in religious activities.

The description is built up with the encouragement of the husband shown through phrases such as ‘even though I do not have the opportunity to come’ and ‘even if you cannot cook’. She effectively uses the contrast between the eagerness of her husband and her laziness to get up for the morning prayer. Thus she describes her involvement by providing several pieces of detail. This construction of an inner state of peace and contentment also stresses the importance of these activities for Varam’s family.

1090 Amar – IC (Involvement in Church)1
1091 Varam – IC2
1092 Varam – IC2
Varam threads her pieces of narratives smoothly. She strings her pieces about her involvement in church activities, her husband’s encouragement, and their family prayers at night and in the morning. Through all these tiny descriptions she constructs her story of the inner state of peace and contentment. This point is again and again repeated for emphasis. The narrative is brought to an end briefly but firmly. The point of their inner state of well being and happiness is stated again.

III. ‘No Tall Claims’.

Some tell their stories of spiritual activities in a modest manner making no tall claims. This is the strategy they use in their construction. Udhaya and Tiny follow this narrative construction. Both Udhaya and Tiny have brief openings that are quite different. Udhaya makes a general statement about the rightness of women’s involvement in church activities\textsuperscript{1093} while Tiny begins\textsuperscript{1094} with her own involvement in church activities.

The two describe a good bit of what their church involvement is. However they claim that they have not done much. Udhaya\textsuperscript{1095} uses phrases and words that are disclaimers – ‘I cannot go out and do’, ‘that is all’, ‘not in a big way’, and justifications – ‘because I have a small child’, ‘I have to go and cook’, ‘as much as I can’, ‘after I send her to school what I can’ and ‘that is all that I can do’. Her brief statement that she cannot preach makes her point.\textsuperscript{1096} There is no further elaboration.

\textsuperscript{1093} Udhaya – IC3
\textsuperscript{1094} Tiny – IC4
\textsuperscript{1095} Udhaya – IC3
\textsuperscript{1096} Tiny – IC4
Though Udhaya and Tiny seem to close with different statements they make similar claims. Udhaya closes her narrative with ‘not in a big way’ while Tiny ends with ‘that is all’. With this construction of making ‘no tall claim’, both however make the point that they do their bit.

IV. Ennobling or Valuing Women’s Involvement.

A few participants construct their stories of women’s involvement in church and other spiritual activities using the mechanism of ennobling such work. Flora, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral have stories that are focused on ennobling the involvement of women in church and other spiritual activities.

Many of these stories are quite long and elaborate with several mini-stories strung together. The women probably take pains to construct such long multi-stories to emphasise their point of involvement in church, by ennobling, valuing, glorification or valorisation. The method of construction of ennobling is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent. The storytellers use the strategy of glorification to glorify, magnify, place on a pedestal, make great, praiseworthy, commendable, good or high. The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble. Flora and Bina start with their own involvement. Mariam strangely opens with the claim that her husband does not obstruct her involvement. This appears strange because why should Mariam speak about her husband’s attitude when she narrates about her involvement. Lovely goes back to the days when she was a Sunday school student. Jeyam

---

1097 Flora – IC5
1098 Bina – IC6
1099 Mariam – IC7
1100 Lovely – IC8
begins\textsuperscript{1101} with how she began to teach in the Sunday school and also moves on to her involvement in her work place. Saral begins\textsuperscript{1102} with the emphatic statement of rationalising the involvement. Then she contrasts her inability before marriage and opportunity after her marriage. This opening contrast is probably used for emphasis.

A. Style of Contrast and Use of Various Phrases.

Flora\textsuperscript{1103} gives evidence to put forward her point of ennobling women’s involvement. She describes her involvement in children’s work in churches in which she is not a member and bemoans the lack of opportunity for this type of work in the Pentecostal church of which she is a member. She sharpens her point by this contrast of opportunity in some churches and the lack of opportunity in the Pentecostal church. Her contrast is elaborated with the use of phrases such as ‘much interest’, ‘but I like it much here’, ‘my talent goes waste’, ‘I do not like these’ and ‘women’s ministry is much useful’. She also buttresses her argument with the claim that women may share their problems openly only with women.

B. Use of Phrases to Rationalise Ennoblement.

Bina also uses phrases\textsuperscript{1104} such as ‘especially I have much interest’, ‘I am much encouraged’, ‘I am well involved’ and ‘women may involve well’. Further she also rationalises by stating that women are more suitable to minister among women and uses phrases and words to emphasise her point – ‘easy’, ‘much more easier’, ‘good chance’ and ‘may do well’.

\textsuperscript{1101} Jeyam – IC9
\textsuperscript{1102} Saral – IC14
\textsuperscript{1103} Flora – IC5
\textsuperscript{1104} Bina – IC6
C. Biblical base Used as the Rationale.
Mariam's narrative\textsuperscript{1105} follows a different trajectory. Having begun with a lengthy description of how her husband does not obstruct her involvement she uses biblical material to rationalise her ennobling. She presents the biblical concept that there is no discrimination as man or woman in Christ. Her rationale is that Christ has shed his blood for everyone, so all should labour for the extension of his Kingdom. She uses phrases and words that convey her intent of ennobling – 'that is a privilege', 'all should labour' and 'surely, certainly all should labour'.

D. Benefits Pointed Out.
Lovely\textsuperscript{1106} uses several evidences to support her construction. Having begun with her childhood experiences she ennobles women's involvement by the impact it had upon her and her desire to follow a role model. She piles up more points of the interest created by competitions and increased knowledge. She also uses words such as 'desire'. Lovely constructs along different lines of narration. She uses effectively the problems she had after marriage to continue her involvement, her husband's different type of involvement and her participation in it with its benefit and the insistence of the Sunday school superintendent that Lovely should resume her involvement. This she justifies with the statement that she has been able to manage with her little daughter who has grown up a little. Thus her ennobling strategies use different tools.

\textsuperscript{1105} Mariam – IC7

\textsuperscript{1106} Lovely – IC8
E. Contrast Style.

Jeyam also constructs her narrative with various strategies. She contrasts her initial involvement without the inner experience with the latter spiritual experience and growth\textsuperscript{1107}. She also uses the support of how she was prodded on with the caution not to be caught unaware in any unacceptable behaviour by her Sunday school students.\textsuperscript{1108} She had to be extra careful. Her statements about how she had to be regular and disciplined help her ennobling. She also adds up support for her ennobling from the way her marriage did not take her away from her home church\textsuperscript{1109} and by speaking of the birth of a child after a long period of waiting\textsuperscript{1110}. Similarly her narration about her involvement in her work place in giving devotional messages, in learning a lot in preparing and composing songs also heightens her ennobling\textsuperscript{1111}.

F. Contrast to Highlight the Benefits.

Saral\textsuperscript{1112} uses effectively the contrast between her inability before marriage and the opportunity after her marriage. She also uses many strategies and tools to bring out her construction of ennobling. For her involvement in Sunday school teaching has brought many benefits such as her having been able to prepare her daughters adequately and appropriately for the exams and her one daughter having become a Sunday school teacher.\textsuperscript{1113} Her opening pointing out the benefit of women ministering to women in solving problems emphasises her

\textsuperscript{1107} Jeyam – IC9
\textsuperscript{1108} Jeyam – IC10
\textsuperscript{1109} Jeyam – IC11
\textsuperscript{1110} Jeyam – IC12
\textsuperscript{1111} Jeyam – IC13
\textsuperscript{1112} Saral – IC14
\textsuperscript{1113} Saral – IC15
main point. Her additional narration about her husband’s spiritual activities but without attending church strengthens her story in bringing out the point that he did not object to her teaching Sunday class and spending much time in church.

Almost every story in this pattern has a well-constructed winding up. Most of them finish with the benefit of women’s involvement or a statement of emphasis that women should be involved or that this is their involvement. Saral’s end is seems out of place and lengthy but she finishes with her desire and prayer for husband’s church attendance. None of these women leave any gap or opening for the audience to raise any question or to challenge the import of their stories.

V. Pattern of Boldness.

Arunavathy, Ester and Lita narrate stories of either their involvement or of women’s involvement in church using a technique to display boldness. These three construct short and crisp stories. All three have quite different openings. Arunavathy starts\textsuperscript{1114} with her timidity in talking to men because she was in a hostel. It has to be understood that she was in a girls’ boarding-home. Only as she proceeds may the listener understand the point of this opening. Ester is blunt. There seems to be no formal opening. Lita also similar to Arunavathy, seems to open\textsuperscript{1115} with something that may be taken for not having any connection with the point of her story of women’s involvement in church.

\textsuperscript{1114} Arunavathy – IC16

\textsuperscript{1115} Lita – IC18
A. Explicit Use of the Word ‘Bold’.

Only as Arunavathy proceeds with her story of involvement in religious activities\textsuperscript{1116} is her point of timidity understood. This type of construction of pointing out the former situation and then the change in gaining boldness strengthens the point. She uses the words ‘boldly’ several times. She also uses the phrase ‘no fear’. This shows her point of constructing a story of boldness in involvement. The core of Ester’s story\textsuperscript{1117} is just a listing of her involvement. However at the end her construction of boldness is revealed through her claim of gaining boldness.

B. Equipping Pointed Out as the Basis for Boldness.

Lita’s construction of boldness\textsuperscript{1118} is displayed by her describing how one may be involved in activities for the Lord by preparing and equipping with being in the ‘truth’ with a clear idea removing all doubts. Lita uses this point of being prepared and equipped to construct her story of boldness.

All three conclude their stories of boldness with the point of boldness itself. Arunavathy makes an emphatic claim ‘at present that fear is not there’. Ester also closes with the firm claim of having gained courage through her involvement. Lita does not explicitly close with the words for boldness; but her closure of being able to do something for the Lord probably presupposes boldness. These stories display the construction of an identity of boldness.

\textsuperscript{1116} Arunavathy - IC16

\textsuperscript{1117} Ester - YMW – IC17

\textsuperscript{1118} Lita – IC18
VI. Stories of Powerful and Active Involvement.

Quite a few stories are constructed to narrate powerful and active involvement of these participants in church activities. Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar, Melody and Swarna have stories of powerful and active involvement.

All of these narrators except Melody have long narratives that are in fact collections of stories. Only Melody has just one sentence. The other four, Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna have elaborate and detailed descriptions. The description of the background clearly and specifically leads the audience into the point of the story. There is no doubt or lack of clarity about the construction of their stories. Words and phrases such as 'in the church', 'in ministry', 'women must do it', 'in church activities', 'the name of our branch', 'at present' and 'while I was a small child' begin and lead into the story with many details.

A. Elaborate Description Used as Narrative Style.

Jeyavathy in one extract narrates her involvement in religious meetings in her younger days and the continued work as the Jesus Calls evangelist. In another extract she describes with great detail her involvement with Brother Lawrie’s work and her moving on to special
experiences. Yet another extract\textsuperscript{1128} emphasises the need for women to be involved in religious activities because women may have easy access to women and would be able to understand their problems and help them.

Tiny\textsuperscript{1129} describes how she was encouraged by other members to be involved in church activities by their helping to take care of her children. She also makes it a point to describe the encouragement and help her husband gave in taking care of the children when she had to go for religious activities.

Amar describes in great detail how their branch was started\textsuperscript{1130} and the regular activities such as Sunday worship service, Sunday class for neighbourhood children\textsuperscript{1131} and meetings for sisters with prayer and teaching\textsuperscript{1132} are carried out. To bring out the powerful and active involvement she describes in detail how each meeting or service was conducted.

Swarna has several long stories strung together\textsuperscript{1133}. She describes her involvement in Sunday school and Christian Endeavour\textsuperscript{1134} in the local church as a young girl. Then she moves on to her active participation during her college days in the prayer cells\textsuperscript{1135}, \textsuperscript{1136}. She also conducted

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1128} Jeyavathy – IC21
  \item \textsuperscript{1129} Tiny – IC22
  \item \textsuperscript{1130} Amar – IC23
  \item \textsuperscript{1131} Amar – IC24
  \item \textsuperscript{1132} Amar – IC25
  \item \textsuperscript{1133} Swarna – IC26
  \item \textsuperscript{1134} Swarna - IC27
  \item \textsuperscript{1135} Swarna – IC28
  \item \textsuperscript{1136} Swarna – IC29
\end{itemize}
church services, preached and taught\textsuperscript{1137}. Finally she goes on to narrate her involvement after her marriage in giving messages in women’s meetings\textsuperscript{1138}, cottage prayer meetings\textsuperscript{1139}, and also teaching in the Sunday school\textsuperscript{1140}. All these women use the method of elaborate description and the technique of details to bring out the construction of powerful and active involvement. Evidence upon evidence is piled up as it has been described above in the narratives of Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna.

B. Short and Crisp Construction.

Melody has only one sentence, ‘At present women are actively involved in church although...’\textsuperscript{1141}. However her short and crisp story shows the powerful and active involvement with one explicit phrase ‘actively involved’. Some like Melody construct short and crisp stories to bring out the powerful involvement of women while others like Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna narrate stories that are descriptive and elaborate, replete with details in portraying their roles.

Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna have definite closure for their stories while Melody’s story does not seem to have a formal end. Jeyavathy’s end also reflects powerful and active involvement. In one extract she ends with the claim ‘at present we do in everything, all are

\textsuperscript{1137} Swarna – IC30

\textsuperscript{1138} Swarna – IC31

\textsuperscript{1139} Swarna – IC32

Cottage prayer meetings are meetings held in homes on a week day evening when there is a special occasion to celebrate or give thanks, such as anniversaries, passing an examination, having a child, procuring a job, receiving healing or having built a new house. These are described in the report about the background of the church in Appendix 1 section G. 2, i, g. The audience will be mixed crowd of men and women, young and old.

\textsuperscript{1140} Swarna – IC33

Sunday schools are christian education for mainly children of the congregation either held during the service in a separate place or some other time on Sunday. The Sunday school activity of the Kodambakkam church is described in Appendix 1, III. E. and III. G. 2. i. a.

\textsuperscript{1141} Melody – IC34
doing with zeal, with zeal and God’s grace they are doing the ministry of the church’. In another she closes with the claim ‘in that manner my ministry is being done quite well’. Another narrative ends with repeated emphatic statement ‘women must do this work’. Tiny closes with the support of the spiritual benefit the family gained. Amar closes with the narration of giving the testimony about the promise cards the women receive every year.

Swarna completes her long story of her involvement from her childhood days to the present with her present involvement in the Sunday school. This narrative is like an oral history, long and detailed.

**VII. Rationalising.**

Kamala, Udhaya and Mariam in their narrations of involvement in church activities rationalise the role of either themselves or others. Probably these narrators do not simply describe their involvement as the earlier group did, but also rationalise their stories. All three narrators have diverse openings. Kamala’s beginning\(^{142}\) with her lack of much education seems strange. However she effectively uses it to strengthen her rationalisation described in the section below. Udhaya begins\(^{143}\) with a claim that there appears to be nothing wrong in women’s ministry. Mariam opens\(^{144}\) with the explicit indication of her subject matter. She begins with a rationalisation of God’s will and call for her.

---

\(^{1142}\) Kamala – IC35
\(^{1143}\) Udhaya – IC36
\(^{1144}\) Mariam – IC37
A. Negative Example Used Effectively.

Kamala constructs her main story\textsuperscript{1145} with the rationalisation that she had not been eager to preach because of her level of education. But she continues to narrate the various ways in which she participates. She rationalises women's involvement by starting with her negative example but moving on to her own involvement.

B. Phrases of Approval Used for Rationalisation.

Udhaya\textsuperscript{1146} rationalises women's involvement with statements such as 'there does not appear to be anything wrong', 'both are called', 'anyone who has the talent can do' and 'it does not appear to be wrong for me'. Probably Udhaya feels that the general opinion of the community is that women's ministry is not really acceptable and so uses such phrases of approval for rationalising.

C. Rationalising with Several Points.

Mariam\textsuperscript{1147} also has several points of rationalisation – her sense of call for the ministry, the responsibility of those who know the love of the Lord to tell others, the way she was led into the Sunday school work, the spiritual benefit she gained, the example of a soldier who was benefited by his Sunday school teacher, her joining the Sunday school after a gap after her marriage, the encouragement given by the Superintendent, the story of the woman who broke the alabaster jar and the necessity to be witnesses. Mariam uses these points to rationalise women's involvement in church.

\textsuperscript{1145} Kamala – IC35
\textsuperscript{1146} Udhaya – IC36
\textsuperscript{1147} Mariam – IC37
The three narrators close in their own ways. Kamala rationalises women's involvement by contrasting the higher number of women who do so with the smaller number of men who participate. This leaves no room for any question to be raised. Udhaya ends her story with the claim that women are equal to men. She does not say in what way they are equal; but her earlier construction of the story claiming both to be called is probably meant to make the listener come to the conclusion that they are equal in participating in church activities. Mariam's closure is also a rationalisation. She raises her doubt whether her children would be an obstacle for her teaching in the Sunday school; but quickly moves to the opposite position that her being a Sunday school teacher would only help the children by making them attend and do well. Thus she also leaves no space for any doubt or question.

In these narratives about women's general involvement in church and other evangelistic activities, a picture of power, strength and boldness emerges. Amar's narrative about her parental home brings out how Sunday observance was valued. Varam in her story about how her husband encourages her to involve in church activities brings out the peace and contentment they have. Udhaya and Tiny in saying that they did only what they could, do not make any tall claims but portray a picture of involvement. Flora, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral ennoble or value women's involvement in church activities. To portray the goodness and greatness, they use mechanisms of constructions such as contrast, rationalisation, biblical base and pointing to the benefits.

Lita and Arunavathy construct stories of boldness of women in their general involvement in church activities. Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar, Melody and Swarna have narratives of powerful and active involvement of either themselves or other women. These may be either elaborate and descriptive or short and crisp. Kamala, Udhaya and Mariam rationalise their stories of
women's involvement in church activities. Kamala rationalises her negative example by bringing in her lack of much education. Udhaya uses approval for her rationalisation. Mariam narrates a long story of her own involvement rationalising with experience, example and claims to God's call. Thus using many strategies of story construction these women portray perceptions of powerful involvement of women in church activities. This gives strength and power to their self perception of freedom and equality.

SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE CHURCH.

I. Women Preaching and Teaching.

In the focus groups one issue that was considered was the question of women preaching and teaching. This arises from the Pauline passages in 1Corinthians and 1Timothy. The responses of the women are varied. In this section I look at how these women construct their stories about women preaching and teaching. Much of it is of their opinion, view and attitude.

A. Defense Based on God's Approval.

Amar, Lita and Saguna powerfully and carefully construct their narratives defending women preaching and teaching basing their construction on God's approval. All three storytellers carefully construct the setting. Amar\textsuperscript{1148} appears to go straight into the story which itself sets the stage. Lita provides the context\textsuperscript{1149} for her one story by pointing out women's equality and the progress made. She paves the way for another story\textsuperscript{1150} by claiming the preparedness and

\textsuperscript{1148} Amar – PT(Preaching and Teaching)\textsuperscript{1}. The narratives about women preaching and teaching are found in Appendix 11.

\textsuperscript{1149} Lita – PT2

\textsuperscript{1150} Lita – PT3
equipping of women. Saguna\textsuperscript{1151} bases her argument on the last commission of the Lord to go and preach to all creatures.

1. Use of A Powerful Example of a Woman Preaching.

Amar's story\textsuperscript{1152} is quite interesting. She gathers support for her argument by presenting the story of the wife of Pastor Wurmbrand. She uses her imagination effectively to project what may happen when Mrs. Wurmbrand reaches heaven. Her claim that the Lord will not chide her for having preached being a woman is also humorous. In her imaginative story she further adds an approval of Mrs. Wurmbrand by the Lord saying that her preaching has saved many. Thus she provides an example and uses humour effectively.

2. Biblical Basis Used in Narrative.

Lita amasses support for her claim\textsuperscript{1153} of the Lord's approval for women preaching and teaching, with the claim that Jesus did not prohibit women preaching and the example of Magdalene having been commissioned to go and tell. She goes on to construct her story with more arguments that neither Jehovah nor Jesus prohibited women preaching, that they treated both men and women equally, that the supposed prohibition may be our misunderstanding and that our eyes are being opened as days go by. The other story\textsuperscript{1154} is also constructed with effective argument. She brings out the point that if we know the truth we must share it and that the Lord did not have two standards for men and women. Lita supports this point of equality by citing Jesus' treatment of the woman caught in adultery by not condemning her but

\textsuperscript{1151} Saguna – PT4

\textsuperscript{1152} Amar – PT (Preaching and Teaching) 1

\textsuperscript{1153} Lita – PT2

\textsuperscript{1154} Lita – PT3
forgiving her. Thus Lita constructs her story with examples from the Bible.

3. Style of Several Claims.

Saguna uses reiteration and repetition for her construction\textsuperscript{1155}. She claims equality of men and women. Then she over and again claims that it is the duty of women to tell others about the Lord because it is the Lord’s command. All three construct their stories claiming the authority of Jesus. Amar and Lita provide examples and bring out human fraility.

Amar closes her story with the claim that it is important that people grow spiritually. This gives a good finish. Lita in one extract ends by saying that we should be like this. Though the phrase ‘like this’ is not explicated it is to be understood to hark back to the point made in the story that our eyes are opened. In the other story Lita closes with raising an objection to gender discrimination by stating that there should not be any discrimination between men and women and in also not giving preferential treatment of hiding the wrongs done by boys. This fits well with the story of women also being given the responsibility of preaching and teaching. Saguna has an explicit closure. She uses the phrase ‘no objection’ and adds ‘may preach and teach’.

B. Justification.

Three women use this technique to construct their stories about women preaching and teaching probably because they cannot make their views stand without justification. Amar, Udhaya and Lita justify their stance of women preaching and teaching. Amar opens\textsuperscript{1156} her

\textsuperscript{1155} Saguna – PT4

\textsuperscript{1156} Amar – PT5
story with the necessity of and need for preaching. Udhaya seems to open with ambivalence\textsuperscript{1157} about women preaching saying she has no clear idea about the issue. This also strengthens her use of justification later in the story. Lita begins one story\textsuperscript{1158} with need for women proving themselves and the other\textsuperscript{1159} with the preliminary equipment necessary.

1. Justification based on the Bible.

Amar\textsuperscript{1160} having elaborately described the need and necessity for preaching justifies women preaching, because otherwise those who hear the word of God preached are not able to stand in times of trouble. One phrase ‘in such a situation’ is her clinching point that people fall away just as the plant is destroyed. This justifies her claim of approving women preaching. She uses biblical material to justify her point.

2. Use of Cultural Understanding.

Udhaya having begun with ambivalence as pointed out above, constructs her story with many justifications\textsuperscript{1161}. She brings up several points. Women may preach because there are equal rights in present day society. In her view the presence of women in the preaching ministry enhances and it will be good. Further, women work more devotedly and that it will be good if women also preach. Finally more harvesting in the spiritual realm will be done if women also preach. The justification based on cultural understanding removes any question about the ambivalence in the opening.

\textsuperscript{1157} Udhaya – PT6
\textsuperscript{1158} Lita – PT7
\textsuperscript{1159} Lita – PT8
\textsuperscript{1160} Amar – PT5
\textsuperscript{1161} Udhaya – PT6
3. Use of Theological Understanding to Justify.

Lita’s justification also amasses several points. The first argument\textsuperscript{1162} she uses is that no one may prevent women preaching and teaching if there is truth revealed. Further she also claims that if people are in the light there is no sex or gender discrimination and there is equality. Her second story\textsuperscript{1163} once again justifies her point about women preaching, that if women give the Word of God they may act in any place. She also brings justifying points from the viewpoint of equipping, wisdom from above and the gift of the Holy Spirit. In her construction a stronger justification emerges from her claim that if one is liberated that person cannot be quiet. It is quite interesting that Lita proceeds with her story with further justification that practical action of loving compassion and help should accompany preaching. Her justification is based on theological understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in equipping with gifts.

Amar’s justification that she is not against women preaching and teaching gives a firm and emphatic closure. Udhaya ends with her justifying point that more harvesting will be done. Lita ends one story with the claim of ‘equality’ and another with a demand for loving action. Both these endings clinch her justification. Similar to many other stories these stories also end with emphasis that excludes any questioning. This type of closure and construction shows that the women have quite firm and definite views. In their perception and construction about what they are talking. The picture that emerges is clear and strong.

C. Personal Approval.

Quite a few women Amar, Flora, Melody, Sweety, Heera, Ranjithamani, Gem and Mariam use the strategy of personal approval in their stories about women preaching and teaching. No

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1162} Lita – PT7
\item \textsuperscript{1163} Lita – PT8
\end{itemize}
other point of justification or rationalisation or support is used except their personal approval.

The women have varied openings though there is not much elaborate description. Amar begins\textsuperscript{1164} with an analogy between the love a child has for the mother and the devotion to God a believer has and the subject matter is not described explicitly. Flora’s story is short and crisp with just the statement of her point\textsuperscript{1165}. Melody\textsuperscript{1166} also has a short narrative going straight into the point. Sweety’s opening\textsuperscript{1167} is strange. She begins with a statement of disapproval about women pastoring the church. This juxtaposition of her placing pastoring side by side with preaching helps her in affirming her point. Ranjithamani like Sweety begins with a negative point about different subject matter\textsuperscript{1168}. Heera begins\textsuperscript{1169} with a known example of one Elisabeth Paul. Gem enumerates\textsuperscript{1170} other items of her approval to begin with. Mariam explicitly states\textsuperscript{1171} that she is talking about women preaching.

\textsuperscript{1164} Amar – PT9
\textsuperscript{1165} Flora – PT11
\textsuperscript{1166} Melody – PT12
\textsuperscript{1167} Sweety – PT14
\textsuperscript{1168} Ranjithamani – PT15
\textsuperscript{1169} Heera – PT10
\textsuperscript{1170} Gem – PT16
\textsuperscript{1171} Mariam – PT13

290
1. Use of an Example.

The narratives follow their own trajectories. Amar\textsuperscript{1172} sets out an analogy of how a child defends the mother and speaks for the mother. She holds that women also when they are close to God would not keep quiet and will speak for God. She is explicit about her approval of women preaching. Heera affirms her approval\textsuperscript{1173} by citing one particular example of a woman preacher and a general statement that she has known very good preachers.

2. Assertions and Rhetoric.

Flora’s\textsuperscript{1174} crisp statement claims that women’s preaching does not appear to be wrong for her. In this way the story follows the contour of personal approval. Melody\textsuperscript{1175} uses a rhetorical question about women preaching to give strength to her claim. Mariam constructs a story\textsuperscript{1176} of a strong claim of her approval in spite of any worldwide disapproval.


Sweety also reveals her personal approval explicitly\textsuperscript{1177} of women preaching and gives strength by juxtaposing it with her disapproval of women conducting the service. Ranjithamani also uses juxtaposing effectively\textsuperscript{1178} by first using a disclaimer of disapproval and then moving forward. Gem also goes through points of her disapproval citing one

\textsuperscript{1172} Amar – PT9
\textsuperscript{1173} Heera – PT10
\textsuperscript{1174} Flora – PT11
\textsuperscript{1175} Melody – PT12
\textsuperscript{1176} Mariam – PT13
\textsuperscript{1177} Sweety – PT14
\textsuperscript{1178} Ranjithamani – PT15
particular negative example\textsuperscript{1179} of how a woman did not speak well in proposing a toast in a wedding reception, before she reveals her approval. Sweety, Ranjithamani and Gem all three in their construction add a limitation to the extent to which women may function in their preaching and teaching.

All these narrators except Gem close their narratives with the explicit statement of their approval of women preaching. This firm closure leaves no space for any further argument. Gem’s firm closure is that having stated her approval for women preaching among women, she imposes a limitation on women preaching in a mixed crowd.

**D. Eulogising\textsuperscript{1180}.**

Some women interestingly eulogise women preaching and teaching. Kamala, Ranjithamani and Lovely have no problem with eulogising. Two of the narrators\textsuperscript{1181} explicitly state the subject matter of their construction while a third, Lovely, begins\textsuperscript{1182} with some general point about the nature of women.

\textsuperscript{1179} Gem – PT16

\textsuperscript{1180} Eulogising: The narrators use this strategy to praise or make good or noble.

\textsuperscript{1181} Kamala – PT17
Ranjithamani – PT18

\textsuperscript{1182} Lovely – PT19
1. Word of Eulogising.

Kamala\textsuperscript{1183} and Ranjithamani use the word 'good' or 'well' to display their eulogising of women preaching. Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{1184} adds the benefit of women achieving a lot of things to eulogise women preaching.

2. Rooting in Common Experience.

Lovely\textsuperscript{1185} begins with the confidence level of women. She buttresses her eulogising with her observation in her work place. She claims that men and women are not different. She does not state in what aspect her claim is made. Probably she expects the listener to surmise that she is talking about confidence and capability, because she has spoken about the level of confidence and in her next sentence gives some allowance for men being physically stronger. But she immediately claims that this aspect has nothing to do with preaching. She uses the tool of rejecting as immaterial the difference in physical strength. This in her opinion has nothing to do with preaching. She cleverly constructs her narrative by pointing to confidence level and the situation in her work place to display her eulogising of women preaching.

Kamala and Ranjithamani seem to have no formal closure. Probably they see no need for it. Lovely closes her narrative by eulogising women preaching. Her closure may mislead. She does not explicitly use the term 'preaching' but 'everything'. But probably this is a way of speech used for emphasis.

\textsuperscript{1183} Kamala – PT17
\textsuperscript{1184} Ranjithamani – PT18
\textsuperscript{1185} Lovely – PT19
E. Approval with Reservation, Justification and a Claim of Paul’s Saying.

One woman, Bina constructs her story to display approval of women preaching and teaching. However her narrative shows some sort of reservation which is combined with justification and claiming a saying of Paul. This story and some others that have been already dealt with show degrees of approval and variation in the type of what they approve within the wider umbrella of women preaching and teaching.

Bina begins by clearly stating about what she is talking – about ‘preaching’. Bina’s construction of her narrative is quite strange because having begun to talk about ‘preaching’ she makes sure to distinguish between ‘preaching’ and ‘teaching’. The former for her is allowed for women if it is ‘sharing’ and ‘witness’. Her reservations are shown in several ways – first she has reservations about women preaching if it is also teaching; second she has reservations about women preaching in a mixed group and finally she also brings a claim of a prohibition by the Apostle Paul as pointed above, though she also claims it to be ‘my personal opinion’.

Bina closes her story with ‘because of it’. It is not clear whether she refers to her claim of Pauline prohibition or her personal opinion. However her allowance is tempered with reservations.

1186 Bina probably refers to Paul’s saying about women speaking during worship in 1Corinthians 14:34-35
1187 Amar – PT1, Amar says that it is important to grow much more than being just saved, in I. A. 1 above; Saguna – PT4, is specific about preaching in the sense of evangelisation, in I. A. 3 above; Udhaya – PT6, also speaks about the spiritual harvest, in I. B. 2 above; Ranjithamani – PT15, qualifies the preaching except in the Sunday worship service, dealt with in I. C. 3 above; Gem – PT16, limits women’s preaching in a crowd of only women, I. C. 3 above
1188 Bina – PT20
1189 Bina – PT20
This section has looked at stories about women preaching and teaching. Many of the women approve of, recommend and support women preaching and teaching. They point to God’s approval, powerful examples in their and other women’s lives, root their claims in how they understand the Bible, justify using biblical, cultural and theological understanding and use constructions of juxtaposing and eulogising. Some women such as Gem and Bina have reservations. But this again is found to be reservations about women exercising authority in a mixed crowd. It is noted that these women in constructing stories about women preaching and teaching do not place themselves either in the complementarian or in the egalitarian position in a conscious well thought out manner. The egalitarian position holds that women may teach and preach under all circumstances. This is what many of these women may approve of in their lives and the lives of others. However some of them do not give a free hand for women to preach and teach. They seem to have reservations about women preaching and teaching in a mixed crowd that is equivalent to women exercising authority over men. This seems to correspond to the view of some complementarians. But these women who have reservations advocate and support women preaching and teaching in other circumstances. Further they have no reservations about women’s education and career even if it may entail exercising authority over men. So one may not be able to label them as complementarians in their view about every aspect of life of a woman. It may be good to conclude that these women have their own understanding and interpretation without labelling themselves as either egalitarians or complementarians.

II. WOMEN IN CHURCH ADMINISTRATION.

The question of women participating in the administration of the church particularly by being members of structures such as the pastorate committees was also considered because of the issue of exercising authority brought up by Paul the Apostle in 1Timothy 2. Different patterns
were emerging such as disapproval, approval and also advocating such participation.

A. Disapproval.

Bina does not see any need for women to participate in church administration. So she constructs her story of disapproval according to her opinion. She goes straight into the subject matter\textsuperscript{1190}. There is no doubt about what she is speaking because she begins her narrative indicating about administration in the church.

Bina’s story\textsuperscript{1191} disapproving women’s participation in church administration winds through many points. She begins with the approval of men taking up the responsibility. She also adds that it is her opinion. Then she moves on to the point of women not dominating in the church. She begins with disapproval and then seems to go to a position of approval. She gives an allowance. If there is a necessity or there is none to do it, she allows women guiding and advising. There is no indication whether this allowance is given grudgingly or willingly. She proceeds to state that if there are fit persons, women need not do it. It is interesting that Bina claims that her opinion is that women may participate in the several other ministries related to the church. It is probably to be surmised that these several other ministries do not include administration.

The closure is simple and brief, but firm. Bina claims her story to be her opinion. This seems to be a disclaimer. Bina has not been categorically disapproving women’s participation in church administration. She disapproves and also approves with limitations and ‘ifs’ and ‘buts’.

\textsuperscript{1190} Bina – CA(Church Administration)\textsuperscript{1}. The narratives about women in church administration are found in Appendix 11.

\textsuperscript{1191} Bina – CA1
This probably brings her to end with the disclaimer that it is her personal opinion. She is not basing it on biblical basis, theological argument or argument from the position of women in society. Because it is her personal opinion she is not taking responsibility for it as a dogmatic statement.

B. Approval.

Quite a few women approve of women’s participation in administrative and decision-making bodies. This is no problem for these women as seen in the construction of their stories. Amar, Ester, Flora, Melody and Ranjithamani use this pattern. Amar opens with a description of the example she is using to show her approval. Ester, Melody and Flora have brief narratives and open with the point or the subject matter. Ranjithamani opens with a general statement of women’s positive contribution.

1. Use of Complicating Action.

Amar effectively uses the strategy of complicating action to bring out her point. She raises a rhetorical question of who would conduct the service when the secret police arrested Richard Wurmbrand. She resolves by approving of the wife of Pastor Wurmbrand having taken up church administration. She also supports her approval with the claim that the Lord gave courage and told Mrs. Wurmbrand to conduct the service.

\[192\] Amar – CA2
\[193\] Ester – CA3
\[194\] Melody – CA5
\[195\] Flora – CA4
\[196\] Ranjithamani – CA6
\[197\] Amar – CA2
2. Emphasis Used as a Style.

Ester\textsuperscript{1198} briefly but firmly states that women may participate in the church committee. Flora\textsuperscript{1199} also approves of women’s participation and emphasises her point by reiterating that it is not wrong. Melody’s narrative\textsuperscript{1200} is interesting in that she not only approves of women’s participation but also claims that mostly women head church activities.


The narrative of Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{1201} is strange for the women listeners. It is interesting that she brings in a moral point about the forceful way in which women should participate in objecting to any wrong views. She constructs her story beginning with her approval of women’s positive contribution. Then she states emphatically that women should participate in objecting to any wrong viewpoints. It is interesting that she is keen that women should bring in a moral aspect of objecting to what is not in line with the fear and the desire of the Lord.

The various stories have diverse closures. However all end with positive approval. Amar closes with the claim of God’s approval and enabling. Ester briefly states that women may do it. Flora comes from a different angle in saying it is not wrong. Melody has no formal closure probably because having made her point she feels that there is no necessity for it. Ranjithamani with her emphatic short story closes it with the statement that women may speak in committees.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1198} Ester – CA3  \\
\textsuperscript{1199} Flora – CA4  \\
\textsuperscript{1200} Melody – CA5  \\
\textsuperscript{1201} Ranjithamani – CA6
\end{flushright}
C. Vehement Advocating.

Three women use the method of vehemently advocating for the participation of women in church administration. Jeyavathy, Mariam and Lovely are quite vehement in their advocating that is brought out in the construction of their stories. All three women begin their narratives with an explicit statement of their approval – ‘there is nothing wrong’\textsuperscript{1202}, ‘women may join in the Pastorate Committee’\textsuperscript{1203} and ‘may be in everything’\textsuperscript{1204}.

1. Use of Personal Experience.

Jeyavathy’s construction\textsuperscript{1205} is pretty strange in that she moves from the point of women participating in church administration to the situation of her family looking for a husband for her. She begins with her approval and cites her own experience. She does not stop with her experience of being a committee member. She goes back to the time her family was looking for a husband for her. The question may arise why she brings this part of her experience at this juncture. There is a bit of clarification though not stated as such. Jeyavathy claims that one may be involved in church activities without holding a post or a position. Thus she wanted a layperson and not an ordained clergyman for her husband. This experience is brought in to approve vehemently of women’s participation in church administration.

\textsuperscript{1202} Jeyavathy – CA7
\textsuperscript{1203} Mariam – CA8
\textsuperscript{1204} Lovely – CA9
\textsuperscript{1205} Jeyavathy – CA7
2. Emphasis and Evidence.

Mariam has no explanation but a firm and emphatic approval\textsuperscript{1206}. Lovely\textsuperscript{1207} on the other hand has some supporting construction of her story. She brings in the point that it has taken time for the society to accept women as human beings. By using this Lovely probably wants to give allowance for her approval though such a situation may take time. Jeyavathy closes with the claim of her husband being a doctor and does not go back to the subject in hand. Mariam closes with the claim that this is what she says. Lovely also closes without going back to the issue at hand.

D. Advocating as Valuable.

Three other stories advocate women’s participation in church administration as valuable. Bina, Jeyam and Saral construct their narratives advocating women’s participation in church administration as valuable. Bina’s description of the background\textsuperscript{1208} seems to begin with a different issue of obeying the Bible. This is strange. However then she moves on to church administration. Both Jeyam\textsuperscript{1209} and Saral\textsuperscript{1210} explicitly state their approval right at the beginning. \textsuperscript{1211}

\textsuperscript{1206} Mariam – CA8
\textsuperscript{1207} Lovely – CA9
\textsuperscript{1208} Bina – CA10
\textsuperscript{1209} Jeyam – CA11
\textsuperscript{1210} Saral – CA12
\textsuperscript{1211} This earlier story of Bina disapproving of women’s participation in Church Administration is CA1 discussed in Section A above.
1. Explaining.

Bina's other story about women's participation in church administration may seem to contradict her earlier story (CA1) of disapproval. However she constructs her narrative that requires the listener's understanding of her stance. She says that it is not wrong and proceeds to explain that sharing the work is good and is for the welfare of the church, it is not exercising authority and fighting, and it is for the good of the church that all should unite and work. This construction of elaborate explanation removes any possible conflict between her two stories.

2. Elaboration.

Jeyam also has an elaborate construction of approving of women's participation as valuable. She puts forward a few points such as the position of women in society and the roles they take up in the society by making statements such as women are not inferior to men though the society may not accept it; there is no problem in women being PC members; they may contribute quite well; and, there is nothing wrong in women contributing in whatever ways they can.


Saral also vehemently advocates women's participation in church administration as valuable bringing her supportive points. She holds that women have more knowledge compared to men. Women are in no way inferior to men in having ideas of how to conduct administration.

---

1212 Bina – CA10
1213 Jeyam – CA11
1214 Saral – CA12
Bina and Jeyam close by reiterating their stance that there is nothing wrong in women's participation in church administration. Saral ends with the emphatic repeating of her approval of women's participation.

The issue of women's involvement in church administration drew some narratives. One woman, Bina constructs a story of disapproval. But she qualifies her statements. She gives allowance for women to take up church administration if there is no one else to do it. On the other hand she also indicates that women have many opportunities for involvement and service. Quite a few women approve of women's involvement in church administration. Some even vehemently advocate this. These narrators support their perspective and construction with examples from their own experiences and from the involvement of women in society. Some advocate women's involvement in church administration by bringing out its value. Thus these women have no question of keeping women out of church administration. It does not seem to raise any question of exercising authority. In line with their self perception and self construction it is quite appropriate for women to be involved in church administration.

III. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN'S ORDINATION.

Women's ordination is one of the issues that were raised in the focus groups in response to the Bible study outlines provided\textsuperscript{1215}. A wide range of responses emerged. So the women use a variety of narrative constructions of disapproval, ambivalence, approval and stating limitations.

\textsuperscript{1215} See Appendices 5B and 6.
A. Personal Disapproval.

Many participants construct their stories about women’s ordination along the lines of personal disapproval. This pattern emerges in the stories of Amar, Sweety, Heera, Ranjithamani and Gem. Two narrators Amar\textsuperscript{1216} and Heera\textsuperscript{1217} open their stories by explicitly mentioning preaching. However this helps their construction because they juxtapose women preaching with women’s ordination. The other three Sweety\textsuperscript{1218}, Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{1219} and Gem\textsuperscript{1220} go straight into the subject matter.

1. Drawing Supportive Points.

Amar\textsuperscript{1221} puts forward several points in her construction, some from her understanding of the Bible and some from her church background. She also cites examples from the history of the Church. Her claim is that Jesus did not ordain the twelve disciples; that Sadhu Sunder Singh\textsuperscript{1222} was not ordained; that Bakta Singh\textsuperscript{1223} was not ordained; and that there is no ordination in her church. Amar is explicit in suggesting that her opinion probably is rooted in her church background. However she cogently constructs her story of personal disapproval – ‘I do not know whether it is my idea’. This probably is a disclaimer. Ranjithamani’s narrative\textsuperscript{1224} is brief. She merely states that it is a little different when women are pastors.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1216} Amar − O(Ordination of women)1. The narratives about women’s ordination are found in Appendix 11.
\item \textsuperscript{1217} Heera − O5
\item \textsuperscript{1218} Sweety − O3
\item \textsuperscript{1219} Ranjithamani − O2
\item \textsuperscript{1220} Gem − O4
\item \textsuperscript{1221} Amar − O1
\item \textsuperscript{1222} Sadhu Sunder Singh was a Sikh convert who adopted the Indian style of being a ‘sadhu’, a holy man. He preached the Gospel far and wide.
\item \textsuperscript{1223} Bakta Singh was a Sikh convert who started an indigenous tradition of Brethren assembly.
\item \textsuperscript{1224} Ranjithamani − O2
\end{itemize}
However she also bases her construction on personal opinion by claiming that for her women's ordination looks a little different.

2. Pollution Concept Used for Disapproval.
Sweety\textsuperscript{1225} repeatedly states that she does not like women being pastors. Her construction is also based on personal opinion, 'I do not like'. However she attempts to find the reason for her disapproval by rooting it in the pollution notion of the menstrual period of women. Quite strangely she also adds that God has placed the man a little above the woman. Just as repeatedly Sweety expresses her disapproval of women's ordination, she also repeatedly states her approval of preaching and teaching by women. Repetition gives emphasis to Sweety's construction. Gem's\textsuperscript{1226} narration also attempts to find her own personal reasons for her disapproval of women's ordination. She constructs her story around the reason of the idea of pollution found in the Old Testament based on the Levitical laws of ritual impurity of women after childbirth and during the menstrual period.

3. Role of Women used for Disapproval.
Another narrator who has a story of disapproval based on personal opinion and tries to find reasons and explanations is Heera\textsuperscript{1227}. She constructs her story mainly around her idea of the role of a woman that according to her is the reproductive function and the household duties

\textsuperscript{1225} Sweety – O3
Compare Sweety's reservations about women conducting the communion service during the menstrual period, with the statement about taboo of pollution of menstruation, Dipta Bhog, 'Gender and Curriculum', \textit{EPW}, 27 April, 2002, p. 1645; Caplan also attests to the notion of pollution of menstruation, Caplan, 1985, p. 41

\textsuperscript{1226} Gem – O4

\textsuperscript{1227} Heera – O5
Compare Heera's claim of role of woman with what de Souza documents about the role of woman. De Souza, pp. 17-18
which in her opinion ties her down to the house and does not allow her to surrender herself completely for the ordained ministry. It appears quite inappropriate that Heera holds that a woman cannot devote herself completely for the pastoral ministry because of her role as a housewife. The strangeness of her construction is sharpened when she approves of an elderly woman being a pastor. The question arises how she would approve of this elderly person being a pastor. Heera does not explain it. Probably she expects the listeners to come to their own conclusions or explanations. She explicitly cites one example of a woman pastor with approval. She further juxtaposes ordained ministry with preaching. Her core point is displayed thus: ‘I do not like’ and ‘I have my reservations.’

Most of these participants close their stories with categorical statements of their disapproval. Amar explicitly states that it is good if men conduct funerals and marriages. These seem to be in her opinion specialised functions of male priesthood. Sweety also categorically states that she does not like women conducting the service; however she seems to give allowance for women preaching. Heera’s closure is different. She ends by emphasising her point about the role of a woman that is explained above in the explication of Heera’s construction. Ranjithamani’s brief but clear claim has no formal closure except her reiteration of the main point made in the narration. Gem also emphatically makes her point at the end that it is good that men serve at the altar.

B. Disapproval Rationalised.

Two narrators rationalise their disapproval of women’s ordination, one from a psychological perspective and another from a religious viewpoint. Flora uses the rationale of psychology while Saguna uses religious practice to construct their stories of disapproval of women’s ordination.
Flora in her opening\textsuperscript{1228} sets the stage by stating that she is narrating about ordination. Saguna’s setting\textsuperscript{1229} is a little bit more elaborate. She prepares the listener for her story in the opening. She describes the church as the dwelling place of God and a great holy dwelling where both men and women are gathered. This opening with such glorious and exalted description probably is meant to prepare the listener for her disapproval that is to follow. This glorious description supports and strengthens her point.

