## APPENDIX 1: OPEN CODES GENERATED FROM PRIMARY CODING OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Excerpt From the Transcript</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Code 1: Fear</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Divya</td>
<td>When I was in the second year of my undergrad one of my intimate friends explained this to me. She has described it in a <em>horrible</em> way. May be she has been informed in that way. Or else, she might have exaggerated it. That I don’t know. But she gave a scary description in which these objects called men (<em>annungal ennu parayunn saadhanangal</em>) will come as scary objects (<em>bheekara vasthukkal</em>) and will part the leg like this (enacting a violent gesture of parting legs) and will do it. (Giggling) So when this was combined with that, I had a strong this thing for that (<em>athanotu bhayankara ithaayirunnu</em>). I was so scared. [B]ecause I have heard such <em>horrible experiences</em>. That is the main reason behind their marital discard. What to say[x]worst stuff like burning with cigarettes. Things that shouldn’t happen in our life. [pause 3 seconds]Coercing to do stuff, which we don’t like. You know this <em>oral sex</em> n all. We have been listening to this at an age where we cannot even understand and analyze such things. If I have been listening to it in a later stage, in a more matured state, I could have handled it.</td>
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<td>Latha</td>
<td>I was scared because of the prior knowledge that it is going to be painful. I told you know I got it from the teachers at the tuitions centre. But I think that knowledge shouldn’t be there. I mean people shouldn’t scare us saying it is painful. I was so scared. In fact you know, the pain was bearable. It was not as big as I have expected. I was scared thinking it will be intense pain. I think he was scared too. There were some gestures from him which made me think so. He was gasping. His hands [x] His hands [x] There was something in the way he touched me. He was also in experienced I felt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beena</td>
<td>We overcome fear once we pass the experience. Once we know ‘oh this is it’</td>
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there is no fear. Fear is till that point. We think, here comes pain, here comes pain. There was no other emotion for me. I was waiting for the painful moment.

I was not tensed. Primarily because he is younger than me by one year. And secondly it was he who said he loves me. So I was not tensed. But I was anxious about this. How this will happen. What it is actually. In Malayalam films you won’t get to see everything... I mean...won’t show everything. [W]ont show till the end. And to tell you the truth I had no previous experience. So my main concern when a guy lye next to me[x] ‘ayyo I know this guy only for a day or two. Whether he will kill me poking on my neck when I am asleep. I had such intense anxieties. It is not anything specific about my husband. I used to think about every woman. “God! How dare! How these women could have dared to sleep on their first nights. We don’t know this guy. What if the guy has married us to cheat us? Who can sleep thinking all this? I haven’t slept on my first night.

I was scared. He was working in Gulf [Middle East]. So it was such a marriage. It was a quick marriage. He came to see me when there was only less than a month left in his leave. So we rushed into marriage. He came to see me on 1s\textsuperscript{st}. 10\textsuperscript{th} is the wedding. He had to leave in 15 days. Usually people call after engagement. These days everyone call after engagement. It’s been 7 years after our marriage. But in my case there were no such phone calls. It was like the old time. He didn’t call. So naturally I was scared. We don’t know what type of a person he is. I haven’t even seen him properly. It was like in old times. So I was generally scared. I was scared about first night too. I don’t know him. I don’t know the future.

He was a stranger. A total stranger. And we are spending a night in a room with that stranger. There is nothing there than that we are now married. And we are married on that day. We don’t know the person before. He is a
Kavya

stranger. I was scared.

I don’t think I was scared of the act. I think I was scared of strangeness. Who is this guy? A stranger after all. I was like a wooden doll. I lied there like a wooden doll. I lied there because I had no other options.

I had the knowledge. I have heard from other people. From my married classmates. Not just first night. But the nights after that too. So I was scared. My masters are in zoology. So I know what it is theoretically. But that is not it is. It is different. You don’t know it practically. I knew it from friends’ stories. I have heard it. Bits and pieces. But I didn’t know.