\textbf{1. Using a Psychological Perspective.}

Flora builds her narrative\textsuperscript{1230} entirely from a psychological angle. She repeatedly claims that being a pastor or a priest is not fit for a woman and fit only for men. However she explicitly states that it appears for her to be so. Then she proceeds to give her reason with the word ‘because’. She marshals three points – the much opposition that a pastor has to face, women being weak and the pastor having many responsibilities. In her thinking only men may be able to do it. She strengthens her argument by contrasting preaching with the responsibility of being a pastor.

\textbf{2. Religious Perspective used for Disapproval.}

After her exalted description of the church Saguna\textsuperscript{1231} brings up religious practice and tradition for her support. She labels the position of a pastor as belonging to a special priesthood or order of priests. She uses phrases such as ‘we are not used to it’ and ‘it looks

\textsuperscript{1228} Flora – O6

\textsuperscript{1229} Saguna – O7

\textsuperscript{1230} Flora – O6

\textsuperscript{1231} Saguna – O7

Some participants such as Heera and Flora narrate that somehow ordained priesthood is intrinsically suitable only for men, as Graham points out that the traditionalist interpretations hold that ordination is somehow intrinsically suited for men. Graham, 1995, p.37
odd for us'. Thus she bases her rationalisation on custom and tradition.

Both Flora and Saguna close their narratives with a claim that being a pastor or a priest is appropriate only for men. Flora resolves the issue by stating that only men may solve the problems. However she closes with the statement ‘I think so’. Saguna also resolves the matter with the claim that it is glorious only if men are priests. Eulogising the male priesthood is used as a strategy for disapproving of women’s ordination.

C. Disapproval Claiming Paul’s saying.
Bina is the only person who disapproves of women’s ordination basing her view on Paul’s saying. She does not say where and what Paul has said. But her reference to exercising authority may indicate that she is referring to Paul’s saying in 1 Timothy 2. The context of the issue of women’s ordination is clearly set in a brief and simple manner – ‘being a pastor’. Bina at the outset claims that it is for her or rather in her view. Rightaway she refers to the saying of Paul. She does not indicate that it is her understanding of what Paul has said. She simply claims it is so and the matter is not open for argument, questioning or debate. However she proceeds to reveal the crux of the matter that there are lots of things involved with exercising authority. Probably this is what Bina holds as excluding women from the pastoral ministry. She thinks that it is unnecessary. Bina firmly closes her story with ‘I think so’. It appears that Bina bases her story on her view of what Paul has said as indicated above.

1232 Bina – O8
1233 Bina – O8
D. Ambivalence.

Udhaya, Melody and Ranjithamani weave their stories about women’s ordination through ambivalence. This method reveals their inconclusive opinions and views. These three women use the strategy of ambivalence in their narrative. But they open their stories clearly stating the subject matter explicitly\(^1\).

1. Strategy of ‘Don’t Know’.

Udhaya’s piece is short\(^2\). She seems to display disapproval, but breaks the sentence and proceeds to claim that she has no idea about it. This ambivalence is used to excuse her. 

Melody has a prolonged story\(^3\). She begins to say that she has not heard much about women pastors. This does not seem to settle the issue. When probed with more questioning, she resorts to the strategy of ambivalence. ‘I don’t think’, ‘I don’t know’ and ‘I don’t know what my feelings are’ are the type of statements she makes to display her ambivalence. She does admit later that she has seen one woman pastor. She moves to a claim that there were priestesses in the Bible. However she does not arrive at a firm conclusion.

2. Style of Using ‘Eventhough’.

Ranjithamani opens with the claim of the knowledge of the approval of women’s ordination at present. However her centrepiece is one of ambivalence\(^4\). She reveals this by the use of phrases such as ‘even though’ and ‘when we see at the altar’. The latter phrase is left

\(^{1234}\) Udhaya - O9  
Melody – O10  
Ranjithamani – O11

\(^{1235}\) Udhaya - O9

\(^{1236}\) Melody – O10

\(^{1237}\) Ranjithamani – O11
incomplete. Probably this is meant to make the listener guess Ranjithamani’s disapproval.

Both Udhaya and Melody close with their ambivalence but disclaiming the responsibility of making up their minds. Udhaya ends with ‘there is no idea’ while Melody finishes her piece with ‘I don’t know what my feelings are’. Ranjithamani has a strange closure. In spite of expressing her ambivalence within the story, she closes with the positive and approving statement ‘women may be in it’.

These narrators construct stories of disapproval of women’s ordination or their personal ambivalence about the issue. For some the disapproval is based on their personal opinion. Amar hailing from a Brethren background, for example, does not think that ordination is necessary or an issue to be concerned about whether it is for men or women. Sweety and Heera respectively point to the pollution concept and the role of a woman as a housewife. Flora uses a psychological perspective for the limitation. For Saguna it is a religious claim of the house of God being served by the priesthood. Probably in her mind priesthood is only male. Bina claims the restriction to stem from a saying of Paul in prohibiting women from exercising authority. Udhaya, Melody and Ranjithamani construct stories of ambivalence. They are not sure about what their view or approval is.

The question may be raised what do these women want to portray. These women who in their perspective construct stories of disapproval of women’s ordination do not seem to restrict women in their education, career, involvement in church activities, preaching and teaching and participation in church administration. They surely do not portray pictures of women subordinated in family in spousal relationship and treatment of children. They are quite

1238 She probably means what Paul says in 1Cor.14 about women not speaking during worship or 1Tim.2 where Paul speaks about exercising authority.
powerful supporters of women's education and career. It may be that the issue of ordination is not a symbol of inequality, discrimination or subordination for these women. Their self perception and self construction of equality, freedom and power are not undermined by their disapproval of women's ordination.

E. Claiming God's Approval.
Three participants claim explicitly God's approval of women's ordination in the construction of their narratives. Ester, Joy and Swarna firmly claim God's approval. Ester begins\textsuperscript{1239} with no embellishment or elaboration by directly referring to the issue of being a priest. Joy uses an opening with a rhetoric question 'why can’t women pastors be'\textsuperscript{1240}. This probably is meant to jolt the listener out of any negativism. Swarna uses a context\textsuperscript{1241} with an allowance for women freely to preach. This type of beginning with a different issue is used by quite a few of these narrators.

1. Use of a Faith Claim.
The brief story of Ester\textsuperscript{1242} is constructed to allow women to be ordained based on the fitness of every one being approved of the Lord. There is no challenging of this point. This is based on a faith claim that every one is approved.

\textsuperscript{1239} Ester - O12
\textsuperscript{1240} Joy – O13
\textsuperscript{1241} Swarna – O14
\textsuperscript{1242} Ester - O12

Joy uses examples from the Bible. The example she uses is about a person not in a religious position or ministry. However her point of people listening to God is made probably to emphasise her view that when God wants everyone to know, women also may be included in the service of making people know. Joy proceeds with a construction that claims to have drawn biblical example but does not explicitly base it on any one particular reference. She brings in the supporting point that in the Bible also there were women preachers. The way she uses this supporting point as a tool is quite interesting. She claims that because men wrote the Bible they had left out women who preached. She neither explains nor allows any questioning of this evidence she brings in. Swarna also brings in biblical examples. She cites one name Phoebe and also quotes the claim that in Christ there is neither man nor woman. Her construction is repeatedly characterised with emphatic statements. Further she explicitly claims that there is no further question in this matter.

Ester having claimed the approval of the Lord leaves the question open. Probably she feels that there is no necessity for any formal closure. Joy closes with her claim that women can do it – be pastors. Swarna is quite strong in constructing her story. She emphatically claims that there should not be any question about the issue and the matter ends there for her.

F. Approval Rationalised.

Quite a few narrators in their various ways rationalise the approval for women’s ordination. Tiny, Jeyavathy, Lita, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral use this construction. They all

---

1243 Joy – O13

1244 Swarna – O14
begin their narratives by going straight to the point of the story. Probably they feel that there is no necessity to describe the context.

1. Talent held as a Rationale.

Tiny puts forward the argument that women who are talented may minister in any big church, with prayer for managing problems. The rationale she finds for women’s ordination is talent combined with prayer.

2. Using Theological Understanding.

Jeyavathy brings in important arguments. She claims that if women also have the anointing, guidance and call they can very well do the ordained ministry. This she repeats emphasising her point. Further she views that women also have a part in building up the Church. She holds that only if women also partake in the ministry may many persons be brought to the Lord especially as the Lord’s coming is near. Thus she reveals her theologizing of the validity of women’s ordination.

---

1245 Tiny – O15
Jeyavathy – O16
Lita – O17
Mariam – O18
Lovely – O19
Jeyam – O20
Saral – O21

1246 Tiny – O15

1247 Jeyavathy – O16

Lita's\textsuperscript{1248} construction is strange in that she seems to disapprove ordination for women but allows in some circumstances for which she cites an example. She seems to disapprove of women's ordination. However as she proceeds with her narrative it is clear that she was not quite happy for her daughter-in-law to take up the profession of ordained ministry. She rationalises her point. She had not been quite happy for her daughter-in-law to be ordained because of her being a married woman. This comes out in the narration through Lita's citing the example of another woman, Sister Betty Paul. Lita narrates how she admired her and attended her Bible teaching class eagerly. Further Lita rationalises her giving allowance to her daughter-in-law to be ordained by holding that her daughter-in-law also has her own view. Through this type of construction Lita displays her rationalisation of women's ordination.

4. Arguments Based on Commonsense Understandings.

Mariam's rationalisation\textsuperscript{1249} is expressed through the point that women also do well in the ordained ministry. Lovely\textsuperscript{1250} in her rationalising narrative brings in the supportive points of women's confidence level, maturity and the lack of difference between men and women except in physical strength that has nothing to do with preaching. Jeyam's story also seems to begin with ambivalence. However as she proceeds she clearly rationalises her stance\textsuperscript{1251}. Her arguments arise from the facts that ordained women are also equal in training, preaching, wearing the cassock and serving the communion. She seems to be quite knowledgeable about

\textsuperscript{1248} Lita – O17
\textsuperscript{1249} Mariam – O18
\textsuperscript{1250} Lovely – O19
\textsuperscript{1251} Jeyam – O20

The narratives of some women indicate that the resistance to women's ordination is personal, psychological, institutional and cultural. This is supported by Graham in pointing to the analysis of the study of Jacqueline Field-Bibb in 1991. Graham, 1995, p. 36
the arguments put forward by those who approve and those who oppose women's ordination. She is aware that some do not want women to head a church even if they are ordained. She is explicit about her doubt about the pollution concept. Saral’s rationalisation arises from ability and zeal displayed by women who minister.

Tiny’s closure is formal in reiterating her rationalised claim about women’s ordination. Jeyavathy closes with the last point of rationalisation that she uses about women being ordained to bring more people into eternity. Lita having started with a negative slant and later rationalised her view closes with a piece of support for women’s ordination. Mariam and Lovely similar to the closure of Tiny end with their point of view of approval of women’s ordination. Jeyam has an ending in which she says that the explanations given for disapproval of women’s ordination are not clear. Having begun with questioning the view of some she moves on to rationalisation. Then she closes with a surmise of a possible rationalisation of disapproval of women’s ordination. Saral like some others ends with emphatic repetition of rationalisation of approval.

These women construct narratives of approval of women’s ordination. They use faith claims and biblical examples to bring out God’s approval. Some rationalise their approval with various strategies of story construction. Talent, theological understanding, giving allowance and commonsense understanding are used as tools of construction of approval. For these women there is no problem of equality and freedom when they approve women’s ordination. It has been noted above that the women who disapprove also of women’s ordination do not reject equality and freedom. Probably for all these narrators the issue of women’s ordination is not an issue of equality and freedom. It does not curtail freedom if it is disapproved of.

1252 Saral – O21
SECTION THREE. SOME CULTURAL PRACTICES AND BEHAVIOUR BASED ON RELIGIOUS MORES.

I. Narratives about Headcovering.

One of the controversial issues related to gender practice arising from the biblical passages is the head covering of women during worship as discussed by Paul the Apostle in 1 Corinthians chapter 11. This also has drawn various responses from the narrators. Further this aspect displays a wide variety of narrative structures. Most narrators approve of or demand headcovering. However most are also aware that it is seen as a sign of subordination. This notion of subordination is rejected. Therefore many of the narrators while rejecting headcovering as a sign of subordination, construct their stories of self perception and self construction rationalising or explaining it as a sign of humility, honour, modesty or as a mere cultural practice. In these various ways the stories are constructed to uphold the practice of head covering while rejecting it as a sign of subordination.

A. Demanding Compulsory Covering.

Arunavathy and Melody construct their narratives about head covering by disapproving not covering the head and demanding compulsory covering. Arunavathy begins with the description of the issue about which she is narrating. Melody opens initially with a statement of the significance of Paul’s writing in 1 Corinthians 11 about women covering their head during worship.

---

1253 Arunavathy – HC(Headcovering)1. The narratives about head covering are found in Appendix 11.
1254 Melody – HC2
1255 Melody refers to Paul’s writing in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16
1. Repetition for Emphasis.

Arunavathy presents several points of her disapproval of those who do not cover their head. Initially it is the slackness in covering. Later she finds fault with those who probably do not give importance to it holding it to be a cultural aspect. Finally her story is emphatically constructed with repeated statements of the compulsory practice of headcovering. She uses the word ‘must’. She also brings up evidence from the practice and understanding of non-Christians who come to her house for prayer. These non-Christians understand headcovering during worship to be a necessary habit of Christians. So those who come to Arunavathy’s house for prayer cover their head in compliance with the Christian practice.

2. Personal Theological Understanding.

Melody does not have much to say directly about women covering their head. However her preoccupation with the practice being compulsory for all indirectly shows her insistence of following the practice. By repeating the phrase ‘it is meant for everyone’ Melody brings out her emphasis and disapproval of those who do not do so. She reiterates her point that because it is there in the Bible for the Corinthians it is meant for all.

Arunavathy closes her narrative of emphasis acknowledging that according to her thinking it is a cultural understanding that most of the people know that Christian women cover their head during worship and prayer. Melody has no formal closure. Probably after having made her point emphatically she feels no necessity for a formal closure that is a style of narrative construction that is probably used for emphasis.

---

1256 Arunavathy - HC1
1257 Melody - HC2
1258 Melody is referring to 1Corinthians 11:2-16
B. Rejecting Head Covering as a Sign of Subordination.

This section discusses the narrative patterns using various ways of explaining or rationalising the practice of head covering.

1. Outright Rejection as a Sign of Subordination.

Several narrators forcefully construct their narratives of compulsion about women’s head covering. They also construct their stories with a strong rejection or denial that head covering is a symbol of women’s subordination. This viewpoint was raised in the focus groups as one of the interpretations of 1 Corinthians 11. Amar, Jeyavathy, Bina, Priya, Sweety and Mariam narrate their stories of compulsory head covering while rejecting it as a symbol of women’s subordination.

Amar\textsuperscript{1259}, Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{1260}, Bina\textsuperscript{1261}, Priya\textsuperscript{1262} and Mariam\textsuperscript{1263} explicitly indicate the subject matter of their narration. Sweety’s statement\textsuperscript{1264} is short and crisp with no formal opening and no explanation of the issue of head covering that necessitates the understanding of the listener. She simply says, ‘It is not like that, how can we say like that?’ Within this pattern of construction different styles may be followed to construct the core.

\textsuperscript{1259} Amar – HC3

\textsuperscript{1260} Jeyavathy – HC4

\textsuperscript{1261} Bina – HC5

\textsuperscript{1262} Priya – HC6

\textsuperscript{1263} Mariam – HC8

\textsuperscript{1264} Sweety - HC7
i. Drawing on Culture.

While presenting three reasons why she considers covering the head proper \(^{1265}\) also makes a clear statement that it does not show any inferiority or superiority. She constructs her story to present that covering the head is necessary because in her church they insist on it, in her city the Muslim women even the old ones cover and Amar herself likes covering the head. Thus she presents her demand for compulsory covering while rejecting it as a symbol of female subordination.

Jeyavathy\(^ {1266}\) also has three points to demand that covering the head is necessary. She elaborately explains a particular situation in a meeting in which the women did not cover the head and disapproves of it. Further she draws from her Power Ministry\(^ {1267}\) in which it is compulsorily insisted upon. The third point Jeyavathy puts forward is quite interesting. She claims that only by covering the head one may feel the presence of God, because of what the Bible says. However Jeyavathy rejects the notion that it shows female subordination. In fact she is surprised to hear of such a notion. This is displayed by her rhetorical question whether it says so in the Bible.

Bina’s lengthy narration\(^ {1268}\) is quite interesting with humorous examples of what is honourable and what is not. She draws from a cultural practice of removing the footwear when one enters a worship place. Referring to covering the head, she uses the word ‘disrespectful’ for not

\(^{1265}\) Amar – HC3

\(^{1266}\) Jeyavathy – HC4

\(^{1267}\) Power Ministry is the name given to the work some persons who involve themselves in the Jesus Calls Ministry do. These persons also called Jesus Calls evangelists go the Jesus Calls headquarters on some days and pray for the persons who come there for counselling and prayer. These persons have to had the experience of receiving the power of the Holy Spirit in a specific experience of being filled and anointed by the Holy Spirit.

\(^{1268}\) Bina – HC5
covering. Further she does not like not covering. The emphasis is shown by her repetition of the word ‘respectful’. She adds on to her argument of demanding head covering claiming it to be a discipline that is good. But she rejects any idea of inferiority or superiority and female submission.

**ii. Explicit Rejection of Female Submission.**

Priya\(^{1269}\) also has a string of reasons for her argument for covering the head. She demands it because she holds that the Bible says so. So she finds it a problem when someone does not do so. However she repeatedly states that it does not show the subordination of the woman. Sweety’s short statement\(^{1270}\) simply denies any symbolism of head covering being female submission or subordination. Mariam also in the construction of her narrative\(^{1271}\) rejects the idea of female submission or subordination while insisting on the covering of head. She explicitly states that it is good though it is a tradition and refers to 1Corinthians without any particular reference to chapter or verse.

In closing Amar makes a strong statement that leaving the head or hair open is not right. This seals her story without any opportunity given for any argument. Jeyavathy has no formal closure that once again is probably meant to indicate that the issue is closed with no further argument or debate. Bina has a well-rounded conclusion which is firm and neat. Priya’s repeated claim that she really does not know the significance closes her narrative well. Sweety’s brief statement is not left hanging in the air though it has no formal opening or

\(^{1269}\) Priya – HC6  
\(^{1270}\) Sweety - HC7  
\(^{1271}\) Mariam – HC8
closure. It is a firm statement. Mariam in a similar way to the other stories ends with a firm rejection of the idea of head covering being a symbol of female subordination.

2. Rationalising as Humility.

Some participants such as Ester, Amar, Heera and Saguna construct their stories about head covering in a different manner. They rationalise the practice as showing humility based on tradition or custom or culture.

Of these Amar, Heera and Saguna have some formal opening. Ester goes straight into the point of her story. Amar has a descriptive opening about the practice of covering the head in her church. In her church it is insisted on from quite a young age even before the girls go through the ceremony of confirmation. Heera has a claim about how covering or not covering is immaterial for her. This seems to trivialise. Saguna’s opening roots the practice in tradition and culture.

i. Using Repetitive Words.

Ester in her narrative uses the words ‘respect’ and ‘humility’ to show that for her the significance of head covering is respect for the Lord and humility. Amar repeatedly uses the word ‘modesty’. Heera uses several words to denote humility – ‘respect’, ‘reverence’,

1272 Amar – HC10
1273 Heera – HC11
1274 Saguna – HC12
1275 Ester – HC9
1276 Ester – HC9
1277 Amar – HC10
1278 Heera – HC11
'humility' and 'modesty'. It is interesting to note that she uses a rhetorical question – 'Why don't you humble yourself?' This powerfully portrays her point.

ii. Claim of Humility.

Saguna\textsuperscript{1279} claims that covering the head helps one to feel the presence of God. She does not explicitly use any word or phrase or argument to show humility. But it probably can be surmised that humility is required to feel the presence of God.

Ester's bare statement is that it, meaning head covering is not for that and only humility. She refers to head covering being a symbol of subordination by her word 'it' and says that head covering is not for subordination, but for humility. She has no formal closure. But she has made her point firmly and probably wants to leave it at that. Amar has a formal closure of repeatedly claiming that she likes covering the head. Heera's end follows the same pattern as her opening. She reiterates her claim that it is immaterial for her that trivialises the issue. Saguna in a simple manner closes her story with the claim that it is her personal opinion. These various closures show that the women have a variety of opinions or may use various strategies and tools to construct their narratives.

3. Acknowledging Humility, with Explicit Rejection of Subordination.

Udhaya, Lovely and Jeyam not only construct their narratives about women's head covering but also make sure to reject explicitly the idea that it is a symbol of women's subordination.

\textsuperscript{1279} Saguna – HC12
Udhaya\textsuperscript{1280}, Lovely\textsuperscript{1281} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{1282} all begin with the phrase ‘covering the head’. This leads right into the core of the narrative.

All make two points each. Udhaya\textsuperscript{1283} claims increased concentration. However she also explicitly rejects the idea of female subordination. She shows her firm rejection by stating that there is no link between the two issues. She also uses the word ‘humbling’. Lovely has a lengthy narration\textsuperscript{1284} about women’s hair being a pride for them. She draws the point that to cover this hair that is a pride, is to display humility. Stating several times that we should humble ourselves before God she suggests that this could be one explanation. She also rejects head covering as a symbol of female subordination. Jeyam\textsuperscript{1285} categorically rejects the notion of female submission. However for her covering the head shows honouring God and modesty. She uses the word ‘modesty’ twice to show emphasis.

Udhaya closes with a statement that she should check the interpretation that head covering symbolises female subordination. Lovely ends by advocating head covering. Her emphasis is shown by the use of the word ‘definitely’. Jeyam closes with the claim of her understanding of the significance of the practice.
4. Head Covering required for Honour explicitly rejecting it as a Symbol of Subordination.

Three participants narrate their viewpoint about women’s head covering showing that it is to give honour to God and not as a symbol of women’s subordination. Flora, Ranjithamani and Jeyam construct their narratives in this pattern. All begin by clearly stating the issue with the use of the phrase ‘head covering’\textsuperscript{1286}. There is no elaborate context setting. The listener is expected to understand the practice and issue.

Flora in her narrative\textsuperscript{1287} attributes to the practice of head covering the effect of giving honour to God. Ranjithamani\textsuperscript{1288} roots it in the Corinthian passage and claims it to be a good practice. She elaborately narrates that not covering dishonours God and she reiterates her claim by stating that head covering honours God. The points of dishonouring and honouring are repeated probably to give a firm emphasis. Jeyam’s narrative\textsuperscript{1289} has been already considered in the previous section above about narratives that use the construction of narratives about head covering for humility rejecting subordination of women from a different perspective. Here again it falls into this narrative pattern. She also uses the word ‘honour’ and ‘dishonour’ repeatedly. All three explicitly reject the idea that covering the head shows subordination of women to men.

\textsuperscript{1286} Flora – HC16
Ranjithamani – HC17
Jeyam – HC15

\textsuperscript{1287} Flora – HC16

\textsuperscript{1288} Ranjithamani – HC17

\textsuperscript{1289} Jeyam – HC15
Flora’s narrative piece has no formal closure while Ranjithamani closes with the claim of obedience to God’s word in honouring God. Jeyam briefly ends with the understanding that it shows modesty. However none give any space for argument or challenge.

5. Compulsion of Head Covering to show Modesty and Not to Attract.

One set of narrators tell their stories about women’s head covering demanding it to be compulsory for the sake of modesty\textsuperscript{1290} and not to attract or distract others. Tiny, Gem, Saral and Swarna constitute this group. Of these, three explicitly indicate rejection of head covering as a symbol of subordination. These open their narratives with the use of the phrase ‘covering of the head’\textsuperscript{1291}. Thus the subject matter of their narratives is explicitly stated.

i. Using Personal Experience for Construction.

Each of these stories is elaborately constructed. Tiny\textsuperscript{1292} begins by claiming that head covering is necessary and goes on to construct her explanation. She describes how the dressing up of women becomes an attraction. She also draws from her experience that her husband did not allow her to dress up grandly while going to church. She uses terms such as ‘attraction’, ‘distraction’ and ‘modest’. However she is quite keen to make clear that head covering is not to show that men are superior to women or women are subordinate to men. An interesting point of construction in Tiny’s story is that while speaking about attraction and distraction she also adds that men are a little weak where woman-gazing is concerned.

\textsuperscript{1290} Deme discusses the practice of women in North India either drawing the saree over their head or using the custom of veiling for modesty, Deme, 1995, pp. 26-27

\textsuperscript{1291} Tiny – HC18
Gem – HC21
Saral – HC20
Swarna – HC19

\textsuperscript{1292} Tiny – HC18
Swarna in her own way constructs her point elaborately. She like Tiny draws from her experience. As a little girl she was not allowed to have flowers on her hair while going to church in order not to cause any distraction or disturbance. She constructs her argument that covering helps to remove any distraction of attention of others who may watch the hairstyle, flowers on the hair and jewellery. She uses the word ‘disturbance’. It is important to note that Swarna right at the beginning itself roots her argument in the Bible. Saral repeatedly uses words such as ‘disciplining’, ‘attraction’, ‘undistracted’ and ‘distraction’. But she also does not accept women’s subordination.


Gem’s construction is interesting in the way she combines biblical and cultural material. She roots her explanation in one point in 1 Corinthians 11. She points out that because of ‘angels’ women should cover their head. It is interesting how she links up this with Indian mythology and history. In Indian mythology it is said that a lot of celestial beings also waited for one beautiful woman Damayanti to garland them and to choose them as her husband. The interesting point Gem draws from this is that women are desired by even angelic beings. So she advocates covering the head so that a person may pray to Jesus Christ without any disturbance or obstruction by good or evil spirits. In Indian history it is said that after the Moghul invasion the Hindu women of nobility were to cover their head in order not to be carried away by the invading Muslims. However she rejects the notion of women being.

1293 Swarna – HC19
1294 Saral – HC20
1295 Gem – HC21

inferior or being subordinated. Her insistence is for women not to attract men with the beauty of their head.

Tiny has a formal closure that head covering is for modesty and devotedness. Gem has no formal end. However her statement is firm and her story is not left hanging in the air. Saral also has a firm formal closure of insisting on the necessity of head covering. Swarna has an emphatic winding up of her story rooting it in the Bible without any reference or explanation.

C. Rationalising.

Bina and Sweety use the technique of rationalisation in their construction of stories about women’s headcovering. Bina\textsuperscript{1296} and Sweety\textsuperscript{1297} begin their stories giving clues to their rationalisation. Bina says ‘it is there ‘because of the angels’. Sweety begins with ‘It is written in one place that your hair itself is a glory for you’ and ‘but what people say is’.

Bina goes on to construct her rationalisation\textsuperscript{1298} that women need to cover their head because of the angels. She gives an elaborate explanation of the angels in Genesis 6 seeing that the daughters of men are beautiful and being tempted. Her sentences are not complete. This may be so in order to expect that the listener fills in the other details. However she rationalises that woman who is given her hair as glory, in the church should cover her head and be modest. She brings again the point that the Apostle Paul mentions the angels. This is the crux of her rationalisation – the presence of the angels.

\textsuperscript{1296} Bina – HC22
\textsuperscript{1297} Sweety – HC23, HC24
\textsuperscript{1298} Bina – HC22
Sweety in one narrative\textsuperscript{1299} rationalises her stand with the statement about the hair being glory. This unlike Bina leads Sweety to take a view that women may or may not cover their head. However she also rationalises with the point of reverence. In her second story\textsuperscript{1300} she does not bring a direct point for rationalising head covering. She brings a piece about an elderly person who was not happy about people not kneeling while praying. However she extends this to rationalise her point of ‘reverence’ in covering the head.

Though both Bina and Sweety use the strategy of rationalisation they come to different conclusions. The end of Bina’s narrative concludes with a demand for head covering while Sweety ends with an option to do either way.

**D. Rooting It in Cultural Practice.**

Interestingly Lita and Saguna use the method of constructing their narratives about women’s head covering by rooting it in tradition and culture as a cultural practice. These two women do not find any biblical basis or theological argument. This is interesting because much of the compulsion for head covering as taught by the complementarians comes from a particular interpretation of Paul’s writing in 1 Corinthians 11. Reinforced by the cultural practice in India many Christian women in India would just accept the practice and would go to the extent of saying that it is in the Bible. But as seen in the sections describing the narratives of other women in this sample, they may not subscribe to the complementarian view in its totality or they may even reinterpret the injunction given by Paul. Neither of these two women begins with the explicit statement about the subject matter. Lita starts\textsuperscript{1301} with a statement about

\textsuperscript{1299} Sweety – HC23
\textsuperscript{1300} Sweety – HC24
\textsuperscript{1301} Lita – HC25
women being equal in the church. Probably this helps her in her trivialisation of the practice in her main narrative. Saguna goes directly into her point\textsuperscript{1302}. This also probably helps her in her core point.

Lita constructs her story\textsuperscript{1303} of trivialisation of the practice of head covering labelling it as a mere habit. She twice refers to ‘Paul’s time’ and also uses the word ‘habit’. Saguna\textsuperscript{1304} also uses repeatedly the words ‘habit’ and ‘culture’. Similar to Bina and Sweety in the previous section, Lita and Saguna also use similar tools but arrive at different conclusions. Lita closes her narrative by reiterating the practice in Paul’s time while Saguna holds her approval of head covering done for reverence as her personal opinion.

**E. Compulsion with Flexibility.**

Amar and Sweety interestingly have stories that are constructed to demand compulsion of women’s head covering. This once again is interesting for the reasons given above in subsection D. But their stories are also tempered with flexibility in the compulsion. Amar has an elaborate opening of describing what happened when once a Hindu attended their church\textsuperscript{1305}. This gives a lead into her main narrative that is described below. Sweety has no explicit statement or indication of her subject matter\textsuperscript{1306}. This also probably helps her in her construction of her point with flexibility.

\textsuperscript{1302} Saguna - HC12  
\textsuperscript{1303} Lita - HC25  
\textsuperscript{1304} Saguna, HC12  
\textsuperscript{1305} Amar - HC26  
\textsuperscript{1306} Sweety - HC27
Amar’s opening with the incident of a Hindu coming to her church and asking about head covering helps her construction. The Hindu had asked why some cover and others do not cover their head and whether there was no hard and fast rule. Amar had to explain that no one is compelled. She uses this to bring her point of flexibility. This is shown by the statement that no one says that women should compulsorily cover their head; but those who want do so. However Amar proceeds with the narrative to describe how it is advocated in her church for women from an early age. This is interesting that Amar moves to a different position from that she began with. Sweety’s construction that the practice of head covering is an external one helps her to put forward her point of flexibility.

Here also the two narrators differ in their statement at the end. Amar holds that women in her church cover their head while Sweety closes with the statement that it is all right whether they cover or do not cover. Thus they achieve flexibility in their construction.

F. Trivialisation for Those Who do not Cover.

Lila has an interesting way of constructing her story about women’s head covering. She is the only one who explicitly trivialises the practice of those who do not cover their head at worship. Lila’s opening goes directly into her narrative. This lack of a formal opening requires the listener to understand about what she is talking.
In an interesting manner Lila\textsuperscript{1310} trivialises the behaviour of those who do not cover. She rationalises their concentration and not being aware of the cover falling away. She brings in emphasis for her by stating that they do not do so purposely. An added excuse is that they are young ones. Nowhere in the narrative is it stated that she is talking about only the young ones. However in her own way she trivialises the behaviour of those who do not cover. Just as her opening Lila’s ending is also left open. There is no formal opening and closure. Having made her point in a brief narrative Lila leaves it at that.

Most of these narrators construct stories of approving of or demanding head covering of women during worship and prayer. It may be rooted in their personal theological understanding, cultural practice or biblical material. It may even be rationalised as in the narratives of Bina and Sweety. On the other hand almost all reject it as a symbol of subordination or female submission as the complementarians would teach from their interpretation of 1Cor.11 (see APPENDIX 5B, section II). Bina and Gem would even point to the necessity for headcovering for the sake of the angels; but, they would in no way accept any subordination or female submission. Amar and Sweety display flexibility in their construction. Lila trivialises the practice of those who do not cover. But the majority in their perception and construction require or advocate head covering of women but not for subordination or submission. Their reasons given would be to follow the practice of head covering because it is the custom, tradition or culture. It may even be for modesty, humility, and concentration while praying, honouring God or not to attract undue attention.

\textsuperscript{1310} Lila - HC28
II. Narratives about Husband as the Head.

One of the issues that arose in the focus groups as a result of exposure to the studies of the biblical passages pertaining to gender practice was the understanding of the headship of the husband as stated by the Apostle Paul in Ephesians chapter five. This also generated varied patterns of narratives in which the women used several different strategies of construction such as acceptance and acceptance with their own explanations and understanding.\textsuperscript{1311}

A. Constructing their own Interpretations.

Quite a few narrators do not challenge or question the view that the husband is the head. But it is interesting that they construct the narratives pouring their own content into the concept or idea of the headship of the husband just as they have displayed their own interpretations about the head covering. Their stories are constructed to put forward their interpretations. Ester, Bina, Lovely, Swarna and Saral construct narratives of their own interpretations of the concept of headship.

Each narrator begins in her own way. Some do not even indicate that their narrative is about the subject matter of the headship of the husband. Ester begins\textsuperscript{1312} with the word 'unity' which gives a clue to what she is about to state. Bina\textsuperscript{1313} affirms that the husband is the ‘head’ but later proceeds in her construction to explicate her understanding. Lovely begins\textsuperscript{1314} by expressing her confusion about why the husband alone has been named as the head that she

\textsuperscript{1311} Shashi Jain also notes that the husband is the head of the family. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 132

\textsuperscript{1312} Ester – HH(Headship of husband)1. The narratives about headship of husband are found in Appendix 11.

\textsuperscript{1313} Bina – HH2

\textsuperscript{1314} Lovely – HH3
resolves in the main story that is explained below. Swarna also begins\textsuperscript{1315} with her own understanding. Saral opens with an explanation from the Indian family\textsuperscript{1316} of the man being the main breadwinner.

Ester constructs her interpretation\textsuperscript{1317} with the repeated use of the word ‘unity’ and the words ‘understanding’ and ‘giving in’ to pack her own meaning into the term ‘head’.

Bina has a lengthy piece\textsuperscript{1318}. She puts forward several points to explain her interpretation of how the husband is the head. She begins her explanation with the claim that the head should be in Christ. She also acknowledges that it is difficult if it is not so and there will be conflict. She gives a solution for this situation – to correct gently. It is interesting to note that Bina in her construction brings in points from her general claim of religion and what Jesus has said. At the same time she graphically points out that it is not an implicit obedience of listening to everything the husband says. Further in detail she contrasts the head that is in Christ and the one who is a child of Satan. She advocates the pattern of doing everything with love. On the other hand she rejects headship if the husband is autocratic.

Lovely having begun saying that she is confused proceeds to give her explanation\textsuperscript{1319}. She explains that the husband being the head is being in the position of a head of a group who coordinates consulting with every one else. He is the one who takes the final decision. Swarna

\textsuperscript{1315} Swarna – HH4

\textsuperscript{1316} Saral – HH5

\textsuperscript{1317} Ester – HH1

\textsuperscript{1318} Bina – HH2

\textsuperscript{1319} Lovely – HH3
has a long story with graphic imagery to argue her point. She begins with an analogy to explain the relationship between Christ and the Church. She proceeds to explain from the natural world how the head and the body are interconnected and interdependent. She also brings in the idea that it is a strong support. Quite interestingly she goes on to explain the effect produced by the headless body and a head severed from the body. This she applies to the victory of Christ over the Devil. She extends her explanation of interconnectedness and interdependence to the relationship between the Christ and the Church. Thus she constructs her narrative of explanations.

Saral in her own way draws from the Indian family and tries to explain the headship of the husband. For her it seems to be the one who brings home the finance. She points out that many women in the Indian family are housewives and do not go out for earning. This aspect of earning makes the husband the head or the leader in Saral’s interpretation. However she is keen in repeatedly stating that in other matters there is equal responsibility for all members of the family.

Ester neatly closes with the statement that the husband is the head. Bina ends with the negative example of an autocratic husband who cannot be the head. Lovely explicitly finishes with the claim that this is her understanding. Swarna brings around her story to match the opening that this is to explicate the relationship between the Christ and the Church. Saral also like Lovely completes her narrative with the claim that this is her meaning.

1320 Swarna – HH4

1321 Saral – HH5

Compare Saral’s claim that the husband is the breadwinner in many Indian families and the wife is in charge of the domestic sphere with Mishler’s statement that family economy is gendered and the support-dependence arrangement of husband and wife is the hallmark of the traditional family, Mishler, 1999, p. 126; see also Bott cited by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 15 and also p. 17
B. Interpretation of Adjustment.

Three participants interpret the husband's headship in a particular manner. Their narratives are constructed interpreting the headship as a relationship of adjustment and understanding on the part of both the husband and wife. Udhaya, Tiny and Gem interpret headship with mutual understanding and adjustment in their construction of stories about the headship of the husband. All three in the opening explicitly show their subject matter by using the word 'head' or 'husband'. There is no confusion or doubt about the main theme of their narratives.

Udhaya uses words such as 'equality' and 'understanding'. However in her interpretation she puts in the content of acceptance of the headship of the husband and submissiveness even if the husband does not understand. It is interesting to note that she supports her point with the explanation that lack of understanding is the reason for more divorces at present. She admits that women are well educated and expect more freedom at present. What is more interesting is Udhaya's interpretation that it is not wrong if the woman is submissive if she is not given the freedom though this may appear to conflict with her view of 'equality'.

Tiny categorically rejects the idea that the husband is the boss. She does not see this appropriate for the present day. In her narration she gives the reason that in the former days women were kept subordinate and so were submissive. Interestingly she brings in the example of Sarah who called Abraham 'lord'. But she proceeds to explain that this does not mean that Abraham was dominating Sarah. For Tiny the husband is the head in 'certain things'. But
she is keen also to explain that this does not give room for domination. It is giving in with love. Tiny is not rationalising but interpreting with a relationship of adjustment.

Gem in her construction\textsuperscript{1326} explains that the husband is the head and women cannot oppose or argue with them. However she also interprets this to be based on understanding and giving in.

Udhaya closes with her solution of submissiveness for conflict. Tiny also emphasises giving in with love. Gem ends her narration with the claim of blessing and joy in giving the first place to the husband.

C. Acceptance Rejecting Domination.

Many narrators in their stories construct a pattern of acceptance of the headship of the husband. But they explicitly and firmly construct stories that deny and reject male domination. Flora, Jeyavathy, Bina, Ranjithamani, Saguna, Mariam and Jeyam use this strategy of constructing stories of accepting the headship of the husband while rejecting his domination.

Some begin their narrative clearly indicating the issue by mentioning the word ‘head’\textsuperscript{1327}. Some others start with some other point in the same biblical passage. These are varied. Bina starts with the concept of one flesh\textsuperscript{1328}. Mariam points out the relationship between Christ and

\textsuperscript{1326} Gem – HH8
\textsuperscript{1327} Flora – HH9
Jeyavathy – HH10
Ranjithamani – HH12
Saguna – HH13
\textsuperscript{1328} Bina – HH11
the Church. Jeyam begins talking about the relationship between the husband and the
wife.

Flora’s piece is brief and to the point. She states that the husband is the head and qualifies it with ‘but’. She proceeds to explain that it should not be domination. Her story is based on the point that the husband is the head as Christ is the head. Drawing the analogy she does not explicate it.

Jeyavathy also accepts that the husband is the head. She brings in the example of Sarah who used the term ‘lord’ for her husband Abraham. This for Jeyavathy denotes the honour Sarah gave to Abraham. Jeyavathy interprets this as placing the husband next to the Lord. However she constructs her qualifying statement as a response to a further question. She also claims that it is not domination.

Bina begins with her main point straightaway. She points to the idea of one flesh and explicates headship without domination basing it on the saying that there is none who hates his own flesh. Though Bina does not explicitly use words such as ‘headship’ and ‘domination’, she expects the listener to arrive at the conclusion that a one flesh relationship in which a person does not hate his own flesh necessitates lack of domination. Ranjithamani also uses the

---

1329 Mariam – HH14
1330 Jeyam – HH15
1331 Flora – HH9
1332 Jeyavathy – HH10
1333 Bina – HH11
one flesh concept\textsuperscript{1334}. She brings out the idea that the couple is not divided. She takes some pains to explain that the wife has to give honour and respect to the husband who is the head. Immediately she proceeds to explain further that the man should not dominate. She emphasises her point by repeating that the woman should not be kept a slave. Ranjithamani continues to explain that there should be a consultative pattern and that the husband is the head in the family as the Christ is the head of the Church.

Saguna constructs her narrative with an elaborate explication of the concept of headship\textsuperscript{1335}. She works out her explanation from the idea of Christ being the head\textsuperscript{1336}. She uses the analogy pointing out that the Christ washed the feet\textsuperscript{1337} and claimed to be like one who serves\textsuperscript{1338}. She continues her explanation of Christ being the head neither dominating nor keeping under bondage. For her Christ is obeyed because of love and because of a filial relationship. So in Saguna’s interpretation there should be mutual love between the husband and the wife. She further enumerates the necessary qualities of peace and fear of God. She reiterates her point that the husband is the head to oversee and not to dominate or treat others as slaves.

Mariam constructs her interpretation\textsuperscript{1339} on the basis of the relationship between Christ and the Church. Having accepted the headship of the husband, she repeatedly emphasises that it is not domination. She further explains that it shows the importance of the head upon which other

\textsuperscript{1334} Ranjithamani – HH12
This speaks of wife’s deference to the husband. Riessman, notes this in her research about south Indian women. See , Riessman, 2002, p. 703

\textsuperscript{1335} Saguna – HH13

\textsuperscript{1336} Ephesians 5:23

\textsuperscript{1337} John 13: 5

\textsuperscript{1338} Luke 22: 27

\textsuperscript{1339} Mariam – HH14
parts depend. Jeyam\textsuperscript{1340} begins with this idea of support. Having claimed the headship of the husband she also repeatedly rejects domination. She goes on to explain how the head should act with the help of the others. Repeating her rejection of the idea of domination or slavery, she continues to draw examples from social institutions. In organizations and schools there is a head to coordinate. This is the model Jeyam advocates in her interpretation.

Flora's brief piece is closed with the claim that the husband is the head. Jeyavathy, Saguna and Jeyam end on the note of rejection of domination. Bina's brief statement is left with emphasis without any formal closure. Ranjithamani similar to Flora closes with the acceptance of the husband's headship. Mariam completes her narrative emphasizing the importance of the head.

**D. Moralising and Rationalising.**

Two participants moralise and rationalise the issue of headship of husband in their narratives. One does not accept it and the other accepts it. Heera who does not accept the headship of husband constructs a story of moralising and rationalising. Melody in her construction of moralising and rationalising that is explained below shows that she accepts the headship of the husband. Heera has an elaborate opening of describing the situation of being required to accept the headship of the husband\textsuperscript{1341}. But Melody goes straight into her narrative\textsuperscript{1342}.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1340} Jeyam – HH15\\
\textsuperscript{1341} Heera – HH16\\
\textsuperscript{1342} Melody – HH17
\end{flushleft}
Heera finds her rationalisation in her explanation that probably outside India in other countries men are better and more understanding. She moralises the religious advice given to accept the husband’s headship by contrasting the male domination in India and her supposition of lack of it elsewhere. However she rationalises the claim in India that the husband is like God. This is based on the surmise that in the Brahmin community men are different being helpful to the women and so could be considered as gods. She brings in the statement of her students that their husbands help them for support of her point. Thus she moralises the requirement for accepting the headship of the husband and rationalises her claim that men are better outside India while in India they are vile with male domination except in one community. But within this community also she applies it to being helpful and does not make clear whether it is for all aspects of life. Her rejection of the headship of the husband is not explicitly stated. But it comes out in her moralising and rationalising with the use of the phrase ‘all right, what to do, accept it’.

Melody rationalises the headship of the husband claiming it not to be like a servant. She moralises the husband’s authority with the concept of wife’s submission as unto the Lord and rationalises that it must be for a good purpose. She further constructs her narrative on the rationale that there should be total union between the man and the woman.

In spite of the differing tones of the two narratives, the narrators close their pieces with a positive note. Heera ends with her positive appreciation of the modern men who help their wives while Melody closes with the demand for total union of the man and the woman.

---

1343 Heera – HH16

1344 Melody – HH17
E. Advocating Female Submission.

One narrator has a story advocating female submission. Amar in constructing her narrative of
the counsel given to women in her church advocates female submission. Amar’s narrative
opens\textsuperscript{1345} with a clear indication of the context and the subject matter.

Amar\textsuperscript{1346} takes pains to describe and explain her point. In her church the female workers teach
the married women to obey their husbands. They also advocate agreeing to what the husband
says, not acting independently and being submissive. Amar explains how the advice brings in
the example of Sarah who called Abraham ‘my lord’ and obeyed him. She by using repetition
continues to emphasise her point and the point of the advice given to women to obey and be
submissive. It is strange that Amar proceeds to describe the situation of women earning more
than the men. The strangeness is that in such a situation also she explains that female
submission is taught. Amar closes her narrative with the repetition of the advice given. This
leaves no space for any one to question or challenge.

The way the women construct their narratives in response to the issue of the husband being the
head is varied. One may not find anyone outrightly saying that the husband is not the head.
But do they mean in their self perception and self construction that they subscribe to the
concept of the headship of the husband or accept the husband’s headship? Quite a few women
such as Ester, Bina, Lovely, Swarna and Saral construct narratives of their own interpretation.

\textsuperscript{1345}Amar – HH18

\textsuperscript{1346}Amar – HH18

Amar speaks about the advice given to the women in her church that they should obey and be submissive to their
husbands. In narrating about the headship of the husband several of these narrators mention obedience and
submissiveness. U. A. Shimray in a study notes that a Naga wife is to obey and be submissive. Further
conclusions are that the position of a Naga woman is egalitarian. The society is patriarchal though the woman is
not considered as slave or property. There is considerable freedom for a Naga woman. U. A. Shimray, ‘Women’s
It is unity for Ester; for Bina it is the husband who is in Christ and acts in love; Lovely explains it as being the head who consults with others and acts; Swarna describes in detail that it is a relationship of interconnectedness, mutuality, support and love; and, for Saral it is the husband being the main breadwinner while practicing equality in the other aspects of spousal relationship. Udhaya describes the headship of the husband as a relationship of adjustment and giving in. Most of these women, such as those mentioned earlier above and Flora, Jeyavathy, Ranjithamani, Saguna, Bina, Mariam, Jeyam and Melody reject any subordination, domination or oppression. Melody moralises the headship of the husband when the wife submits as to the Lord for a good purpose. Heera rationalises it when the husband is helpful as in the Brahmin community. Amar constructs a narrative of how the submission of the wife is taught in her church. However, Amar does not seem to accept domination or oppression as it may be seen from her narratives about spousal relationship, treatment of children, women’s education and career and head covering. She constructs a picture of self perception and self construction that is one of equality, freedom, strength, well-being and care.

CONCLUSION.

Thus it is seen in this chapter how the participants construct their stories about several different issues related to religious activities and beliefs. They use strategies and techniques of

- valuing which is making it valuable
- ennobling which is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent.
- valorising that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble.
- construction of an inner state of peace and contentment
- making no tall claims
- building narratives of boldness and power
• rationalisation. This is the strategy of story construction the narrators use when they rationalise their story by attempting to provide a good enough reason for their story to appear acceptable in a situation in which the outsider, the listener or the audience may not see any rational reason.

• approval
• justification
• approval with reservation
• disapproval
• advocating
• ambivalence
• making a demand
• rejecting
• making an acknowledgement
• demanding compulsion
• rooting in culture
• making a defense
• proposing interpretations and
• acceptance. Several different tools such as repetition and emphasis are also used in their construction. The different categories of religious discourse are analysed in this manner.
In the narratives about women's general involvement in church activities I find

- valuing of Sunday observance
- construction of stories of inner peace and content in their involvement in the church or religious activities
- making the point that they do their bit without any tall claim
- ennobling women's involvement based on the Bible
- highlighting the benefits
- drawing contrasts
- claims of boldness in involvement
- stories of powerful and active involvement and
- rationalising the involvement of women.

In considering the issue of women preaching and teaching, there are narratives of defense based on God's approval, justifying women's preaching and teaching, claims of personal approval and eulogising. The issue of women's role in church administration drew varied responses such as disapproval, approval, vehement advocating and advocating as valuable.

Similarly the question of women's ordination also drew very varied responses. Some disapproved for the reason of personal objection. Some others brought out reasons of pollution, conflict with the supposed role of women, psychological and religious obstacles and Paul's sayings. Some were ambivalent in their opinion. Some approved claiming God's approval of fitness of all, using biblical examples, rationalising using the basis of talent, theological understanding, God's call and guidance and training.
Two issues, head covering and headship of husband were discussed under cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores. Some demanded compulsory head covering based on practice and personal theological understanding. Most of the participants rejected the idea that head covering should be considered a sign of subordination. Head covering is considered as a cultural practice or showing humility or honour or modesty or a safeguard not to attract attention. Support for this practice is drawn from biblical material or culture or custom.

The issue of the notion of the headship of the husband has drawn various interesting responses. Almost all agree with the notion of the headship of the husband. However their explanations vary. Some have their own interpretation of the content and meaning. Some participants consider it as unity or understanding or giving in or adjustment or coordinator of a group or a relationship of love, interconnectedness, interdependence, strong support and mutual love. Most of them categorically reject the idea of domination and autocratic behaviour. Quite a few point to the notion of ‘one flesh’ and the analogy of the relationship between Christ and the Church. One participant describes how in her church female submission is taught. These stories contribute to how the women perceive and construct their experiences that fit with the overall aim of the research. Once again it is found that the experiences of these women as elicited from their stories cannot be put into well defined boxes of theoretical discussions about Indian women being oppressed and subordinated. It is also found that the women do not seem to fit the egalitarian or complementarian views in an ‘either this or that’ manner. Their experiences and self perceptions seem to be in a ‘this and that’ category.

Invariably most of them subscribe to women’s head covering and the headship of the husband. But they reinterpret, pour their own content, give their own reasons and categorically reject
the notion of either being a symbol of subordination or oppression of women. In their perception women are not subordinate and not to be dominated or oppressed. Even when most of them do not advocate women’s ordination, it is found that ordination is not a symbol of freedom and equality for these women. Their constructions of pouring in their own content and reinterpreting issues of head covering and headship of husband bring out the lack of discrepancy between their perceptions and constructions of stories of spousal relationship, treatment of children, and opportunities of education and career. It has been noted in the chapters dealing with relationships in the family, namely spousal relationship and treatment of children, and perspectives on education and career the narratives do not match the picture portrayed by academic discussions on Indian women. Likewise one may say that their constructions do not match the theological discussions\footnote{See the complementarian and egalitarian views on these described in Appendices 5B and 5C.} on women’s role in church and during worship, head covering and headship of husband. The two perspectives of evangelical theology on the issues of women’s role in the church, head covering and headship of husband differ. The complementarians advocate women’s subordination and submission. Women’s head covering during worship is to display this position of subordination. Women ought to keep silent during worship and ought not to teach and preach in order not to exercise authority over men. The husband is the head of the family and the wife has to submit to his authority, leadership and rule. The egalitarians do not agree with these. Women may preach and teach. Women need not keep silent during worship. The head covering does not apply to situations everywhere at all times. The headship of the husband is not rulership but loving caring relationship of mutuality and interdependence. It is found that the women narrators who may disapprove of women teaching and preaching do not subscribe to a view of women’s subordination.
The women may subscribe to head covering and headship of husband. But they do not accept subordination and domination. They pour their own content into these concepts. They reinterpret and negotiate. They rationalise, moralise and justify. They do not construct stories that fit these two theological positions.

In the researcher's view these intricate perceptions and constructions could not have been gathered simply with a questionnaire method. It is the narratives and the way the women tell their stories that bring out these aspects of their self perception and self construction. These narratives display their feelings, thoughts, beliefs and reactions and responses on their own terms rather than in comparison with a supposed 'norm'. It is these that have been so often overlooked in other studies. This is a contribution of this study.

Having seen the various responses to the issues of religious discourse I move to issues of social discourse in the next chapter. Religious and social discourses are both creators and products of the self-perception and self-construction of the members of a particular community. So it is important to analyse the components of religious and social discourses of the narratives of the members of the focus groups.
CHAPTER SEVEN
SOCIAL DISCOURSE

Introduction.

The previous chapter dealt with the issues of religious discourse in the presentation of the narratives of self-perception and self-construction of the narrators who participated in the focus groups. Issues of social discourse are important in a study of gender practice.\textsuperscript{1348} It has been seen in Chapter 2, section II, B in the quotation from Bleier that our brains produce the cultures that limit our potentialities.\textsuperscript{1349} In the same chapter in section II, D it has been pointed out that Graham claims that human agency is both creator and product of culture.\textsuperscript{1350} Thus our culture that is part of our social milieu is both creator and product of the self-perception and self-construction of the members of a particular community. So the components of social milieu are significant in analysing the self-perception and self-construction of the members of the sample group. It is more so in this study because the components to which these members orient themselves pertain to issues regarding women. The issues dealt with in this chapter are the girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers. In the cultural understanding of these issues a woman is held to be inferior and sometimes even a commodity or a sex object. Ujvala Rajadhyaksha and Swati Smita discuss gender inequalitarian culture and the low status accorded to women.\textsuperscript{1351} So a discussion of these issues is crucial to a perspective of who a

\textsuperscript{1348} Social life is a significant area for exploration in gender studies and studies about gender practice. See Vimala Mehta, 1979. This is one of the areas she explores in her study of attitude of educated women towards social issues.

\textsuperscript{1349} Bleier, 1984, p. viii

\textsuperscript{1350} See Graham, 1995, p. 118

\textsuperscript{1351} Ujvala Rajadhyaksha and Swati Smita. ‘Tracing a Timeline for Work and Family Research in India’, EPW. April 24 – 30, 2004, p. 1674
woman is and her value and status. Several of these issues have been highlighted, discussed and brought to the fore in the social forum. Tamil films, television programs and serials, street theatre, newspaper and magazines, books of all types – the serious ones, novels and short stories have brought an awareness and sensitization about these issues. The Indian government has been taking steps to deal with these issues through separate departments such as the former social welfare department that has been bifurcated to deal with the issues of women and children separately. Along with the Government, Non-governmental Organisations, Faith-based Organisations, Women’s Self Help Groups and various public and private bodies have been dealing with these issues. The Church also has joined in this consciousness raising.

The following articles, studies and books show how these various issues have been dealt with. Niranjan Pant’s book deals with issues about a girl child.\textsuperscript{1352} Sarada Natarajan also has her study in a book form about female infanticide in Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{1353} K. S. Sunanda’s title of her book is provocative.\textsuperscript{1354} Kanakalatha Mukund has written an article\textsuperscript{1355} on how women’s property rights have changed over time resulting in inequality and discrimination when women lost much of their property rights. She also discusses how the value of a woman has been eroded as the practice of \textit{sridhanam}\textsuperscript{1356} has degenerated to dowry. \textit{Sridhanam} was originally the jewellery, things and property the parents of the bride gave her for her own use especially in communities in which the married daughter had no claim to the ancestral or

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1352} Niranjan Pant. \textit{Status of Girl Child and Women in India}. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1995
\bibitem{1353} Sarada Natarajan. \textit{Watering the Neighbour’s Plant. Media Perspectives on Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu}. M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, 1997
\bibitem{1354} K. S. Sunanda. \textit{Girl Child Born To Die In Killing Fields?} Alternative For India Development, Madras, 1995
\bibitem{1356} \textit{sridhanam} is the gift in cash or kind or both given to the woman by her parents when she is married.
\end{thebibliography}
parental property. This has degenerated into dowry that is demanded and received by the parents of the bridegroom with no claim for the daughter for the use of or authority over the dowry. Asghar Ali Engineer’s article argues for protecting the rights of divorced Muslim women and for giving them maintenance.\textsuperscript{1357} N. S. Krishnakumari’s book deals with the status of single women.\textsuperscript{1358} Nisha Srivastava reports of Vanagana, a women’s group in Uttar Pradesh, which organised a campaign for awareness of domestic violence by putting on a play based on a real incident followed by discussion.\textsuperscript{1359} M. Sundara Raj’s book is a detailed historical study about the growth, suppression and control of prostitution in Madras.\textsuperscript{1360} Amrit Srinivasan’s doctoral dissertation is about temple prostitution in Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{1361}

The existence of such studies and books shows awareness and knowledge about these social issues in the society. These cultural understandings and how the participants orient themselves to these are displayed in the narratives about social issues constructed by the women of the sample group.

\textbf{SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT THE GIRL CHILD AND RELATED ISSUES.}

Gender issues related to who a woman is begin from the issues related to the girl child. Studies\textsuperscript{1362} reveal that quite often a girl child is not valued or welcomed. She is disposed of

\textsuperscript{1357} Asghar Ali Engineer. *Muslim Women and Maintenance*, \textit{EPW}. 12June, 1999, pp. 1488-9

\textsuperscript{1358} N. S. Krishnakumari. \textit{Status Of Single Women In India}. Uppal Publishing House, NewDelhi, 1987


\textsuperscript{1360} M. Sundara Raj. \textit{Prostitution In Madras. A Study in Historical Perspective}. Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1993

\textsuperscript{1361} Amrit Srinivasan. *Temple ‘Prostitution’ And Community Reform. An Examination of the ethnographic, historical and textual context of the devadasi of Tamil Nadu, South India*, Ph. D., Cambridge, nd.

\textsuperscript{1362} Niranjan Pant, 1995, p. 63 – discrimination against females.
either before or after birth by the use of female feticide or female infanticide. In many situations the girl child is discriminated against by not being given proper nutrition, health care, education and opportunities for holistic development. The causes for imbalance are both economic and social. She is considered a burden and a liability. She is vulnerable and looked upon as a threat to the sexual purity and morality of men. She is to be married off as soon as possible. She is perceived as a temptress and a seductress. She is attributed impurity and pollution. Further there is no problem in the minds of sexists to use her as a piece of convenience. This devaluing of a girl child that leads to discrimination and abuse is an issue responded to by the members of the focus groups. In this section I examine how these women construct their narratives about the girl child.


Many participants vigorously construct narratives that value the girl child. Udhaya, Bina, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam put forward several different supportive points to display their view of positive valuing of the girl child. All these narratives open with specific reference to the girl child making a statement that it is wrong. Some may say explicitly that female infanticide or feticide is wrong while others may not explicitly say what is wrong. Four of them are direct and crisp in their opening while Bina has an elaborate detailed opening. They begin with a


1364 Pant, p. 67

1365 Batra and Dangwal, 2000, p. 107

1366 Udhaya – GC(Girl child)1. The narratives about the girl child are found in Appendix 12.
Saral – GC3
Swarna – GC4
Jeyam – GC5

1367 Bina – GC2
condemnation of female infanticide or feticide. It is quite clear that the context is that of their response to the issues related to the girl child.

Udhaya\textsuperscript{1368} is crisp and short in making an explicit statement that a girl child is precious. On the other hand Bina\textsuperscript{1369} goes into a lengthy description of showing how a girl child is precious. It is interesting to note that Bina begins her narrative with an inclusive statement of equality and that one should accept what God gives whether it is a girl or a boy child. However she proceeds to claim that in these days it is better to have a girl child because a daughter is obedient compared to a son. Her claim is that a boy may be wayward – ‘boys become a big problem for the parents rather than the girl’. Quite strangely (the strangeness of Bina’s construction is her switching around different valuations of boys and girls) Bina in the next moment highlights the concern about the girl child having to be married off. Thus she uses the strategies of positive valuing of one over the other and contrast in her narrative. Finally she concludes that both a girl and a boy are valuable. Bina goes into lengthy descriptions of how she was happy to have had a girl and a boy. Her narrative also includes how her mother wanted to stay with her and the loneliness in her brother’s house led to her death. Bina is keen to strengthen her narrative construction with examples from her personal experiences.

Saral\textsuperscript{1370} also contrasts the affectionate and non-affectionate behaviour of girls and boys to uphold her view that girls are equal to boys. She claims that girls study well and are ready to support their parents. Swarna\textsuperscript{1371} follows the same line of argument. She contrasts having girls

\textsuperscript{1368} Udhaya – GC1
\textsuperscript{1369} Bina – GC2
\textsuperscript{1370} Saral – GC3
\textsuperscript{1371} Swarna – GC4
and boys. She claims that girls support the parents and a daughter would never be quiet seeing the mother starve. On the other hand she states that some parents moan having brought up a son who has not been helpful. Jeyam is no exception to the view that girls are supportive of the parents. She finds fault with parents who want sons. Her claim is that the parents spend equally for the son and the daughter. She goes further to say that many parents are happy with the daughter while many incur sorrow because of the sons. All these women construct their narratives of positive valuing of the girl child, achieving their end using various techniques and tools such as contrast and use of personal examples.

Udhaya has no formal closure. Probably she feels that having made her point there is no need for a specific closure. Bina, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam close emphasising the positive valuing of the girl child. The last three further use the technique of condemnation of female feticide and infanticide in their closure.

II. Equality or no Discrimination.

Three narrators specifically and explicitly claim equality or no discrimination towards a girl child. Tiny, Saral and Jeyam use this strategy. The opening in these narratives is quite clear. Tiny begins claiming no difference and the other two condemn female feticide or infanticide.

---

1372 Jeyam – GC5
1373 Tiny – GC6
1374 Saral – GC4
Jeyam – GC5
A. Using Specific Terms.

The claim of equality or no discrimination is made in several different ways. Tiny\textsuperscript{1375} uses words such as ‘no difference’, ‘same’ and ‘in the same way’. She also points out that the birth and the nurture of both boys and girls are in the same way.

B. Girls Shown to be Better.

Saral\textsuperscript{1376} builds up her argument of equality by piling up points that girls study well, are ready to support the parents and are loving. Jeyam\textsuperscript{1377} has her own way of showing that girls are valuable. She begins with the statement that the same expenditure is made for both girls and boys. She proceeds to point out that girls are more helpful to parents while many parents live losing peace and joy because of sons.

Tiny closes her narrative with a rhetorical question why any difference should be shown. Saral and Jeyam whose narratives have been looked at from a different pattern of positive valuing of the girl child described above in section I, close with an emphatic condemnation of female feticide and infanticide.

III. Outright Condemnation.

Quite a few of these participants outrightly condemn female infanticide and feticide. Female infanticide or feticide is a significant issue related to one’s view about and attitude towards the girl child. Jeyavathy, Mariam, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam quite vehemently condemn any

\textsuperscript{1375} Tiny – GC6

\textsuperscript{1376} Saral – GC3

\textsuperscript{1377} Jeyam – GC5
practice of female infanticide or feticide. All five open their narratives with specific indication of their subject matter of the girl child. All condemn female infanticide or feticide. The question may be raised whether there is anyone who does not condemn female infanticide or feticide. Studies about these two issues reveal that in areas where it is practised or prevalent the parents themselves or the community do not want to let the girl child live because of economic reasons such as having to spend for the marriage and later for the deliveries of babies or other social reasons such as not wanting their girls to be abused, abducted, kidnapped or sold.

A. Rooting in God’s Work.

Jeyavathy uses the example of a Hindu friend who was enabled to have a child. She goes into elaborate detail to bring out her thesis that God gives a child and even in dire situations enables a child to be born. Her friend had a tube pregnancy and the doctor had told her that she would not be able to have another child or only after quite some time. So the young friend was taking contraceptive pills. Jeyavathy advised her that nothing is impossible with God and asked her to stop the contraceptive while continuing to pray for her. The friend conceived again. Her doctor was worried. But another doctor advised her to wait and take a scan. All the while the group prayed for this young woman. She has been able to have a child. Thus in

---

1378 Jeyavathy – GC7
Mariam – GC8
Saral – GC3
Swarna – GC4
Jeyam – GC5


1380 Jeyavathy – GC7
Jeyavathy's opinion she rejects resorting to contraceptive pills or abortion because it is God who gives a child. She probably uses this to argue that if it is God's will a person may have a child as divine blessing and so one should not destroy the fetus.

**B. Rooting in Biblical Theology.**

Mariam\(^{1381}\) roots her argument in biblical theology of her own understanding of Gal. 3:28. She also claims equality based on the biblical material that there is no male or female in the sight of God. Mariam does not only condemn female feticide or infanticide, but also goes further. She provides examples of where it occurs in some areas such as Salem, not in her area but somewhere else. However she holds that it is wrong. She also recommends that one may root out the practice if we tell them about the benefits of girl children to the country.

**C. Contrasting Boys and Girls.**

Saral\(^{1382}\), Swarna\(^{1383}\) and Jeyam\(^{1384}\) all highlight the positive value of girl children. These stories have been already considered under different patterns of positive valuing of the girl child. Equality, no discrimination and outright condemnation have all been dealt with above. These narrators in their stories highlight the positive value of girls over that of boys using the technique of contrast. Swarna also makes a religious claim that it is God who gives a child male or female.

\(^{1381}\) Mariam – GC8  
\(^{1382}\) Saral – GC3  
\(^{1383}\) Swarna – GC4  
\(^{1384}\) Jeyam – GC5
Jeyavathy, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam close their narratives reiterating their condemnation of destroying a girl child. Swarna strengthens her narrative by going beyond destruction of a girl child to harming a girl child. Jeyam stresses that we need girl children. Mariam closes with her recommendation to eradicate the practice of female feticide or infanticide. This she does by moralising the benefit of girl children. All these narrators make a statement that female infanticide or feticide is wrong, provide examples and close.

IV. Bemoaning.

Two members have quite an elaborate piece each bemoaning the way the girl child is treated. Amar and Gem bemoan the treatment meted out to girl children. Gem also goes into a lengthy piece suggesting several ways of helping a girl child that are described below in the explication of the core of the narrative. Both the narratives explicitly open with the subject matter. There is no doubt about what the narrators are speaking. Amar begins with girl children being abandoned and Gem begins with the issues of abortion and scanning for selective decision.

Amar not only bemoans the fact that girl children are abandoned but also suggests that the country benefit if girl children could be brought up following the examples of former missionaries who helped abandoned girl children. Amar uses the techniques of moralising about and positive valuing. Gem begins with bemoaning the selective abortion of female fetus and the hard life of women. But later she eulogises the situation of girls who could be

---

1385 Amar – GC9
1386 Gem – GC10
1387 Amar – GC9
1388 Gem – GC10

356
educated and employed. She has a lengthy narrative using the tools of suggestions such as how a girl child could be brought up well with the help of parents, friends, family and others. She envisions the value of keeping a girl child occupied with useful and purposeful occupations. It appears that both Amar and Gem use positive valuing of the girl child. However these two narratives are slightly different from other narratives of positive valuing because of their main strategies of bemoaning and giving suggestions for the development of a girl child. For their narrative construction both Amar and Gem draw from examples and experiences in the wider society. These probably give their narratives the strength of real life experience and authenticity.

Amar closes by highlighting the necessity of having a broadminded perspective (the narrative does not speak of Amar's broadminded perspective, but of people having a broadminded perspective) and the affection girl children display. Gem closes with her suggestion to bring up girl children well making a faith claim that prayer is essential in the efforts of parents to bring up girl children.

The narrators themselves women (adults grown up from being girl children!) construct stories of positive valuing of a girl child. Some would go even further and hold that girls are better. However they would also not give up their commitment to equality without discrimination.

Some stories are responses to the issue of female infanticide and feticide. Everyone is against it. It may be asked whether anyone would be for it. It has been explained above in section III, why some communities and some parents would resort to female infanticide and female feticide. Jeyavathy, Mariam, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct stories of outright

\[1389\] See Ghadially, 1988, pp. 178 – 185; see also Chapter Two, section III. B
condemnation rooting their narratives in God’s work and biblical theology. It is God who gives the child and it is not right for humans to destroy what God gives. Amar and Gem bemoan the practices of female infanticide and feticide. They narrate stories with their perception of how it may be avoided by finding ways of making a girl child useful and beneficial.

SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT CHILDLINESS.

The narratives about childlessness are varied. The narrators orient themselves to the situation in a variety of ways.

I. Identity Construction with Acceptance.

Several of the women in their narratives about childlessness construct identities of the childless. One set of these construct identity of acceptance. Another set is that of persons who accept their identity of the childless while still looking for a change. One other set is stories of persons who have positive opportunities and are valued without being denigrated in their identity of the childless. One another set of stories is the identity construction of those who are ill treated because of being childless. These different categories of identity constructions will be dealt with separately. Ester, Udhaya, Bina, Mariam, Saral and Jeyam construct narratives of identity of the childless that accept what God gives and in their stories avoid victimisation.

Only the narrative of Ester is not clear about what she speaks except that her responses are short and address the questions raised. Mariam begins her narrative with the assertion that children are the gift of God; in fact she says that the fruit of the womb is an inheritance from

---

1390 Ester - CL(Childlessness)1. The narratives about childlessness are found in Appendix 12.

1391 Mariam – CL4
the Lord\textsuperscript{1392}. She begins with this statement based on the Bible. The others open by specifically stating that they speak about childlessness\textsuperscript{1393}.

\textbf{A. Making a Faith Claim.}

In the core of their stories they bring out the main point in various ways. Ester\textsuperscript{1394} having said that it is what God gives brings up the rhetorical question of what people can do if this gift has not been given. She seems to say indirectly that one has to accept what God gives or withholds. Thus she constructs the identity of a childless person with a religious claim of acceptance. Udhaya\textsuperscript{1395} seems to make her point indirectly. She suggests praying about childlessness. But she also points out that being childless is not wrong. This again is an identity construction avoiding victimisation. Bina\textsuperscript{1396} constructs her narrative to build an identity of acceptance, rationalising it with the faith claim that if God has not given the gift of children we cannot do anything else except accept the situation. She elaborates her narrative.

She goes on to say that it is neither a sin nor a cause for blame or accusation by using the technique of avoiding accusation. She justifies childlessness with the onus placed on God who places each person in a particular position that is to be accepted. Her rationale is similar to the assertion of others that children are God’s gift and a great blessing. However she affirms that

\textsuperscript{1392} This is found in Ps. 127: 3

\textsuperscript{1393} Udhaya – CL2
Bina – CL3
Saral – CL5
Jeyam – CL6

\textsuperscript{1394} Ester - CL1

\textsuperscript{1395} Udhaya – CL2

\textsuperscript{1396} Bina – CL3

Compare this and the narratives of others which orient themselves to the master cultural narrative about biological motherhood. Riessman in her research about south Indian women notes that the master cultural narrative claims that biological motherhood is central to the identity of women. Riessman, 2002, p. 704
childlessness is not a cause for accusation or victimisation. She suggests that the childless may pray and receive. But childlessness also may be simply an identity to be accepted.

B. Suggesting a Solution.

Mariam has an interesting narrative slightly different from those of the others. She suggests adoption as a solution for childlessness supporting her view with some noble causes. According to Mariam adoption helps the destitute and orphan children. Further it helps the adopting parents to have a balanced life. Thus Mariam uses moralising. Saral in her narrative suggests adoption apart from accepting childlessness. She goes further than advocating acceptance and adoption. She is quite strong in her technique of avoiding victimisation such as suppression, stigmatisation, divorce and creation of problems by the parents. Jeyam has an indirect way of constructing her story. Her brief statement categorically asserts that we should not ostracise the childless. It appears that she constructs an identity of acceptance of childlessness along with avoiding victimisation.

All these narrators in some way or other close their narratives of identity construction of acceptance of childlessness along with avoiding victimisation. There may not be any elaborate closure. However this probably shows that once these women have constructed the particular identity there is no further need or room for any elaboration.

---

1397 Mariam – CL4
1398 Saral – CL5
Riessman also points out that childlessness becomes a cause for stigmatisation. , Riessman, 2002, p. 702
1399 Jeyam – CL6
II. Identity of Acceptance Coupled with Change.

Tiny in her narrative about childlessness quite positively constructs an identity of acceptance but also suggests that change may be sought. So in her narrative a particular identity is not firmly established. It is an identity that may change. Tiny’s narrative\textsuperscript{1400} goes straight into the subject matter of childlessness. Though her narrative is elaborate, Tiny brings out her identity construction right at the beginning.

Tiny\textsuperscript{1401} displays several aspects of her construction in her narrative. She begins by advocating a strategy of praying to remove childlessness. However she proceeds to affirm that it is neither a sin nor a stigma. This once again is avoiding victimisation. On the other hand she makes a religious claim that children are an inheritance from the Lord and childlessness produces unhappiness. But she in her identity construction places the burden of unhappiness on the other members of the family who cause the unhappiness. Tiny supports her construction with a real life example of a young woman who was verbally abused by her father-in-law because of childlessness. At this point of her narrative Tiny brings out the identity of acceptance coupled with seeking change from the example of this particular young woman who had been later blessed with a child. Thus the identity Tiny constructs is not firmly fixed but is fluid with the possibility of change.

This identity of seeking and achieving change in spite of acceptance of childlessness closes Tiny’s narrative. This fluid identity that may change is acceptable for Tiny. It is quite compatible with her construction of an identity of acceptance.

\textsuperscript{1400} Tiny - CL7

\textsuperscript{1401} Tiny - CL7
III. Identity of Positive Value.

A few participants in their stories highlight the identity of the positive value of the childless. They construct the goodness of the identity in spite of not having children. Flora, Lovely and Swarna rationalise their construction of positive value of the identity of the childless with the claim that there are other blessings for those who do not have children. All three introduce the context in a simple and direct manner\(^\text{1402}\). Construction of a positive identity of the childless or children is the focus of the narrative.

A. Positive Valuing Seeing the Advantages.

Flora’s construction is short and goes straight to the point\(^\text{1403}\). She brings out the positive identity of many childless (this narrative does not specify whether it is about childless women or childless man or woman) who serve and minister gloriously, because childlessness does not seem to be a lack or a handicap. Lovely takes pains to construct her narrative elaborately to bring out her point\(^\text{1404}\). She reasons that God has a plan for the life of each person. So those who do not have the blessing of children may have different blessings. She also recommends praying for the childless and adoption. Thus Lovely sees some positive value, even if some are childless, of placing the burden or onus on God.
B. Positive Valuing of the Childless with rooting in the Bible.

Swarna has a detailed construction\(^{1405}\). She roots her construction in a religious claim that children are an inheritance from the Lord and that we probably do not know why God has not given this blessing. However she argues that there must be some good and positive value because all things work together for good to those who love God\(^{1406}\). Thus Swarna bases her argument on the Bible with the burden placed on God. She proceeds to support her view with a real life example from her experience. She was blessed with her second child not long after the first one, though a childless person was the first one to pick up as a visitor (not exactly handling) her first child. She effectively uses a cultural notion and saying that if a childless person picks up the first child then the couple would not have another child. This she has found untrue in her experience. So she uses this point to strengthen her construction of a positive identity of the childless. She further constructs the positive identity contrasting the freedom the childless have with the situation of others who have to take care of the needs of the children.

Flora having constructed the identity in her own way probably does not feel the need for any formal closure. Lovely closes her narrative with the speculation that God may have some plans for the childless thus strengthening her construction of a positive identity of the childless. Swarna carries forward her argument in the end by recommending comforting and counselling the childless with the proposition that God has some good for them in this. This technique helps her construction of a positive identity of the childless.

\(^{1405}\) Swarna - CL10

\(^{1406}\) Romans 8: 28
IV. The Construction of Victim Identity.

Two members construct their narratives displaying the victim identity of the childless. These stories though quite short and crisp bring out the emotions of anger of the narrators that sharpen the victim identity. Jeyavathy and Tiny display their anger at the way the childless are treated which aids their identity construction. Jeyavathy’s narrative is short. But it opens with the clear statement of the focus of childlessness\(^ {1407}\). Tiny’s statement is quite strange. It is not even a sentence. However it has to be assumed that she is speaking about childlessness because of her response to the question about childlessness.

Jeyavathy\(^ {1408}\) brings out her anger at the treatment given to the childless. She constructs the victim identity of the childless that are made into nothing. This probably shows her anger at this sort of treatment. Tiny also indicates her anger in her string of words that they would make it into some sort of nothingness\(^ {1409}\). In fact the listener has to fill in the words and concept in Tiny’s piece. In both the narratives the words such as ‘nothing’ and ‘in some manner’ clarify the construction of victim identity.

Having expressed their anger in brief and also some incomplete statements, both Jeyavathy and Tiny leave their narratives open with no formal closure. It is probably quite fitting that their narratives do not require any closure once the victim identity has been constructed.

\(^{1407}\) Jeyavathy – CL11

\(^{1408}\) Jeyavathy – CL11

Compare this with what Wadley notes about the barren woman being considered a ruin. Wadley, 1980, p. 155; Caplan also notes that barrenness is terrible, Caplan, 1985, p. 55

\(^{1409}\) Tiny – CL12

364
V. Moralising.

There is one story moralising the issue and the state of childlessness. Amar moralises the issue of childlessness citing the example of her son and daughter-in-law. Amar opens\textsuperscript{1410} her narrative putting forward a point with the claim that it is in the Bible, to explain the main point of her story. This point claimed is about when a person is born or when a person dies. Amar seems to moralise the time set by God for birth and death. In her interpretation God does not delay even a minute. This claim is supposed to be based in the Bible but is not given any reference. Amar quite cleverly and skilfully sets the stage for her narrative about childlessness.

Amar effectively moves from her opening about God marking the time for the birth and death of each person to her narrative about the childlessness of her son and daughter-in-law\textsuperscript{1411}. From a general religious claim she moves to personal experience. She is quite careful at the outset to avoid victimisation by stating that she does not view who is at fault, her son or her daughter-in-law. She moves the story cleverly to the point that she is sad that God has not yet fixed the time of birth of her grandchild. Thus she places the onus on God. She constructs her narrative with the use of the strategy of hopeful and expectant waiting for a grandchild that may be a grand daughter or a grand son. It is quite interesting to note how Amar is sensitive to gender issues and careful not to make a preference between a grandson and a granddaughter.

Her avoiding of victimisation of her son and daughter-in-law is displayed through elaborate narrating of their love and affection towards the children of her two daughters. She is keener to bring out the various ways in which her daughter-in-law showers her love on the nieces and nephews and how the children also cling to her with affection. Amar further uses the

\textsuperscript{1410} Amar – CL13

\textsuperscript{1411} Amar – CL13
mechanism of defense of her daughter-in-law. For this she brings in the case of her daughter-in-law’s affection to negate the usual saying that childless persons are jealous.

Amar does not close her narrative with just the religious claim and defense of her daughter-in-law. These probably do not seem to be sufficient for her rationalisation. She seems to want to make her case of defense strong. She constructs her story recognising the possibility of adoption for a childless couple. She proceeds to explain why her son and daughter-in-law have not adopted. She sensitively defends them providing the cause for their not adopting, their not wanting to burden the elderly parents with the care of an adopted child. In her long drawn narrative Amar quite cleverly and effectively moralises and rationalises to defend the childless. She orients herself to the social stigma and the usual suggestion such as adoption and cleverly and skilfully covers these points in her narrative.

Amar’s closure is also defensive. She defends both her son and daughter-in-law in their not adopting a child. Along with this she closes her narrative defending her three children who do not want to trouble the parents.

These narratives about childlessness are constructed to portray attitudes of acceptance. The storyteller such as Mariam may use a faith claim or suggest a solution such as adoption. Some like Tiny may suggest acceptance while also using prayer to change the situation. Flora, Lovely and Swarna construct stories of an identity of positive value for the childless of being used in God’s service. Jeyavathy and Tiny narrate stories of victimisation directed at the childless but do not approve of the victimisation. Amar uses her own experience of her son and daughter-in-law being childless. But she has an elaborate story of moralising that God has a time for the birth and the death of every single person and also wondering probably the time.
has not yet come for God to give her a grandson or a granddaughter through her son and
daughter. In these narratives it may be seen that the perception of these women about
childlessness is not negative rating of the childless. They turn to their religious claims to
construct their stories. In their perception it is God who gives a child and the state of
childlessness is not a point to accuse or blame. In these stories it may be seen that their
religious beliefs play a major role in forming their perceptions and constructions.

SECTION THREE. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOWRY.

The practice of dowry being the cash given by the parents of the bride to the parents of the
bridegroom is prevalent in many communities especially in South India. Many of the Tamil
Christians also follow this custom. However as may be seen from the narratives many do not
approve of this. The members of the focus group respond to this issue in various ways. Shashi
Jain notes that even the educated have accepted dowry as part of the system.1412

I. Angry Response at Victimisation of some due to the Practice.

Amar and Bina construct stories of vehement and angry disapproval of the dowry practice.
Both Amar and Bina have clear and definite openings. Amar begins1413 with an incident. Bina
begins with the requirement for a bridegroom1414. Amar sets the setting by describing the
burden of dowry practice among the people in Hyderabad. It makes one wonder why Bina
starts by stating that a bridegroom should be well employed. However later it may be surmised
that this index of employment sets the rate of the dowry that is one of the causes for Bina’s

1412 Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 99; Caplan notes that the Brahmins take dowry, Caplan, 1985, p.45
1413 Amar – D(Dowry)1. The narratives about dowry are found in Appendix 12.
1414 Bina – D2
anger about the practice. Both the narrators thus employ the tool of victimisation to construct their stories.

Amar\textsuperscript{1415} who begins with an incident just switches over to the description of the burden of the practice even before she describes the incident. She goes into elaborate detail about the demands made by the family of the bridegroom. Further she explains how oppressive the custom is in producing mental worry and financial burden of even debt. She proceeds to list the ill effects. Girl children are stopped from having high education for fear of not finding appropriate bridegrooms. Further the girls are also kept at home without taking up employment for the same reason. After having elaborated the ill effects of the practice of dowry Amar narrates the tragic incident of a brother and three sisters who committed suicide for fear of not being able to face the burden of dowry for the three girls. These fuel the anger of Amar at the practice of dowry. Amar has not completed her tirade against dowry. She moves to the issue of girls and the parents facing the problem of keeping unmarried girls at home. She narrates the constant pestering of those who bombard them with questions and tells how the daughters themselves are under mental pressure thus creating problems for the parents. Thus Amar strings several pieces in her narrative to heighten the victimisation. Bina\textsuperscript{1416} also highlights how the practice of dowry is oppressive by way of fixing up rates. Bina's negative criticism is carried out to the extent of cautioning people against looking for a bridegroom in one southern district of Tamil Nadu. This is also a strategy of victimisation that Bina uses in her construction of the story of dowry being an oppressive practice and her own negative criticism as explained above.

\textsuperscript{1415} Amar – D1

\textsuperscript{1416} Bina – D2

Bina's point about parents looking for a boy with a well paid job and willing to give dowry resonates with what Desai and Krishnaraj note, 1987, p. 205
Amar’s narrative does not seem to have any formal closure. However her bemoaning itself is a closure. Bina also closes with her proverbial statement about a particular community that is supposed to demand huge sums as dowry. Thus both effectively and graphically use the technique of victimisation to construct their stories of angry disapproval.

II. Disapproval.

Several participants construct stories of their clear and explicit disapproval of the practice of dowry. Amar, Ester, Jeyavathy, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Swarna, Jeyam and Saral categorically disapprove of the practice of dowry. All except Ester, Jeyavathy and Saral indicate in their opening explicitly the subject matter of their narratives\textsuperscript{1417}. Ester begins with a statement about marriage\textsuperscript{1418}. Jeyavathy’s short narrative\textsuperscript{1419} is criticizing the attitude of people in looking for a bride or a bridegroom. Saral opens\textsuperscript{1420} with a claim that the discussion is about equality. In her opinion this seems quite befitting a discussion about dowry, a practice that does not display equality.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
1417 & Amar – D3 \\
    & Bina – D8 \\
    & Mariam – D11 \\
    & Lovely – D10 \\
    & Swarna – D9 \\
    & Jeyam – D6 \\
1418 & Ester – D4 \\
1419 & Jeyavathy - D5 \\
1420 & Saral – D7 \\
\end{tabular}
A. Sheer Disapproval.

Amar\textsuperscript{1421} constructs her story of disapproval by lamenting the fact that Christians also demand dowry just as the non-Christians do. Ester\textsuperscript{1422} uses a rhetorical question of criticism in her construction of disapproval. She does not completely spell out her argument. However the listener is expected to fill in the details. For Ester when two persons get married and begin their lives together money transaction between the parents is totally unnecessary. This point is used by Ester for rationalisation.

B. Pointing out the Fear of Parents.

Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{1423} does not even mention the word ‘dowry’. However her disapproval is constructed through the statement that none seems to reject a boy for being dark. She implicitly wants the listener to surmise that the practice of dowry that is more oppressive if the girl is dark does not show any negativism when the boy is dark. Jeyam constructs her narrative of disapproval\textsuperscript{1424} by indicating why some parents are willing to give a dowry and also keep saving up for the dowry of their daughter. According to Jeyam it is the fear of the parents of not being able to get a boy who is well educated and well employed. This strategy of victimisation is effective in Jeyam’s construction of disapproval. It is noteworthy that Jeyam for emphasis brings in a real life example that some boys have withstood the pressure of the parents and married without dowry. This she claims is the way for society to change. She

\textsuperscript{1421} Amar – D3
\textsuperscript{1422} Ester – D4
\textsuperscript{1423} Jeyavathy – D5
\textsuperscript{1424} Jeyam – D6

Jeyam’s advice that the boys should oppose the practice of dowry resonates with the suggestion of Prithvi Nath Tikoo. \textit{Indian Women. A Brief Socio-Cultural Survey}. B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1985, pp.37-8
recommends the opposition of both the parents and the boys to get rid of the practice of dowry. All these tools are used by Jeyam firmly to construct disapproval.

C. Pointing to a Better Way.

Saral\(^{1425}\) having begun indicating that the discussion is about equality, points out that dowry leads to suppression of women. She advocates sharing, citing the example of western custom. This constructs her disapproval by displaying the victimisation of dowry being a tool of suppression and an alternate pattern.

D. Elaboration using Personal Experience.

Bina’s narrative is quite elaborate\(^ {1426}\). Having begun with the disapproval of the practice of dowry she proceeds to analyse the practice. She acknowledges the fact that when parents of the girl refuse to give dowry people do not come forward to marry the girl. She goes on to narrate from her own situation of preparing for her daughter’s marriage. She is willing to give a gift of several items for her daughter. However she cites her own experience of rejecting an offer of a bridegroom who is quite rich. Probably this means a huge dowry to which Bina does not agree. Bina also makes a faith claim that she is praying for God’s will to be shown. However in spite of her disapproval of the custom of dowry on principle, Bina does not want to refuse to give some amount and items for her own daughter. Thus her story of disapproval is constructed with an allowance. On the other hand she is also not willing to accept any offer of a proposal in which the people demand a certain amount or other things. This probably

\(^{1425}\) Saral – D7

\(^{1426}\) Bina – D8

Bina and some others state that without dowry young women do not get married at all. It is not possible to find a husband without dowry especially if the young woman is dark. Compare this with what Alfred de Souza has documented in his edited book. Dowry is an evil. However 96% of the respondents favoured dowry because that is the only means for some to get a husband. Further there is a fear of remaining unmarried which makes people favour dowry. De Souza ed., 1975, pp. 83, 84
shows the use of a tool of avoiding victimisation. Bina stresses that attitude is important for her. Thus her construction of disapproval is emphasised. Swarna\textsuperscript{1427} indicates that it is mean to ask for money. She cites the example of her own sister for whom the parents gave some money when the boy's people said that they needed some money for the expenses. However she constructs her story of disapproval by claiming that demanding is not right, especially demanding property. Her disapproval is shown in her stating that it is good to take a stand not to give any money.

\textbf{E. Basing on Faith Claim.}

Lovely has an elaborate narrative\textsuperscript{1428}. Having constructed her narration of disapproval, she brings out the victimisation of many parents who succumb to the evil practice for fear of their daughter not getting married. It is interesting to note that Lovely brings in a contrast. Citing the practice in the former days when the boy's people gave gifts to the girl provides the contrast. Lovely having constructed her story of disapproval does not stop with that. She makes a suggestion for the evil to be removed through prayer. She proceeds to quote from real life examples in which both the parties share the expenses without demanding a dowry to meet the expenses. Lovely's construction moves to hope that through prayer the situation may be changed. This strategy of hope is probably used by Lovely to underscore her construction of disapproval. Mariam\textsuperscript{1429} recognises the fact that the practice of dowry has become a business and a culture. However she constructs her story of disapproval claiming it to be unbiblical.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1427} Swarna – D9
\item \textsuperscript{1428} Lovely – D10
\item \textsuperscript{1429} Mariam – D11
\end{itemize}
Amar has no formal closure. But her statement of disapproval itself ends the narrative. Ester’s brief statement seems like not having a closure. However teasing her friend by pointing out that her friend’s community is known to have the practice of dowry, in an indirect way closes her narrative of disapproval. Similarly Jeyavathy also closes her narrative with no formal ending. Jeyam repeats in closure her claim that the practice can be removed only by the stand the boys take. Saral closes her narrative repeating her recommendation of sharing the expenses. Bina closes with her own standpoint regarding her daughter which emphasises her story of disapproval. Swarna closes her narrative repeating that the demand of dowry at the time of the marriage is uncultured. Lovely having indicated the way to remove the practice of dowry closes her narrative reiterating her claim of victimisation of the parents and the girl. Mariam ends her narrative with a theological claim that according to the Bible it is wrong to give dowry. All these women use various strategies and tools to construct their stories of disapproval.

**III. Rooting in Culture that should Change.**

Udhaya specifically roots the practice of dowry in culture and emphasises that it should change. She narrates her piece interspersed with much laughter. She explicitly indicates in her opening that her narrative is about dowry. She has no further elaborate description of the context.

The core or central point of Udhaya’s story is that the practice of dowry has become a culture. She is quite clear that the practice of dowry is wrong. She does not condone it. She further recommends that it should change. Udhaya closes her narrative with her

---

1430 Udhaya – D12

1431 Udhaya – D12
recommendation that the practice of dowry should change. This closure with a suggestion for change is Udhaya’s strategy of firm resolution of the complicating action of the problem of dowry. There is no further elaboration or discussion. Her construction takes care of the fact that outright claiming that dowry is wrong may be problematic. So she finds an explanation.

IV. Disapproval with Concession.

One narrator clearly expresses her disapproval of the practice of dowry. However she carries on her story further. Flora in this manner explains what may be approved of and considered acceptable. This provides a concession to her construction of disapproval that like the construction of Udhaya circumvents the problem of outright disapproval. Flora’s narrative opens directly with the issue of dowry and her disapproval of it. There is no need for any further description of the context.

Flora repeatedly states that giving and receiving dowry is wrong. However she does not stop with the assertion that dowry is wrong but makes a concession to her story of disapproval that what is given as a gift to the children by the parents may be received. Thus Flora provides a concession that a willing gift is acceptable. At the end of her narrative Flora reiterates her view about dowry. Having made her disapproval clear and adding the concession, she reiterates her point by asserting that it is wrong to force the parents of the girl to give dowry. Thus her story in effect is one of disapproval in spite of the positive concession.