Leena

I was not sacred. In fact I haven’t thought about first night. I haven’t fantasized the moment[x] the moment he touches me. The milk. The moment where the light goes off. The flowers. Nothing of these was in mind before marriage.

I haven’t reached such mood. On the contrary I am sitting on the top octave of fear. I have tried to tell myself. This is my husband. This is not someone else. I am with him. But it turned out to be not helpful.

Maya

I was scared. Damn Scared (Outskate peti aayirunnu) (giggling). I told you the girl [x] the girl from the typewriting institute. I used to think about her. What a shame it is. How she could have walked through the streets, next morning. I was scared whether I will do the same out of fear.

Divya

It is like a dream. A long cherished fantasy[x]. Till that moment, you have only fantasized. When a relation starts [x].
In that night we are singular. Then from the next night onwards we are plural. Once there is that bond, it’s no longer I. It’s we.

There is nothing sweet to remember. All my memories on it amount to foolishness (*pottatharam*). I am anxious type. So that night my worry was over the food that was kept under our bed. There was leftover food from the wedding reception. So it was kept in our room. There was no space in any other rooms. So it was everywhere in the room. Under the bed. So I was worried whether ant will attack those food items. I told you know it is foolish when we recount.

When I have started wearing sari, I used to experiment with my mom’s sari’s. And I have noticed that my mom never wear her manthrakodi¹ sari. It’s a beautiful sari – orange colour sari with golden border. So I have asked her “why don’t you wear it” can I try it? Then she told me “You are not supposed to wear it. Its manthrakodi. You will get one when you marry.” So one day I took this sari. I closed the doors of my small room. That day they have cut one coconut tree. So there was plenty of [x] what you call them? *Pookkula* (flower bunches of coconut) Yes *Pookula*. I took that also. I put these flowers on the bed. And I wore this sari. I stood in front of the mirror. I remember doing all these on that day. Then my Mom came and asked me looking at the bed “What are you doing? You messed up this space. Clean it up.” She took it that way. She didn’t consider it as a crime. She asked me to clean up that space. “Remove it now itself. Once it gets dried up, it will be difficult to remove it.” That’s what she said. She took it as a childish game. She didn’t say anything about the sari. My mom too was a child in that sense. She never took anything seriously. Or she was brought up like a boy. So she never paid attention to these things. She never thought it’s my *sexual feelings* which are making me do all these.
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Ramya</td>
<td>I thought there will be milk. I have seen that in movies so I thought I will enter the nuptial chamber with milk and all. But there wasn’t milk or anything. It was the final day of the temple festival there. So everyone went there. And there was no milk. The first thing that comes to our mind when our marriage is fixed is first night. Even if we don’t know what or who, we wanted to know. There is a desire to know. We should experience it to know what it is. I think men have another perception of first night. They are generally excited. It’s big deal. My husband later told me that his friends gave him a whole body massage on the day before wedding, as if he is going for some physically gruelling task.</td>
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<td>Kavya</td>
<td>I haven’t done anything because I did not want to give him the impression that I am eager for it. I don’t know how a man takes it. Even if it is after marriage, they might think “oh she has the exposure”, or “she has the prior experience”. I was anxious because I had a feeling that men judge your character on these things. So I haven’t co-operated with him.</td>
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<td>Mini</td>
<td>When I woke up in the next morning I felt Oh God I slept with a guy [laughing] Night I was tired. We just slept. When I woke up in the morning, 4 O’clock I felt “what did I do now? I slept with a guy. What did we do? It was like a dream come true. I mean it was like I was still in the dream when I woke up. Next day we went in a car. It was an ambassador car. His uncle and aunt were in the back seat. The driver, ettan and I were in the front seat. Then also I thought, is this real? Is it a dream? I couldn’t believe him sitting next to me. For the next two more days I was in the pangs of ecstasy. I think I was like intoxicated. It started two days before my wedding. I was so excited of marriage [excited] of everything related to marriage</td>
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Maya

I was so excited at the possibility that I will be getting him next to me. I haven’t seen him before marriage. I have only seen his photo. But I had a belief that he is sent to me by God.