1432 Flora – D13

1433 Flora – D13
V. Disapproval with Rationalisation of the Practice.

Some of the narrators apart from disapproving the practice of dowry proceed to rationalise why it is followed as a custom. This construction also similar to those of Udhaya and Flora probably attempts to go around the problem of outright disapproval. Tiny, Gem and Saguna cite various reasons to rationalise the practice of dowry though basically they disapprove of the custom. Two of these, Tiny\textsuperscript{1434} and Saguna\textsuperscript{1435} open their narratives with the assertion that the practice of dowry is wrong. Gem does not directly indicate that it is wrong. But she begins\textsuperscript{1436} with a general statement that all people will not be able to give dowry. This generalisation leads into her construction of disapproval. In all these three narratives the central core is constructed elaborately. Each person puts forward some argument to rationalise the practice.

A. Justification based on Later Good Treatment of the Bride.

Tiny\textsuperscript{1437} having affirmed that the practice of dowry is wrong proceeds to look at it from a different standpoint. She argues that girls who are dark will not be married off unless a dowry is offered. She also justifies it by stating that after the marriage the girl is well treated in the marital home. However she proceeds to reiterate her disapproval by suggesting that only if boys take a stand the practice of dowry can be eradicated.

\textsuperscript{1434} Tiny – D14

\textsuperscript{1435} Saguna – D16

\textsuperscript{1436} Gem – D15

\textsuperscript{1437} Tiny – D14
B. Drawing from Personal Experience.

Gem\(^{1438}\) after her opening cites an example from her personal life that her mother faced difficulty in giving a dowry of money and gold jewellery. Probably that is why she begins her narrative saying that not all people will be able to give dowry. This generalisation prepares the listener for the personal example provided later. Then she narrates how she took a stand of not receiving any dowry for her only son. This contrast in the two personal examples is quite effectively used in her construction of disapproval. But after this disapproval she proceeds to rationalise the practice of dowry that is strange. She lists a few points to justify dowry. Initially she defends the practice as a necessity to cover the expenses when one party is not able to do so. The next point is strange to the listener. Gem complains that many girls do not value marriage if no dowry is given. Even if a huge amount is given some girls come back to the parental home divorcing. Some who do not give dowry resort to hurtful talk in the marital home because they do not recognise the value of marriage. Thus Gem argues that the practice of dowry has been instituted by our ancestors for some positive value whose construction is strange.

C. Rationalising with the Point of Financial Need.

Saguna\(^{1439}\) having opened with the assertion that giving and receiving dowry is wrong proceeds to rationalise the practice. She narrates the point that at times some families because of their financial need may be compelled to get a dowry. However she does not outrightly approve of dowry in situations of financial need. She qualifies her allowance with the statement that there is nothing wrong if those who receive get what is given. Probably she means that whatever is given has to be received without question or demand.

\(^{1438}\) Gem – D15

\(^{1439}\) Saguna – D16
All three close their narratives with their rationalisations. Tiny closes her narrative with her point that unless a dowry is given dark girls may not get married. She also points out in her closure that a dowry is demanded and made rational when the boy earns well. Gem in her closure makes a speculation about her point of rationalisation. She wonders aloud that our ancestors must have followed the practice of dowry for some good. Saguna ends her narrative with her rationalising argument that those who are in financial need may compel the girl’s side to give dowry and in such a case they should receive what is given. It is not at all clear where these three stand at the end. Probably they in principle disapprove of the practice of dowry, but want to make a concession by way of rationalisation when some follow the practice.

VI. Disapproval Showing a Higher Ideal.

One narrator not merely disapproves of the practice of dowry but also in her story delineates a higher ideal. Jeyavathy constructs her story drawing from her own experience pointing to a higher ideal of not following the custom of dowry. She opens her lengthy narrative with the construction of disapproval that it is not good to receive dowry. Her contention is that it becomes a commercialised practice. This leads into the rest of her story.

Having constructed her disapproval Jeyavathy proceeds to support her view with her reasons. She claims that it becomes a trade. Further she disapproves of some who boast how much money and jewellery they gave. This disapproval of negative behaviour helps her

\[^{1440} \text{Jeyavathy – D17}\]

\[^{1441} \text{Jeyavathy – D17}\]

Jeyavathy points out that some are quite proud to boast that they had given such vast amount of dowry to get their daughter married. Compare what S. L. Hooja says about demonstration tendency and competition in the issue of dowry. S. L. Hooja. *Dowry System In India. A Case Study.* Asia Press, Delhi, First Edition, 1969, p. 1; this exhibitionism of dowry is noted by Prithvi Nath Tikoo, 1985, p. 34.
to move to her explication of a higher ideal. Jeyavathy’s higher ideal is that people should look for a virtuous and God-fearing girl. If not, when money is given the first place, she argues that there will be no peace. Jeyavathy supports her view with examples from life. The first one is how a good girl had to face the problem of dowry and those who brought offers put dowry first without considering the fact that the girl had good conduct, education and looks. For this Jeyavathy suggests a way of prayer. If the girl prays, Jeyavathy advocates that there will be a solution. This she supports in her construction of the story with her own experience. Her father was much worried when her marriage was being postponed. Her parents did not have much money. However when she prayed, finally a medical doctor was willing to marry her. The bridegroom’s people only wanted the girl because she was God-fearing and involved in Christian work. They even undertook the wedding expenses. She emphasises the need for praying. Thus Jeyavathy constructs her story of disapproval effectively drawing from her personal experience to advocate a higher ideal. Jeyavathy closes her narrative with the emphatic claim that God provides an appropriate husband when we pray which clinches her pointing to a higher ideal.

VII. Rationalising the Practice.

One of the members rationalises the practice of dowry. She does not at this point disapprove of it. She seems to accept it or take it for granted. Ranjithamani does not in her narration raise any objection to the practice of dowry. Her narrative is different from three other narratives that rationalise the practice in that the other three disapprove of the practice and yet rationalise while Ranjithamani does not seem to disapprove of the custom. Ranjithamani opens her

---

1442 Jeyavathy – D18
1443 Jeyavathy – D 19
1444 Ranjithamani – D20
narrative with the explicit indication of the subject matter of dowry.

Ranjithamani does not construct any theorising or argument. She simply narrates what they did for her daughter and what they expect for her son. From these two anecdotes probably one is to guess her construction of rationalisation. She narrates that for her daughter even before the bridegroom’s party made any demand, Ranjithamani and her people made the offer of a particular sum of money and a certain amount of jewellery. She stresses that the boy’s party made no demand. She also explains how they could not at first give the agreed amount of jewellery that they promised to give later. This giving Ranjithamani justifies as a loving gift to the daughter when she goes away from the parental home. She makes it clear that there should be no compulsion. This probably brings out her construction of disapproval of dowry as a compulsory demand and justifies it as a parental gift. Her story construction probably brings this out in her next anecdote of their expectation for their son. She narrates that they do not demand a huge dowry. Their expectation is that the girl should be well behaved. She makes it clear that though they do not demand dowry or expect any huge dowry, what is being given by way of jewellery should match their status. She emphasises that they do not expect a huge dowry. Thus Ranjithamani’s story seems to employ various strategies of implicit disapproval of demand coupled with approval of a willing gift.

Ranjithamani closes her narrative reiterating her claim for her son that they do not expect a huge dowry. This probably underscores her construction of disapproval of one behaviour while approving another behaviour.

What does one make out of these narratives about the practice of dowry? Some such as Amar,
Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Swarna, Jeyam, Ester, Jeyavathy, Saral, Udhaya, Flora, Tiny and Saguna say explicitly that it is wrong to give or receive dowry. They are quite sure about this in their stories. Saral points to a better way of both the parties sharing the expenses. Lovely constructs her story with the claim that with prayer the custom may be changed. Jeyavathy roots her perception in her own experience of her marriage to a doctor without any dowry or demand for the bride’s party to spend for the wedding. Udhaya also constructs a story stating that it is a culture that should change. On the other hand, some of the narratives display an approval of the custom or giving an allowance pointing to the fear of the parents that the daughters may not get married, that a dark girl may not find a husband if her parents do not offer a dowry, that the brides after marriage are treated well, that the bridegroom’s parents may be in financial need and that it may not be a demand but a willing gift of the bride’s parents. These may be used to construct rationalisations. But in the end they do not valorise or glorify the practice. Looking at the practice, it may not always be considered as demeaning, debasing or portraying a picture of secondary status for women. The literature especially the ones looking into the historical root shows that the practice of dowry started as a gift for the bride given by her parents.¹⁴⁴⁶ So some of the narrators justify and rationalise the practice of dowry. But in their perception and construction there is no loss of equality and freedom.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Kanakalatha Mukund. ‘Women’s Property Rights in South India. A Review’, EPW. May29, 1999, pp. 1352-58. Though Mukund says that the practice of giving a gift has degenerated into dowry given to the parents of the bridegroom, it is not always the case. In many communities and families the dowry is given to the bride as she goes away to her marital home. In many cases the dowry enhances the position and the status of the daughter-in-law in her marital home. This is also pointed out in Tiny’s narrative about the later good treatment given to the bride.
SECTION FOUR. DISCOURSE ABOUT WIDOWHOOD.

It may be noted that widowhood brings about much deprivation.\textsuperscript{1447} This is stated in the study of Alka Ranjan that widowhood brings about severe social, economic and cultural deprivations.\textsuperscript{1448} Sachidananda Mohanty's article about two book traditions in Orissa lists widow remarriage as one of the issues dealt with in one book tradition.\textsuperscript{1449}

I. Positive Compassion.

Most of the members of the focus groups such as Udhaya, Jeyavathy, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct their narratives about widowhood using the strategy of positive compassionate action. All except Jeyavathy, Mariam and Jeyam begin\textsuperscript{1450} with direct reference to widowhood by using the term. Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{1451}, Mariam\textsuperscript{1452} and Jeyam\textsuperscript{1453} indicate the point of their narratives by indirect reference to widowhood.

\textsuperscript{1447} This is supported by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p.114


\textsuperscript{1450} Udhaya – W(Widowhood)1. The narratives about widowhood are found in Appendix 12.
Bina – W5
Lovely – W7
Saral – W3
Swarna – W8

\textsuperscript{1451} Jeyavathy – W2

\textsuperscript{1452} Mariam – W6

\textsuperscript{1453} Jeyam – W4
A. Pointing out the Difficulties of Widows.

Udhaya\textsuperscript{1454} having begun by contrasting the Hindu and Christian cultures, vehemently objects to the ill treatment of widows. She quickly proceeds to recommend over and over again that we should help the widows. Thus she uses contrast, objection of victimisation and mitigation of suffering or positive action in her construction. Jeyavathy\textsuperscript{1455} constructs her narrative effectively providing a real life example of a family in which a widow with three children has been struggling to bring up and educate the children. She recommends positive action by others especially the church. Positive compassion and help are advocated. Saral’s narrative\textsuperscript{1456} of compassion is revealed through the use of words such as ‘helpless’, ‘very difficult’ and ‘should help’. This point of helping through the church is repeated and emphasised. Jeyam goes deep into the matter with her construction of positive compassion\textsuperscript{1457}. She argues that God has set a time to take away the husband and it may happen to any one of us. So Jeyam recommends that we have compassion such as any one of us would have upon ourselves. Jeyam points to the many difficulties a widow has to face in finding financial support, bringing up the children, facing the hurtful talk of the children, having lost the help the husband would have given and grieving over the loss. Jeyam uses the strategy of highlighting the psychological and emotional trauma and pain a widow goes through. So she rejects any taunting or hurting. Repeatedly she advocates help and compassion without ostracism and hate.

\textsuperscript{1454} Udhaya – W1
\textsuperscript{1455} Jeyavathy – W2
\textsuperscript{1456} Saral – W3
\textsuperscript{1457} Jeyam – W4
B. Making a Biblical Point.

Bina gives a detailed description\textsuperscript{1458} of a compassionate attitude. She brings out the point that in the Christian community widows are not ostracised and ill-treated. They are equally respected and well treated with other elderly persons. This use of contrast helps Bina in her emphasis of positive compassion. Bina has another interesting point that widows without encumbrance may be free to serve God and others without much restriction. She uses phrases such as ‘it’s not a stigma at all’ and ‘not handicapped at all’ to construct positive compassion. This role of religion may be both egalitarian and complementarian. Positive compassion towards widows may be found because of their point about the dignity of a person.

Thus a positive valuing makes her construction mitigate the evil of widowhood. Bina is realistic about practical situations. She recognises that a widow has to take care of the family single handedly. It is to be noted that Bina whose husband is abroad (at the time of the field work) equates her situation of having to handle everything by herself with that of a widow. In her story she also looks at the financial need if the widow is not earning. Bina constructs the biblical view of God’s care for the destitute and the widow. It is heartening to note that Bina moves her story to claim that God cares for the widow only through us. So she demands that we should help. Mariam also roots her construction in the biblical material\textsuperscript{1459} of Paul’s injunction to help widows. Thus Mariam constructs for the widows an identity of much respected persons. She repeatedly emphasises that we of the church must necessarily help the widows. Lovely\textsuperscript{1460} bases her story construction in the biblical material of a separate order

\textsuperscript{1458} Bina – W5
Caplan notes about young widows' necessity to work, Caplan, 1985, p.89

\textsuperscript{1459} Mariam – W6

\textsuperscript{1460} Lovely – W7
having been formed for the widows. Her use of phrases and words such as ‘additional compassion’, ‘extra care and concern’ and ‘we should definitely give’ helps her justify compassion towards widows. Swarna makes a theological claim\footnote{Swarna – W8} that we do not know why God has taken the husband and that God must have some purpose or good in it. She constructs her story with positive valuing. However she like others emphasises that a widow struggling with children should be helped without being turned away. This point to help is repeated to show the emphasis.

Udhaya closes her narrative highlighting the positive value of helping widows with compassion. Jeyavathy ends her narrative with practical action to help widows. Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam all close their narratives recommending positive compassion and help for the widow. Some are quite emphatic and strong. Jeyam suggests that if one is not able to help should not be a hindrance that adds force to her story.

\textbf{II. Angry Disapproval of Mean Treatment.}

One participant in a short and crisp statement narrates and expresses her angry disapproval of the mean treatment given to widows. Jeyavathy is quite angry about the appalling treatment given to widows. Jeyavathy\footnote{Jeyavathy – W9} has no formal opening but the word ‘it’ for her short and crisp narrative of anger at the treatment meted out to widows.
It is quite interesting that Jeyavathy’s construction\textsuperscript{463} does not even explicitly display about what she is speaking or what ill treatment widows face in some communities\textsuperscript{464}. All that she asserts is that it is terrible in one community. It is left to the listener to surmise the subject matter and details of the treatment that angers Jeyavathy. She packs her subject matter in one simple and short cryptic word ‘it’. Her use of the word ‘terrible’ shows her angry disapproval of the ill treatment meted out to widows.

Jeyavathy’s closure is also as hidden as the whole narrative. She effectively uses the emphatic ‘yes’ to construct her affirmation of anger and disapproval. Probably she means ‘yes, the treatment given is terrible’.

III. Pattern of Contrast.

Bina and Tiny construct narratives about widowhood using contrast that brings out the difference in treatment given to widows in the Christian community. They focus on the positive attitude of Christians and contrast it with the negative attitude shown by some others.

Bina opens her narrative with the statement that it is a testimony\textsuperscript{465}. There is no further indication of about what she is to speak. Tiny\textsuperscript{466} opens with a cryptic statement that ‘we do not ostracise them’. The remaining portions of the narratives that are described below help the listener to understand about what the narrators speak.

\textsuperscript{1463} Jeyavathy - W9

\textsuperscript{1464} Probably Jeyavathy is thinking about the ill treatment meted out to widows in some communities. See also Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 83 – 86 and also Alka Ranjan, \textit{EPW}, Oct.27, 2001; in some communities they are shaven, rid of jewellery and good clothing, they are considered inauspicious and not given good food.

\textsuperscript{1465} Bina – W10

\textsuperscript{1466} Tiny – W11
In contrasting the treatment given to widows in the Christian and some other communities Bina\textsuperscript{1467} begins with the ostracism shown to widows in barring them from being present at auspicious functions. She contrasts this with the way in the church widows are respected and given a place of honour as elderly persons. Again she reverts to the ill treatment given to the widows in some communities considering them as inauspicious to be seen when a person goes out of the house. Bina also criticises how in communities that emphasise astrological considerations such situations as widowhood should happen. This probably is satire. It is not clear why Bina brings up this point. Probably she wants to point out the futility of meticulous calculations to emphasise her contrast. Tiny\textsuperscript{1468} having begun with the positive treatment given to widows in Christian communities contrasts it with the treatment given in some other communities. She highlights the treatment of widows as family members in Christian communities. She uses the technique of clarification by stating that a widow in the Christian community is given the same respect that she was given when her husband was alive. Tiny also narrates an anecdote from her own experience of having had a Brahmin friend. Tiny goes into great detail of her questioning her friend about the dilemma of not knowing whether a person is a widow and having to cross a widow when the people on some business are on their way and being meticulous about auspicious times. This Tiny uses in her construction of contrast between the Christians and some others in their treatment of widows.

Bina does not seem to have a formal closure. Her point of the astrologer not being effective is the closure to her narrative of contrast. Tiny has a positive end. She closes with a faith claim.

\textsuperscript{1467} Bina – W10

\textsuperscript{1468} Tiny – W11

Tiny refers to the practice of the Brahmns considering a widow inauspicious. This means that a married woman is auspicious. Compare this with what Wadley notes about auspicious married women and the widow being most inauspicious. Wadley, 1980, p. 155
She asserts that though the Christians do not look for the auspicious in spite of going through troubles just like the others, the hand of the Lord upholds them. She claims that it is their faith that counts. Thus these two narrators use contrast to construct their narratives about widowhood.

IV. Seeing an Opportunity for Service.

Jeyavathy is one person who narrates a piece about widowhood positively valuing it as an opportunity for service. Jeyavathy opens her narrative with a clear indication of her positive outlook of widows mingling with others in society. This sets the stage for the point made in the story.

In her construction of positive valuing Jeyavathy moves to her main point that widows have more time and opportunity to serve the Lord. They are free to do so if the children have been married and settled. She underlines the fact that in the Christian community widows are not ostracised. All join together and work unitedly. Thus Jeyavathy uses contrast pointing to the treatment meted out to widows among the Hindus especially in villages. She supports her view of the ostracisation and the resulting sorrow of widows from her experience with widows in Jesus Calls ministry. She narrates how when such ostracised widows are prayed for they find joy in accepting the Lord. This adds to her positive valuing. Jeyavathy closes her narrative of positive valuing of widows with a positive note about the widows who find joy in being prayed for in Jesus Calls.

---

1469 Jeyavathy – W12

1470 Jeyavathy – W12
Looking at the construction of narratives about widowhood, it is noted that all storytellers have a perception of positive compassion. Some go further than mere compassion in their perception and construction. They would point to the need for active help. Some narrate stories that root their perception in biblical material of compassion to the widow and widowhood not being a handicap. Jeyavathy constructs a narrative of angry disapproval at the mean treatment of widows in some other communities. Bina and Tiny also construct stories of contrast of the ways in which widows are treated in Christian and some other communities. Jeyavathy perceives an opportunity for the widow to minister in a positive manner. Thus these narrators construct their stories to bring out the positive response to widowhood.

SECTION FIVE. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE STATUS.

The status of singleness of a woman is one of the social issues in the discourse about who a woman is. This issue has been dealt with in the focus groups. Some women have expressed their views regarding the issue of 'singleness'.

I. 'No Problem'.

Some women such as Ester, Flora, Tiny and Bina have narratives about singleness. Their pieces may be categorised as constructions of 'no problem'. Each narrator opens in a different way. Ester begins\textsuperscript{1471} by saying 'they may be like that'. The listener is expected to understand what she is talking about. Flora opens\textsuperscript{1472} with 'it depends upon their calling'. This also demands that the listener has to make his or her own conclusion of what the story is about. Tiny is the only one who explicitly states\textsuperscript{1473} about what she is speaking. Bina starts stating

\textsuperscript{1471} Ester – S(Singleness)1. The narratives about the single status or singleness are found in Appendix 12.

\textsuperscript{1472} Flora - S2

\textsuperscript{1473} Tiny – S3
that it is not a defect. She does not specify what is not a defect. However the core points explain what these narrators are talking about.

A. Making a Faith Claim.

Ester uses rhetoric that the Lord is also with those who remain unmarried. She constructs the story with positive valuing of the unmarried being able to serve more. Flora in the entire narrative does not explicitly mention the subject matter. She simply asserts that it is according to the calling of each person and is not wrong. Probably what Flora means is that remaining single is not wrong. Thus she uses positive valuing and defense.

B. Singleness is not a Defect to Ostracise.

Tiny is elaborate. She at first points out that in this culture the unmarried single persons are sometimes ostracised and asserts that they should not be ostracised. Tiny proceeds to use justification and explanation that the reason a person remains single may be circumstantial or by choice. Then she comes out with her clinching point that it is not wrong. She goes further to put forward a positive point that the single person should also be loved and supported with help. Thus Tiny also uses defense and positive valuing. Bina acknowledges that sometimes the single person is made to feel bad about the single status. She says that a single person may feel bad. But others should not speak or think of the single status as a defect. Bina constructs her story using disapproval of negative attitude, rationalisation of singleness and defense of the single.

1474 Bina – S4
1475 Ester – S1
1476 Flora – S2
1477 Tiny – S3
1478 Bina – S4
None of the four narrators has any formal end. Ester stops with positive valuing. Flora ends with the defense that it is not wrong. Tiny advocates practical help. Bina also defends by asserting that we should not speak or think of it as a defect. Thus all of them construct positive valuing which may be categorized as stories of ‘no problem’.

II. Vehement Defense.

Udhaya has a narrative of vehement defense of the status of singleness. Her piece is short but emphatic. Udhaya begins her piece with a clear indication of the subject matter by using the term ‘singleness’.

Udhaya vigorously defends the status of singleness. According to her it is dependent upon the mindset of each person. Then she objects to any ill feeling towards the single. She does not specify what it is. But vehemently and repeatedly says it is not so. She probably means that singleness is not any aberration or wrongdoing or defect. Her emphatic objection that it is not so is the closure. For her the matter is closed. She has constructed the narrative of her defense of the single in claiming that it is not wrong.

III. Positive Valuing.

Bina is one person who constructs her story about singleness positively valuing the state of singleness, elaborately bringing out the benefit and value of singleness. Bina clearly states what her subject matter is by using the term ‘singleness’. Then she proceeds to construct her narrative of positive valuing.

1479 Udhaya – S5
1480 Udhaya – S5
1481 Bina – S6
Bina\textsuperscript{1482} commends singleness by choice. She roots her justification in the biblical material of what the Apostle Paul says. She goes on to note that the single ones have the opportunity to serve God better. She asserts that it is an ideal position. However she constructs the story recognising that it needs quite a strong will power to stay single. So she brings out the fact that it is better to get married rather than being fickle minded after choosing to be single. She is quite strong in her construction. She recognises that the society may criticise the single ones. However Bina advises that the single ones need not worry about it, because they have a greater opportunity to serve God. Bina goes on to say that the married person cannot serve God as much as a single person. However Bina on second thoughts claims that even a married person may serve God well if the husband is cooperative. Thus she uses the strategy of positively valuing the status of singleness quite strongly and clearly.

The complicating action of narrating about the status of singleness is resolved by Bina in her closure by acknowledging that either way, married or single, a person can serve God in whichever way God uses that person. Thus the matter is closed with positive valuing.

The manner in which the narrators construct their stories about the status of singlehood or the single status, reveals their perception of singleness not being a problem or a point for ostracisation. Some construct narratives of vehement defense and positive valuing. Thus these women do not subscribe to the picture portrayed by the academic literature about single status\textsuperscript{1483} that is one of victimisation, ostracisation and helplessness.

\textsuperscript{1482} Bina – S6

\textsuperscript{1483} N. S. Krishnakumari. \textit{Status Of Single Women In India}. Uppal Publishing House, NewDelhi, 1987
SECTION SIX. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE PARENTHOOD.

The issue of single parenthood was also discussed in the focus groups. The term ‘single parenthood’ was used to cover any type of single parenthood, the parent being a single person unmarried, married, separated, divorced or deserted, or a widow or a widower. The narrators in their story construction did not make a fine distinction among these categories. They focused mainly on a parent having to carry on life single-handedly.

I. Defense against Victimisation.

Jeyavathy, Tiny and Bina narrate their responses about single parenthood using the strategy of construction of defense against victimisation. Jeyavathy begins\textsuperscript{1484} by saying that it is wrong. It is not stated what is wrong. The whole narrative does not explicitly refer to the subject matter. However the listener is expected to surmise the point of discussion. Tiny’s partial statement has no formal opening\textsuperscript{1485}. In her narrative also the subject matter has to be deduced from the context of discussion. Bina begins\textsuperscript{1486} by saying it is the same problem. In the opening she does not say what the problem is. However her core narrative reveals the point under discussion.

A. Assertions.

In Jeyavathy’s narrative\textsuperscript{1487} the complicating point is that it is wrong. Later she states that people speak ill when someone comes forward to help. She seems to refer to the help a person

\textsuperscript{1484} Jeyavathy – SP(Single Parenthood)1. The narratives about single parenthood are found in Appendix 12.

\textsuperscript{1485} Tiny – SP2

\textsuperscript{1486} Bina – SP3

\textsuperscript{1487} Jeyavathy – SP1

The economic, social, psychological and sexual vulnerability of single women is noted in N. S. Krishnakumari, 1987, p. 7
seeks to render to a single parent. It is probable that she claims that it is wrong not to help and to speak ill. Through these short phrases and assertions she constructs a defense against victimisation.

B. Making the Point Implicitly.

Tiny also claims that people speak ill of those who come forward to help. This once again must be the help anyone wants to give to a single parent. From this it has to be concluded that Tiny constructs a victim identity. Further she seems also to construct a defense which is implicit and not explicit. Bina is clearer. She specifically states that even for a father who is a single parent there are different kinds of problems. She probably expects the listener to conclude that the female single parent has problems. She makes clear statements that it is difficult to manage everything and when God places one in the situation of a single parent it is difficult to manage. This is Bina’s construction of a victim identity. She also constructs an implicit defense.

All three have no formal resolution. But all of them resolve the complicating event with the claim that it is difficult. This winds up their narratives of defense against victimisation.

II. Advocacy.

Four of the narrators have quite elaborate narrative pieces about their response to the issue of single parenthood. Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct stories of advocacy coupled with understanding and compassion. Lovely and Jeyam make it clear in the opening

1488 Tiny – SP2
1489 Bina – SP3
Krishnakumari notes the problem of a single woman bringing up the children. Krishnakumari, 1987
1490 Lovely – SP4
itself that they are speaking about a single parent who is a divorcee. Saral\textsuperscript{1492} similar to the use by Lovely and Jeyam uses explicitly the phrase ‘single parenthood’ in the opening. Swarna does not indicate the subject matter in the opening\textsuperscript{1493}. But the course of the narrative reveals that she is talking about a single parent who is a divorcee.

A. Lamenting Style.

Lovely\textsuperscript{1494} laments that in the society there is not much mature feeling towards a divorcee. The first reaction is one of repulsion and accusation that the divorcee did not adjust. Lovely in her narrative imagination wants the listener to place her or him in the place of the divorcee and speculate what would have happened if they had been in the position of the divorcee. She complains that we look at the outward condition of the divorcee and do not realise that that person might have had a lot of problems. She recommends having a second thought. Her stance of understanding is displayed through her statement that we cannot blame the divorcee.

Further her view of having to help the divorcee is put forward by her recommendation to give the necessary mental support. Lovely proceeds to narrate about her maid who was a divorcee. She claims a deeper understanding and compassion only through having listened to the experience of her maid. She compassionately relates the pain of the maid whose boy baby was separated from the mother who was divorced. Thus Lovely has a lengthy narrative about the necessity to show understanding and compassion to help a divorcee. She constructs her story

\textsuperscript{1491} Jeyam – SP6
\textsuperscript{1492} Saral – SP5
\textsuperscript{1493} Swarna – SP7
\textsuperscript{1494} Lovely – SP4

Some of these narrators point out the discrimination against divorced women. See Krishnakumari, 1987
of advocacy using various tools and techniques such as defense of the position of the divorcee, victimisation found in the attitude of people towards a divorcee, empathising by placing one in the situation of the divorcee and display of compassion in her recommendation to give mental support and her example of showing compassion to her maid.

B. 'Do Not Know'.

Saral\textsuperscript{1495} also constructs her narrative with understanding and the recommendation to help. She complains that a lot of us first have a reaction of accusation towards a divorcee. She carries further her understanding by claiming that many do not blame the boy. Often the girl is accused as not behaving properly and being arrogant. Saral adds that the accusers judge it to be a just punishment for the divorced woman. But Saral claims that we do not know who was at fault. So her solution is to help such people through the church. Her story of advocacy uses techniques of defense of the divorcee in the situation of being accused, victimisation in being blamed, empathising with the divorcee’s difficult situation and recommendation for positive help.

Jeyam\textsuperscript{1496} is another person of the opinion that we do not know why the divorce happened. She is against deriding the divorcee without understanding. She also follows in her narrative of understanding an unusual line of thought. She thinks that it may be God’s plan. However she recommends a rebuilding of a different sort. She advocates help for the divorcee by way of remarriage or coping with a single life. Jeyam gives some positive suggestion. She suggests linking up the divorcee with some service agency to be actively involved in serving others.

\textsuperscript{1495} Saral – SP5
\textsuperscript{1496} Jeyam – SP6
Thus Jeyam uses strategies of understanding, compassion and giving suggestions for practical help in her construction of a story of advocacy.

C. Making a Religious Claim.

Swarna constructs her narrative of advocacy coupled with understanding through her claim that there must be some mistake or fault on both sides. Swarna's understanding and demand for help take a line of thought that is not taken by others. She makes a religious claim that the devil tries to separate Christian families and suggests prayer. Further she constructs her theological view that God joins a family together and does not intend to separate it later. So Swarna recommends that efforts must be taken to reconcile the divorced. She has an unusual biblical basis for her line of thought. She applies a verse about closing the breach in the walls of a city. For her reconciliation of the divorced is similar to mending the breach. Her suggestion is to help with prayer and any possible effort to lead them to reconciliation. Thus Swarna constructs her story of advocacy coupled with compassion and understanding using techniques of religious and theological claims.

All four of them close their long narratives of advocacy with the emphasis on concern and positive help. Lovely speaks of concern. Saral demands help. Swarna suggests helping the divorcee. Jeyam also recommends helping without rejection. They use similar strategies and techniques in their own ways.

All the narrators who construct their stories about single parenthood have spoken about divorcees. They construct their perceptions of defense against victimisation and advocacy to help. They bring in assertions, claims, religious or biblical points to construct their

1497 Swarna – SP7
perceptions. No single narrator has any negative perception or accusation. In their perception single parenthood has to be responded to with compassion and help. This is different from the dire situation, victimisation and helplessness of the single women, including divorcees portrayed in N. S. Krishnakumari’s book.\textsuperscript{1498}

SECTION SEVEN. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

The two narratives about domestic violence reveal that there is quite a bit of awareness. There are efforts taken to raise awareness also as seen from the article of Nisha Srivastava. This is based on the collection of stories about the efforts of Vanagana a women’s group in Uttar Pradesh. This group organised a campaign for awareness of domestic violence by putting on a street play based on a real life incident and having a discussion.\textsuperscript{1499} Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj note that there is growing violence against women such as rape, wife beating, family violence, dowry deaths and prostitution. They also note that these women are considered as victims to be saved or as objects of welfare and not as equal participants.\textsuperscript{1500}

I. ‘For the Sake of Peace in the Family’.

One person has constructed an elaborate narration of how a woman should respond to abusive or provocative situations in the family. Jeyavathy advocates a particular role of the woman to keep the peace of the family and bring about peace. She constructs a particular identity and role for a woman in the family. Jeyavathy begins with the word ‘in the house’ and does not

\textsuperscript{1498} Krishnakumari, 1987

\textsuperscript{1499} Srivastava, 6Feb., 1999, pp. 453-4
Neetha has studied women domestics in Delhi. She has examined the role of the women in migration, job search and social networking. However she has also discovered social control by males, patriarchal relations and wife beating. N. Neetha, ‘Making of Female Breadwinners’, \textit{EPW}, April 24-30, 2004, pp. 1681-88

\textsuperscript{1500} Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p.6. These two authors also note that there is an increase in violence against women because of absence of transformation of values and as a strategy of retaliation, Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p. 21
indicate about what she is narrating\textsuperscript{1501}. However her narrative piece clearly indicates the subject matter and her response to the issue at hand.

The complicating point in Jeyavathy's narrative is how a woman handles domestic violence. She constructs an elaborate and descriptive story\textsuperscript{1502}. She claims that often when women talk back without patience the man is angered. When the man gets angry he begins to beat with whatever he is able to get hold of. Thus she constructs a victim identity. However Jeyavathy constructs a solution that women should behave in such a way that such a provocative situation is not precipitated. She also holds that women should not do what the husband does not like. She complains that many women do not bear with the situation. Her view is that when women do not bear with patience there is a lot of fighting and quarrels in the family. She says that it is well if the woman does not talk back. Then there will be peace and happiness in the family. Thus she constructs a peace making role for the woman. She also puts forward that many women bear with patience. In some families the man drinks and beats. But the next morning the husband is quite happy. It is not stated explicitly why the husband is happy. Probably Jeyavathy expects the listener to surmise that it is because of the patient bearing of the wife. Jeyavathy does not merely advocate a course of patience on the part of the woman. She constructs a more active and constructive course to follow. She advocates the woman to pray and work out peace. She in her construction uses the tool of disapproval of the woman leaving the husband. Her argument is that it is only one life and once married the woman is supposed to be with the husband. She recommends prayer and counselling to correct and change the husband. She also claims that when a woman does this God is sure to give peace and happiness in the family. Jeyavathy seems to place the responsibility of keeping the peace

\textsuperscript{1501} Jeyavathy - V( Domestic Violence)\textsuperscript{1}. The narratives about domestic violence are found in Appendix 12.

\textsuperscript{1502} Jeyavathy – V1

398
of the family in the hands of the woman. She lists causal reasons for the break down of the peace when the woman talks back angering the man. She also provides rectification measures to avoid beating. She bases her construction on a faith claim of pastoral care.

This positive advice to pray and correct which paves the way to peace and happiness is the resolution in Jeyavathy's narrative. So there is no further formal closure. Thus her construction of a particular identity and role of the woman in the family is closed with a religious claim.

II. Outright Condemnation.

One other person also has a response to the issue of domestic violence. This response is constructed along entirely different lines of thought. This narrative uses the technique of total condemnation of domestic violence by way of wife battering. Tiny is completely against wife beating. Tiny begins her narrative with explicit statement of the issue of discussion. She uses the word 'domestic violence'. Then she proceeds to a specific type of violence namely wife beating by the husband.

She categorically objects to wife beating. She holds that we should be happy with all. She is emphatic that it is wrong to beat even if the woman does anything wrong. Tiny in her construction of outright condemnation provides an alternate course of action that she could be reprimanded and corrected. Unlike Jeyavathy she holds that such behaviour will increase the problems and confusion. She not only narrates about wife beating, but also includes discriminatory treatment to relatives as being domestic violence or abuse. This is interesting

---

1503 Tiny – V2
1504 Tiny – V2

399
that she constructs her story recognising both physical and emotional abuse as parts of
domestic violence. Her argument is that Christians must love one another. Thus Tiny
constructs a story of vehement objection to and condemnation of domestic violence of any
type, physical, emotional or psychological. She reinforces again and again that wife beating is
wrong. By raising the question whether the wife is a child to be beaten, she by implication
makes the point that an adult should not be beaten. This is also evident in the statement that by
beating any mistake cannot be corrected. Beating will only cause more confusion. So Tiny
claims that it is obvious that beating is not the solution by emphasising the problems of
beating. Having constructed her narrative of outright condemnation and objection to domestic
violence Tiny closes her narrative without any further debate or question.

These narratives do not portray or construct any active rationalisation, defense or justification
of domestic violence. But while Tiny constructs a story of outright condemnation, Jeyavathy’s
perception and construction may be different. She does not accept domestic violence, as it
exists. But she constructs a story of finding ways of circumventing, removing, handling or
negotiating with domestic violence with the woman responding to it with positive attitudes of
patience and prayer. This in Jeyavathy’s perception does not demean or degrade the woman. It
is only a positive response to handle the situation and change it. This is not found in the
literature about domestic violence.\textsuperscript{1505} Probably Jeyavathy’s perception and construction stems
from her Christian belief that the woman is patient for the sake of the peace of the family and
attempts to change the situation with prayer.

\textsuperscript{1505} Ghadially, 1988, pp. 151-166
SECTION EIGHT. DISCOURSE ABOUT RESPONSE TO SEX WORKERS

The response of the narrators to the issue of sex workers has been quite varied. The members construct their narratives using various strategies, techniques and tools.

I. Positive Defense.

Quite a few participants construct their narratives that touch upon the different aspects of the issue of sex workers. However these narrators use the strategy of positive defense combined with the demand for loving practical action and help. Udhaya, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral and Swarna all advocate loving help to sex workers in the construction of their narratives of defense.

Udhaya does not specify about what she is speaking. She just begins by saying that it is wrong. Bina openly begins sympathizing with those involved in sex work. Mariam opens with the recognition that some are forced into sex work. Lovely opens with disapproval of sex work. Saral begins in a strange manner of asking whether sex work is found in the Christian community. But later she recognises that the discussion is about sex work in general. Swarna opens like some others with disapproval of sex work. However she also proceeds with her narrative of defense and demand for positive practical help.

1506 There is a historical study of growth, suppression and control of prostitution in Madras. Sundara Raj, 1993
1507 Udhaya – SW(Sex Work)1. The narratives about response to sex workers are found in Appendix 12.
1508 Bina – SW3
1509 Mariam – SW2
1510 Lovely – SW4
1511 Saral – SW5
1512 Swarna – SW6
A. Compassion to those Forced into it.

Udhaya\textsuperscript{1513} argues that sex workers are in it because they do not have other options. However she recommends a positive attitude of love and affection without rejection. She avoids victimisation. Mariam\textsuperscript{1514} recognises that some are forced into sex work while some take it up for income. She roots her story in the biblical example of Jesus forgiving the Samaritan woman and the woman caught in adultery, providing examples to support her stance. Thus her construction is a defense. She like the others recommends working for the liberation and development of those in sex work.

B. Explicit Use of God's Forgiveness.

Bina has a lengthy narrative\textsuperscript{1515} touching upon various aspects of sex work. She recognises that some are forced into it. She recommends a positive line of action of helping them to come out of it. Thus she constructs her story of defense. It is interesting to note that Bina brings in faith content. She advocates telling the sex workers about God and helping them come out of sex work. She also adds that we do not condemn them which is a positive defense. However she does not approve of those who persist in sex work. Even for these she suggests the way out. She claims that when God forgives we cannot blame them. Bina proceeds elaborately to describe those who are allured by sex work. However it is interesting to note that Bina also says that after a sex worker has given up that we should neither remember it nor bring it up. Thus she constructs an identity of a transformed life.

\textsuperscript{1513} Udhaya – SW1

\textsuperscript{1514} Mariam – SW2

Some like Mariam explicitly state that some sex workers are forced into it. Compare what Devaki Jain says about some sex workers being victims to treachery. Devaki Jain ed. \textit{Indian Women.} Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1975, p. 263

\textsuperscript{1515} Bina – SW3
Lovely begins\textsuperscript{1516} by disapproving of sex work rooting it in the biblical view of sin. Then she uses the strategy of demanding acceptance of sex workers while rejecting sex work. She like the others roots her argument in God’s forgiveness and restoration of them to a good path. Many of these narrators use the technique of avoiding the construction of a victim identity or victimisation. Lovely recommends that we should help them as good companions. This is quite interesting because of the indicating of positive course of action.

\textbf{C. Advocating Help to Come Out of sex work.}

Saral’s narrative is similar to those of others\textsuperscript{1517}. She disapproves of and rejects sex work. However she also roots the cause of women’s entry into sex work in economic problem or the family situation or lack of parental love. She recommends helping the sex workers to come out of it. Swarna also follows a narrative construction similar to the others. She disapproves of sex work\textsuperscript{1518}. However she also recommends that we help them to come out of it and pray for them. She constructs an identity of normal life for those who come out. Her argument is rooted in God’s acceptance of anyone and every one that she uses as the basis for demanding that God’s children should not reject anyone. Thus almost all of them construct stories of defense and delineate a practical line of action to help the sex workers to come out of sex work.

All six of these narrators having constructed their stories of positive defense close their narratives with the recommendation to help the sex workers to come out of the work.

\textsuperscript{1516} Lovely – SW4

\textsuperscript{1517} Saral – SW5

\textsuperscript{1518} Swarna – SW6
emphatic recommendation itself serves as the closure with no other formal ending. For these narrators there is no further debate or questioning or gainsaying.

II. Positive Acceptance.

Two women Flora and Jeyam construct their narratives about sex workers using the strategy of positive acceptance. Their narratives do not condone sex work or the sex industry but their positive acceptance is constructed about those who are caught in the web of sex work. These narrators may not as the previous set of narrators explicitly work out a line of practical help for the sex workers to come out of it; however, they do display similar positive acceptance of the sex workers.

Flora and Jeyam open their narratives differently. Flora begins\textsuperscript{1519} by constructing a story of acceptance without rejection. This opening does not explicitly reveal the issue under consideration. In fact the whole narrative does not mention the issue of response to sex workers. However it is expected to be understood. Jeyam explicitly opens using the term ‘prostitution’ and does not leave any room for doubt about the matter under discussion\textsuperscript{1520}.

The main thrust of Flora’s construction\textsuperscript{1521} is not merely not rejecting the sex workers. She also like some others roots her argument in the fact that Jesus did not reject any one. She bases her construction on Jesus’ saying that the harlots shall enter heaven. Her contention is that when they are shown love they come out of it and if we hate them they continue in their sin.

\textsuperscript{1519} Flora – SW7

\textsuperscript{1520} Jeyam – SW8

\textsuperscript{1521} Flora – SW7
Jeyam uses the strategy\textsuperscript{1522} of recommending an effort to know the reasons for the sex workers involved in such a life style. She lists some reasons for the sex workers to be caught up in it. They might have gone astray, and, not being able to come into mainstream society after a bad experience, they may have entered sex work for lack of other options. They may have been orphaned or in financial need. She claims inside knowledge from her acquaintance with social workers. She uses her acknowledgement of the pain of hearing the histories of various sex workers to construct her story of positive acceptance.

Similar to the other narratives about sex workers these two also do not have any formal closure. Probably having constructed their stories of positive acceptance they do not feel the necessity to have any further formal ending.

III. Apparent Ambivalence.

Tiny constructs her narrative using a strategy that appears to be ambivalent. It is neither outright condemnation nor unconditional acceptance. Tiny's opening\textsuperscript{1523} does not indicate explicitly the subject matter of her narrative. Probably in spite of this lack of explicit mention of the issue throughout the narrative the listener is expected to understand the issue.

Tiny\textsuperscript{1524} uses repetition to emphasise that those who get caught unawares in sex work may be forgiven and helped to come out of it. On the other hand she is quite clear in her disapproval of those who purposely get involved in sex work and persist in it. But at one point she constructs some approval of help for them also. She even recommends informing the

\textsuperscript{1522} Jeyam – SW8
\textsuperscript{1523} Tiny – SW9
\textsuperscript{1524} Tiny – SW9
government to help the sex workers to come out of it. Tiny is not ambivalent. It is probable that she in her mind constructs two categories of sex workers, the ones caught unaware in it and those who purposely enter sex work and persist in it. Her construction of these two different identities elicits different lines of construction in her narrative. However for both she advocates practical positive help.

Tiny also has no formal ending of her narrative. Having constructed her story of two different categories of sex workers and advocacy for both she completes the narrative.

IV. Identity Construction Rooted in Causal Factors.

Jeyavathy in her narrative elaborately uses examples from real life to construct an identity of sex workers rooting it in causal factors. Jeyavathy's narrative does not explicitly state the context of the issue in the beginning\footnote{Jeyavathy – SW10}. But her elaborate construction clearly displays the issue.

Right at the outset Jeyavathy\footnote{Jeyavathy – SW10} roots the cause for the behaviour of the children in the upbringing by the parents. Then she proceeds to narrate a real life example to support her point. She says that in one family the mother herself involved the daughters in sex work. Jeyavathy bases this in the causal factor of poverty. However she does not accept the rationale. She rejects the causal factor of poverty because she constructs a theological understanding that if we ask God, God would set us free from poverty. Jeyavathy's contention is that God does not want us to be poor. She also proposes that those who do not know this involve their young daughters in sex work. Though Jeyavathy does not approve of parents selling their daughters
for sex work she constructs her story using the tool of sympathy. She however expresses her disapproval emphatically. Jeyavathy’s solution is to send the children to Sunday school. This according to her will help the children to love the Lord. Apart from this Jeyavathy also recommends parental discipline encouraging the children to read the Bible and pray. This will keep the children from becoming wayward. She also points out the distraction of the television to mislead or misguide parents and children. Her final solution is praying for the children. Thus Jeyavathy disapproves of sex work but also suggests remedial measures of parental discipline and faith nurture as ways to bring up children.

Jeyavathy having suggested the solution to bring up children with discipline and faith nurture leaves her narrative without a formal closure. Her remedial solution suffices.

V. Blaming the Woman.
There is one narrative in which the narrator uses the technique of blaming the woman for the continuance and flourishing of sex work. However Bina’s construction does not seem to display vehement condemnation. She begins her narrative with the identity construction of women being used as a commodity. However she does not specifically explicate at the beginning what this identity construction of commodity of being used means. But her narrative as it proceeds displays her argument.

Bina’s whole argument seems to hinge on the fact that if women do not give in or make themselves available, the sex industry cannot flourish. Thus she seems to fault the women. Her narrative however is interspersed with the recognition of the part of the men also. But

\[1527\) Bina – SW11
\[1528\) Bina – SW11
ultimately she seems to place the onus on the women. She says that many men have a weakness and women exploit that weakness for the sake of money. She holds that if the women were not available men would stay with their own wives and family. However she recognises that according to what the Lord has said, lust on the part of anyone is sin and adultery\textsuperscript{1529}. Then she moves once again to her initial construction of different identities for women and men. She holds that women have less sexual urge and some men definitely need a sexual partner. Bina approves of the solution for the sexual urge of men to be resolved in the pattern of each one having his own wife. But Bina disapproves of women who exploit such men and make them fall into their net. She also argues that sex cannot be had unless the woman also is willing to give place. She holds that only in rape sex can be forced on a person. She makes it clear that we are not talking about rape but prostitution. So it is the woman who instigates. Thus she seems to construct a story faulting the woman. Though Bina blames men who go to other women leaving their wives, ultimately she blames women for the greater role of women in the continuance of the sex industry.

Thus having laid the blame at the feet of the women who entice men and encourage sex work Bina closes her narrative.

\textbf{VI. Vehement Disapproval.}

Some of the participants in their narratives display vehement disapproval of sex workers. It is possible that their disapproval is not of the sex workers as persons but of sex work. Ranjithamani, Saguna and Gem construct their narratives with a display of outright negative disapproval.

\textsuperscript{1529} Matthew 5: 28
All three indicate that they are speaking about young girls or women. Ranjithamani does not say what her narrative about young girls is. Saguna directly opens with her statement that it is terrible to make children a commodity. She probably means young women or girls. Gem begins by providing the reason for women to go astray.

Ranjithamani constructs her narrative on the basis of what she has heard and seen in real life. She describes in detail how the sex work is carried on using young girls. She points out how it is made a moneymaking industry. She bemoans the fact that for the sake of money and love of money girls are used in the sex work. She reveals her pain at having seen this though she disapproves of it. She also proposes a positive remedy of fear of God, fear of Jesus Christ to be freed from this wrong path. She not only proposes a remedy but also indicates her positive action of praying for this. Again she narrates some concrete examples she has witnessed. She clearly constructs a story of vehement disapproval.

Saguna is also clear and emphatic in her disapproval of making children a commodity. She must be referring to young girls. She roots it in the causal factor of financial need. However she does not mince words to construct her disapproval. She also proposes a faith based solution of prayer. It is interesting to note that Saguna goes on to say that we must pray that such practices are not followed in Christian families. It is not clear why she uses this distinction of Christian families.

---

1530 Ranjithamani – SW12
1531 Saguna – SW13
1532 Gem – SW14
1533 Ranjithamani – SW12
1534 Saguna – SW13
Gem bases the reason for girls going astray on the lack of discipline at home. However Gem recognises that in families that do not have male children a necessity arises for girls to do everything. It is strange that Gem constructs a story of the possibility of girls to go astray when they have to go out for errands while accepting the fact that the girl children have to go out for errands when there is no boy in the family. She further provides a case in which the father had deserted the family and the mother with four daughters looked to the eldest for financial support. Having to please the mother the eldest daughter had to borrow or resort to wrong means. So Gem proposes the solution to be content with what little one has but with fear of God which will be a blessing. It is strange that Gem here digresses to some comment about the children of teachers, catechists and pastors. She probably constructs for these children an identity of being mischievous. It is not clear what is the thrust or purpose of her construction at this point.

Ranjithamani closes with her vehement disapproval that it is wrong to use young girls in sex work. Saguna closes with her suggestion to pray. Gem leaves her narrative open with the identity construction about the children of certain category of people. All these three women construct narratives of vehement disapproval of sex work. Their narrative may not show any antagonism against the sex workers. Thus the participants construct various narratives to display their responses to the issue of sex workers.

These narratives show the awareness of these women and their perceptions of positive compassion advocating help. Some seem to show ambivalence, blaming the woman and disapproval. But it is not a total rejection that demeans the sex workers. Those who disapprove

---

1535 Gem – SW14
construct their stories to reveal their attitude of disapproval of the practice and not the person. The storytellers by constructing narratives showing the causal factors that some are forced into it due to economic reasons and for social reasons of lack of love and care display their perception of compassion. The academic literature\textsuperscript{1536} seems to resonate with the perceptions of these women. But, being Christians, only these women construct stories displaying God's forgiveness.

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter the narratives about many different issues have been analysed. The women narrators who are situated in the society with these issues orient themselves to these issues using various strategies, techniques and tools. They use:

- positive valuing
- construction of equality or no discrimination
- outright condemnation
- technique of bemoaning
- moralising
- identity construction
- acceptance
- victim identity
- strategy of angry response
- disapproval
- contrast
- making a faith or a religious claim

\textsuperscript{1536} Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 97-104
• basing on biblical material
• drawing from personal example and experience
• suggesting a solution
• rooting in culture
• rationalisation
• justification
• strategy of positive compassion
• pattern of opportunity
• strategy of no problem
• defense
• advocacy
• apparent ambivalence
• blaming.

With these methods they construct identities. Thus they build stories about who a woman is.

In building self-perception and self-construction they display a positive valuing of a girl child, equality or no discrimination between a girl and a boy, outright condemnation of female infanticide and feticide, considering the girl child better, contrast between boys and girls and bemoaning the treatment given to girl children. There is a view rejecting the use of contraceptives and abortion.

The issue of childlessness drew responses of acceptance, suggesting a solution for change, claiming children as gifts of God and God being the giver of children, seeing a positive value with advantage, pointing to victim identity construction and rejection of such identity and ill treatment, defense of the childless, moralising and suggesting solutions such as adoption.
The practice of dowry is categorically disapproved of by most of the narrators displaying an angry response to victimisation. However this has been also made problematic. So some resort to rationalisation, justification and explanation. Some of the reasons pointed out are the fear of parents that the girl may not be married, culture and financial need of some families. However a better option of sharing the expenses is also stated.

The discussion of widowhood brought out responses of positive compassion recognising the difficulties and needs of widows, leading to suggestions and recommendations to help in practical ways. The contrast between the different treatments of widows in different communities is brought out. While angry disapproval of mean or ill treatment is displayed the biblical pattern of God’s concern and care for the widow is also highlighted. The positive value of freedom and opportunity for greater service is also recognised. Single status is accepted. Any victimisation or faulting or accusing or denigration is disapproved with defense of the position of the single ones.

The situation of single parenthood especially of divorcees draws compassionate understanding and acceptance recommending help. The victimisation of accusation and faulting is vehemently condemned. This recognises the tendency in society to blame the woman without deeper understanding. So advocacy is proposed.

Domestic violence brings out two types of response. One is that of laying the burden at the feet of the woman, requiring her to be patient and not provocative, and to keep the peace of the house while resorting to counselling and praying. The other view displays outright disapproval and condemnation of any type of domestic violence, physical, emotional and psychological.
The issue of sex work also draws a variety of responses. There is a positive acceptance with the recognition to help the sex workers to come out of their situation. The causal reasons such as being forced into it because of deception, lack of love in the family and economic need are also pointed out. However positive attitude of compassion and understanding is displayed. Some show disapproval probably of sex work and not the sex worker. Biblical examples of compassion and forgiveness are upheld.

Thus the narrators in responding to these various social issues display a variety of views and attitudes. They position themselves in their social milieu with these social issues to display their self-perception and self-construction in the context of these issues. Their stories cannot be fitted into well-defined slots of academic discussion. In the discussions above the difference between some of these responses and the academic literature has been pointed out. For example, Jeyavathy’s construction about domestic violence has no parallel in the academic discussion. She brings in her Christian belief in advocating patience and prayer to change the situation. Similarly the academic literature about dowry, single status, single parenthood, childlessness and response to sex work portray pictures of helplessness and demeaning treatment. But these narrators would construct their stories by pointing to a way to handle the situation or problem. The distinct contribution is their rooting in their religious beliefs and biblical material with a faith claim. Particularly the response to sex workers has stories of pointing to God’s forgiveness. This Christian background that informs their perceptions and enables their constructions is unique to this Christian community. This contributes to the overall aim of the research that is to elicit the self perception and self construction of these women from their narratives.

Having analysed the narratives of the storytellers in the particular components of their lived experiences, I move on to draw some significant conclusions from the study.
CONCLUSIONS

Having analysed the narratives of the women members of the sample group and displayed the results, some conclusions may be presented. These conclusions specifically emerge out of this study. Further these conclusions pertain to the methodology, the sample and the results of the analysis of the narratives.

The findings of the research suggest that the self perception and self construction of the women of the sample group do not match the current rhetoric of gender studies about Indian women. It has been pointed out that gender research about Indian women depict Indian women to be oppressed and subordinated. The stories of the women in their perception and performance of identity construction display women who enjoy freedom, equality and opportunities for education and career. These also show that these women are actively involved in church and issues of women prominent in their society.

These women display identity construction using various strategies, techniques and tools of story telling to produce a 'tellable story' that fits their commonsense understanding. It is important to note that the narratives display the self perception and self construction of the narrators and not the opinions and ideas about them put forward by others. The identity is not one single monolithic or stereotyped one. The women are neither anti-men nor radical feminists. Their identity is complex, multifaceted and multifarious with many parts. They perceive and project themselves as significant members of the community and family, able and willing to support, negotiate with and strategise along with other members of the family and the community.
To produce ‘tellable stories’ about relationships in the family, they use strategies such as

- conformity to equality,
- equal treatment of children,
- rationalisation,
- justification
- explanation,
- construction of women’s control,
- valorisation,
- conformity to culture,
- non-conformist experience,
- contrast,
- construction of various identities and that of
- victim identity.

Examples of these strategies used in the construction of stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children are given in the next paragraph.

Melody, Arunkumari, Mariam, Joy, Priya, Lita, Kamala, Bina and Ranjithamani tell stories of how the spousal relationship was one of togetherness. Many such as Udhaya, Amar, Ranjithamani, Melody, Priya and others explicitly and implicitly in these narrative pieces claim that there was no differential treatment between sons and daughters.

Some such as Joy rationalise the division of labour as domestic and social. Gem justifies her only son helping her in chores though it was not the practice in her family for men to involve in domestic chores. Swarna explains how her mother took care of the family responsibilities while her father was away and could have workers to take care of the lands. Devar constructs
a story of her mother having been in control of the family. Gem valorises her husband not sharing in domestic chores by stating that she neither liked it nor allowed it. Ranjithamani portrays how her father conformed to culture in the treatment of children in not allowing the daughter much freedom to go out alone after she had come of age. Lila tells how she did not conform to culture in allowing her daughter to mix with boys. Lita uses contrast to portray the difference in her husband’s background of male domination and her background of her having been brought up with freedom to go out and do chores such as shopping and booking rail tickets meant for men.

Joy constructs an identity of a strong person in her narrative about her mother who took care of everything. Bina has a story of victim identity about chore sharing in her marital home; but her story of spousal relationship is one of equality. From these narratives and story construction it may be concluded that these women use various strategies to portray their self perception and self construction.

Religion for these women is very important and shapes their belief and behaviour. However it is not religion as a set of rules and regulations or doctrines and philosophical ideals but religion as they understand and interpret it for themselves in their daily life and practice. This is seen not only in how they interpret some of its regulations such as head covering as not implying subordination, but how they draw on religion to regulate their views of other areas of life such as widowhood, single parenthood and sex work. Thus religion is not an oppressive tool to subordinate or suppress them but an active agent to shape their gender practice. They perceive women’s involvement in church activities as valuable and powerful. Their perceptions of women teaching, preaching and participating in church administration also receives approval from examples drawn from their own lives and those of others. If there is
any disapproval it may be explained away and not exclude women totally from active involvement in church activities. Women's ordination is not seen as a symbol of equality and freedom while the disapproval of it also is not seen oppressive and discriminatory.

The narratives about head covering and headship of husband also display perceptions and constructions that bring out the picture that these do not suppress or oppress women because the storytellers pour in their own content, reinterpret or invert these concepts. This counters some of the claims made about religion in academic studies such as the complementarian view of evangelical theology that assign a subordinate position to women under the authority of men. This view does not allow women to preach and teach. It advocates head covering of women during worship and submission to the rule of the husband as symbols of the subordinate position of women and authority-submission hierarchical pattern in man-woman relationship.

What has been said above about the self understanding, self perception and self construction of these women adds another facet to the understanding of Indian women especially Indian Christian women. These women strategise, negotiate and use many methods to display their understanding of their self perception and self construction. They are vigorous actors in their performance of their identity construction. They are not passive objects but active subjects in their construction of their narratives about their gender practice.

The conclusions that may be suggested with respect to the methodology and method used in this study are both positive and negative. The method of story telling is quite conducive, comfortable and enjoyable for these women. Story telling is for them a habitual art as Christian women used to give testimonies and share their experiences. It may even be
suggested that they prefer the narrative method to other methods because of its versatility, flexibility and open-ended nature.

However it has to be noted that the narrative method like any other method has its own limitations. The researcher has chosen selected facets of their gender practice. It is possible to raise the question of ‘truth’. But on the other hand it has been noted about the narrative methodology, about the construction of ‘self’ and particularly about ‘truth’ in narrative method, that it is not ‘truth’ but the ‘social meaning’ of the self perception and self construction of the narrators. It is the significance of the perception and construction of these stories. The focus is on how these narrators construct their stories of self perception and self construction.

This study brings out the fact that the narrative method elicits a different perspective about the women of the sample group in comparison with the picture portrayed about Indian women in academic discussions and standard textbooks. This discrepancy is described in the sections of conclusion in chapter four, chapter five and chapter six. The distinct contribution of Christian women about the social issues is described in the conclusion of chapter seven. The narrative method is also different because it represents the self perception of the women themselves as subjects and not a picture of the women as objects. It may be possible to extrapolate this to Indian Christian women and Indian women.

If the findings are valid for this sample and if they may be true for other samples, then the strategies of work or ministry among women particularly among these women and similar samples have to be carefully reworked and revised. Any rhetoric about these women has to take into account the self perception and self construction of these women regarding them as
subjects and not as objects. The discussions about Indian women in standard textbooks are that they are subordinated and oppressed. The feminist discussion that subscribes to this view of Indian women tries to portray them as trapped and imprisoned by family, church and society. So they would try to conscientise them with strategies for awareness raising to break their ‘prison walls’ and seek their freedom. But these women do not present a picture of imprisonment within the walls of family, church and society. They present a picture of freedom, equality, strength, power and well-being. This sense of well-being has to be strengthened. Their self perception and self construction of equality, freedom and power have to be enhanced and encouraged. Their experiences may also be presented as models for others. Further research can be taken up along numerous lines. Similar study may be carried out for Christian women elsewhere in India and outside India. Several studies may be carried out with the same sample or similar sample choosing various other categories of their gender practice. It is possible to examine the same categories working out further probing into their strategies and methods used in their story telling and dealing with questions such as ‘why’ and ‘how’. Studies using sample groups in a different geographical location, embedded in a different cultural milieu, hailing from different ethnic or racial background, possessing varying economic, religious and linguistic background, may be undertaken. It may be possible to select sample groups with homogenous properties with respect to age, culture, language, religion, background, educational level and career experience.

Thus the aim of this research to uncover the gender practice of the narrators from their stories of their lived experiences has shown that their stories do not fit the discussions about Indian women in standard text books. Their experiences cannot be put into well defined boxes of academic discussions. They reveal the self perception and self construction of the narrators as subjects. These women are not presented as objects of the viewpoint of somebody else. Their
stories are varied and multifaceted. Their self perception and self construction present these women as active performers and shapers of their experiences without oppressive domination by family, church and society. They use various strategies of story telling to produce a 'tellable' story of their experiences. They strategise and negotiate along with other members of the family and society to construct their identities. The picture that emerges is a community of women who are strong, powerful, able, free enjoying equality and well being.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Books and Chapters in Books:


Bergmann, Barbara P. The Economic Emergence of Women. 2nd ed., Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2005


Caplan, Patricia. *Class & Gender İn India.* Tavistock Publications, London, 1985


Evans, Mary J. *Woman in the Bible.* Paternoster, Exeter, 1983


423
Griffiths, Michael and Valerie in Shirley Lees. ed. The Role of Woman. 8 Prominent Christians debate today's issues. IVP, 1984


Jain, Shashi. Status And Role Perception Of Middle Class Women. Puja Publishers (Regd.), New Delhi, 1988


424

Krishnakumari, N. S. *Status Of Single Women In India*. Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987


Madhan, T. N. *Pathways. Approaches to the study of society in India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995

Maxwell, J. A. *Qualitative Research Design*. Sage, Newbury Park, USA, 1996


Ross, Aileen D. *The Hindu Family In Its Urban Setting*. University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1961


Srinivasan, Amrit. ‘Temple ‘Prostitution’ And Community Reform. An Examination of the ethnographic, historical and textual context of the devadasi of Tamil Nadu, South India’, Ph. D., Cambridge, nd.


II. Articles in Journals:

Bhog, Dipta. ‘Gender and Curriculum’, *Economic and Political Weekly (EPW)*, 27April, 2002

Brunner, Jerome. “Life as Narrative”, *Social Research.* Vol. 54, No.1 (Spring 1987)


Engineer, Asghar Ali. ‘Muslim Women and Maintenance’, *EPW.* 12June, 1999


Neetha, N. ‘Making of Female Breadwinners’, *EPW,* April 24-30, 2004


Parikh, P. P. and Sukhatone, S. P. ‘Women Engineers in India’, *EPW,* 10Jan, 2004

Rajadhyaksha, Ujvala and Smita, Swati. ‘Tracing a Timeline for Work and Family Research in India’, *EPW.* April 24 – 30, 2004


----. ‘Beyond Reductionism: Narrative Genres in Divorce Accounts’, *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 1(1), 1991


III. From the Internet:


‘Focus Groups in Asia’ available at Focus Groups in Asia, A Management Guide.htm accessed in January 2002


Ross, James. ‘Focus Groups: What are they and how can they help you?’, available at Focus Groups – What Are They.htm, accessed in January 2002

‘Submit’ from to women.org/studies/word/submit.htm, to women.org/studies/articles/Preato3.htm, to women.org/articles/vashti.htm and the article ‘The Vashti – Esther Story’ on website of Katharine C Bushnell, all accessed on 27March 2006
APPENDIX 1

THE CONTEXT AND SETTING OF THE STUDY AND THE BACKGROUND OF
THE CHURCH CHOSEN FOR THE FIELD WORK

I. Introduction.

In the exploratory study, a questionnaire has been distributed during the period February 1999 to April 1999 to educated Indian women who are not part of the sample group chosen for the field study. The responses to some forty of the questionnaires have been received. Also, a female facilitator of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Bargur block of the Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu in India has been interviewed along with the social worker and some animators of the 100 women’s groups. Two focus groups of discussion of the issues arising out of the interviews and responses to the questionnaire have been held with Christian educated women, one in Bangalore and one in Vellore.

The intense focused field work was done by interviewing the female members of the families which are members of the Risen Redeemer’s Church of South India (CSI) church in Kodambakkam, Chennai. Six focus groups were conducted to collect the narratives of these women. The material for the focus group discussions was provided. These were Bible study outlines based on some select passages in the Bible relating to women in creation, the man–woman relationship in family and church and the involvement of women in church worship. This is a descriptive study using a combination of questionnaire-reports, interviews and
observations. It is used to assess the status of the topic of study – gender practice of Indian Christian women.

II. The problem.

The central research question is what does it mean to be a Tamil Indian Christian woman in Chennai, India at the turn of the millennium. This broad question can be split into some sub-questions: 1. What is the self-identity these women have within the network of the family relationships? 2. How do they view their access to or lack of opportunities for education and career? 3. What is their self-image of their involvement in church?

III. The Context and Setting of the Sample Chosen for the Intense Field Work.

A. The sample group chosen for the field study.

The women of the families which are members of the CSI Risen Redeemer’s church, Kodambakkam, Chennai, have been chosen at random. More will be said about the sample in the section on ‘entry into the field’.

B. Geographical location.

The church is on the first cross street, United India Colony, Kodambakkam, the street leading in front of the Liberty theatre and hence known as the ‘liberty church’ to locate and to differentiate it from the Roman Catholic Fatima church on the fourth cross street of the United India Colony and church of the Evangelical Church of India and Tamil Baptist church in Trustpuram, and the Assemblies of God in Zackriah colony of the Kodambakkam area.

---


1538 This area which is named United India Colony was promoted by the United India Insurance company which procured the land and distributed it for housing
The members of the congregation mainly live in the following areas:

1. United India Colony
2. Taylor's Estate
3. Railway quarters
4. Akkbarabad
5. Patel street
6. Rangarajapuram
7. Subramanianagar
8. Azeeznagar
9. Trustpuram, Minor trustpuram
10. Ganganagar, Sivankoil street, Gangai ammankoil street, Power House and Ram theatre areas, Kamaraj colony, Ashoknagar, Kalaignar Karunanidhi Nagar
11. Zackria colony, Choolaimedu, Gill Nagar, Metha Nagar
12. Vadapalani and Salaigramam

Few active members have moved away to West Annanagar and Padi, but continue to attend the services and take part in the other activities of the Risen Redeemer's church. These are persons who have moved away from the Kodambakkam area and still continue to retain their membership in this church, attending worship and being involved in the activities of this church.
C. The setting of the Kodambakkam area.

1. Geographical setting.

The Kodambakkam area lies west of the Chennai Beach-Tambaram railway line. It is one of the areas developed as the Chennai (then known as Madras) city (now a metropolis) began to expand west of the railway line in the fifties. It is between West Mambalam on the south and Choolaimedu on the north. Some of the early members of this church remember that some forty or fifty years ago, even on the eastern side of the railway line, the area between Nungambakkam (an adjacent area) and Kodambakkam, was a huge orchard of all kinds of trees, belonging to one man.\textsuperscript{1539} The area from Mambalam to Mylapore was full of orchards and \textit{tooppu} (gardens or orchards of certain fruitbearing trees) belonging to a petty king and the area from Mylapore to the eastern seashore (present-day Mandavelli and Foreshore Estate) were full of beautiful sand dunes.\textsuperscript{1540} Vadapalani, the western periphery of Kodambakkam, began to expand only in the seventies. Interestingly, Vadapalani is the area where the cine world is - studios and other places of film producing industry. Even in 1970 when the parents of the researcher moved into the Kodambakkam area, the areas beyond Vadapalani were still paddy fields and \textit{topes} of mango trees and coconut trees. At present by the turn of the century, Kodambakkam being well within the metropolis is no more the growing edge of the city.

The geographical setting places Kodambakkam close to the Beach – Tambaram electric train line (the commuter line) which gives greater facility of mobility to those who live here. The Kodambakkam overbridge arches across the railtrack which makes the connection between the east and west sides of the railtrack feasible. The electric train also gives the facility to reach

\textsuperscript{1539}Mrs. Rajakani, a member of the original group which worshipped in the car-shed of late Mrs. Sophie Selvanayagam’s house, says that this was so when she got married and came to Madras and her late husband was in charge of this huge orchard

\textsuperscript{1540}Mrs. Leela Paul, was seven years old when India gained its independence and recalls this and many other interesting points regarding the cloistering of the upper caste women and the celebration of Independence
the two main rail stations – the Chennai Central and Egmore stations, from which the trains from Chennai to other parts of India run. The electric train on this commuter line is quite frequent and starts at about 4.00am and the last train is at about 12.00pm.

2. Socio-economic and cultural setting of the Kodambakkam area.

Socio-culturally the area has a variety of people from various caste background. Apart from the Tamilians from the other parts of the State, there are Malayalees (Keralites) and Telugu people, who have moved in from the neighbouring States. The socio-cultural background of this area is unlike some other parts of Chennai city where there are clusters of Marwadis (from the Marwar or Rajput region of Rajasthan) migrated some centuries ago at the time of the Islamic invasion into the western part of the then-known India (now Pakistan and western India); Sourashtras from Gujarat and Marathas from the Marathi (ruled by Sivaji who opposed the Moghul expansion) region; Naickers pushed from the Telugu Nayak kingdom by the Muslim rulers (There are two types or castes of people who were pushed from the Nayak or Vijayanagara Empire. One caste is the Reddy, the descendants of the royal family and the other is the Naickers, the administrators and financial managers - kaNakkappiLLai. However, now the Reddy caste people whether they are from Andhra or Karnataka or Tamil Nadu are the business people1541); Telugu sweeper-caste people from the Baptist mission regions of Nellore and Guntur where the LoneStar Mission saw a huge conversion movement among the depressed people, who migrated for work; Gujarathis, migrated fairly recently due to the population density in Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay) and for the sake of finding a market for their textile products from Surat and Ahmedabad areas of Gujarat. The Telugu people of Kodambakkam are distinct from the other Telugu migrants in that they are from the

1541 Information provided in a conversation with the researcher’s computer engineer, Gopi Reddy, who hails from jamindar, rich landlord families in Arakonam and Jolarpet areas; his forefathers came to Tamil Nadu from the Vijayanagara empire about a century ago
upper castes unlike the Andhra Malas and Madigas of Nellore-Guntur region; they are neither the early migrants like the Naickers nor the recent ones who are involved in timber or pearl and gold jewellery business, but are those who migrated because of the film industry.

None of the people living in the Kodambakkam area can boast of their ancestors having lived there since several centuries, since the entire area is one of city expansion and development. This socio-geographical setting of the area being a newly developed one has given the flexibility for its residents to grow out of their socio-cultural moulds and traditions and the opportunity to attempt innovative patterns.

3. The socio-economic background.

The economic background of the population of the Kodambakkam area is varied - from the rich to the poor. Though not an elite residential area, it is an area where all facilities are available. Like many other the so-called *brahmin* (where a lot of Brahmins live) areas (Mambalam, Mylapore, Adyar etc.), fresh vegetables and fruits and other commodities are always available and comparatively cheap unlike some other areas like Jamalia which is becoming an area where many are building houses and moving in, but into a not-an-affluent or freshly developing area and not higher up in the economic scale. It is also not a congested area like Purasawalkam or George Town or Royapuram. Though many of the older houses with a lot of compound space have been given to the building promoters to build four-storey apartments, they are not congested like areas in Egmore, Vepery, Purasawalkam and Kellys where the recent Gujarathi migrants have built colonies of several blocks of nine-storey apartments; further, the reason for not being congested is the care taken to build only four storeys and to leave a lot of space around and in-between the buildings. The cost of living goes up if it is an area where the top-scale rich have been living (Nungambakkam, Adyar,
Besantnagar, Raja Annamalaipuram) or where the moneyed people move in (rich Malayalees in Chetput; Sri Lankan Tamils in Annanagar; Gujarathis in Purasawalkam). The conglomerate nature of the economic background is also due to the variegated nature of the work in which the inhabitants of the area are involved (unlike Perambur and Ayanavaram where most of them are employed in the railways).

The environment of the Kodambakkam area in its socio-cultural, economic and temporal setting delivers public goods such as good roads, transport, petrol stations, markets, shopping facilities, restaurants and hotels, computer centres, postal and telephone facilities, metro water facilities, sewerage and drainage systems, schools and colleges, worship places of temples, mosques and churches, theatres and hospitals, cinema theatres, parks and play grounds.

D. The socio-cultural background of the sample group.

1. The linguistic background of the members.

The members of the CSI Risen Redeemer’s church in Kodambakkam are predominately Tamilians with one or two Malayalees, Tamil-speaking Telugus and Anglo-Indian. However, due to the fact that many of the members are educated with knowledge of English and that many of the children are educated in English medium schools, many of the sample group are bi-lingual.

2. The socio-cultural background.

Apart from the few who are not Tamil people, the Tamil members are conglomerate in their socio-cultural background. They belong to the Nadar and Vellala people from the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu and to other caste groups from the Arakonam and Chingleput districts around Chennai.
Female education is not an issue or an opportunity to be fought for or a privilege of few. All women are educated. Women may either take up a career or be housewives. Employment and career are not seen as necessary or a necessary index of status or independence.

Marriage for women is seen to be the socio-cultural norm though there is some flexibility for women to choose the life of unmarried spinster. But marriage is not viewed as a necessary evil or a fettering imprisonment.

The pattern in a metropolis such as Chennai is that women of the older generations having been used to wearing a saree would mostly wear a saree. Many of the women from sixty downward would at home or at night wear a long housecoat. Some of the middle-aged women would wear a churidar. As for those below thirty or twenty it is not strange for them to wear either a saree or a half-saree or a churidar or a western dress, such as a dress or jeans or skirt and blouse. Many of the younger girls would wear an Indian long skirt and blouse. A few of the older women ride a cycle or a two-wheeler or drive a car. In the younger age group more women and girls ride a bi-cycle or a two-wheeler or drive a car. This gives them greater mobility.

3. **The economic background.**

The economic background of the congregation members is varied, from the affluent (not the top-rich) to the poor. Several of them live in their own houses, whether in an affluent or poor locality. There is a marked difference between the poorer localities in this area and in some other areas in Chennai. For example, the slums in Kellys (Lachma Nagar) and Purasawalkam (those on Brick Kiln Road) and the tenement houses on Demellow’s Road or Washerwanpet are poor, filthy and much deprived. The slums in the Kodambakkam area, the one near Akkbarabad, Kamaraj colony and the ones in Trustpuram and Minor Trustpuram are markedly
different in that they are not as filthy as the others and the degree of the culture of violence and vice seems to be much less.

The members of this church comprise of the affluent business people, professionals, government officials and employees, college and school teachers, nurses, petty shop owners and those employed in petty jobs receiving daily or weekly wages. Among the participants, there is no female lawyer or police. According to the researcher's knowledge, the congregation members do not seem to have any female dentist (except one who has recently moved in with her husband and not a person born and brought up in the Kodambakkam CSI church community), agricultural expert, architect (one college student is in the architecture course), advertising agent, veterinarian, lawyer, police, business entrepreneur, shop owner, air-hostess, beautician, fashion-designer, hotel management executive or active politician (the wife of one of the early members, one Mr. Asirvatham, a postman, was a member of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam. She is no more. Mr. Asirvatham was in the CSI Home for the Aged in Adyar, since the daughter-in-law was not willing to have him reside with them. Recently after the second marriage of the son following divorce, the new daughter-in-law and the son have been able to have Mr. Asirvatham with the family and the researcher has been unable to get the address from anyone). While the women of the older age group, who have entered the labour market, seem to have taken up the more traditional or the not-too-innovative jobs, the younger ones have entered the non-traditional jobs. There are doctors, engineers, bankers, teachers, nurses, management executives, computer professionals and those working in offices from the clerical cadre up to the officer levels. However, one member who was a television and audio script reader has her own video-dubbing studio. Another girl in the high school wants to become a lawyer and another high-schooler wants to be an air-hostess and her sister a dancer. There is an exception to this statement. One young woman
who has completed her engineering course in the fields of Electronics and Electrical engineering, is now serving in the Indian Navy as an officer.\textsuperscript{1542}

There is no male or female member of this congregation who has gone for theological education and become an ordained pastor. There is no male member who has become a cross-cultural missionary or a full-time Christian worker in any para-church organization. Two women had become cross-cultural missionaries with indigenous mission agencies - one of them has returned from the field and continues evangelistic ministries in Kodambakkam and the other had to leave the field and work in the office of the mission agency because her husband and herself have been transferred by the agency to the head-office. One high schooler and two younger girls want to become medical missionaries; one young woman who has completed her speech therapy course wants to enter the mission field; a girl of seven years wants to be a missionary; and, another high schooler wants to become like her mother a woman taking up a praying ministry - counselling and praying for those with problems and needs. One young man of the congregation who wanted to be a missionary has joined another church for lack of encouragement.

4. The denominational background.

The Risen Redeemer’s church in Kodambakkam was started in 1958. Hence, it began and developed as a CSI church and not as a mission church like the British Wesleyan (Mount Wesley, Egmore Wesley, Broadway Wesley, Royapettah Wesley, Perambur Wesley) or High Anglican (St. Mathias) or low Anglican (St. Paul’s) or London Missionary Society

\textsuperscript{1542} There are some thirteen women in the Indian Navy. This young woman has been serving in the Indian Navy for the past three years and she is one of the three from Tamil Nadu. The researcher is yet to meet this young woman and interview her. This information has been given to the researcher by the mother of the young woman. It is particularly significant that this woman is from the most conservative Nadar community from the Kanyakumari district in the southern tip of Tamil Nadu. The mother in her fifties had to go to a nearby town for her college education. She recounts that in those days only some four women went to college to this town from nearby villages. These women were escorted to and fro the bus stop by one of the male members of the family.
(Missionary Chapel) or the Army (Perambur Holy Cross, Garrison church in St. Thomas Mount) church or the Anderson chapel of the Madras Christian College in front of the High Court. It is also not a church planted with the new converts of an evangelistic effort.

E. The historical background.  

1. The Beginning.

In mid-fifties, as the city expanded to the western side of the Beach-Tambaram railway line, it was noticed that there was no CSI church in the fast-developing western areas. Hence, the CSI City Mission Survey was entrusted to the Rev. Pettit of the British Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Six new CSI churches were started in Kodambakkam, Padi, Ambattur, Amijikarai, Ayanavaram and West Tambaram.

Some of the members of the CSI church of St. John the Baptist, who were residents of the Kodambakkam area formed the nucleus of the newly started CSI Risen Redeemer’s church of Kodambakkam. Other Christians gradually joined the original members. Many of the original members are no more. However, some are alive and remember the early beginnings.

2. The Early Members.

The early members were -

i. Mr. and Mrs. Williams - both now retired; Mr. Williams works as the CSI Synod treasurer.

ii. Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam - no more

Points taken from an article in the Silver Jubilee souvenir and personal talks with the first few members like Dr. Miss. Christy Moses, Mr. J. Bernard Thomas and Miss. Padma Isaac.
iii. Miss. Padma Isaac and her mother - the mother is no more. Miss. Padma Isaac (Padma *akkaa* - elder sister - or aunty, affectionately called so) had been a long-standing woman member of the pastorate committee and quite active.

iv. Mr. Melchi Solomon - no more; but, the son, Dr. Solomon and his wife are active members; one unmarried daughter, Miss. Stella Solomon, though she lives in Kellys with another brother, regularly attends the Sunday service in this church.

v. Mr. and Mrs. S. A. S. Devanesan - had preserved a copy of the Silver Jubilee souvenir and provided the photocopy of the article about the history.

vi. Mr. and Mrs. J. Arumainayagam - both no more

vii. Mr. Samuel - a photographer, still alive; but, is not living in Kodambakkam any more and no one seems to know where he is.

viii. Mr. Asirvatham - a retired postman; used to live in the CSI home for the aged in Adyar; no one seems to know where he is now; his wife who is no more, was an active member of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam; she seems to have been the only female member of the church who had taken active part in politics.

ix. Dr. Miss. Christy Moses - the early Sunday School was conducted in her home with the help of her brother-in-law, late Rev. Barnabas (retired at that time) and his wife who is also no more.

x. Mr. and Mrs. J. Bernard Thomas - these two were key informants for the researcher’s knowledge of the early years of the church and its members.

xi. Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Dawson

xii. Mr. and Mrs. Muthiah - Mr. Muthiah is no more

xiii. Mr. Jeyaseelan

xiv. Late Rev. Rhenius and Mrs. Rhenius

xv. Late Mr. Dowie Abraham and Mrs. Dowie Abraham
3. The Early Church's Gathering.

The early gatherings of the church members were held in the car shed of Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam's house. As the members gathered and sang gospel songs other Christians also joined them. The CSI members of the original group had to go to the church of St. John the Baptist in Egmore for the communion service. Later the pastor of that church would come to Kodambakkam to conduct the communion service. Rev. Taylor was the first pastor in charge of the church. Rev. Barnabas though retired used to help in conducting services and preaching. The first communion service was held in the Community Hall. The first baptism was that of Surendar, the first son of Mr. and Mrs. S. A. S. Devanesan. The second one was that of Ruby, the first daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. Bernard Thomas.

Later the owner of Modern High School, which is not there any more, allowed the services to be conducted in his school. When the congregation grew, they bought a plot in front of the Liberty theatre and constructed initially a thatched shed. The testimony of the members is that at this stage and in the stages of later developments, the members of the congregation gave liberally, as in the case of the making of the tabernacle in the wilderness in the Book of Exodus in the Bible, which made the building of the church possible.

The present building even with an extension does not have enough space for all the members of the congregation. A few years back, another extension was considered; but, meanwhile, the services have been expanded into two in the morning of every Sunday - the English service at 6.30a.m. and the Tamil service at 8.00a.m. This has to some extent reduced the problem of accommodation. However, they have pulled down the former parish hall of low walls and asbestos roof, to build a three storey building to accomodate the parish hall, the Sunday School and the parsonage. This would enable the congregation to go ahead with the extension
of the church building into the space where the present parsonage stands by pulling down the present old parsonage.

The acquiring of the compound where the present parsonage and the parish hall stand, itself is a story of marvel, says Mr. J. Bernard Thomas who was the secretary of the Pastorate Committee for several years. When the church had to be expanded and a permanent parsonage had to be built instead of housing the pastor and his family in a rented house, the congregation could not afford to buy an entirely new plot large enough for a larger church building, a parsonage and a parish hall. By that time in the eighties, the Kodambakkam area had become a well-developed locality well within the city and land prices had soared high. However, the Hindu owner of the compound, right behind the church offered that compound with a built house and large compound space for a reasonable price. This enabled the congregation to use the house for the parsonage and put up a semi-temporary structure for the parish hall. Two adjacent compounds provided more access and hence allowed the expansion of the church on one side.

4. The Early Sunday School.

The early church meeting in the car shed and later in the thatched shed had no provision for a Sunday School. Hence, right from the beginning Dr. Miss. Christy Moses and her brother-in-law with his wife, conducted a Sunday School in their own home. She remembers that sometimes they even carried some small children to the Sunday School. Later this was shifted to the church premises when some space was available. However, until the additional compound was purchased and the parish hall was put up, the Sunday school had to be conducted in the church premises after the Sunday worship service was over. This became difficult for many children to stay after the worship service and make their way home or for
the parents to stay back until the Sunday School would be over, since as more areas developed
the members were moving away from the Liberty area for better housing.

However, after the construction of the parish hall, the Sunday School is conducted during the
Sunday morning worship service, which makes it possible for the children to go back home
along with the parents (This is a pattern followed in many of the urban churches). This
practice has its disadvantages also. The Sunday school teachers have to forego the privilege of
total participation in the Sunday worship service. However, as Dr. Miss. Christy Moses says
that even in those early days when the Sunday School had to be held at the time of the Sunday
worship service, though the Sunday School teachers yearned for a fuller participation in the
worship service, the need for giving guidance to the children found some willing people who
would be Sunday School teachers at the cost of their missing the worship service. The
majority of the Sunday School teachers were and are still women. These women have been
sacrificial for the sake of imparting instruction and nurture to the children.

F. Development.

1. Building development.

The first congregation as already noted met in the car shed of Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam’s
house. Later they met in Modern school. The present church premise was later bought and a
thatched shed was initially put until the church building was built. This church was extended
when the adjacent compound was bought to house the parsonage in the old house standing on
that compound and an asbestos roofed low-walled hall was constructed to serve as the parish
hall. Recently the temporary parish hall is being pulled down to construct a building to house
the parsonage, the parish hall and the Sunday School. Once this is completed, the old
parsonage will be pulled down and the church can be extended on the southern side into the
next compound. Until the new building is completed, the Sunday School meets in the temporary *shamiana* (temporary tent) put up every Sunday in the open space in front of the present parsonage.

2. Membership growth

The membership of the church has grown from a few families in the beginning to some 800 families at present. Most of the members are Christians who have moved in from other areas in the metropolis or from places outside Chennai. There is hardly any who has been converted by the efforts of this congregation and become members of this congregation. The members of this congregation who are first generation Christians (they themselves having been converted) are those who have been converted elsewhere and have moved in here. This does not bring the evangelistic zeal of the church in question, because this church has involved in evangelistic efforts through which there have been people converted, baptised and become on-going Christians. But, these do not live in this area and continue as members of this church.

Arunkuntram is a village beyond Thiruporur on the way to Mahabalipuram. The Kodambakkam church carried on village evangelism, a worshipping group has been formed with the newly converted families and a church has been built. That congregation is at present under the jurisdiction of the Thiruporur pastorate, and is flourishing. For the past two years the Kodambakkam church has moved on to focus its efforts on another village, Veppedu in that area.

Palavakkam near Tirupathi in Andhra is another place where especially the Youth Fellowship members of this church have gone for evangelistic outreach and built a church for the
Christians who have already been living there and the newly converted Christians. That is also flourishing at present and is under the jurisdiction of the CSI church nearby.

Padmanabhapuram is an area close to Vadapalani, where also the evangelistic efforts of the Kodambakkam church has resulted in a church comprising of some Christians who have been living there and the newly converted Christians. This congregation is still under the jurisdiction of the Kodambakkam pastorate. A church building is being built there.

Apart from the congregations formed through the evangelistic efforts, there have been offshoots that have come up in adjacent areas and have later become independent pastorates as those areas developed and more members joined those congregations. The congregations which have been part of the Kodambakkam church and have later become independent are: Ashoknagar, Virugambakkam and Nungambakkam.

3. Development of activities

The church has not merely grown in numerical strength but also in the development of its activities. The worship services have been developed - in the seventies and eighties; there were two, one morning Tamil and one evening Tamil services on every Sunday. On the third Sunday evening, the worship service was conducted in English to cater to the need of the few non-Tamil members. This was also a Holy Communion service. But, now every Sunday there are two morning services - one, English one at 6.30a.m. and a Tamil one at 8.00a.m. As it is the custom in most of the CSI churches in Chennai, both these on the first and the third Sundays, are Holy Communion services. It has been already said that this practice of having

1544 The key informant for this section is Dr. Bina, who is one of the leading members of the church, and has been a member of the church since her parents retired and moved to the Kodambakkam area in late sixties and became members of this church.
two services in the morning every Sunday has helped solve the problem of space and accomodation. Further, this caters to the need of the non-Tamil members and those who are more fluent with English, especially the younger generation with an English-medium education.

A recently added feature is the Holy Communion service at 6.30a.m. on the first of every month. This is a recent development in many of the Chennai churches - to begin the month with a Holy Communion service.

The other services or activities that have been added over the years are: the visit to the Home for the Aged in the evening of the second Sunday; the prayer cell for the poorer girls working in the export companies, held every Tuesday evening; the Bible study for women every Wednesday evening and recently this has included the writing of a memorised psalm in which the men also have been encouraged to join; the all night prayer for both men and women every fifth Friday night (this happens to be held approximately once in three months when there is a fifth Friday).

The local Sunday School conducted by Mrs. Kamalanbu in her home with the help of her daughters has been at present taken over by the Women’s Fellowship, and every Thursday evening some members of the WF go to Mrs. Kamalanbu’s house to help with the ‘Sunday School’ to which many non-Christian children and women come.

The half-night prayer held from 9.00p.m. to 12.00p.m. every Friday has been modified into an all-night prayer on the fifth Friday (if there is one) to include all members of the church. Some churches have an all-night prayer every month. In some churches the all-night prayer for men
and women are held on separate days to enable families to accommodate. In churches where there is a half-night prayer, it is mostly for men, since the women would find it difficult to find their way home in the middle of the night. To enable the women also to participate in the night prayer, it is held as an all night-prayer either once a month or on the fifth Friday, when that occurs.

The village outreach ministry has become focused on one village until there is a worshipping group and a church is built.

The Youth Fellowship in the seventies was for some years held separately for young men and women, since some parents did not want to send their children to a mixed group. Now it is one Youth Fellowship for both young men and women meeting every Sunday after the morning Tamil worship service. This may be due to the increase in English-medium education and co-education institutions, and also the increase in the freedom for women in the metropolis to have an education, to hold a job and to move about comparatively easily.

Some other activities that have developed are those not necessarily run by the church but are undertaken by the female members of the church. Mrs. Saguna has for more than thirty years held a prayer cell for women every Tuesday afternoon in her home. At present, similar prayer cells for women are conducted in the home of Mrs. Heera every Monday afternoon, in Dr. Bina's home every Tuesday morning, in Mrs. Jeba's home every Wednesday noon and in Mrs. Viji's home every Thursday afternoon. Mrs. Jeyavathy, the daughter-in-law of one of the early members, conducts with the help of her daughter (a school girl) a 'Sunday School' for the neighbourhood non-Christian children and women in her house every Saturday afternoon.

The impact of the English-medium education, co-education, mixing of men and women in the society and workplace and the growing freedom and equality given to women are reflected in some changes in the attitude of the congregation.

The pastorate committee has a strength of sixteen members. Even in the seventies (though the PC would have been slightly smaller in strength) the only woman-member of the PC was Miss. Padma Issac, one of the early members. The women did not come forward to fill the allocated one-third women membership of the PC. But now there are four women and one young woman (as one of the four youth members) elected to the PC. These unlike Miss. Padma Issac who had no other woman competing with her, have been elected with other women running for the elections.

The other area in which a change is noticed is the combining of the Youth Fellowship for boys and girls. In many Tamil churches these are held separately, while in the English churches there is only one Youth Fellowship for both boys and girls.

Another change is the increased participation of the women in leadership and the women members becoming more vocal.

The increase in the activities undertaken by the women members whether run by the church or on their own, is a marked change.

In the seventies, there was strict sex segregation in the seating during worship services and other meetings. But, at present there is a change. Though unlike the English churches where
any person may sit anywhere, there are women and girls sitting with the male members of
t heir family on the side of the men, while the majority of the members follow the sex
segregation pattern of seating. However, this is not approved by some of the traditional
members. The men and women communicate separately when the communion is served.
Exceptionally there may be a woman who goes to the altar to receive the communion along
with her husband while it is the turn of the men to communicate. This is not viewed with
approval by some members as it can be assessed by the comment made by one of the
interviewee, while she spoke about women being modest: 'I don't like when some women go
for communion along with the men. It is all right if they are in churches where they practise
men and women mixing to receive communion. Why should they jostle with other men?'