I still remember the small flower vase on the table. There was a red flower in it. He said he put the flower in it. So I thought he also shares my excitement over the night.

Now girls talk about all these. There is some excitement. During my time, there was no excitement. We women don’t even get to see the guy. Now with the films and all people know first night is important. So naturally girls expect. In our time there was nothing.

Latha

I have heard this story of a girl when I went to learn typewriting. The girl has tried to escape from the bedroom on first night. She was so scared. Everyone came to know that. That story always comes to my mind when I think of marriage.

When he approaches me I will move towards the door. I have told him that I will open the door and will run away. He was so scared. Now I feel shy thinking all this. I have once opened the lock of the door. But then he grabbed me from back. Grabbed me forcefully. But he was pleading. “Please I cannot look at other people’s face if you do some such foolishness.” I was so scared. I wanted to run away.

Bindhu

There is this girl, in our nearby village, who have tried to escape from nuptial chamber on first night. We have heard these stories. Her marriage
ended up in divorce.

Given a chance I could have run away.

And what if we run away after marriage? What will be the situation then? What will be in our future (Bhaaviyil enthaakum)

To run away means [pause] not to.

I have heard horrible stories. I have heard bride’s trying to escape the nuptial chamber.

My friend told this. We are so close to say these things. That night she didn’t feel sleepy. She went to the balcony. Stood there. She felt sad. She told me this. She has started crying. An unknown sadness (ariyaatha oru sankatam). Then she said her husband[ ] he is our friend. He came and told her “See I haven’t done anything” [Laughing] He thought she is crying because of him. But she was just crying.

My mother -in law says, people used to marry for `this during that time. Her marriage was a coercive one. She has been chased by my father in law. She has tried to avoid him many times. But my father in law was so adamant. He went her house with the proposal, many times. Thus their marriage happened. During that time, on the first day itself, on the first night itself, they will finish everything. They will come out after finishing everything. I thought about it. If I was there I won’t be able to accept it. Not only on that day, on that birth itself I will hate that person. Their relationship isn’t that good. It might be because of this.

Same with my sister-in -law. I know it from what my mom-in-law said. She came to her house on the fourth day of marriage as usual. So my mom-in -
Ramya law asked “How is it? How’s your life there?” “Crippled. Corpse” (Pandaarakkalan. Savam) [enacting anger] this was her response. (Laughing). It was an arranged marriage like this. She didn’t say anything particular. But you know, everything is hidden in that. She was expressing her anger that he did it on the first night itself. “Corpse. A being which hasn’t seen a being yet. (manushyare kandittillatha manushayan). She left the scene saying all these.

I have asked to married friends. I was curious. I used to ask to even cousins at an early age. It’s not that they will give you an answer. But you keep on asking. But friends will tell you. They did this. They did that. It was painful. Friends will tell all these things.

When I did PG, there was a girl in our batch. She married a soldier. His marriage was while she was doing her PG. One of my friends was her friend. She came on the 5th or 6th day of marriage. When she came her lips were bruised. She is very fair and she has pink lips. And her lips were severely bruised. So we were all like “hmmm we know what happened”. She came and talked to my friend and left. We were making lewd comments while they were talking. When she left our friend told us that she complains of her husband as a bad guy as he tried to kiss her on first night. She was so ignorant my friend says. I don’t know whether people can be this ignorant. May be one in hundred will be this ignorant. My friend told her it is all part of the sexual act. She was not convinced. Can you believe? She is of my batch. Can you believe people are still ignorant about these things. I think our pre-marital course is helpful to avoid these mistakes. You might have heard of people losing their mind after this. There was a woman in our neighbourhood too. She went crazy immediately after marriage and we used to say she got sacred watching the male body. [Pre-Canon]Course helps to alleviate such doubts.
I have heard the story of the fifteen year old girl in Malappuram. She tried to escape from bedroom and tried to jump from the first floor on the first night. She broke her leg.