G. The activities of the church and its female members.

1. The worship services.

i. Sunday worship services.

The CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam has three services every Sunday. In all
the three worship services, the English one at 6.30a.m. and the Tamil ones at 8.00a.m. and
6.30p.m. both men and women participate. In all the services the offertory is taken by men on
the men's side and by women on the women's side. In each service one lesson is read by a
woman while another lesson is read by a man. The counting of the collection is also done by a
group from the pastorate committee which includes women also. However, from the responses
of the female interviewees, it is apparent that except on the second Sunday of August when the
whole diocese celebrates a Women's Sunday the congregation has not had a female preacher.
Some in the congregation have never even seen a female pastor. Obviously this means that
there has been no female ordained pastor who has celebrated the Holy Communion or
conducted a baptism or marriage or funeral.
The choir is a mixed choir unlike some churches where the choir is all male with young boys providing the soprano voices.

**ii. Holy Communion service on the first of a month.**

This is just like any other worship service in which the Holy Communion is celebrated. Both men and women participate in the service, in collecting the offertory, in reading the lessons, in carrying forward the elements and in counting the offertory.

**2. Other activities of the church run by the church administrative structure.**

**i. Other meetings on Sundays.**

**a. The Sunday School.**

The Sunday school superintendent is a woman who is also a female member of the PC. It is said that she had been the SS superintendent and the Vacation Bible School Director for the past sixteen years. Most of the SS and VBS teachers are women. The students are from kindergarten to school-leavers age groups. Many girls when they leave the SS at the time when they leave school take up the SS teaching. As already noted the Sunday school is conducted at the time of the Sunday morning 8.00a.m. Service. The children and the SS teachers leave the main service after the offertory lyric and go for the Sunday class. At present they meet in the *shamiana* provided in front of the parsonage. When the new complex is built the Sunday school will have a good building to meet.

**b. The Choir**

The choir is a longstanding feature of the church. Both men and women are members of the choir. Rigorous practice is given every Sunday. Unlike some churches in which women cannot be the members of the choir, this church has not displayed any sex or gender discrimination.
In some of the churches with an Anglican background, the women may sing in the choir, but cannot join in the processional and the recessional. But, in this church which has begun as a CSI church, there is no procession of the choir. Women are included in the procession of the elements for the Holy Communion and in the recession of the pastor and those who carry the Bible and the offertory.

c. The Men’s Fellowship.

It may sound out of place that the men’s fellowship is mentioned in the research that has focused on women. However, it fits the argument of this research that both men and women are created equally in the image of God and the relationship between them is not one of conflict or opposition or competition or hierarchy, but one of equal partnership, mutuality and interdependence with independence. The men’s fellowship meets every Sunday. But the curious fact is that the men’s fellowship is in charge of two evangelistic outreach efforts in which women are also included. The visit to the Home for the Aged in Adyar every second Sunday evening and the village ministry in Veppedu every third Sunday afternoon are projects of the men’s fellowship. It is commendable that in these two projects women take active part.

d. The Youth Fellowship.

It is said that the Youth Fellowship had not been functioning properly for the past two or three years because of some differences of opinion and problems of relationships. However, it is hoped that it will begin to function in the near future. Three older women who have been concerned about the dysfunctional youth fellowship have taken it upon themselves to fast and pray for the smooth functioning of the Youth Fellowship. These women have begun to gather the young people together and help them meet sorting out differences and mending hurts.
Both young men and young women meet together, instead of the former practice of the boys and girls meeting separately (which is the practice in most of the Tamil churches, since the parents do not want inter-sex mixing and socialising).

The Youth Fellowship meets every Sunday after the morning Tamil service. They actively participate in the Youth Festival of the diocese. Even when the Youth Fellowship had been defunct, this participation in the annual diocesan Youth Festival had been carried on and the annual celebration of the Youth Sunday had also been carried on. The first or second Sunday of July is celebrated as the Youth Sunday in the diocese. Special service with the members of the Youth Fellowship conducting the service is held.

In the early seventies when the boys and the girls met separately, the two groups have sung special numbers in the Sunday or Carol services. At one point the girls had attempted a hospital visitation program. It had not been continued as the original group moved away when the members were married.

e. The Women’s Fellowship.

The women’s fellowship is a vital part of the church life. They meet every second Sunday after the morning Tamil service. Though comparatively a small percentage of the female members attend this monthly meeting, the WF has been making significant contribution through some of their activities.

The activities of the WF are: the prayer cell for the poorer girls working in the export company on Tuesday evening, the Bible verse memorising and Bible study for women on Wednesday evening, the ‘Sunday Class’ for the non-Christian women and children in Mrs. Kamalanbu’s
house on Thursday evening, the fasting prayer on fourth Friday at mid-day, the support of the Polio Victims' Hospital in Kanchipuram and running the major stalls during the fund raising sales each year at Harvest Festival, on the diocesan sale day and the special sales for the mission agencies like Indian Missionary Society and National Missionary Society.

f. Evangelistic efforts on Sundays.

(1) The Visit to the Home for the Aged.

One of the projects of the Men’s Fellowship is the monthly visit to Anbagam (Home of Love), the CSI Home for the Aged. An evening meeting is held for the inmates of the Home every second Sunday. Some songs are sung after an opening prayer. A portion from the Bible is read. Then a short message is given. On the day the researcher participated in this, to the researcher’s surprise, at the time of the message it was announced that the researcher would give the message. The researcher gave a short message to encourage the old people. In keeping with the tenor of the research the punch line of the message was that every person no matter who, is valuable in the sight of God; because every person has been created by God in God’s own image, and that the value and worth of a person is that God the Creator of the whole Universe has given God’s own life for each person’s redemption. After the message a song was sung and the meeting closed with prayer.

After the meeting the visiting team members talk to the old people individually to encourage them. Some eats are distributed.

Though the researcher could not meet Mr. Asirvatham, a postman and one of the early members of the congregation, since he had moved out of the Home to live with his son, the researcher was able to meet one Mrs. Somam Richard, who was a member of the
Kodambakkam church and also having been a good friend of the researcher’s mother used to accompany the researcher’s mother in the various activities of the WF. Both Mrs. Richard and the researcher were happy to see one another after some twenty years and exchange news.

(2) The Village Outreach Ministry.

The monthly village outreach ministry is also undertaken by the MF. On the third Sunday afternoon, a team of men, women and children (girls) go to an interior village, Veppedu near Thirupurur for evangelistic outreach. It is a village of mainly agricultural people. Two doctors, Dr. Solomon and Dr. Bina give medical help to the villagers. The girls, mainly Sunday School children gather the village children and conduct a Sunday School and games. This was new for the researcher, since adults undertake most of the village outreach ministries. Further, this is the first time the researcher has seen Sunday school girls conduct Sunday class for other children.

There are some three different areas or streets in this village. The men go around in these streets singing. At a few places they stop and give a gospel message. After that the villagers who want to be prayed for come to the pastor who prays for them. The women go to the women in the houses and talk to them. They pray for their needs. On the day the researcher joined this team, there were only few members. So, the women could not visit the homes, but had to join the singing. It is said that now and then the female members also may be asked to give the gospel message. The researcher remembers that while the researcher’s parents were members of this congregation and the researcher was able to participate in the life and ministry of the congregation whenever the researcher had come for a vacation, once when the researcher had joined the village outreach team, the researcher was asked to give the gospel message.
ii. Other meetings and activities.


On the first of every month a few members gather at 7.00 p.m. in the church premises and pray specifically for the work of the Indian Missionary Society. This is an early indigenous mission agency started by the first Indian Anglican bishop, Bishop V. S. Azariah in the early years of this century. The early work was among the Lambadas of the Dornakkal area in Andhra. At present the work is being carried on in several other states in India and some neighbouring countries also. The promotional secretary of I. M. S. in Chennai visits this prayer group to give the latest prayer requests. Both men and women join in this time of prayer.

b. Meeting for the Girls working in the export company.

Every Tuesday evening at 6.30 p.m. some girls (economically from the poorer sections and without much education to get good employment) working in the export company (making garments) nearby come to the church for a meeting. There are both Christian and non-Christian girls of teenage age group. Some songs are sung. Then a short message is given. After that the girls are given an opportunity to give testimonies. When the meeting is closed with prayer, the girls stay back to be prayed for their needs. On the day the researcher had participated in this meeting, the researcher was requested (it had been informed earlier) to give the message. The researcher shared that every person including women has been created by God in God's own image. The message had been carried on to point out that humankind created by God had fallen and that redemption is possible through Jesus Christ. It was also shared how Jesus Christ brought the Kingdom of God, which embodied the great reversal as seen in the song of Mary. The message explained how Jesus Christ was a liberator of women
by giving some examples of the attitude and action of Jesus Christ. The researcher, along with Mrs. Solomon was also asked to share in the praying for the girls one by one.

c. Bible Verse Memorising and Bible Study.
One of the projects of the WF is the memorising of Bible verses. The wife of the pastor, Mrs. Geetha Karunakaran who is the president of the WF is in charge of this. She sets the portions for memorising. Normally it is from the book of Psalms. At special seasons of the church calendar, she sets appropriate portions. The women memorise the portions as much as they can and write them on the first Wednesday evening. One retired teacher, Miss Samson, who is about 70, writes the maximum of several psalms at a time.

At the time of Easter the pastor’s wife had asked those interested to draw a picture of a Bible theme. She encouraged interested men also to participate in this.

Every Wednesday at 6.30p. m., other than the first Wednesday, the pastor’s wife leads a Bible study for women. On the day the researcher participated in this Wednesday Bible study, the theme was ‘Faith’.

d. Prayer for the Mission agencies
In the seventies, some men and women used to gather every Thursday at 6.30p. m. in the church premises and pray for mission agencies and missionary work. This prayer for the Missions is still continued; but, the women do not participate in this, since the prayer starts at about 9.00p. m. which is inconvenient for women. However, many women have found alternatives of praying for missionary work in the women’s prayer cells in some homes.
e. ‘Sunday Class’ for the non-Christians held in the home of Mrs. Kamalanbu. On Thursdays some members of the WF go to Mrs. Kamalanbu’s house and conduct a ‘Sunday Class’ for the neighbourhood non-Christian children and women. After singing some songs, a time of testimonies follows. Then a short message is given. Here too on the day the researcher participated in this meeting, the researcher had been asked to give the message. Here too, the researcher chose the theme of God’s creation of women in God’s own image and God’s offer of redemption for women also shown in the attitude and actions of Jesus Christ. After the meeting the participants came forward for prayer and the members of the WF who had gone (two members of the WF and the researcher; normally three persons go, since they take an autorickshaw to go from the church to Mrs. Kamalanbu’s house and an auto can take three persons) prayed for each individual.

f. Weekly Bible Study.
Every Friday at 6.30 p.m. there is a Bible study open for anyone. The pastor and one of the male members lead it. The women participate in the Bible study, but never lead it.

g. Cottage Prayer Meeting.
The cottage prayer meeting is held in houses when anyone requests for it. In general, it is requested when there is a special occasion like a birthday, wedding anniversary, death anniversary, success in an examination, admission gained for some education, procurement of job or healing. It is a time of praise and thanksgiving. The pastor leads the cottage prayer meeting. After the singing of some songs and the reading of a scripture portion, the message is given. A light or high tea or some sort of a supper is given. On the day the researcher joined a cottage prayer meeting, a cup of tea and some supper was given, though the family was not a

---

1545 A similar Sunday Class for the women and children in the neighbourhood of the house of Kala Isaiah, one of the women interviewed has been started on Mondays in 2000.
well-off one. The supper consisted of chicken *biriyani* (seasoned rice which is a special Indian delicacy) and *laddu* (an Indian sweetmeat). There were only a few persons. However, the lady of the house packed some *biriyani* in two containers for both Mrs. Solomon and the researcher to take home. This helped in building a rapport with that family to which the researcher later had to go to interview the mother and the eldest daughter.

**h. Fourth Friday fasting prayer meeting.**

The WF members (at least some of its members) gather during the noon of the fourth Friday, from 11.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. to fast and pray. Some songs are sung, a message is given and then different persons pray for the different points of prayer mentioned.

**j. All-night prayer meeting**

The MF conducts a half-night prayer from 9.30 p.m. till 12.00 midnight every Friday. Since the timing is inconvenient for female members to join the women of the church do not join in this. However, the opportunity of participating in an all-night prayer is available to the women when once in three months there is a fifth Friday occurring. Then anyone from the congregation may participate in the all-night prayer from 9.30 p.m. till 5.00 or 5.30 a.m. the next morning. The day the researcher was able to participate in this all-night prayer, it so happened that it was the last day of the month; so, to give time for the members to participate in the Holy Communion service for the first of the month, the next morning, the all-night prayer was wound up at 2.30 a.m. Dr. Bina whose mother late and the researcher's mother, had been friends since their school days, took the researcher to her own home to rest for a while and then after daybreak return home in another part of the metropolis.
To begin with the all-night prayer starts with a time of singing. There were two messages, one before midnight and another after midnight when there is a short break, with tea served. At the close also tea is served. Dr. Bina was lamenting that there used to be about 150 persons attending and three messages.

It is interesting that though the half-night prayer is only for men, one Mrs. Balachandran took up the responsibility of writing the verse for the week at Friday night to free the man who used to write the verse to go for the night prayer. Every week one verse appropriate for that Sunday's lectionary theme is written on a blackboard and displayed near the altar. When a male member used to write this verse after the Friday evening Bible study, he found it difficult to join the night prayer. However, this female member is now writing the week's verse so that the male member would be free to join the night prayer.

**k. Support of the Kanchipuram hospital for the polio victims.**

One of the projects of the WF is the support given to the CSI Hospital for the polio victims at Kanchipuram. Some of the older members remembered that it was the researcher's mother who started this. Mrs. Kamalanbu's orphaned niece, Maria was a polio victim who could neither stand up nor walk. The researcher's mother helped them put her in the CSI Hospital for the polio victims at Kanchipuram. Maria was taught to walk with the help of calipers and crutches and take care of her needs. She was also taught some life-skills. However, later when Maria grew up to be a young woman, the hospital wanted her to leave. She became sick and could not cope in another Christian organisation. Now, she is no more. Though this is painful, the link established by the church with the hospital still continues. Apart from giving some money for sponsoring some of the inmates of the hospital, one main feature is the Christmas program. During the Christmas season, the members of the WF go to Kanchipuram, to
conduct a Christmas party for the inmates with goodies to eat and gifts. Some years, the inmates had been brought to the church for a day's outing, program and party.

m. Sales
The WF is also active in the sales (fair or fete) conducted by the church to raise funds for different causes. There are four regular sales each year - the diocesan one to raise funds for the diocesan missionary and evangelistic work through the department of missions and evangelism; the church's harvest festival sale; the sale for the work of the Indian Missionary Society, the first indigenous cross-cultural mission agency started by the efforts of the late Bishop Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah, the first Indian Anglican bishop; and, the sale for the work of the National Missionary Society, another indigenous missionary agency started by the late Bishop V. S. Azariah after the IMS (these two agencies were started through the efforts of the same person focusing on different fields and drawing support from different areas).

3. Ministerial and evangelistic activities of the female members of the church, undertaken on their own.
Apart from their involvement in the activities of the church, some female members of the church have prayer cells and evangelistic activities undertaken on their own. This is apart from their involvement in the ministry of other Christian para-church organizations and agencies.

i. The women's prayer cells.
These women's prayer cells gather in the houses of some women for prayer, Bible study and some evangelistic efforts. There are five of these house groups. These have no particular names and so, will be referred to by the name of the leader or the person in whose house it meets.
a. Mrs. Heera's house group.

Mrs. Heera, a retired college professor of the English language and her daughter conduct this in their home every Monday noon, from 11.30 a.m. till 2.30 p.m. Though these two women are not members of the Kodambakkam church, the other participants of the prayer cell are women of the Kodambakkam church. Further, the daughter, also a college professor of the English language, is the daughter-in-law of Mrs. Saguna, a long-standing member and a person who has had the first house group in this parish, which house group has functioned for more than thirty years. Mrs. Heera and her daughter are the members of St. George's Cathedral. Both of them have been active in the WF of their own church also.

To begin with some songs are sung after which the special speaker gives the message. Then there is a time of prayer. The leader, Mrs. Heera prays in 'tongues'. Apart from the women who come there for fellowship and Bible study, some with special needs come there to be prayed for. Once a year during the lenten season there is a one-day retreat with many women specially invited from the Cathedral congregation also. Three years back, the researcher's husband was one of the two speakers for this lenten retreat.

Each of these house prayer cells have their distinctives and also commonalities. Some snacks and tea is served after the meeting.

This was the first program in which the researcher participated when the field research was begun. So, it served the purpose of the researcher meeting some of the persons already known and making a headstart.
b. The House group at Dr. Bina's place

This is also a prayer cell that has started functioning only in the past decade or so. Slightly different group of women meet every Tuesday noon from 11.30a. m. till 1.30p.m. Mrs. Jeyavathy gives good leadership for this group to such an extent that even when Dr. Bina was out of the country for one year this group had functioned without any difficulty. After the singing of some songs, a short message is shared. Then a prayer session follows. This group has some non-Christian women with particular needs attending. Some of them have begun to follow Jesus Christ after a need met or a problem solved or a prayer answered. There is no enforcement of baptism. In India a person may be willing to follow Jesus Christ worshipping Christ alone as the one and only true God, yet may find it difficult to take baptism for socio-cultural reasons. For many non-Christians in India taking baptism is leaving their community of birth and joining another community. This type of 'kicking the caste' is not welcome because of its socio-cultural repercussions.

In this prayer cell too, on the day the researcher joined them, the researcher was asked to tell them about the topic of the research. The women were much thrilled to know that a research had been undertaken to delineate the position and status of Christian women, their role and relationship - a study of their lives and ministry. During the closing prayer, Mrs. Lita, one of the members, passionately prayed for the researcher and the research.

c. Mrs. Saguna's prayer group:

This is the first house prayer group functioning in Kodambakkam for more than thirty years. Some twenty to thirty women meet every Tuesday afternoon from 2.30p. m.till 5.00 p. m. At times the number grows to even forty or more.
Some songs are sung in the beginning. Then the women recite the Bible verses they have memorised. Mrs. Saguna takes care to allocate appropriate verses for the different members. A message given by a special speaker or a Bible study taken by Mrs. Saguna or some other person follows. During the prayer session, Mrs. Saguna gives detailed points of prayer for the world, the nation, the worldwide and the Indian churches, missionary work, individual need and a wide variety of topics. The members bring a diary in which they write down the message, the memory verse and the prayer points. They are encouraged to pray for the prayer points during the week.

This prayer cell also has a special one-day retreat at the end of the year. The attendance is to a tune of 100 or more.

The members are encouraged to participate in evangelistic outreach and prayer ministry visiting persons with special needs.

On the first Friday of every month, some members of this prayer cell gather for a fasting prayer from 2.30 p. m. till 5.00 p. m. when the concentration is on prayer. This enables the group to pray for a wide variety of points.

The researcher had been part of this prayer cell and its evangelistic efforts, while the researcher had been on vacation to the researcher’s parental home when they had lived in this area. The researcher had had the opportunity of sharing God’s word in these meetings.

d. The prayer cell in Mrs. Jeba’s house:

Mrs. Jeba is an active member of the WF and one who participates in the village ministry. She conducts a house group in her house every Wednesday from 12.00 noon till 2.30 p. m. In this
group the emphasis is on prayer and more time is given to prayer. Mrs. Jeba herself is quite active in a prayer ministry praying for those who come to her house with special needs and visiting needy persons in their homes to pray for them.

Most of these house prayer groups function with fasting on the part of the participants. So, after the meeting is over, some refreshments or food is served. After the one-day retreat also, in both Mrs. Saguna’s house and the house of Mrs. Heera, a high tea or a mini meal is served.

e. Mrs. Vijay’s prayer group.

This meets every Thursday between 1.00p. m. and 2.00 p. m. After the death of the husband of Mrs. Vijay, she has been working and finds it difficult to participate in this. But, her sister who lives close by gives leadership to this group. Unusually some children also join this. An independent pastor living in a nearby area conducts the meeting by giving the message and leading in the worship and prayer.

ii. Evangelistic efforts:

Some of these women carry on evangelistic efforts either on their own or with the help of some of the participants of the prayer cells (the house groups).

a. The outreach in Rajapillaithottam on the eastern side of the railtrack:

Mrs. Saguna used to take other women for outreach ministries of distributing tracts and gospel portions along with evangelistic efforts among women. This used to be done in any area where there has not been sustained Christian witness or continued evangelistic efforts. However recently she has felt that it would be better to concentrate on one area in a continued and sustained manner.
She has chosen a poor-housing locality across the railway line. This area is Rajapillaithottam. She has requested one organization known as COME ministries to help in this outreach ministry.

COME ministries was started some years ago by Mr. Stephen Thangappa who was a worker with the Youth For Christ (YFC). At present he has some 26 workers. They concentrate on slums and poorer-housing localities. Mrs. Joseph supports this work financially and also herself joins in this work in Rajapillaithottam.

In Rajapillaithottam, two young women workers of COME work every Wednesday. From morning till evening they visit the women folk at home and talk to them trying to share the Gospel message and help in their problems with counselling and any possible practical help. In the evening they conduct a small 'Sunday class' for children. Mrs. Saguna joins with them for the Sunday class and has started a separate class for teenage boys who are said to be problem children. The work of COME includes a Christmas programme and also a week-long summer Vacation Bible School. The COME workers bring their packed lunch and eat it in some place in Rajapillaithottam itself. Though Mrs. Saguna has offered the use of her house (which is at walking distance) for their lunch break and facilities, the young women prefer to stay among the people whom they seek to serve.

The researcher was able to talk to a young woman, Kala, who had studied in a Christian school. She had begun to read the Bible and pray; but has stopped these, since they had prayed much for the healing of their mother with cancer whereas the mother had died. Further, after the mother's death there had been several problems in the family that have made Kala stop
reading the Bible and praying. The researcher was able to give a listening ear to Kala and prayed in her house.

b. The Nallankuppam ministry undertaken by Mrs. Saguna.

A group of women in a tenement housing area gather every Thursday afternoon for a time of Bible Study and prayer. Mrs. Saguna conducts this. After the singing of some songs, memory verses are recited and then a message is given. Then a time of prayer follows. Prayer is requested for various needs. Some who attend this meeting have seen reconciliation of broken families, drinking husbands changed and taking care of the family and many other answers to prayer.

Here also the researcher was asked to give the message. The message followed the basic theme of the research that God has created both men and women in God's own image and given them equal responsibility of multiplying of the race and stewardship of the rest of creation; God's good creation has been spoilt by the disobedience of the humans; the coming of Jesus Christ is the great reversal; the position and status God gives to women is seen in the attitude and actions of Jesus Christ; women are called to be equal partners in the Kingdom of God. On that particular day a young woman relative of one of the participants happened to visit her aunt to ask for help with a drinking and harassing husband. Special prayer was made for this young woman.

c. The 'Sunday School' run in the home of Mrs. Jeyavathy.

Every Saturday a 'Sunday class' is run in the house of Mrs. Jeyavathy. Most of the participants are non-Christian children and women from the neighbourhood. The interesting feature of the Sunday class is that mainly the school-going daughter of Mrs. Jeyavathy and
another young girl who stays with Jeyavathy’s family conduct it. Some songs are sung. Then a
time of giving testimonies follows. The message is given after which memory verses are
recited. At the end of the meeting, those who want to be prayed for come forward. Sweets are
distributed. The researcher was requested to tell a story (the message) on the day the
researcher visited this Sunday class. Pavitra and Shubah, the daughter of Mrs. Jeyavathy and
the stay-in domestic help of the family, are themselves Sunday school children in the church.
They conduct this Sunday school using the songs and stories they have learnt in the church
Sunday school. This they do along with some other Sunday school children also in Veppedu
the village where once a month they go for the village ministry along with the adults.

In all these outreach efforts and house groups of the women of the church a powerful ministry
is carried on. There are testimonies of physical healing, casting out of evil spirits, broken
homes reconciled, separated families united, conversions of non-Christians, non-Christians
leaving the worship of their gods and worshipping Jesus Christ, drinking husbands restored,
children born to childless couples, marriages fixed for the young people, success in studies,
procurement of employment and many other problems solved and needs met.

Primary Sources:
Interview, conversations, talks with key informants, personal knowledge and observations
APPENDIX 2

To: Mrs. Beulah Herbert

Questionnaire: Your understanding of gender equality

1. Name:

2. Occupation / Career:

3. Family background (socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, etc.):

4. Parents:
   i. What was/is your parents’ understanding of gender equality?
   ii. What type of gender equality did your parents believe in and practise in their marital relationship?
   iii. What was the nature of gender equality practised among the children in your parental home?
   iv. Were you given freedom of choice in education in career in marriage or singleness
   v. What was the role socialization that you were exposed to in your parental home
   vi. Was there any separation of the private/public spheres in your parental home

5. Marital status

6. Is the state of marriage or singleness of your choice?

7. What is your feeling or reaction to your marital status or singleness?

8. Background:
   i. Educational qualifications:
ii. Career or employment:

iii. Involvement in Christian ministry or activities:

iv. Involvement in the society

v. How do you envisage your career

your ministry involvement

your involvement in society

9. Background of the present family (if you are married)

i. What is your husband’s view of gender equality?

ii. What type of gender equality is being practised between the partners in your marriage?

iii. What type of gender equality would you like between marriage partners?

iv. What type of gender equality do you and your partner practise with regard to your children?

v. What type of gender equality would you like to practise with your children?

10. What is your understanding of gender equality?

i. What is your concept of equality?

ii. What is your understanding of difference between men and women?

iii. What is your understanding of sexual differentiation?

iv. What is your understanding of the concept of ‘sex’/ ‘sexuality’?

v. What is your understanding of gender?
vi. What is your understanding of gender difference or distinction?

vii. What is your understanding of role difference or distinction or separation or stereotyping?

viii. What is your understanding of the separation of the domestic and social spheres?

ix. What is your understanding of complementarity?

x. What is your understanding of male-female relationship in general?

xi. What is your understanding of the husband-wife relationship?

xii. What is your understanding of the male-female relationship in the Church?

xiii. What is your understanding of the male headship?

Of female submission?

Of male authority?

Of male leadership?

Of mutuality?

Of equal partnership?

xiv. In your understanding how does a person’s being a male or female affect the psycho-social behaviour or traits?

11. What is the equality that women want - opportunity, privilege, rights, authority, power,....?

12. What are the areas in which equality is being contended? How?
13. Is there anything else which you want to add to your understanding of gender equality?

14. What in your view are the formative factors and shaping influences in your life and background that have led to your present understanding of gender equality?

15. What are the struggles you have gone through to achieve your present position of gender equality?

16. What are the problems you have with your present position of gender equality?

17. What changes would you like to have in your present position of gender equality?

18. Anything else regarding your understanding of gender equality that you want to add....

19. What is your present socio-cultural and economic background (apart from the family in which you grew up)?

20. If you are single, how do you view your status?

21. What is the relationship between your understanding of gender equality and your state of singleness, if there is any (is there any significant difference in your understanding of gender equality because of your state of singleness)?

22. Please give a bibliography of written material you have produced (both published and unpublished). If possible please give copies of these.
## APPENDIX 3

### List for Focus Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial no. of the group with the location of meeting</th>
<th>Clue for age, marital status, education and career, urban or semi-urban or rural background</th>
<th>Pseudonym used in the text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Met once in Heera’s house with three members - all older married women</td>
<td>about 70, married with grandchildren, urban background all her life, Ph. D, had been a University professor</td>
<td>Heera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>above 60, married with grandchildren, in Chennai all her life, retired teacher</td>
<td>Lita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>above 60, married with grandchildren, in urban background all her life, college graduate, chose not to work</td>
<td>Sweety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Met once in Saguna’s house with three members - all older married women</td>
<td>about 70, married with grandchildren, grew up in a village, lived in urban background after marriage, graduate teacher, worked before marriage and after marriage for some time intermittently</td>
<td>Saguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>above 60, married with grandchildren, grew up in a semi urban town, after marriage lived in urban background, teacher, worked before marriage and not after marriage</td>
<td>Gem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>above 60, married with grandchildren, grew up in a village, after marriage lived in Chennai, some education, not a career woman both before and after marriage</td>
<td>Ranjithamani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Met twice in Bina’s house, not all of them were present for both the meetings; on the first day the women shared about their own background, education, career and church involvement; the second day not all who had been there the first day were present and the three Bible studies were discussed. Members were older married women, younger married women and one older unmarried woman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bina</td>
<td>around 50, married, has had one grandchild in 2001, except for a short period in a rural place after her marriage and one year in Saudi, medical doctor with a post-graduate degree, has been a practising medical doctor all her life, participated in the focus group both the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeyavathy</td>
<td>above 60, married with one daughter, urban background all her life, became a graduate teacher surmounting father’s objection, participated in the focus group both the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devar</td>
<td>above 60, married, lived all her life in urban situation, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after; was present only on the first day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udhaya</td>
<td>Age between twenty and forty, married with one child, urban background in all her life, engineer by education and career from home, participated in the focus group both the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiny</td>
<td>above 60, widowed, with grandchildren, college education, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus groups both the days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampoorna</td>
<td>nearly 70, chose single-hood, in Chennai all her life, retired teacher, participated in the focus group only the first day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty</td>
<td>between forty and fifty, Muslim convert, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus group only on the first day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallimalar</td>
<td>between forty and fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>between twenty and thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamala</td>
<td>between thirty and forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varam</td>
<td>between thirty and forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ester</td>
<td>between thirty and forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunkumari</td>
<td>between twenty and forty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Met twice in Lila’ house; the first time she, her mother Amar and Arunavathy were present; the second day Amar had lots to share; all members were older married women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Career</th>
<th>Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amar</td>
<td>above sixty</td>
<td>widowed in 2001, children married with their children, in urban background</td>
<td>all her life, trained teacher, career woman before and after her marriage</td>
<td>participated in the focus group on the first day and gave an extended interview schedule on the second day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Background and Experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lila</td>
<td>Between forty and fifty, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, career woman before and after her marriage, participated in the focus group the first day when all the issues were discussed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunavathy</td>
<td>Between forty and fifty, married with children, educated, not a career woman, participated in the focus group on the first day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeyam</td>
<td>Between forty and fifty; educated and career woman both before and after marriage; from a town and urban background; has been the superintendent of the Sunday School for a number of years; present on both the days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovely</td>
<td>Between twenty and forty, married with one child, lived in Chennai all her life, computer engineer, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group on both days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saral</td>
<td>Between forty and sixty, married with two daughters, urban background all her life, graduate teacher, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group on both days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneha</td>
<td>Yet to be married working young woman between twenty and twenty five, educated, working at present, lived in Chennai all her life, participated in focus group only on the first day when the women shared of their own experiences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariam</td>
<td>Between forty and fifty, married with children, lived in Chennai all her life, educated, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group both the days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
between forty and fifty, married with two children, grew up in a village, living in Chennai since her marriage, educated, not working because she does not want to take up a secular employment, participated in focus group on both days

6. Youth Group, met once to discuss all the points; all three members are unmarried younger women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swana</td>
<td>between forty and fifty, married with two children, grew up in a village, living in Chennai since her marriage, educated, not working because she does not want to take up a secular employment, participated in focus group on both days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melody</td>
<td>young college student of around twenty, lived all her life in Chennai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priya</td>
<td>young college student of around twenty, lived all her life in Chennai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joy</td>
<td>engineering student between seventeen and twenty, lived all her life in Chennai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4

Problems and Limitations in Transcribing and Translating the Oral Narratives

The discussions of the focus groups collecting the oral narratives of the women of the sample group were in either English or Tamil or in both the languages mixed. So, quite a few of the terms or phrases or responses have to be translated from Tamil, sometimes in a conversational form to English. This poses some problems or constraints.

Ruth Finnegan a leading anthropologist and professor in the British Open University, in her book, *Oral Traditions and The Verbal Arts*\(^{1546}\) deals with some of the problems of translation encountered by anthropologists. She highlights four models of translation considering language as denotative factual statement, connotative meanings or thoughts in people’s minds, expressions or actions. Whichever model one follows, she goes on to say that there are problems in both the ‘literal’ and the ‘free’ translations. The important point is to be ‘faithful’ to the original considering the purpose of translation. Henige also points out the difficulties of accurate translation using the words ‘disinterested’, ‘uninterested’ and ‘interested’. He lists problems of connotation, denotation, different uses of the same word in different cultures and the various ways in which the same person may use the same word on various occasions.\(^{1547}\) Finnegan’s citing Yai\(^{1548}\) that the translator must be immersed in the culture of the source

\(^{1546}\) Finnegan, 1992, pp.186-194

\(^{1547}\) Henige, 1982, pp.69 – 70

language is fulfilled in the case of this research, since the translator is the researcher who is a Tamil Indian Christian from a socio-cultural background similar to that of the interviewees.

Finnegan includes in her list of what cannot be translated, stylistic qualities, connotations, imagery and culturally specific allusion. I turn to some examples of these and other problems faced by this researcher in translating.

One difficulty is that the English spoken and written by the researcher and the English-speaking Indian interviewees use 'Indian English'. Quite often the interviewees said 'A woman can do anything' meaning that a woman is capable and able and that it is possible for a woman to do anything. If this is translated as 'A woman may do anything', it puts across a sense of she may or may not do anything with a connotation of choice and probability.

Then there is the problem of a straight translation of the Tamil word in English that does not convey the connotation or the cultural allusion in Tamil. Some women used the word 'companion' for the woman in her relationship to a man in marriage. This may mean that she is a subordinate person. But, the Tamil word used by these women gives the meaning of a companion who is called upon to be a strong support and protector and ally in times of trouble or fear. A sense of 'guard' is contained in the Tamil word used.

Next is the use of idiomatic or stylistic usage in Tamil. Sampoorna while narrating her life experiences related a lot of incidents in which God had taken care of her and helped her supplying grace which incidents became testimonies bringing glory to God's name. In this narration, she said, 'I shall never bow down my head.' The meaning of this statement is not

1549 Finnegan, 1992, p.190
putting down her head in shame, but of not being cowed down by adverse circumstances, but
being able to hold her head up meeting challenges and coming out victoriously with God’s
help.

The next area of constraint in translation is the use of the interviewees of colloquial and
conversational patterns. Bina said that she had told her daughter that it is far better to be a
housewife rather than a workingwoman struggling to take care of the family also. ‘I have told
my daughter well. Look at Bennet’s wife. Why should we struggle?’ The word Bina used in
this statement for ‘telling’ in its literal translation would mean ‘injecting’, but conveys the
meaning of ‘injecting her ideas into her daughter’s mind’. Further, the second sentence
‘Look…’ has a Tamil word ‘eeNTi’ (literally ‘why my girl’) that is quite forceful.

Similar constraints of conveying the import of the narratives and experiences have laid some
limitation of translation upon the researcher.

The problems faced in transliterating are lack of clarity, failure of the recording device and
writing down the narration accurately. Because of the nature of the narratives being
conversational or rather colloquial and bilingual, the narratives do not follow the rules of
written language. At times part of a word may be in English and the other in Tamil. Most
often the narrative in Tamil would have many English words interspersed. Sometimes a word
or a sentence may not be complete. Sometimes the bilinguality broke down the grammar. All
these problems and limitations of transcribing and translating were recognised.
APPENDIX 5A

BIBLE STUDY ONE: WOMAN IN CREATION AND FALL


Identity - who the woman is; Role - what she can and should do; Relationship - what is the relationship between men and women.

Two interpretations:

I. The egalitarians or equalitarians:

1. Both man and woman equally created in God's image vs.26-27
2. Both have the charge to be fruitful and multiply vs.28
3. Both receive the mandate to rule over the world God has created. 26 - 31
4. The name adam means the earth creature and is for both man and woman.
5. No sexual polarity or sexual stereotyping.
6. Ontological and social equality.
7. Priority in time does not mean superiority
8. Man having heard the command does not mean that he has special responsibility
9. Woman a vis-à-vis, face-to-face counterpart and help that is strong. Common identity and not identical.
10. Man had no part in creating the woman
11. 'From the rib' means equal partner side by side and not secondary
12. 'For' means a companion and not a servant.
13. The man does not name the woman as he did the animals, but describes the woman
14. Man leaves and cleaves, and both become one flesh.
15. Unity, mutuality and equal partnership.

16. Both accountable. The woman not more gullible. The man was with her when the serpent spoke. Probably she was tempted first since she might not have received the command directly from God; but, this does not minimise her responsibility. The man ate the fruit knowing fully well. Both die, recognise their nakedness and hide.

17. Sin of disobedience and not of role reversal.

18. When questioned, the man shifts the blame while the woman tells the truth.

19. Consequences and not curses. Only two curses - the serpent and the ground.

20. Woman's conception multiplied as a blessing that existed before the Fall; the pain is part of the mortal body of the fallen nature. Her desire as before but the man has changed and assumes a dominant position.

21. Female subordination not God-ordained; it is not a necessary consequence of the sexual distinctiveness.

Sources:

*Bible, The.* (RSV)


Evans, Mary J. *Woman in the Bible.* The Paternoster Press, Carlisle, 1983


II. The complementarians or traditionalists:

1. Definition - male female equality - "Man and woman are equal in the sense that they bear God's image equally". (p. 95 of Piper and Grudem)

2. Definition - male headship - "In the partnership of two spiritually equal human beings, man and woman, the man bears the primary responsibility to lead the partnership in a God-glorifying direction". (p. 95 of Piper and Grudem).

3. Model of male headship is the Lord Jesus. The opposite of male headship is male domination, the assertion of man's will over the woman's will without considering her spiritual equality, her rights and values.

4. God created man, in God's image and to have dominion. Both male and female equally in God's image and to rule.

5. The human race called, 'man' to show male headship.

6. The image of God in man and woman individually. This does not show that women are also needed in church leadership.

7. Gen. 2 shows that God created man the head and woman the helper.


9. Male headship in vs.18-25. Man's loneliness and a companion. The woman as the man's helper and not the man as the woman's helper. The man to love the woman by taking the
primary responsibility of leadership and the woman by supporting him. Eve Adam's spiritual

10. equal, but not an equal in that she is his helper. Woman created second, for, from the man and the man names her. Eve's identity in relation to Adam defined by the man as an equal and a helper. The man initiates the new household as the head.

11. Eve's sin of role reversal

12. God questioned Adam as the head of the pair.

13. God's decree upon Eve twofold - suffering in childbirth and in marriage. She will desire to have her own way and dominate, but will be ruled over by the man.

14. God's decree upon Adam - pain in work, because he listened to his wife and not because he ate the fruit, to Adam as the head the curse of the ground and the punishment of death and Eve also follows.

15. Personal worth not dependent on the role and position.

Source:

APPENDIX 5B

BIBLE STUDY TWO – HEAD COVERING, SILENCE IN WORSHIP AND NOT TO TEACH

1 Cor.11: 2–16; 1 Cor. 14: 34–35; 1 Tim.2: 8–15.

Two interpretations:
I. The egalitarians:
A. Headcovering:
1. This is a cultural issue
2. Paul had to ask the women who wanted to uncover their head to cover so that they will not upset the other women who thought that covering showed modesty and other members of the church who thought that uncovering implied seduction.
3. ‘Head’ as ‘honour’ or ‘source’ and not as ‘authority’. Even if authority, not for all men over all women at all times. To cover the head not to bring shame upon the husband. Paul argues for ‘modesty’ and ‘propriety’ in their culture.
4. Argument from nature – shaven head against nature. Paul argues for the stronger ones to have concern for the weaker ones and not to cause discomfort for others.
5. The woman has authority over her own head and could cover it giving up her rights and using her authority over her own head to do something which will not offend others and not bring dishonour on the family. Play on the words ‘glory’ and ‘image’.
6. Angels present at worship – not possible that the uncovered head of the women would distract these angels. Lusting angels – if so, in every place at all times and Paul would have made a forceful argument. Angels whom they will judge – since they have this authority to judge the angels make responsible choices.
7. Argument from nature – gender distinctions and not ranking of one gender over the other.

8. Appeal to custom in that culture at that time and not for all times.

Source:


II. The Complementarians:

1. Headcovering for women during worship.

2. Why headcovering? Meaning of ‘head’ – ‘authority’, since Paul refers to the Trinity, it is not cultural or of the Fall.

3. It would have been shameful for a man to cover his head and a woman not to cover her head. Woman’s long hair is a glory.

4. To whom is it shameful? To the head – own head and head that is the authority. The woman who does not cover her head dishonours her own head and the man who is her head. The man who covers his head dishonours his own head and Christ who is his head.

5. The woman is the glory of the man, that is she should honour him. The woman should honour man, because she came from and was made for the man, and so should honour him by covering her head and showing that the man is the head, the authority.

6. Paul wants the women to cover their head to show that they submit to male authority.

7. Women ought to cover their head to maintain the order in worship, because of the good angels present at worship and want to see order preserved.

8. Women ought to cover their head to show the difference between the two sexes in the order of nature.
9. The teaching of the passage – not that women have to cover their head, but different; that, men are to lead and women are to follow; that, even if women prophesy or pray during worship, they ought to do so under male authority. Women ought to show that they are humble and submissive to male authority by which they show their feminity.

Source:

B. Silence during worship:

I. The egalitarians:

1. This is about uneducated women who were disrupting the worship with their questions. The immediate solution is to ask them to keep quiet. The long term solution is to educate them.

2. The context is that of order during worship and Paul speaks about women disrupting the order in worship.

3. Paul is not speaking about women misusing spiritual gifts. If so Paul would have given instructions to regulate the use of gifts and not silence the women.

4. Paul is against women learning too loudly in public, only in that context, and not for every woman everywhere at any time.

5. Paul has the general principle of order during worship and particularly asked the Corinthian women not to disrupt Scripture exposition by asking irrelevant questions.

6. The women were less educated and so asked questions. So, they must keep silent and be taught by the more educated husbands at home.
I. The Complementarians:

1. Paul does not allow women to judge the prophecies, since this means taking up an authoritative role. In creation, since the man was created first, there is an order in the roles of men and women. Women have to take roles that submit to the authority of men and cannot take roles that have authority over men. So, Paul to enforce the role distinctions of the creation order wants the women not to participate in the judging of the prophecies.

Source:

1. Not to teach:

I. The Egalitarians:

1. Two points - dress and teaching. Extravagant and expensive clothing and fashions, that distracted and prompted jealousy were prohibited - anything that was done simply to show off.

2. Paul's admonition to learn in silence is to the women who were disrupting orderliness in the church by their foolish talk and attempt to teach without having first learnt properly. It is not an injunction for women to be forever quiet.

3. Paul is warning against the domineering use of authority.
4. Not transcultural (that is for all times everywhere), but applied to the specific situation and context in Ephesus at that time. Paul did not want the church to have a negative image before the outsiders; women spread much of the false teaching in Ephesus and unlearned women seeking to teach would do much harm. So, Paul wants women to learn first so that they can teach after learning well, thoroughly and properly.

5. Paul's reference to the creation of Eve after Adam and Eve having been deceived, is an analogy. Eve's creation after Adam shows that she was not present when God gave the command to Adam and was later deceived in her ignorance or partial knowledge, just as the unlearned women in Ephesus. So, like Eve the women in Ephesus also will be open to deception and should learn before they attempt to teach. However, Paul goes on to qualify his statement by saying that though the women in Ephesus can be deceived like Eve, Eve's fall has been reversed by the Christ child, who came through a woman. Or that women would be saved, that is delivered from the risks of childbirth if they continue in faith etc.

Source:

I. The Complementarians:

1. Women have to learn in silence in full submission.

2. Women are not permitted to teach or have authority over men.

3. The word 'permit' is for all times.

4. Paul prohibits women from authoritative doctrinal teaching.

5. Teaching of men by women prohibited.

6. Paul does not permit women to have authority over men.

7. Paul prohibits two activities - teaching and having authority.
8. Not merely wives and husbands, but all women not to have authority over any man.

9. The basis of the instruction - the woman having been created second and having been deceived, is to submit to man and not have authority over men nor teach men.

10. Taking up their role of getting married and bearing children saves women.

Source:
APPENDIX 5C

BIBLE STUDY THREE. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAN AND WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

Eph.5: 21-33; Col.3: 18-19; 1Pet.3: 1-7

I. The Egalitarians.

1. The main point of the Ephesian passage is mutual submission, submitting to one another.

2. The meaning of 'head' is not 'boss' or 'ruler'. It is source that shows the unity. In this case the unity of the husband and the wife as one flesh\(^{1550}\).

3. The analogy between Christ and the husband as the head is one of life-giving headship and not a ruling headship.

4. The meaning of 'submit' is to align as in the falling in line in the army, in which lining up there is no ranking. Submitting oneself is giving oneself to be a support to the other person or placing oneself at the disposition of the other. Submitting does not mean obeying\(^{1551}\).

5. The meaning of 'love' is being responsive to the needs of the other.

6. Both 'submit' and 'love' mean being responsive to the needs of the other and placing oneself at the disposal of the other.

7. Christ and the Church give the model of analogy for the relationship between the husband and the wife. Christ is the head, not to rule, but to love and cherish and to give him for the Church, to make it spotless.

\(^{1550}\) This is the meaning given by the evangelical egalitarian writers some of whom are mentioned in the section on sources for this part.

\(^{1551}\) See f.n. 148
8. The husband and the wife to be one with each other, in the one flesh relationship in which there is no issue of a hierarchy of two.

9. Nowhere in the Old Testament are wives asked to obey or submit to their husbands. Sarah refers to her husband as 'lord' only in her reply to the angel's promise of a son. Only Abraham was once asked to obey Sarah, in the case of the treatment of Hagar.

10. Husbands are asked to honour their wives. The wives are referred to as the 'weaker sex', since women were socially, economically and politically weaker.

Sources:


I. The Complementarians.

1. Key ideas - submission one to another in the fear of the Lord; wife's submission to the husband as the head, as the Church submits to Christ its head; love of the husband as Christ loved the Church; appeal to Genesis; summary emphasising husband's love and wife's submission.

2. The meaning of 'submit' is 'subordinate'
3. Vs.21 states a general principle of submission for which the following sets are examples of who submits to whom in what relationship.

4. Submission is out of reverence for Christ, because it is Christ who asks us to submit and will hold us accountable.

5. Paul delineates the role each one has (submission of wife and headship of husband), the attitude of each (love of husband and respect of wife) and the analogy of marriage to the relationship of Christ and the Church.

6. The nature of the wife's submission - to her husband, as to the Lord, for the husband is the head, as the Church submits to Christ.

7. The nature of the husband's headship - headship means authority; the analogy of the headship of Christ over the Church also points to authority; the headship of man over woman was established by divine appointment since the woman was created after the man and she was created to help the man and not vice versa.

8. The extent of the wife's submission - the wife is to submit in everything to the husband, since God wants them to function as one under one head.

9. The injunction to husbands to love their wives. The husband is to exercise his headship over his wife and love as Christ did. The loving husband leads by giving himself and for the benefit of the wife.

10. The command for the husband to love his wife is linked with the one flesh imagery and the husband is to love the wife as his own flesh.

11. The headship of love.

12. The wife is to submit in everything as to the Lord as the Church does.

13. The wife is to respect the husband's headship - in reverence.

14. Marriage was intended to be a picture of the relationship between Christ and the Church.
15. Submission is not - putting the husband in the place of Christ, not giving up independent thought, not giving up effort to influence the husband, not giving in to every demand of the husband, not based on lesser intelligence, not being fearful, not inconsistent with equality in Christ.

16. Submission is - inner quality of gentleness that affirms the leadership of the husband, obedience like Sarah's, acknowledges an authority that is not totally mutual.

17. Rewards of submission

18. The universal rightness of the wife's submission to the husband - God has inscribed it in the heart of a wife.

19. The beauty of submission.

20. Considerate leadership is not - harsh or domineering use of authority, equal sharing of leadership in the family, lesser importance for the wife, always giving in for the wife's wishes, optional.

21. Considerate leadership is - based on the knowledge that the wife is the weaker one.

22. The reasons for considerate leadership - the wife is weaker and they are joint heirs.

23. Rewards if considerate leadership.

Sources:

APPENDIX 6

List of questions and issues used in the focus groups

I. About the person

1. Parental home
   i. spousal relationship
      a. pattern of relationship
      b. decision-making
      c. finance handling
      d. domestic responsibilities
   e. child rearing – attitude to and treatment of male and female children

2. Opportunities for education

3. Opportunities for career

4. Marital home
   i. spousal relationship
      a. pattern of relationship
      b. decision-making
      c. finance handling
      d. domestic responsibilities
   e. child rearing – attitude to and treatment of male and female children

5. Involvement in church

6. Involvement in society

II. Issues raised:

1. Woman in the creation narrative in Genesis two
   i. Did God create the woman subordinate and inferior?
ii. Does the word 'helpmeet' mean that the woman has only a secondary place and role?

2. Temptress image from the Fall narrative in Genesis three
i. Are women morally inferior and weak?
ii. Are women to be controlled and secluded in order for them not to seduce men?
iii. Was the woman weak and that is why Satan tempted the woman first and seduced her?
iv. Is the woman weak because she listened to the serpent without asking the man first whether she could eat the fruit?

3. Man – woman relationship after the Fall
i. Did God punish the woman because she first fell and led the man also into sin?
ii. Did God ordain female subordination and male domination?
iii. What does 'rule over' mean?

4. 'Head-covering' in 1Cor. 11
i. What does Paul teach?
ii. Is 'head covering' necessary today?
iii. What does 'head covering' show? Does it show female subordination or the secondary position of women?
iv. If you say women should cover their head during worship, why?
v. If you cover your head during worship, why do you do that?

5. Women leaders in the church
i. Can women be leaders in the church?
ii. Can they involve in administration such as participating in the Pastorate Committee and so on?
6. Women preaching and teaching
   i. Can women preach?
   ii. Can women teach?

7. Women’s ordination
   i. Can women be ordained?
   ii. If not, why not?

8. Husband – wife relationship in Eph. 5
   i. What does ‘head’ mean?
   ii. What does ‘submit’ or ‘submission’ mean?

9. Dowry, singleness, childlessness, domestic violence, single parenthood, widowhood, divorce, sex – workers, female infanticide and foeticide
   i. Is singleness a stigma?
   ii. Men may take advantage of a single woman, isn’t it?
   iii. Don’t widows suffer much having to take care of the family single handedly?
   iv. What about female infanticide practised because of economic reasons?
   v. What about the criticism about dowry that it makes women a commercial object?
   vi. Can childlessness be considered degradation?
   vii. When a single parent needs help and a person helps, don’t people scandalise?
   viii. Many young girls are deceived and brought into the sex work, isn’t it?
   ix. What about always being involved in ‘full time Christian work’ without taking care of the family? What about those who involve in Christian activities without caring for the family?
   x. Don’t men use women as a commodity in sex work?
APPENDIX 7

Each category of narrative is given a code for example, SR for spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.

Spousal Relationship (SR):

1. Melody – SR(Spousal Relationship), She is a doctor and my father is manager in a company. They’ve been married for 23 years. O.K. Also the relationship between them is very good. My dad and mom share all the responsibilities. My mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now he is in the US, So my mom mainly does all the work here. When we were young my dad was here. All the responsibilities were shared equally. My mom used to take care of all the housework and all the buying things all that my dad used to take care of. ... Finance handling asks before she does anything. And my dad also has to any he used to any decision concerning finance he also consults my mom.

2. Kamala - SR2, me dad cariey my mom asks for all the important decisions in the house. Dad used to take care of. ... Finance handling asks before she does anything. And my dad also has to any he used to any decision concerning finance he also consults my mom.

3. Bina – SR3, my mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now. Kama – SR2, spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.

4. Arunkumari – SR4, any discussion. My mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now. Spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.

5. Ranjithamani – OMW - SR5, maked any discussion. My mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now. Spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.

6. Swarna – OMW - SR6, any discussion. My mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now. Spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.
7. Mariam - SR7, இப்போது காணப்படும் வருணகவான செயல் பிறமும் friendly என்ற விளக்கத்தின் போதுமான, இப்போது உடைய செயலானது நிறைவுச்செயல் பிறமும் கம்பாய்ஸாமன. அதிகமான அரசியில் உள்ள வேறுபாடுகள் என முடிவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்காலம் செயல் குழுவுடன் ஒன்று தொடர்ந்து செயல் கையெடுப்பை நடத்தும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. நூற்றணக்கால வருணகவுடன் என்று எண்ணியலும் நுழைவு உள்ளது. 

Moreover, various education institutions are working towards this. First, the idea of an equal education system is being discussed to ensure that all students have access to the same quality of education. This will help in the development of equitable society. Secondly, the concept of an equal education system is being discussed to ensure that all students have access to the same quality of education. This will help in the development of equitable society. Finally, the idea of an equal education system is being discussed to ensure that all students have access to the same quality of education. This will help in the development of equitable society.
14. Joy – SR14, when I go to my second house, I expect my husband to be, first of all he should communicate both, whatever he thinks, he should ... and he should be able to share all my thoughts and my feelings. And finance wise, I don't find anything wrong what, whether he does the work or me. I don't mind doing myself. If he likes to do, he can do. I don't force him to do that. ... Na, if I can't, if I'm working, say, if I'm doing a job, I think he has to share. I think he has to share. And like taking care of the children also, I think, mostly, most of the parents do that because, if they are working, naturally they, we can understand that they have the feeling to take care of the children.

15. Melody – SR15, In my future home when I get married, I think, both me and my husband, we should both handle responsibilities equally. I will definitely be in a job. So, he's also should take care of the household work also. And financially both, both of us can spend money, but, any important decision has to be made, both of us should consult before we take that decision.

16. Priya – SR16, Basically I don't think, I'm wanting to get married or something like that. I don't know why. But basically I think I don't have to lead my life only because I have to stay married to a man. I think I would just be independent some sort of time and see how I can stand on my own feet, and then probably if I am ready for it, can, if I'm sure ready for it, probably I would get married. And to me probably something like marriage will be ... both of us, both of us have to be equal in decision-making and in all the other things as well. Financially if he wants to be can take charge. But he would have to consult me also. And otherwise things like, if I want to work also I should be allowed to work. It's not simply for the point of money, but it's for job satisfaction. I wouldn't want a person telling me, 'Just because you're married, you shouldn't work'. I don't want that, And in.... Domestic responsibility if both of us are working, then we should take the responsibility equally. Then if one person isn't, then I don't mind putting in a little extra in it.


18. Sneha – SR18, நானது என்ன தோன்றும் இரும்புக்கு என்ன தோன்றும் இரும்புக்கு என்ன தோன்றும் இரும்புக்கு என்ன தோன்றும் இரும்புக்கு என்ன தோன்றும் இரும்புக்கு என்ன தோ

19. Lita – SR19, உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உடன் உட

501
20. Joy – SR20, Household work is like my mom takes everything. And if my father has to buy something also, he goes and buys and.


26. Heera – SR26, College-go girls considered more feminine girls. Femininity, masculine braid will suit the girls. Heera always considered them weak. Not in my family, but a lot of girls are there. General girls are mild, moral I found them very weak. Bala supported. Multicultural nature of girls sometimes. Heera always considered teachers, women. Always in a different nature, Heera always considered subdue masculine nature (chuckles). Always avoid arguments with girls. Always avoid arguments with girls. Always avoid arguments with girls. Always avoid arguments with girls. Always avoid arguments with girls. ... girls are weak. But, Heera always considered smooth girls.往往会classCallCheck.


28. Heera – SR28, the reason was the cause of that. Heera was the cause of that. Heera always considered generous nature. Heera was considered generous nature. Heera always considered generous nature. Heera was considered generous nature. Heera was considered generous nature. Heera was considered generous nature.

29. Heera – SR29, they may say that my mother dominant character. She was But, my father... so she listened to him. That's how She'll listen to him. Heera always lack concern.

30. Heera – SR30, but I'm not a manager of money, that much I'm telling you. I had been in charge, he would have saved more. Careless Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera...

31. Heera – SR31, my husband is a very dominant fellow. My husband is a very dominant fellow. My husband is a very dominant fellow. My husband is a very dominant fellow. My husband is a very dominant fellow. My husband is a very dominant fellow.

32. Amar – SR32, Girls... girls... girls... Heera... Heera... Heera... girls... girls... girls... girls... boys... Heera... Heera... Heera... boys... Heera... Heera... Heera... boys... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera... Heera...
33. Bina - SR33, பிரார்த்தனை உற்பத்தி செய்து (laughs) குறுகிய சொன்னாள் கொண்டாள். அதுவாலாக நாம் பிரார்த்தனைகளை நிற்படுத்தித் தவறர். அந்த போது நான் வாசிக்கிறேன், நான்மீது ஆண்டவர் ஏனும் வந்து என்று கொண்டாள் நாடகத்து.  

34. Saral - OMW - SR34, உள்ளூர் எனவும் School-ை பிரார்த்தனை, 'சோரை நோக்குவது கும்பானியா குருவுரைகள், என்னையம் கொண்டும் நான் விளக்கித் தவறர். 'சோரை தான் என்று வாசிக்கிறேன், நான் என்று வாசிக்கிறேன். உள்ளூர், எச்சொருகன் வேலைகளை நிற்படுத்தி வந்தவர். உள்ளூர், 'சோரை வழிகாட்டுவது குருவுரைகள், என்னையம் கொண்டும் நான் விளக்கித் தவறர். உள்ளூர், எச்சொருகன் வேலைகளை நிற்படுத்தி வந்தவர்.

Kodambakkam High Road - என்று கொண்டாள் நாடகத்து.  தவறரும் தமிழில் பாடுகின்றார். உள்ளூர், எச்சொருகன் வேலைகளை நிற்படுத்திவிடும் பிரார்த்தனை கொள்ளும். உள்ளூர், எச்சொருகன் வேலைகளை நிற்படுத்திவிடும் பிரார்த்தனை கொள்ளும். உள்ளூர், எச்சொருகன் வேலைகளை நிற்படுத்திவிடும் பிரார்த்தனை கொள்ளும்.
used to think. But, during the past three years, seeing how much is required, I mean, like, I never had the interest. So I never had the intention also. So financially I used to think. 

35. Lovely - SR35, 35-year-old, 40-year-old husband's side they, the way they have been bought up and financially wise I never helped him. I mean, like, I used to think. So I never had the intention also. So financially I used to think. 

Practical - to be more precise, I used to think. Absolutely income-tax calculations. 

But, in my husband's side, definitely that is there. But financially I used to think. But, during the past three years, seeing how much is required, I mean, like, I never had the interest. So I never had the intention also. So financially I used to think. 

First importance definitely that is there. But financially I used to think.

Because I am married. My husband is a professional person, his name is Ismail, he is in Saudi Arabia and
part in the kitchen activities, so I never seen any major contentions or difference of opinion, so that is one very good, that much I learnt from him and helping manage the kitchen duties (laughs) Right from everything in the morning seven, seven to nine, nine to eleven, best example is fixing ration shop. In fact, I was able to totally take care. So, I think, I am totally gifted. So, one month leave she was able to manage and where she had enough, I mean, I would say. My mum was very supportive. She used to have one servant. So, she was able to manage.

mummy’s but she used to do mummy’s chores customs mummy papa. Mummy mummy papa.


mummy’s but she used to do mummy’s chores customs mummy papa. Mummy mummy papa.


mummy’s but she used to do mummy’s chores customs mummy papa. Mummy mummy papa.


mummy’s but she used to do mummy’s chores customs mummy papa. Mummy mummy papa.


mummy’s but she used to do mummy’s chores customs mummy papa. Mummy mummy papa.
43. Kamala - SR43, family church. Sunday school encourages equal-share church P.C. encouragement. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church. Participation in family church encourages equal-share church. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church.

44. Sweety - SR44, family church. Sunday school encourages equal-share church P.C. encouragement. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church.

45. Mallimalar - SR45, family church. Sunday school encourages equal-share church P.C. encouragement. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church.

46. Sampoorna - SR46, family church. Sunday school encourages equal-share church P.C. encouragement. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church.

47. Devar, SR47, family church. Sunday school encourages equal-share church P.C. encouragement. Currently, the family actively participates in continuous family church activities. Closer to family, Bible encourages equal-share church.

49. Heera - SR49, was into arts, photography, aesthetics. She was in control of being easy, whether at home or in the school. She was soft natured. She was into school work. She was into school help, leadership, etc. She was into managing the girls. She was into photography. She was into school photography. She was into school leadership, "school leadership, school photography, school leadership..." She was into school leadership. She was into school photography. She was into school leadership. She was into school leadership. She was into school leadership.
62. Arunkumari - SR62, loppu^ dress ^Q^©D60rrib @g] uem^yih (Suirgj ^ 61]it 6oj5g] Qli677S7*ct7 @uui^^itott
@0**655mo. CSurr^l* $ l_© g ^it6st (cuirgroiib. ^|uuiq.^ir6vr u6m655T655)iio. @ui_iiq.Qioa)605ib @0**655)uo0 H. ^ 6tmr
uflFibiffiriiTp (ip6inpuSl60 fr e e -^ 6fi)©6O5 0 . 67657*0 ^|g] (2*l_(dlj675. ‘@uu 67657*0 iol_©io strict-^ 6Uffrfl*0rSi&i*(»65,
uffi&i*65 iol_©io free-^j, 6£l©rtfr&i*(I>65, @uu @0 * $ p * 560io OijrnLu G>L05ffL05 @0 * 0 . Q*5(0 *ib j^riia Q*5(0 ffib
strict-^ @0rTd*’65T65T5 ‘^651, ^j€lg^)60inh $ 6tre®TUUffrhis>\ ^|uuifiritrgii6ijrr0 . £6675 ^ u u io C»in5$ffflru(pLi675. 151010
6^L-60 6U656l5(o5)5LO. @ULUO Qljinhu, ^|^)60 $60 6&)61%lOg££)60 £5675 LI5* 0 lb (»LJ6g|, 676O(®6O50lb Qff5606£l6U6ISI*
servant ‘67675657ioio5 j£ @uuiq.dress U67757655fla$lp 6^67566)657 u 6Mtp Lnrr^lifl’
63. Mallimalar - SR63, Qpnhu ®6^.i_g^l60,£5675 67ibi* cffil60 @0££5 6U65)!j*0ib, £5675 1517651^jr6l(0 ff 6065)ij*0 io
671&1* 6^l_60 Qi76ioua6)%i—io6g5675 £5675 @0 £ g 606nrr£(2g675. U6g g i* 0 i&i*. <$1,6576 *66>g065)L_uj $|065)uuS)6T556O,67iii*
<£|iolo6 60£g] eSlaJiTuirgg]a@65r@], 6ufrpggja@65Tgu Qff5606iSl Q*65ibi5)6755i£i«. Qa6TTioiil65TLj(2u5, 67iii«65)65 Q*5(0 ffib,
67JBI* <£Jlbl05 g5675 616060511) QfflO6051&J*. ... ‘U5 0 , Qu67757 <2J60rEd* <£110106 <£l£g* * 560g 6§l60 <£1UU5 <£lUl_IU}QlOa)6051O
@0£<2g675. <$J,65nr6£]li) 6£r&l®<£]10105 <£1606065611 gin7lb 6767565)65765)UJ @g] LJ67757655fl 60656ajg|, 2_liiI*65)65lLllO6^0 <£},655®$l
6£rbl*65)65 6£0 @g] U67j5T655fluS)0*$p6rhl*. <$1,6755 <£110105 Q*5655Tlb, <£l(L£6L|p lD5^1lfl l§ £L_£gJ** *n.l_6glbl05. <£l£g
lD5^1lfl l§ £l_£g|«* *nJ_6gl0L06” 6TlhJ* <£1ULI6 advise L167?5Tg5)l605riiIS. U6gg]*01Tda. <£lULJlq. 6£<2lJ@g5 LD5fbp5) 67JEJ*
0 ©lBUg£§l6O6Q£*I*I.
64. Bina - SR64, 6tfil© C6o 65)60 £5675 ioil©£g5676. <£i6orr ffl67T57655)iioQ g6L_<260 ldttlLi rrrr. G>u6l_© 6^0 Q60£i§l
(pU5l_© 0 © a a LD5L.I 5 0 . (laughs)
65. Heera - SR65, So, <£i£g io6$ifl £6675 girls-$liLi_amj_ Qrr5ihu warn u655T655)i(p6U65t. 6TLiuiq. j5ir6OT warn
Ll655T6B5)l(o61l675. ‘j§l&l* *60UJ6655TIO * l‘ IqU <2LI665)65TrBJ$l6756576 (o6065)60 U5*®5^r&]*. <261165)60 U55j<frTd®67565T5 be Careful
that you see that your husband shares your work. Quwga) a6iSliu5655n£]*L_in.676 i_|$$60 @0 £(Sg Qff5&6\Sl*
0 © g $ 0 i&i«. c£]60605u_uj- igi&i* you will be duped.. £ii>Lo, 6£itd* health jgi&i* (ipuugi ajiugi (ipuug65)g(0 5 r
61JUJ^l(c60Cuj QffggJU <3lJ5uSl06&[blS>. 6J65T65T5 ^ |6U6U6rT61J Co6U65)60 @0 a@LD 6£rEdffi(6rTj« 0 ^^651560 6)Sll© « 0 6UJ5g 5,
@uu household chores60iL|ii> let them do it.
^j6iirTj«(6rT>a0 ii) train u655T6trofl©rija. a661tu5655nb »u_iq.65T
QLD5g 606065T65T5 they will be willing to accept this sort of thing. u65ST655fl 6us#r&iffi65T65i5 s>565T Qu565)Lpa=#reja65Tgi]
6Tu(oU5g]LD moral philosophy « ^ l60 warn u655TOT5)iC6iJ65T. girls-^. warned about your future. It is in your. ;§ ojjsgi
Qpnhu e_(Lpj5gi, 2_(tpj,g] <£j6iJ65T ^(0 * in655fl«@ 6uj5g 5
coffee-^a Qa5655T© 0 ©a^lpg].
6T65T65)65Tffia5611gl ^J6U65T 6UJ5gJ Si_riia(g5a 0 Coffee (oU5L_©ffi 0©UU565T5? {§>UIJlq. U655T655frEJa65T65T5 ^ULJpih 6T65T65T
u655TCT5)i6U5iBia. What will you do after your menopausal syndrome
time-60 6uj5gj 6^rria i5lOT65)6rrriia(gr5«0ii)
they will be ^ j5g puberty time-60 14, 15 ^ u u ib Qij5ldu a6%uiD565T time, ^ u u ih @6ur&ia>6mT60 ffu>56iflaa(p6u
(ipiq.uj5gi. 6i?il© Co6ii65)60iL|Lb ^5,5) tension @0 a@ii). 6T60605LDffiD56irflaaCc6o (y)iq.uj5gj. ^6575, 'you have to be careful'
c^LILIlq.65765)l U6557655fl, €l«5(0fflb
U655T65575, 6J65765T5 @6UrilQft60605U) '67606051B We have tO do Madam, We have tO
do everything' ,^UUlq-65765)l61J5riia>. ^|UUl^.(oUJ, ‘jSlhlD 65)ffiuSl60 g5657 @ 0 « 0 @6U61J67764 a 5lflllJriia6T7’ ^UUlq.657gl]
Qff56b6ySl«0©uCpU657.657, 657, «^|uuii) I was known as a militant woman (laughs....) cg>juuiq.gg5657.
66. Saguna - SR66, 5^1657560
lD5^1lfl PJft6Bpi Cu0r5g5657 67UU61^(Su) 6^655765575 6^0 family LD5d§)lfl @0 Ll(oU5li).
Christmas, New Year
iB5^1iflQuJ6b605ii) 6760605ih «^||5g
$65765)657urn
family-iqih 1551^^(61515^ 5657.
^LJL|pii) money matters 6760605U) ^JUU5 6U|5gl, ^li)U)5 61J15gJ a655T«0 67(lggI61I5161«,
67657*0 QglfllL|lI), 6765765t(cLD5
^Qg60605li) 6760605LD67651<o1657615657Qff6060L^lff6:5 ^j65)g 67(Lg»g]6055Jff. Q up0 family prayer E-6557©.
67. Flora — SR67, <£]L0LO5 6^l160, 67reja ^LblD56^65)l_UJ ^j^l«aj5g56i5. 6765)g 6T©gg5^JU) 6760605LD ^ 601bia g565T
QfflU6051bia. ^1^1657560 671bl* 0 ©LDUli» 6^0 ^67515160605^ 0©lhULD5 ^05,glgl.
68. Flora - SR68, ^Ul-ipii) 67657«0g ^l0U)655Tlh U6557655fla 0 © g g 55J*. 676750)165)1 lU *6575605 6U|5g|, 676750)165)1—UJ
*657560065)1 LU ^J^l**li). 6Tg|(oLD 6767565)65710 *60j5gJ ^(©605^1** LD5L_1_55. ... 676750)I65)1-UJ 0©U)Ug^l65)6OlL|li)
*657560065)l—UJ «^]675L| lf)6T765)65*(6|^*0li) @6065)60. 6^0 6^gg]65)LpUL|li) @6065)60. *5g5j065)L_lU ^Iggg^l675 Ulq.,
<^]60065)1 UJ^Iggg^l675 UU). ^L-g^lLl© 605p55.
69. Bina - SR69, 67!&I* ^ L 1U5 ^jli)li)5 6fill60, that is 6TIBia ^|UU5 65)*uSl60 g5675 6760605«£l$*5IJ-(ipU). 6760605
5^^ 1* 517(^10. 6760605 money handle U6755pgl, 6760605U) 67lil* 55110105 U56U10 <2u560, 55J6UIB1* earn U67757pg LOll©lO
Qff6061| U6557pgJ*0 freedom @0 J5ggI. 5^6755 6T1&1* 65l.60 60J5gl 6760605010 equal. J55675 67675675 Qffl0g5gi]10 55J601BI*
G>*L-©** LD5L-I 51bl*. 55|601bl* 67675657QfflOg56£]LO (oSi** LD5LlGl_5lO. 55]g560gl diSCUSS U67757655fl U6775705)l(o6O5lb. ^6755
IO50LO 5)5675g5675 U6755655)l(o606750)1 @6065)60. ^ g j 6^0 point.

511


70. Sweety - SR70, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, மேடியை உடன் மேடியை நிறுவிய தேர்வு. full family management என்னும் குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு. ஆரம்பாக ஒருவரா மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, குறுக்கு உடன் மேடியை நிறுவி.விய, போட்டியிட்டு.
APPENDIX 8

Treatment of Children (TC):

1. Udha - TC(Treatment of Children)1, மூலக்கூறும் அளவை பிரிக்கவும் அது தானிய. Both Boys and girls நூறும் equal rights என்று காணலாம்.

2. Amar - TC2. அக்காந்த போட்டுத் தீர்மானம், அனை ஆண்டாலும், ஆண்டாலும் தீட்சுடாக்கல் மூன்றும் நூறும் நூறும் கன்னியாக காணலாம். அமாவாசை நூறும் உட்கூடான, அவ்வாலாம், தொடர்தொடர் 'ஏன் என்றும் தீர்மானங்கள், தொடராக தீட்சுடாக்கும் மூன்றும் நூறும் தீட்சுடாக்கும் நூறும் நூறும். கூட்டுவது special-ஆக்கல் நூறும், எனவே பிரிக்கவும் special-ஆக என்போக்கும். அதை என்றும், முதலில் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் கூட்டுவது special-ஆக என்போக்கும்.

3. Amar - TC3, அவள் முன்னோடியாக அவள் நூறும் நூறும் treatment மூக்க நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் treatment மூக்காம். குருக்கான் பற்று நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூறும் நூற்
11. Melody – TC11, Studies also, both of them used to. Maths and language all daddy used to help and others my mom used to help. And there was no partiality shown between for my brother and me. We were treated equally.

12. Priya – TC12, Otherwise in, like you asked in child rearing, I think, they are, both of them had equal participation. Not that, like Melody said, it's not that preference for one kid, that

13. Joy – TC13, Taking care of children like, when we were small my father used to take care of us. Now, we are young. So, we know how to do our work. So, they help in guiding us. Both the parents help in guiding us. m, we do what we want (chuckles). ... Am, when we, I know father and my mom treated together. Whereas equality,... my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn

14. Flora – TC14, the parents considered all the children equally. This mommy also known, recognized, appreciated my mom treated with care. Government school-0 professors. Assistant teacher also. Pass teachers pass, mark, rank, rank. College consideration. Equal treatment. Sons, in this magnitude, Government school-0 students, teaching, teachers. Both of them had equal freedom. To the considered, appreciated, enjoyed the work. Sons and daughters, both of them had equal freedom.

15. Swarna – TC15, apropos the consideration, both of them had equal freedom. Boys and girls. My family, in her consideration, considered equal freedom. My father, my mother, both had equal freedom. Sons and daughters, both had equal freedom.

16. Swarna – TC16, the parents didn't consider. Students are students. Equal freedom. Teachers are teachers. Sons and daughters. They are both will consider equal freedom.

17. Jeyam – TC17, when asked about a helper’s role. It was girls considered equal freedom. Sons considered equal freedom. Both have considered equal freedom. Accepted use considered. Both are share considered equal freedom. To both are considered equal freedom.

18. Ranjithani – TC18, everyone, everyone alike considered, teachers, teachers, teachers considered. Everyone. ... had equal consideration, considered everyone had equal freedom.


21. Heera – TC21, wanted to become doctor. However, doctors were interested. We wanted them to do, to become doctor. Although we didn't get enough mark to become a doctor. We did not have that thing, faith. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We wanted to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith. Sometimes he doubled it.

22. Heera – TC22, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith. Sometimes he doubled it.

23. Saguna – TC23, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.

24. Arunkumari – TC24, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.

25. Bina – TC25, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.

26. Udhaya – TC26, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.

27. Gem – TC27, work as a nurse. She wanted to become a doctor. She wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.

28. Sneha – TC28, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith. Sometimes he doubled it.

29. Sneha – TC29, wanted to become a doctor. He wanted doctors to become doctors. We didn't get enough mark to become doctors. We did not have that thing, faith.
30. Sneha – TC30, But for bringing my children everything I... I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

31. Swarna – TC31, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

32. Lovely – TC32, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

33. Gem – TC33, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

34. Gem – TC34, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

35. Amar – TC35, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

36. Amar – TC36, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

37. Arumavathy – TC37, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

38. Lila – TC38, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.

39. Amar – TC39, I think I used to recite to her. I think I used to recite to her.
40. Betty – TC40, 0rtho venn 0p00$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$

41. Tiny – TC41, 0rtho venn 0p00$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$

42. Bina – TC42, 0rtho venn 0p00$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$

43. Bina – TC43, 0rtho venn 0p00$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0$ $m0
44. Amar - TC44, a better child than his parents. His parents have always been very affectionate and in touch with their parents. Specially foreign - still. The child is very dependent on his parents. The child is not interested in studying. Very few are affectionate and in touch with their parents.

45. Lita - TC45, she has her own views. The child is more affectionate to her parents. She wants to go to foreign country. She wants support from her parents. The child is not interested in studying. The child is not interested in studying.

46. Devar - OMW - TC46, do more. The child takes more pocket money. If you want to do that, it will help them, but the final decision is their own. If they are really interested then I'll let them go. And career wise, I think, men and women both take, can take up the career they want.

47. Priya - TC48, Particularly I'll just leave it open to them what they want. Or I'll give them the pros and cons of everything. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

49. Amar - TC49, a better child than his parents. He is line - 100% interested in his choice. Just give him the choice of what he wants - the child is very interested in studying.

50. Sampoonam - Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSW) - TC50, it's all in all. The child wants all in all studying for the child. The child wants all the child. The child wants all the child. The child wants all the child. The child wants all the child. The child wants all the child.
gramophone music always kept going in the background. Gramophone records were made for playing in the gramophone. A gramophone record was also called a phonograph record.

51. Ranjithamani – TC51, Those who feel that their children are doing all kinds of mischief. They may mean well, but their intentions are not always correct.

52. Devar – TC52, This means that it’s premature to blame the children. It’s premature to blame the children.

53. Jayam – TC53, Always feel that comic books are not bad, but they are not suitable for children. The same applies to novels.

54. Jayam – TC54, Whenever I come to think about it, I feel that there are too many abortions. I feel that abortions are not suitable for young girls.

55. Amar – TC55, I think that the life of a wilderness is very difficult. I think that life is very difficult.

56. Bina – TC56, Those who think that they are doing the right thing are wrong. Those who think that they are doing the right thing are wrong.

57. Arunkumar – TC57, This is not easy. It’s not easy. It’s not easy.
58. Saguna – TC58, தொழில்நுட்பத்தில் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத் தொழில்நுட்பத்

59. Amar – TC59, பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின்

60. Ranjithamani – TC60, மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன் மனிதன்

61. Jeyavathy – TC61, பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின் பெண்ணின்

62. Saral – TC62, அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு

63. Saral – TC63, குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள்

64. Saral – TC64, குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள்

65. Sneha – TC65, அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு அவருக்கு
Mother's love and care shines not only on her own children, but also on her extended family. She is one of the best examples of love and care in our family. Even parents and aunts, jolly and energetic, participate in the daily chores of the family. We were also blessed to have such parents and aunts. I am thankful to have such a loving and caring mother. But, I was not blessed to have such a loving and caring grandmother. I was... My parents encouraged me to participate in church activities, especially in prayer meetings. We encourage family to participate in church activities. My parents were always open to new ideas and suggestions. They always encouraged me to participate in church activities. But, I was not always blessed to have such parents who were so open-minded. My parents, who were liberal-minded, may be I like, think some family members have experienced a lot...
74. Amar – TC74, அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் தன்னையூட்டும் ஆசியர்களின் கூறுகளைச் செய்தது – இவ்வாறு கூறுகளை வாழ்ந்தவர்கள் மீண்டும் கூறுகள் தொடர்பில் அலுவல் பெரும்பாலும் கூறுகள் தொடர்பில் அச்சுற்றுக்கள் கூறுகள், நூற்றாண்டுகளுடைய கூறுகள். தன்னையூட்டும் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் தன்னையூட்டும் ஆசியர்களின் கூறுகளைச் செய்தது – இவ்வாறு கூறுகளை வாழ்ந்தவர்கள் மீண்டும் கூறுகள் தொடர்பில் அலுவல் பெரும்பாலும் கூறுகள் தொடர்பில் அச்சுற்றுக்கள் கூறுகள், நூற்றாண்டுகளுடைய கூறுகள். 

75. Amar – TC75, அமர் சான், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், allow ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், அல்லது ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், allow ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், அல்லது ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள்.

76. Amar – TC76, அமர் சான், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், தன்னையூட்டும் பிறந்தவர், அமர் சான் ஆசியர் பிரிவுகள், பெரும்பாலும் பிறந்தவர், 

77. Kamala – TC77, கமலாப் பிரிவுகள் செய்யும் பிரிவுகள் செய்யும் பிரிவுகள்

78. Tiny – TC78, தீன் சான், முன்னமே கவர்த்தியால் வலம் செய்த பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள், education-பொழுது என்ன, இருந்து வலம் பிரிவுகள், பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள், முன்னமே கவர்த்தி... போன்ற பிரிவுகள், பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள், பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்

79. Mallimalar – TC79, மாலிமாலர் சான் சான் அவசரமாக வந்தவர் பிரிவுகள், அவசரமாக வந்தவர் பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்

80. Mallimalar – TC80, மாலிமாலர் சான் சான் அவசரமாக வந்தவர் பிரிவுகள், அவசரமாக வந்தவர் பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள் முன்னமே கவர்த்தியால் வலம் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள் முன்னமே கவர்த்தி... போன்ற பிரிவுகள், பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்

81. Varam – TC81, வாரம் - சான், முன்னமே பிரிவுகள் வலம் செய்யும் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்... பிரிவுகள் பிரிவுகள்...

83. Amar – TC83, A teacher is responsible for keeping an eye on the girls. She should be full responsibility of the girls.


85. Lita – TC85, Arunkumari – TC86, Amar – TC83, Tiny – TC84, Lita – TC85


88. Arunkumari – TC88, Saral – TC89

523
90. Saral – TC90, அயத்தின்குறிப்பிட்டு வருவதோடு அது என்பது, கொண்டுள்ளது என்வித்து தன் பன்னாட்டு பாடல் மூடியதோடு. மாற்றுமான போது பாலோடு நிலையில் மொத்தம் கிட்டுவது. போது பாலோடு நிலையில் மொத்தம் கிட்டுவது. போது பாலோடு நிலையில் மொத்தம் கிட்டுவது. போது பாலோடு நிலையில் மொத்தம் கிட்டுவது. போது பாலோடு நிலையில் மொத்தம் கிட்டுவது.


98. Jayavathy – TC98, "I want church service, Bible study sessions, and the kind of service that you're pursuing. I want a strong, powerful, religious service. I want my church to be a strong church. I want a strong church. I want my church to be a powerful church." But she had a lot of troubles. Because, the church's atmosphere was very strange.

99. Heera – TC99, "I want the city, the idea to be different. He will live for that day. I want to meet my parents. I want to go to the city. I want to be a strong church. I want my church to be powerful. I want my church to be powerful." He had a lot of troubles. Sell that to my sisters, sell that to my mother. He wanted to buy a strong church atmosphere.

100. Ranjithamani – TC100, "I want to go to the church service, I want to meet my parents. ... I don't want to go to the church service, I don't want to meet my parents."

101. Saral – TC101, "I want to be a strong church. I want the city. I want to be a strong church. I want to be a strong church. I want to be a strong church." She had a lot of troubles. She had a lot of troubles. She had a lot of troubles.
best of the best

102. Saral - TC102 - 5 years ago, teacher Mr. Suresh Kumar passed away. His wife, a psychiatric nurse, took five years to recover from the loss. In the meantime, the principal, Mr. Das, took over the school and managed to keep it running. After five years, the principal decided to retire. His replacement was Poona - a young, energetic teacher who had five years of teaching experience.

103. Saral - TC103, today, another teacher Mr. Suresh Kumar passed away. His wife, a psychiatric nurse, took five years to recover from the loss. In the meantime, the principal, Mr. Das, took over the school and managed to keep it running. After five years, the principal decided to retire. His replacement was Poona - a young, energetic teacher who had five years of teaching experience.

104. Saral - TC104, a parent of a student, Mr. Vishnu, had passed away. The school principal, Mr. Das, had taken over the school and managed to keep it running. After five years, the principal decided to retire. His replacement was Poona - a young, energetic teacher who had five years of teaching experience.

105. Saral - TC105, a parent of a student, Mr. Vishnu, had passed away. The school principal, Mr. Das, had taken over the school and managed to keep it running. After five years, the principal decided to retire. His replacement was Poona - a young, energetic teacher who had five years of teaching experience.

106. Jeyavathy - TC106, a parent of a student, Mr. Vishnu, had passed away. The school principal, Mr. Das, had taken over the school and managed to keep it running. After five years, the principal decided to retire. His replacement was Poona - a young, energetic teacher who had five years of teaching experience.
107. Tiny - TC107, ஏனென்றி போன்ற type கொடுக்கப் பயிற்சியடையக்கூடுடன், முதலில் பொருளாதாரவுடன் இணைந்து அறிக்கைக்குறிக்காக பொருள், அறிக்கை strict-ம் விளக்கம் விளக்கத்துக்கும் பொருளியல் இணைந்து. அங்கு பொருள் லாக்கும்.

108. Arunavathy – TC108, பொருளாதாரம் மாற்றுபடுத்தும் .... அந்தந்த பொருளாதாரம் மேம் செய்யப்பட்டது. அங்கும் இந்த விளக்கம் கடுமியாக விளக்கத்துக்கும் பொருளியல் இணைந்து. அது விளக்கம் செய்யும். பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் செய்யும் பொருளியல் இணைந்து .... கட்டுப்பாடு, செய்யும் பொருளாதாரம் மாற்றுபடுத்தும் விளக்கம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம் அதிகமான கட்டுப்பாடும் விளக்கம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். அது அங்கு லாக்கும் விளக்கம் அதிகமான கட்டுப்பாடும் விளக்கம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். லாக்கும் பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். லாக்கும் பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். லாக்கும் பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். லாக்கும் பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம். லாக்கும் பொருளாதாரம் லாக்கும் விளக்கம்.
APPENDIX 9

Narratives about education (E):

1. Joy – E(Education)1, I don’t know about studies, studies like whatever you want to learn you can learn. … my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn.

2. Joy – E2, Future family, about my, …. Married life …. naturally what they want (chuckles) that like, because usually people nowadays, we think what we want to do, because if we learn we can be well, in church naturally I think.

3. Sweety – E3, आपका शिक्षाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। शिक्षा के रूप में लड़कियों, आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आप ने स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

4. Ranjithamani – E4, राजतीय रातों के लिए वाद्य यंत्र संगीत बाजारुप का। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

5. Gowthami – E5, आपका शिक्षाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

6. Melody – E6, And children also, studies, both of us should look after the children’s studies. And we should spend time with them. That’s very important. And for my children educationally I will help them, but the final decision is their own. … If they are really interested then I’ll let them go.

7. Mariam – E7, Qn: इसमें, रोमांटिक रातों के लिए वाद्य यंत्र संगीत बाजारुप का।

Mariam: आवश्यकता, अनसुस्ता

8. Joy – E8, my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn.

9. Sampoorna – E9, मायाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

10. Mariam – E10, अगले शिक्षाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

11. Heera – E11, आपका शिक्षाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

12. Tiny – E12, तुम अभ्यास रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।

13. Bina – E13, Education राजतीय रातों के लिए वाद्य यंत्र संगीत बाजारुप का।

14. Kamala – E14, अपना शिक्षाकारण रहेगा लड़कियों। आपने आपके स्वयं के रूप में लड़कियों के लिए शिक्षा प्रदान की।
15. Varam - E15, பெண்களுக்கு வாழ்க்கைக்கு நேர்முறையே, காண தேர்வு S.S.L.C.கள் அடைய வேண்டும் நூற்றாண்டின் பிறந்த தேசியக் குழந்தைகள் குழந்தைகள் போற்றுவது, குழந்தைகளுக்கு போற்றுவது, pension வழியங்கு இதன் வழியங்கு வருவது. வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர் வந்தவர். வசதி வழியங்கு இதன் வழியங்கு வருவது. அவர்கள் புருஷர் வந்தவர் புருஷர் வந்தவர். குழந்தைகள் வந்தவர் வந்தவர். குழந்தைகள் வந்தவர் வந்தவர். 


18. Lila - E18, No partiality, no partiality. வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர் வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். 

19. Amar - E19, நூற்றாண்டு வழிகாட்டும் ஆனது பிறந்த வழிகாட்டும் வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். வசதியுடைய புரூபாக்கி வந்தவர். 

529


35. Jeyam – E35, 均勵 education 之 background 之 影响。In the first 品質 superior 之 quality。I am an E35。I am an...
39. Amar – E39, குன்று பாணது திணக்கும்விளக்கம் பொறுப்புகள், தொடர் விளக்குமுன், அவரது என்.நர் மாற்றம் க்குள் குற்றத்துறை

40. Varam – E40, அவரது பெண்கள்சின்னம் குறிப்பிட்டது. இப் பிறகு பாணது குற்றத்துறையின் தலைமை குற்றத்துறையியல் பாடலினுடைய பதிப்பு. அவரது பெண்கள்சின்னம் வரையறுக்கப்படும் பாடல் குற்றத்துறையின் தலைமை குற்றத்துறையியல். பாடலை பதிவு செய்த தலைமையின் வரையறுக்கப்படும் பதிப்பு. பாடலை பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. அவரது பெண்கள்சின்னம் வரையறுக்கப்படும் பதிப்பு. பாடலை பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. பாடலை பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது.
47. Flora - E47, அக்கும் வசதியான வண்ணங்கள் தமிழில் குழிவு Christian school- வாண்டு நோக்கத்தில், அலுவலகம் (E47) அக்கும் வசதியான வண்ணங்களின் குறிப்பையும் பார்வையும் என்ற வருமானம் அவர் அண்டோலியின்றி அவர்களுடன் கூறி வருகிறார். வெள்ளைப் பேர் பள்ளிகளை நோக்கி விளக்கி வல்லார். காரணம் இவ்விதமானது பாத்திரம், அவர்கள் தரைத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.
Narratives about career (C):

1. Joy – C(Career)1, So, we chose our career... naturally what they want (chuckles) that like, because usually people nowadays, we think what we want to do, because if we learn we can be well, .... Career also

2. Joy – C2, Na, if I can't, if I'm working, say, if I'm doing a job, I think he has to share. I think he has to share. And like taking care of the children also, I think, mostly, most of the parents they do that because, if they are working, naturally they, we can understand that they have the feeling to take care of the children.

3. Melody – C3, She is a doctor and my father is manager in a company. ... Dad is not working here right now he is in the US, .... And career wise, I think, men and women both take, can take up the career if they want.

4. Melody – C4, Career also. They support me.

5. Priya – C5, And otherwise things like, if I want to work also I should be allowed to work. It's not simply for the point of money, but it's for job satisfaction. I wouldn't want a person telling me, 'Just because you're married, you shouldn't work'. I don't want that, .... Domestic responsibility if both of us are working, then I want equal participation. Then if one person isn't then, I don't mind putting in a little extra in it.

6. Priya – C6, Particularly I'll just leave it open to them what they want. Or I'll give them the pros and cons of every thing. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean. children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

7. Gem – C7, School, hostel, school, school, hostel. School-5, hostels-6, School-5, hostels-6. School-5, hostels-6. And career-wise, they support me. So, I think, hostel is very good, if we have an independent, hostel also. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

8. Ranjithamani – C8, Apnaa, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school. School-8, hostels-9. School-8, hostels-9. School-8, hostels-9. And career-wise, they support me. So, I think, hostel is very good, if we have an independent, hostel also. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

9. Saguna – C9, School, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, OCP, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school. School-9, hostels-10. School-9, hostels-10. School-9, hostels-10. And career-wise, they support me. So, I think, hostel is very good, if we have an independent, hostel also. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

10. Saral – C10, Apnaa, OCP, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school. School-10, hostels-11. School-10, hostels-11. School-10, hostels-11. And career-wise, they support me. So, I think, hostel is very good, if we have an independent, hostel also. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

11. Sneha – C11, School, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school, school. School-11, hostels-12. School-11, hostels-12. School-11, hostels-12. And career-wise, they support me. So, I think, hostel is very good, if we have an independent, hostel also. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean, children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

APPENDIX 10
12. Sneha – C12, I enjoy being a working...Yes, of course.  

13. Mallimal – C13, I'm not interested in your professional life.  

14. Varam – C14, I'm not interested...We need to understand, coopera

15. Sweety – C15, I'm not interested in your professional life.  

16. Jeyavathy – C16, I'm not interested in your professional life.  

very good job. May be in science field-so on.  

But, once you are forced to do it. I mean when you are forced to do it.  

I will not mind I think. I know so many women are doing it.  

House work- housewife-according to me. I'll see that I'm a caring mother. A good house wife and a career woman, balanced. I'll see that, women should not be forced to any mutual understanding. I think.  

So, once you are forced to do it. I mean when you are forced to do it. But, once you are forced to do it. I mean when you are forced to do it.
17. Saral - C17, உயிர் வாழ்வின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள், விள்ளைகள் மாதலின் பாதுகாக்கக்கூட்டம் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. என்று உருவான மாதலின் பாதுகாக்கக்கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. Vidhyodhaya-ன் வேலை ஏற்று அறிக்கை எண் பாதுகாக்கக்கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள், அவர்கள் நல்துகி விள்ளைகள் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவர்கள் கூறினர் School-ன் விள்ளைகள், 'சொந்தால் வேலை கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை.

18. Jeyam - C18, பெண் பெண் வெள்ளையான வண்ணம் வேண்டும் வன்மை அய்வு கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. Teaching-தேர்வு கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. என்று வேலை ஏற்று அறிக்கை எண் பாதுகாக்கக்கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள், office-உள்ள வேலை கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் வேலை கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள். அன்று, நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவர்கள் கூறினர் வேலையில் அம்சம் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவர்கள் கூறினர் வேலையில் அம்சம் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் மற்றும் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை.

19. Amar - C19, ஆயா பெண் பெண் வெள்ளையான வண்ணம் வேண்டும் வன்மை அய்வு கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவருடைய அம்சம் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவருடைய அம்சம் பெட்டை வேலையில் அம்சம் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை. அவர்கள் கூறினர் வேலையில் அம்சம் மாதலின் கூட்டம் விள்ளைகள் நல்லவர் பெற்றுள்ளார் பருவம் முடிய முடியவில்லை.
23. Amar – C23, ஏன் நாள்தோறும் India–வைக் குட்டி குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குற்றமிருந்து வரும் இளஞ்சோழங்கள் என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று தன்னை மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். 

24. Amar – C24, இவ்வோடு அமாவாசையாளர் கூட்டி குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குற்றமிருந்து வரும் இளஞ்சோழங்கள் என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று தன்னை மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். 

25. Amar – C25, இவ்வோடு என் அன்றைய என், என் மூவும் வந்திருக்கும். குற்றமிருந்து வரும் இளஞ்சோழங்கள் என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று தன்னை மன்னராக எடுக்கவேண்டியது என்று கூறுவர். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். குட்டி போன்று குட்டி வந்திருக்கும். 

26. Lila – C26, கையாண்டு M.A. Private–த் தரும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும். வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும் வாங்கும்.
27. Saral - C27, American Consulate General, American, teacher.

28. Saral - C28, American Consulate General, American, female.

29. Lita - C29, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

30. Lita - C30, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

31. Lita - C31, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

32. Lita - C32, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

33. Lita - C33, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

34. Lita - C34, Lita is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

35. Sweety - C35, Sweety is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.

36. Bina - C36, Bina is a dedicated lady. I used to admire her.
37. Heera - C37, சுகாதாரம் நடுநிலை வாய்ந்தள்ளினர் பெயர் இருசூழ்வாக நோய் தொடர்ப் தேவையைக் கற்றவர். நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதாரம் செயல்பாடு ஏற்றையும் சுட்டியேற்றுவியும் செயல்பாடு. நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார 

38. Varam - C38, என் குடும்ப பாதுகாப்பு வரலாறு வருவன் என்று குடும்பாக்கத்தில் சப்பச்சிலித வடிவமாக நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார 

39. Jeyavathy - C39, என் உரை தொடர் இயற்கையும். என் உரை தொடர் இயற்கையும் பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் 

40. Saral - C40, நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதார 

41. Mariam - C41, தொடர் உரை தொடர் இயற்கையும். தொடர் உரை தொடர் இயற்கையும் பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் என்று பண்டை வருவன் 

42. Jeyam - C42, சுகாதாரம் நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதாரம் நோய் தொடர்புடன் சுகாதாரம் 

540
43. Saral – C43, Poona-50. Poona-50 to Balai Krupa 5 years. I received a call from a fake school.

44. Heera – C44, Asst. Professor. I was not in the Lord. I had a salvation experience at school. I was working in Stella. A heart problem, and I had to leave. The school was full – they considered me as a dummy teacher.

45. Heera – C45, So I used to feel very angry for the sake of women. I was not used to the school. I had a heart problem. I had to be careful. Sisters from College-50. I received a call from the school.

46. Sweety – C46, Asst. Professor. I received a call from the school.

47. Joy – C47, Career in the sense, they have to follow the culture. And culturally studies or something like that. Not. Certain career means not it’s against. Not at all. No, no. They can go for that. Modelling. Yeah. May be, I, they get spoiled. No, actually it’s like, usually people nowadays, at present the Christians are attracted to those fashion and till they go out of track. If they have self control also, may be they are attracted. Attracted in the sense, they have known their route. But to people. Yeah, yeah. Exactly. I can’t understand, sorry. Studio I think it’s O.K. Yeah, yeah. Yeah.

48. Amar – C48, Asst. Professor. ‘Teacher at Asst. Teacher’, at the college. At the college. At the college. At the college.

541
49. Amar - C49, ஹரும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன, 'அன்னை, ஏனையத்தால் தீர்மானம் அதுவாக' தீர்மானம். நான் தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, அன்னைகள் நூற்று தீர்மானமும், ஆன், B.Com-தம் பயிற்சி, B.Com பயிற்சி. Amap தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானம். ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும். 'applications இணங்க செய்யுங்கால், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும், publish பதிப்பு செய்யவும், apply பதிப்பு செய்யவும்.'

50. Tiny - C50, நேர் வருணியாளர் தீர்மானமும் ஆன், 'இன்னை, தீர்மானமும் ஆன், வருணியாளர் தீர்மானமும் ஆன், B.Com-தம் பயிற்சி, B.Com பயிற்சி. Amap தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும். ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும். 'MBA பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும், apply பதிப்பு செய்யவும், continue பதிப்பு செய்யவும்.'

51. Sweety - C51, ஹரும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன், 'இயும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன், ஹரும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன், B.Com-தம் பயிற்சி, B.Com பயிற்சி. Amap தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும். 'MBA பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும், apply பதிப்பு செய்யவும், continue பதிப்பு செய்யவும்.'

52. Gem - C52, ஹரும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன், 'இயும் வழக்கு தீர்மானமும் ஆன், B.Com-தம் பயிற்சி, B.Com பயிற்சி. Amap தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, ஆன், பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் அதுவாக, பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும். 'MBA பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும் பயிற்சி தீர்மானமும், apply பதிப்பு செய்யவும், continue பதிப்பு செய்யவும்.'
Narratives used for the religious discourse:

Section One. Narratives about women's general involvement in church (IC):

1. Amar – IC (Involvement in Church)

2. Varam – IC2

3. Udhaya – IC3

4. Tiny – IC4

5. Flora – IC5

APPENDIX 11
6. Bina – IC6, gender equality like all of us believe there’s equality usual – I think we all believe equality interests- the difference is we should look at equality friend. Hindu women equality, women’s rights. Gender inequality equality gender equality usual – I tend to get depressed sometimes. Men, women, movement, diversity, sharing, love.班的,  women. Men, women, equality, love. Class equality the thing I was coming to Sunday class. So continuous Sunday Class teachers specially Maryka, Bernard Thomas. Our in-person influence people’s life. In-person influence people’s life. So Sunday class teachers always had a feeling of teaching. Sunday class teachers always had a feeling of teaching. So, during continuous Sunday class teachers always had a feeling of teaching. So, continuous Sunday Class teachers is the thing I was doing. And of course competitions...
He’ll read through it also. First years didn’t show interest,
though read, Vincent naturally expected anything that
happens. In the interim period, we used to keep that and
D. Prabu would pray to God for it, and pray the word of God.
So, D. Prabu would keep the topic under the condition that
three years ago, the first session was held. Even though I was not directly involved, physically involved with some class or,
understood that the Sunday class would be completed.
April Sunday class-3 it happened. Then the teachers
situated the Sunday class. According to my children,
Sunday class completely stopped. This my involvement.

Class-3 my children’s Sunday class. When my father
attend Church-3 teachers told teachers-2 it happen.
Service to address time Division Class, service would
begin Sunday class begins. According to my father
attended Church-3 Sunday class begins. According to
my father, Mr. Rhemius, aunty class-3 situation 2.
According to my father attend Church-3 Sunday class
interest now. Sunday class ministry-3 began. Real reason
becomes possible. Always from by heart life situations
parents – compulsions-. But true Christian
attend Church-3 really possible. In my childhood years,
attends Sunday class attend Church-3 teachers.
According to my father attend Church-3 Sunday class
attend Church-3 teachers. According to my father attend Church-3
Sunday class-3. The times of Church-3 attends Sunday class
attend Church-3 teachers. Sunday class-3 attended,
attend Church-3 teachers. Sunday class-3 attend Church-3.
Sunday class-3 attend Church-3 teachers. Sunday class-3 attend Church-3.
Sunday class-3 attend Church-3 teachers. Sunday class-3 attend Church-3.
Sunday class-3 attend Church-3 teachers.
10. Jeyam – IC10, பின்புற தினசரியான நூற்றாண்டை சொல்லும் தொழில்முறையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் 

11. Jeyam – IC11, அரசுவர் கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். முதல் கட்டமைப்பு கல்வித்தரும் கையேடு நகர போர்களில். 

12. Jeyam – IC12, பின்புற தினசரியான நூற்றாண்டை சொல்லும் தொழில்முறையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் 

13. Jeyam – IC13, பின்புற தினசரியான நூற்றாண்டை சொல்லும் தொழில்முறையில் செய்யப் பயில்தலையில் செய்யப் 

546
Opportunity for parents to contribute to church activities, to promote church classes, to act as church teachers, to take part in Senior Group meetings, and to work as Pastors Meeting secretaries. Retreat pastors meeting discussions aimed at encouraging parents to participate in church activities. Parents are encouraged to contribute to church activities, and to work as Pastors Meeting secretaries. Retreat pastors meeting discussions aimed at encouraging parents to participate in church activities.

14. Saral - PC 14, Sunday Class activities: Sunday Class activities are a great way for parents to become involved in the church. These activities provide an opportunity for parents to share their faith with their children and to build relationships with other parents. The Sunday Class activities include Bible study, music, games, and crafts. These activities are designed to help parents understand the Bible and to apply its teachings to their daily lives. In addition, the Sunday Class activities provide an opportunity for parents to connect with other parents and to build a supportive community. The Sunday Class activities are led by well-trained teachers who are passionate about sharing their faith. These teachers are committed to helping parents and their children grow in their faith. The Sunday Class activities are a wonderful way for parents to become involved in the church and to make a positive impact on their children's lives.

17. Ester - YMW - IC17

Prayer - Always attend to miss announcements. Always get involved in helping to give glory to God through your attendance and involvement.

18. Lita - IC18

Women's fellowship can do something for the lord.

19. Jeyavathy - IC19

Join us in the prayer-line of our fellowships. Anytime, anywhere. We can do something to give glory to God. We can do something for our fellowships. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

19. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.

20. Jeyavathy - IC20

Women's fellowship to attend to the prayer-line. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship. Always be a part of the prayer-line. Always be a part of the fellowship.
22. Tiny - IC22, Amar - IC23, twin worship: 1½ hour service, morning, especially for twin church activities—encourage spiritual development. Children's lessons are often held from 0.30 to 1.00 pm on Sundays. Women's fellowship—1 hour 30 minutes' discussion on twin motherhood. Fellowship for twin mothers—regularly held—twin activities on the 1st Sunday of the month.

23. Amar - IC23, twin worship: 1½ hour service. Morning service (9.30 am) includes songs, Bible reading, and announcements. Worship leader (youth) encourages spiritual growth. Twin worship includes twin stories, twin songs, twin Bible study, and twin fellowship. After morning service, twins have a special session, twin Bible study, twin fellowship, and twin prayer meeting. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory. Twin worship is twin-centered, twin initiated, twin participatory.
Holidays-summer vacation. Girls are generally more careful young girls in preparing for examination. Girls are generally more careful in preparing for examination. The girl is studied and is a college student. On the other hand, the girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy. The girls are well and healthy.

26. Swarna – IC26, (a) Stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools. The stage 3 examination which was held in different schools.
27. Swarna - IC27, 

Swarna joined Sunday School at the age of six. Her teacher was Mr. John, who taught her the Bible and helped her understand the Christian faith. Swarna's parents were very proud of her and encouraged her to continue her studies. She studied in Primary school and later went on to study in Secondary school. Swarna's favorite subject was English and she excelled in her studies. She wanted to become a teacher and help other children learn and grow. She was a hardworking student and always tried her best in all subjects. Swarna's parents were very supportive and provided her with all the necessary support to achieve her goals.

28. Swarna - IC28, 

Swarna went to school in Primary, where she made many friends. She was a good student and always tried her best in all subjects. She was very interested in reading and would often be found with a book in her hand. Swarna's favorite book was the Bible and she loved reading it every day. She also enjoyed playing sports and was part of the school's track and field team. Swarna's parents were very proud of her and encouraged her to continue her studies. She went on to study in Secondary school and continued to excel in her studies. She was a hardworking student and always tried her best in all subjects. Swarna's parents were very supportive and provided her with all the necessary support to achieve her goals.
29. Swarna – IC29, சோனையான ஒலியுடைய மேற்குவர்கள் செய்திகளால். அதன் பின் எனில் சோனையான நாள்வர் செய்திகளைக் காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு. அதன் பின் போன்ற நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு, அதன் பின் ரீதியாக்கக் கூடிய தலைநிறுவன நாள்வர் செய்திகளை காட்சியிட்டு.

Prayer meeting-0

Drum fellowship Sunday


Aunty fellowship Sunday

Endeavour, Endeavour -0 Senior pass fellowship.

Women's fellowship -0 pass.
31. Swarna – IC31, அவர்கள் மக்களின் சபையில் நிறுவப்பட்டுள்ள நசராங்கத்தின் பந்தூசி. ম্যাক স্কুল பள்ளியில் நசராங்கத்தின் வழிபாடு வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. Sunday school-এச் செய்தல் கொண்டு கொண்டு என மேற்கொள்ளலாம். Sunday school-க்கு முன்னையில் அமாவாசா தீர்த்தம் செய்யப்படும். எனவெனவாக நசராங்கத்தின் மேற்கொள்ளலாம். Sunday school-க்கு முன்னையில் அமாவாசா தீர்த்தம் செய்யப்படும். எனவெனவாக நசராங்கத்தின்

Bible ஏன் பாடல், Portion-அல்லது ஆப்பிரிக்க வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். மெய்ப்பொருளாக செய்தல் வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். எனவெனவாக, புனித நசராங்க பள்ளியில் நசராங்க பள்ளியில் நடைப்படும். யாரும் செய்தல் வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். எனவெனவாக ஆப்பிரிக்க வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். அதாவது ஆப்பிரிக்க வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். எனவெனவாக ஆப்பிரிக்க வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும். எனவெனவாக ஆப்பிரிக்க வழிபாடு நசராங்கத்தில் நடைப்படும்.
So notice, a monthly committee meeting. Next Women’s fellowship meeting fasting prayer message - both adult | child ministry. Women’s fellowship meeting - the - to announce Women’s message - through family portion - the eld group. So notice, experience service - to announce Women’s message - through family portion - the eld group. So notice, experience service - to announce Women’s message - through family portion - the eld group.


33. Swarna – IC33, uncle - the uncle’s birthday. So experience service, uncle's birthday. So experience service, uncle's birthday. So experience service, uncle's birthday.

34. Melody – IC34, At present women are actively involved in church although.

36. Udhaya – IC36, a student at the College found the followingTableCells.

37. Mariam – IC37, a student at the College found the followingTableCells.
Section Two. Narratives about women’s roles in the church:

I. Preaching and Teaching (PT):

1. Amar – PT (Preaching and Teaching)1, வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன் அவள வாழ்க்கை காரணம் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன் அவள வாழ்க்கை காரணம் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். அவளது பெயர் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். 


3. Lita – PT3, பொய்க்கள் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள். ஆரம் போற்றியுள்ள பொய்க்கள் ரூபு வெளியில் குண்டுப்பட்டவுடன். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள். ஆரம் போற்றி ஏனையால் பெற்று அவள செய்க்கூறு எழுதிய பொய்க்கள்.
4. Saguna - PT4, who liberated me wants me to be the liberator. AMM. womenfolk preach AMR. I'm not against it... womenfolk preaching AMR.

5. Amar - PT5, who liberated me wants me to be the liberator. AMM. womenfolk preach AMR. I'm not against it... womenfolk preaching AMR.

6. Udha - PT6, womenfolk preach AMR. who liberated me wants me to be the liberator. AMM. womenfolk preach AMR. I'm not against it... womenfolk preaching AMR.

7. Lita - PT7, who liberated me wants me to be the liberator. AMM. womenfolk preach AMR. I'm not against it... womenfolk preaching AMR.

8. Lita - PT8, who liberated me wants me to be the liberator. AMM. womenfolk preach AMR. I'm not against it... womenfolk preaching AMR.
9. Amur – PT9, been told by various leaders to try and lead in church. Not a pastor. His name is Jack. As we know, a man may lead, but it is not always that he will lead in church. This is evident in the Bible. I believe in that more than ordination. I'm not against women preachers. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers. ... Very good preachers, they can be preachers (several voices).

10. Heera – PT10, Elizabeth Paul, she has that quality which makes has a good preacher. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers. ... Very good preachers, they can be preachers (several voices).


12. Melody – PT12, women, they also teach in church, ... Preaching, why not?

13. Mariam – PT13, always be ready to preach in church. ... Preaching, why not?


15. Ranjithamani – PT15, church that women lead in church. A woman pastored church. Church leaders encouraged the church to do church work. They encouraged the church to do church work. As we know, a man may lead, but it is not always that he will lead in church. This is evident in the Bible. I believe in that more than ordination. I'm not against women preachers. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers. ... Very good preachers, they can be preachers (several voices).

16. Gem – PT16, women lead in church. Women lead, men, men. Women, they also lead in church. As women, they also lead in church. This is evident in the Bible. As we know, a man may lead, but it is not always that he will lead in church. This is evident in the Bible. I believe in that more than ordination. I'm not against women preachers. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers. ... Very good preachers, they can be preachers (several voices).
II. Narratives about women in church administration (CA):

1. Bina – CA(Church Administration)1, suggests a need for women to participate in administrative roles. She feels the church needs to be more inclusive, asking if we should dominate all. Women, especially, should be encouraged to lead, guide and be involved in various aspects of church administration. Bina advises us to see women as leaders and consider them in our decision-making processes.

2. Amar – CA2, mentions that Richard Wurmbrand’s book, *Leadership* provides essential insights. He feels church leaders should be careful not to dominate. He emphasizes the importance of allowing women to lead and shows encourage them. Amar feels that secret police should not be involved in church administration. He believes that women are capable of leading and that they should be encouraged to do so.

3. Ester – CA3, suggests that women should be involved in church administrative committees. She feels that women have much to offer and that their participation is essential.

4. Flora – CA4, supports Amar’s suggestion, emphasizing the need for women to lead.

5. Melody – CA5, activities mostly women only heading it

6. Ranjithamani – CA6, suggests that women should be involved in decision-making processes. She feels that women should be encouraged to participate in administrative roles. She emphasizes the importance of creating an environment where women feel comfortable leading.

7. Jeyavathy – CA7, mentions that women should participate in church administration. She feels that women should be encouraged to participate and that their involvement is essential.

The narratives highlight the importance of involving women in church administration and leadership roles.
8. Mariam – CA8, church is Alcoholics Anonymous committee – to sober up. Church not only preachers but also doctors. Preachers are not doctors. Sober people not only preachers but also verbs.

9. Lovely – CA9, preaching is not being accepted by a human being. Inhuman feeling.

10. Bina – CA10, preaching is not being accepted by a human being. It is also sharing church activities- the congregation committee- to sober up. It is only for the welfare of the church. Not as a group.

11. Jayam – CA11, PC members who have been sobered are being accepted by the congregation. They are not responsible for the church's welfare. They are given responsibility to preach to the unsaved people. As a reverend, they are given power to preach to the unsaved people.

12. Saral – CA12, congregation is sobered. Church is not being accepted by the congregation. They are not responsible for the church's religious and physical knowledge. As an ordinary person, they conduct religious activities, ideas are given by the congregation. As a PC member, they contribute to the congregation feeling.

III. Narratives about women's ordination (O):

1. Amar – O (Ordination), means teaching preaching. It means teaching. ... 

2. Ranjithamani – O2, females have been preachers. They are not designated as a reverend. The congregation insist on sober people. At the same time, they are not given power to preach.
3. Sweety – O3, Aasm, pastor-ji, I’ve never heard of many women pastors, mostly because, St Paul has said it. But I don’t have any reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

4. Gem – O4, Women don’t have many apostles. We don’t have apostles at all. I think. Women don’t have many apostles. After all, the ordination service... Ordained pastors... I have my reservations. Won’t say they shouldn’t, but I’ve got my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

5. Heera – O5, Then about preaching I too agree with Sweety, I would prefer the women not to be preachers. Because it has more with a role of a woman. Role of a woman as a woman, you know. That is her role is, she is... She can’t even be the minister, she is... She can’t be a minister... She can’t be a minister... She can’t be... But when she becomes older she does it. She is not able to do when she is young housewife and all that so I think it has got something to do with the role of a woman, that’s all I think, so, I have my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

6. Flora – O6, You’re a very religious woman, but I’ve got my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

7. Saguna – O7, Aasm, I’ve never heard of many women pastors, mostly because, St Paul has said it. But I don’t have any reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

8. Bina – O8, You’re a very religious woman, but I’ve got my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

9. Udahaya – O9, Aasm, You’re a very religious woman, but I’ve got my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general, the woman.

10. Melody – O10, Woman pastors, I haven’t heard of much woman pastors... I don’t think, I don’t know... I don’t know, I don’t know my feelings are... Seen one ah, no, yeah... But, I think in the Bible there were a priestess... Or... We, I don’t know what my feelings are...
12. Ester - O12, நாயர் மிகப்பெருமை... பெருமையையும், ரேவானை கங்கை லிங்கும் நடயா அல்லாஹ்

13. Joy - O13, Why can't women pastors be, because even when Jesus was, like, Mary and Martha, like they were listening to God. But, one didn't listen. So, God actually, want everyone to know. Why can't the women pastor also be there. Many people in Bible women have preached. Because where men are the ones who brought out the Bible. We didn't know whether Bible has all the, all the chapters, so, may be the women's names were left out, or, m may be the people who wrote it wouldn't have found any importance to women. I find women can do it.

14. Swarna - O14, சுவர்நா, நன்மையாளர் பெருமையையும், நன்மை கங்கை மனிதர்களும், மனிதர்கள் நல்ல பல வேலைகள் செய்வதில்லை... பெருமையையும், செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமை செய்வதில்லை... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமையையும்... செய்வதில்லை... மனிதர்கள் பெருமை�
Section Three. Narratives about cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores.

I. Narratives about headcovering (HC):

1. Arunavathy – HC (Head Covering) 1, ஐருநாத் ஆத்மா ஆண்டவர் வேலூரில்

2. Melody – HC2, No, but, if he is writing, then it's meant for everyone. ... Because women covering. ... What I feel is what is there in the Bible is meant for everyone. It's not like since he wrote it to the Corinthian, it's meant only for them.


5. Bina – HC5, As you know, the woman's role in the church is subordinate. The woman is the one wearing the veil, while the man is the one speaking. This is because the veil represents her submission to the man. This is a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation.

6. Priya – HC6, About the women wearing a veil in church, I don't think, there is anything wrong in it, because the Bible says 'You have to do it'. So, I think, women are just basically following it. ... I find it a problem because the Bible says 'You should' and you are not doing it. But basically I don't know the significance of you covering .... Everyone. ... Yeah, it definitely does not show .... Yeah, because it's there in the Bible and if we see that someone isn't wearing it we think, doing something wrong. But, basically not to indicate that she was subordinate to the man. ... Something like that .... Yeah .... Basically why I'm saying it's wrong is basically it says in the Bible you should and you're not, that's why. They, if you ask me, really don't know what the significance is for covering the head.

7. Sweety – HC7, As you know, the woman's role in the church is subordinate. This is because the veil represents her submission to the man. At least the altar-people always wear a veil in church.

8. Mariam – HC8, As you know, the woman's role in the church is subordinate. This is because the veil represents her submission to the man. At least the altar-people always wear a veil in church.

9. Ester – HC9, As you know, the woman's role in the church is subordinate. This is because the veil represents her submission to the man. At least the altar-people always wear a veil in church.

10. Amar – HC10, As you know, the woman's role in the church is subordinate. This is because the veil represents her submission to the man. At least the altar-people always wear a veil in church.

11. Heera – HC11, Not covering the head or covering is not of greater importance but I think. Covering the head denotes reverence and a token of respect. Why don't you humble yourself? The question of
humility is there. Humble yourself and do it. And it's a question of modesty also. Modesty, because sometimes the hair can be distracting. And in the church. So, that's all. I'm not particular about that.

12. Saguna - HC12, தமிழகத் தீர்வுக்கு முன்னேறுங்கள் முழுவும் கலாச்சாரமால் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது, எனினும் தீர்வுக்கு முன்னேறுங்கள் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது, முழுவும் கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது, எனினும் தீர்வுக்கு முன்னேறுங்கள் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது, முழுவும் கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது, எனினும் தீர்வு கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது. முழுவும் கலாச்சாரத்தில் பராமரிக்கப்படும் நூற்றுக்கிருந்து பெரும்பாலும் வுள்ளியேந்தகைகள் நிகழ்கின்றன, எனினும் தீர்வு கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது. எனினும் தீர்வு கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது. எனினும் தீர்வு கலாச்சாரத்தில் உலகில் நிகழ்கின்றது. 

13. Udhaya - HC13, உத்தரத்தில் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் மூட்டு சென்று வெளியிட்டார். அவன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் மூட்டு சென்று வெளியிட்டார். அவன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் மூட்டு சென்று வெளியிட்டார். அவன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் மூட்டு சென்று வெளியிட்டார். அவன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பல்கலை 

14. Lovely - HC14, லோவி பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். கல்வி பெறுதல் பகுதியில் தினமும் நோக்கிய பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். கல்வி பெறுதல் பகுதியில் தினமும் நோக்கிய பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். கல்வி பெறுதல் பகுதியில் தினமும் நோக்கிய பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். கல்வி பெறுதல் பகுதியில் தினமும் நோக்கிய பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். கல்வி பெறுதல் பகுதியில் தினமும் நோக்கிய பதிவு செய்யும், கேள்வியும் பாதம். 

15. Jeyam - HC15, ஜேம் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். 

16. Flora - HC16, ஫்லோரா பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி பெறுதல் பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். என்பது பதிவு செய்யும். 

17. Ranjithamani - HC17, றங்கிடமணி - HC17, தமிழகத் தீர்வுக்கு முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் முன்னேறுங்கள் 

568
22. Bina – HC22, "thoudhithai'nuvumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumumun
II. Narratives about Husband as the Head (HH):

1. Ester – HH (Headship of Husband),

2. Bina – HH2, Of course women have leadership abilities. All women should accept the ... understanding, to decide the final decision.

3. Lovely – HH3, What is the decision-making process? Why husband alone has been told as the decision-maker, may not be the decision-maker; but the decision will be made with the help of the others. This is common sense. In fact, husband may play a role in decision-making. He may help his wife, be in implicit obedience to the decision. This is not what we have. So, this is actually the husband's decision.

4. Swarna – HH4, So the coordination of the family will be left to the husband. In fact, the coordination of the family is also an important role of the husband. So, the husband needs to be strong and support the wife.

5. Lila – HC28, Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to analyze the ... in the family.
So, the model is expected to be able to help users with strong support for various images. A few examples of images are:

1. Indian fingers in various positions: These images are used to train the model to recognize different finger positions.
2. Images showing hands in various positions: These images are used to train the model to recognize different hand positions.
3. Images showing fingers in various positions: These images are used to train the model to recognize different finger positions.
4. Images showing hands in various positions: These images are used to train the model to recognize different hand positions.
5. Images showing fingers in various positions: These images are used to train the model to recognize different finger positions.

The model is trained on a large dataset of images to improve its performance. The training process involves feeding the model with images and adjusting its parameters to minimize the error between the predicted and actual outcomes. The model is continuously updated and improved as more data becomes available.

5. Saral – HHS, இது அனுப்பியது மதிப்பநிலை பெறுகின்ற Indian அளவுகளையும் வணங்கும் முக்கியத்துவம் பெறுகின்றது. மாறாக இல்லாத வரையறுக்கப் பயனியும் முக்கியத்துவம் பெறுகின்றது. இது கீழ் வரும் நிலை மற்றொரு விதமாக விளக்கின்றது.

7. Tiny - HH7, போல்வாங்க... (chuckles) என்னை வைகளாம் காண்பவற்றுள்ளன, பெருந்தம் இரை போஸ் என்னை வைகளாம் காண்பவற்றுள்ளன, சூட்டு பெருத்தியும் வாழ்க்கை, வெளியில் வாழ்கையும், தேவையை இருந்து தேவையை கொண்டு செல்வார். என்னை வைகளாம் காண்பவற்றுள்ளன, சூட்டு பெருத்தியும் வாழ்கை, வெளியில் வாழ்கையும், தேவையை இருந்து தேவையை கொண்டு செல்வார்.


17. Melody – HH17, It's not servant-like. But the husband has authority over the wife. ... Authority in the sense, like, both of them, final word is for the husband. ... The wife, but, I think it depends, on what what the issue is. And what is there in the Bible is just now I saw `wives submit yourselves unto your own husband as unto the Lord', So, when it is, .... It means unto the Lord. It's definitely for a good purpose. ... Yes. ... ‘Yeah one to another in the fear of God’. ... Yeah.... Yeah. There should be total union among the man and the woman. ... Yeah, yeah.... Okay


My Lord my Lord' "
APPENDIX 12

Narratives for social discourse:

Section One. Narratives about girl child (GC):

1. Udhay - GC (Girl Child) 1, அவளவுடன் வீட்டுக்குச் சென்றுபோற்றவுள்ளே. Girl child –co with precious (laughs) . . . . .

2. Bina – GC 2, அவளை தம்பிய ஒருவன்... மாணவர்கள் மேல்படுத்துவதே, அவள் ஆண் மாணவர்களது கண்டெடுக்கவும் வருவதுடன் நேரடையும். Сt. definite-ஆம், accept மேற்குக் கிளப்பே. மாணவர்கள் வாய்ப்பே மாணவர்களுடன், சிறிய மாணவர் தரவுக்கு விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளக்கத் தொடர்பு, என்னுடன் புகழ் விளக்கத் தொடர்பு. (chuckles) முழுமையாக வந்திருந்து, அவள் ஆண் மாணவர் வசதியைப் பெறுத்து வந்திருந்து. அவளைக் கென்கிய வெளிப்படையில் உள்ளதுவை தருத்து வந்திருந்து. நண்பர் ஜான் கே. அவள் மாணவர் வசதியைப் பெறுத்து வந்திருந்து. நிறைந்து கூட்டுத் திட்டன்று ஒரு குற்றம் வந்திருந்து. நிறைந்து கூட்டுத் திட்டன்று ஒரு குற்றம் வந்திருந்து. அவளைக் கென்கிய வெளிப்படையில் உள்ளதுவை தருத்து வந்திருந்து. சிறிய மாணவர் தரவுக்கு விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும். இந்த இருப்பிடம் உண்மையான விளங்கும் கூட்டம் தரப்படும்.
she was very, even in my absence she didn't want to leave the house. 'You really should have been more patient.'

'She's a very independent woman.'

Bennet kept her in mind, but he knew she was too strong. So he had to give her the space she needed. He encouraged her to do what she thought was right, even if it meant going against him.

I tried other sources, but I couldn't find anything useful. I thought of everything 'You just be here, keep her company, serve her. You're the one she will remember.'

The other relatives came to see her, but none of them were close enough. Eventually, she passed away in her sleep.

God had heard her prayers and took her gently. She died peacefully, surrounded by her loved ones. She left a void in everyone's hearts, but her memory lived on. We will always love and miss her.
5. Jeyam - GC5. பிள்ளைகள் உள்ளும் வாழ்க்கை வகையைக் குறிக்கிறது. குழந்தைகள் வாழ்க்கையைக் குறிக்கிறது. ஆய்வுக்கு வாழ்க்கையைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள், மேலும் குழந்தைகளைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள். ஆய்வுள்ள வாழ்க்கையைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள், மேலும் குழந்தைகளைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள். ஆய்வுப் பாலன் பல்லூடுகளின் வாழ்க்கையை கூறும் பாலன்கள் ஆய்வுக்கு பல்லூடுகளின் வாழ்க்கையை கூறும் பாலன்கள். ஆய்வுக்கு பல்லூடுகளின் வாழ்க்கையை கூறும் பாலன்கள், மேலும் குழந்தைகளைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள். ஆய்வுக்கு பல்லூடுகளின் வாழ்க்கையை கூறும் பாலன்கள், மேலும் குழந்தைகளைக் குறிக்கும் பாலன்கள்.

6. Tiny - GC6, Female child எனது மீது சிவப்பு உணர்வுள்ளிருக்கிறது. அது girls-தொழிலை மாற்றாம், boys-தொழிலை மாற்றப்படுகிறது. என்ன மீது உணர்வுள்ளிருக்கிறது, அது வாழ்க்கையை மாற்றப்படுகிறது. So, என்ன மீது உணர்வுள்ளிருக்கிறது, என்ன வாழ்க்கையை மாற்றப்படுகிறது.

8. Mariam – GC8, Female, 23 years old. She is a student at the University of Dhaka. She studies in the Faculty of Science. Her hobbies include reading, painting, and playing the guitar. She likes to travel and explore new places. She dreams of becoming a doctor.

9. Amar – GC9, Male, 22 years old. He is a computer science student at the University of Dhaka. His hobbies include playing video games, watching movies, and playing basketball. He dreams of working in a tech company.

10. Gem – GC10, Female, 21 years old. She is a business administration student at the University of Dhaka. Her hobbies include shopping, reading, and watching TV. She dreams of owning a business.

Section Two. Narratives about childlessness (CL):

1. Ester - CL(Childlessness)1, Female, 23 years old. She was in a relationship with her ex-boyfriend for 2 years. She because of her career, she did not want to have a child. She feels that it is not a thing. It's not a sin. Sin = 0 t

2. Udhaaya - CL2, Male, 24 years old. He is a student at the University of Dhaka. He dreams of becoming a successful entrepreneur. He feels that childlessness is not a problem. He feels that it is a choice.

3. Bina - CL3, Female, 25 years old. She is a student at the University of Dhaka. She dreams of becoming a professor. She feels that childlessness is not a problem. She feels that it is a choice.
4. Mariam – CL4, childlessness

5. Saral – CL5, childlessness

6. Jeyam – CL6, childlessness

7. Tiny – CL7, childlessness

8. Flora – CL8, childlessness

9. Lovely – CL9, childlessness
church—of the normal—church as a whole family prayers—as a way to pray individually to Jehovah in a definite—fn a way according to your own feeling. God might have different plans for every person. So, our prayers as a family are not as a family but as individuals in our own situation.

10. Swarn—CL10, prayer in the congregation, prayer in the congregation as a whole, to pray as a family, as a way to pray individually to Jehovah in a definite—fn a way according to your own feeling. God might have different plans for every person. So, our prayers as a family are not as a family but as individuals in our own situation.

11. Jayathavy—CL11, to pray as a whole, to pray as a whole family, as a way to pray individually to Jehovah in a definite—fn a way according to your own feeling. God might have different plans for every person. So, our prayers as a family are not as a family but as individuals in our own situation.

12. Tiny—CL12, to pray as a whole, to pray as a whole family, as a way to pray individually to Jehovah in a definite—fn a way according to your own feeling. God might have different plans for every person. So, our prayers as a family are not as a family but as individuals in our own situation.
Section Three. Narratives about dowry (D):

1. Amar – D(Dowry),Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June 1931), pp. 1-15. Amar states that incident occurred in a family where the daughter was considered a burden to the parents. She was considered to be a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Amar argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Amar believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Amar also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Amar believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.

2. Bina – D2, Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June 1931), pp. 1-15. Bina states that in her family, the daughter was considered a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Bina argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Bina believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Bina also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Bina believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.

3. Amar – D3, Christians and dowry Non-christians are both dowry. Christians – do not marry non-Christians. Christians, non-Christians are both dowry. Amar states that in his family, the daughter was considered a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Amar argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Amar believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Amar also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Amar believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.

4. Ester – D4, Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June 1931), pp. 1-15. Ester states that in her family, the daughter was considered a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Ester argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Ester believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Ester also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Ester believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.

5. Jeaywathy – D5, Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June 1931), pp. 1-15. Jeaywathy states that in her family, the daughter was considered a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Jeaywathy argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Jeaywathy believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Jeaywathy also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Jeaywathy believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.

6. Jeyam – D6, Dowry education in the Tamil society. Jeyam states that in her family, the daughter was considered a burden because she was expected to marry a non-Christian. The parents were worried that she would bring them extra burden. Jeyam argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt this attitude towards their daughter. Jeyam believes that the burden on the family should be reduced through education. The parents should be educated about the benefits of education for their daughter. Jeyam also argues that the parents should not be allowed to adopt the attitude of dowry because it is a burden on the family. Jeyam believes that the parents should be encouraged to adopt a different attitude towards their daughter.
7. Saral – D7, dowry it's a very, very, very unnecessary evil. It has to be removed. Who's to bell the cat of the country.

2. Bina – D8, dowry is a very, very, very unnecessary evil. It has to be removed. Who's to bell the cat of the country.

8. Swarna – D9, பொம்பை உடன் செல்ல வேண்டும். பொம்பை உடன் செல்ல வேண்டும். பொம்பை உடன் செல்ல வேண்டும். பொம்பை உடன் செல்ல வேண்டும். பொம்பை உடன் செல்ல வேண்டும்.
dowry custom is prevalent. A girl bindi is a traditional part of dowry customs. As a girl, she is considered a property by her family and the husband's family. Dowry is considered a form of compensation for the daughter-in-law's worth. Dowry is a cultural practice that has been in existence for a long time. It is a practice that involves the exchange of gifts, money, and other valuable items between the bride and groom's families. Dowry is a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is considered a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

10. Lovely - D10, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

11. Mariam - D11, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

12. Udhaya - D12, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

13. Flora - D13, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

14. Tiny - D14, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.

15. Gem - D15, Dowry (laughs) ... but (laughs) ... I think there is a change, but (laughs) ... I think there are definite disadvantages. Dowry is considered a form of marriage contract that is still prevalent in many parts of the world. Dowry is a symbol of respect and honor for the bride and groom. Dowry is a tradition that is deeply rooted in Indian culture. Dowry is a practice that is upheld by the law.
16. Saguna – D16, Dowry உரையுடனுள்ள குறைமுறையில் அதனை உட்பட்டது ஓர் விளையாட்டு ஆத்தெழுத்து. அவர் விளையாட்டினை நூறு பரிசார்களின் ஆக்கம் தருமால் குறைமுறையில் அவர் குறைமுறை பெற்ற நம்பிக்கைகளுக்கு உட்பட்டது விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம். அதனை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம் சாத்கு குறைமுறை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம்.

17. Jeyavathy – D17, Dowry உரையுடனுள்ள குறைமுறையில் அதனை உட்பட்டது ஓர் விளையாட்டு ஆத்தெழுத்து. அதனை உட்பட்டது விளையாட்டினை நூறு பரிசார்களின் ஆக்கம் தருமால் குறைமுறையில் அவர் குறைமுறை பெற்ற நம்பிக்கைகளுக்கு உட்பட்டது விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம். அதனை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம் சாத்கு குறைமுறை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம். அவர் நம்பிக்கை பெறுவதற்கான விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம். அதனை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம் சாத்கு குறைமுறை உட்பட்ட விளையாட்டின் மதிப்பில் குறைப்பாக்கலாம். 


Section four. Narratives about Widowhood (W):

1. Udhaya – (Widowhood), சிற்று வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அக்கடை வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல். அரசர் வெவ்வேர் பெண் வேலாவல் காண்டல்.
restrictions, help widowed. Any widower people—both u, & Christianity—also need speciality. Definitely, any religion need doctors people—and also need help. Some need only mind help. Some need doctor. It's not a stigma at all. Christian or not handicapped at all. Grateful, many widowed help. Anyone willing to help widowed. Would be grateful. (laughs)
6. Mariam - W6, a friend, of Christianity born. She was a Christian and lived in the orthodox family. She is married to the husband and has two children. She is living in a complete administration section of the church. She is a widow and has a lot of respect from the church members. Due to the stress of the orthodox family, she is feeling very lonely.

7. Lovely - W7, Widow lived in the Bible-styled family. She is married to the husband and has children. She is the complete administration section of the church. She is a widow and has a lot of respect from the church members. She is feeling very lonely.

8. Swarna - W8, an orthodox family lived in the church. She is married to the husband and has children. She is the complete administration section of the church. She is a widow and has a lot of respect from the church members. She is feeling very lonely.

9. Jeyavathy - W9, an Brahmin lady. ... 

10. Bina - W10, she is one of the family members. She is living in the church. She is married to the husband and has children. She is the complete administration section of the church. She is a widow and has a lot of respect from the church members. She is feeling very lonely.

11. Tiny - W11, she is one of the family members. She is living in the church. She is married to the husband and has children. She is the complete administration section of the church. She is a widow and has a lot of respect from the church members. She is feeling very lonely.
Section Five. Narratives about single status or singleness (S):

1. Ester - S(Singleness), 1. A man’s need to serve. A man’s heart is very strong. He who serves God can be like that for God serve. 

2. Flora - S2, Culture. A man’s heart is very strong. He who serves God can be like that for God serve.

3. Tiny - S3, Bina, spinsters - S3. A man’s heart is very strong. He who serves God can be like that for God serve. 


5. Udhaya - S5, Singleness and the mind set. A man’s need to serve. 

6. Bina - S6, Singleness. A man’s need to serve. He who serves God can be like that for God serve.
mind and if he has a cooperative husband or not in either way, in whichever way God uses you, you can be.
Section Six. Narratives about single parenthood (SP):

1. Jeyavathy – SP(Single Parenthood), father, mother, and older elder son and younger son are the same. Divorce case due to different kind of understanding. There is no help for divorcees. I feel being a divorcee is difficult.

2. Tiny – SP2, helping family. I have two children, a son and a daughter.

3. Bina – SP3, same problem. Father is different. He has to do different kind of things. There is no help for divorcees. The Church is doing a lot for divorcees.

4. Lovely – SP4, Single parent-SP1. Feeling is different. Society doesn’t understand. My husband and I didn’t adjust. I was feeling bad first. I am saying that is the first feeling. Again, very, very, we have to think it case by case.

5. Saral – SP5, Single parenthood. Emotional is different. I am saying immediate-SP2. He has different kind of adjustments to make. I feel I am doing different things. Our generation.

6. Jeyam – SP6, Single parent. Feeling is different. Society doesn’t understand. They are doing different things. I am doing different things. I am saying immediate-SP2. I am doing different things.

7. Swarna – SP7, mother. I am doing different things. Society doesn’t understand. They are doing different things. I am doing different things. I am saying immediate-SP2. I am doing different things.
Section Seven. Narratives about domestic violence (V):

1. Jeyavathy – V(Violence), 2005:
   "And what happened? As we started to be together, we had a different environment, a new relationship. When I was in a different place, I used to misuse me. I used to be hit, I used to be hit. My father, my mother, my brother, my sister, they all knew it."

Section Eight. Narratives about response to Sex Workers (SW):

1. Udhaya – SW(Sex Work), 2005:
   "My love was affected..."

2. Mariam – SW2, 2005:
   "Sexual prostitution..."
3. Bina – SW3, Prostitution (Re-visit): Some, some are forced into it. The government should help those who feel they are being forced. They have to be blamed, not the people who are being blamed. Some people feel the same. They are definitely to be blamed. There cannot be anything for them. They will feel good if they see something. We can... help some to help them. The cinema is immoral. People feel sympathetic towards them. There is a chance. They can feel good. They can feel better. Let us feel better. But some do not think so.
Women available -

So, girls want to be social service. We need social workers. We see girls keep on going without any punishment. They are doing prostitutions for money. No one will come to help them. But they should not be criminalised. We cannot forgive But innocent -

Women available -

Unless rape is involved, unless they give in, they can live without it. Even if she is tired, he won't go to bed. He knows that unless she is forced, unless they come, they can live without it. Some men are like that. They know they need a sexual partner definitely. Some properly give their wife's money. They know that unless they give in, they can live without it. If she is forced, men are forced. If she is forced, most of the girls are forced. They are forced.

Until rape, she is forced. We are not talking about rape. Talking about prostitution. So it doesn't come in. Men-fault -

Women available -

Unless rape is involved, unless they give in, they can live without it. Even if she is tired, he won't go to bed. He knows that unless she is forced, unless they come, they can live without it. Some men are like that. They know they need a sexual partner definitely. Some properly give their wife's money. They know that unless they give in, they can live without it. If she is forced, men are forced. If she is forced, most of the girls are forced. They are forced.

Until rape, she is forced. We are not talking about rape. Talking about prostitution. So it doesn't come in. Men-fault -

Women available -

Women available -

Women available -

Women available -

Women available -

Women available -
12. Ranjithamani – SW12, men’s role in women’s issues, women’s role in men’s issues. The men they use it, that also. They can’t do it without them. But they can blame the women to say that they are the only one. He is to be blamed. – the men’s issues. Women’s role in men’s issues. Men's women’s... etc.

13. Saguna – SW13, men’s role in women’s issues. The men they use it, that also. They can blame the men to say that they are the only one. He is to be blamed. – the men’s issues. Men's women’s... etc.

14. Gem – SW14, men’s role in women’s issues. The men they use it, that also. They can blame the men to say that they are the only one. He is to be blamed. – the men’s issues. Men's women’s... etc.