**Code 4“He wanted to see”/ “He wanted to Do”**

**Bindhu**

Eyes were watery. Can’t see. It’s dark. Somehow fell into sleep bathed in tears. I cried. Couldn’t see.

We don’t know what it is. And the fatigue. And the darkness. The relief was that can’t see [they] see us. We don’t know what is being done. But can’t see. Can’t see each other. So no problem. [laughter]

See, here we won’t put the light. That practice is not here. In his house there is his father and mother. We don’t have freedom.

**Leena**

When I said no, he said yes. He wanted it. He too was nervous. He wanted it. He was taking it as a night given to us. He was trying to make me believe that. But I couldn’t.

I won’t blame him. He is innocent. That is he. I think he was curious. He wanted to see ‘what is a woman’. I think, at this point men are so meek.

**Vasudha**

I don’t remember how I was undressed. Whether I was sitting or I was lying. I don’t remember at all. I haven’t felt anything. Because what comes next is the moment of fear. But after that he asked to me to get milk which was on the table. He said “We haven’t drink milk. Get the milk” This is one moment where I am really sad. I asked May I wear sari? Without wearing sari[x] Walking nude in front of a guy. That is one of the greatest insult I felt. But he said please please if you love me do this for me. He wanted to see me fully. It is unlike watching me sitting in front of him. Even now when I think
it was not a pleasant experience. We enjoy shyness. Even when we say “ayyo I am shy” we enjoy shyness if we are sure that the other person is enjoying our body. But this walk[...]

You know, he is a gulf guy. So he was in a hurry. So he asked me to remove the dress. I said I won’t. It is not even shyness. I don’t know the guy. I haven’t even talked to him. Not even on phone. He compelled. He said please and all. Now he says that I was trying to be headstrong. It was not that. I was scared. Not only that. We can’t don’t it when a stranger tells us to do it. But he made me remove my upper cloth. He hugged me. And we slept like that. No we didn’t sleep. But we were lying like that I think. I don’t remember. Anyway I haven’t slept. I was too scared to sleep. I haven’t even returned a kiss. I haven’t made any expressions of love. He wanted to go further. But I didn’t allow.

I don’t remember. He wanted the light on. I was too shy. I had no idea how to request him to switch it off. I don’t remember how exactly I have requested him to do so. I think I closed my eyes with my hands and sat there like that. And I think he switched it off seeing me the way I was sitting. I don’t remember exactly.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Code 5 “He waited till I am ready”/ “He heard my No”</th>
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<td>Vasudha</td>
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(karuna) towards me. So when I said “ayyo it’s painful” he said. O.k. Then leave it. If I try again you will feel aversion towards sex” he said this exact word. Aversion. But the message I got was he is very kind

Divya

As I told you I was so scared. I wanted to push it further. push it push it as much I can. He had never forced me. Lemme come on my own. Let it happen only after that. That was his position. So what I had expected [x]. I was scared. What I have expected [x]. How it would be? Whether I will be able to argue with him? Whether we can put forward such things as our conditions. I had some such fears. But he didn’t force me. He won’t compel even now.

Ramya

I have heard that men won’t look for your preference. They will do as they like on this night. So I was scared. But he didn’t push me to that extend. He was ready to listen to my reluctance. So it was not that bad as I have expected. Also, even though he is not very talkative, he is very soft spoken. Whatever little he said on that night was sweet. Also he listened to me when I said no. So it is not a scary night when I try to recollect it.

Latha

That night we haven’t gone further. And I was relieved that he didn’t force me for anything. I was expecting the opposite as he is a gulf guy. I have heard that gul guy’s are usually impatient. And I still count it. He was soft on that night.

Code 6 “Talk to Me”

Bindhu

I am telling, if talked I won’t be pressurized. I won’t be tensed. Came to the house after wedding ceremony. House was crowded. Naturally we[x]. Now girls will go and talk. We are not like that. Not talked at all.

I am telling, if talked I won’t be pressurized. I won’t be tensed.
He talked from second day onwards. He told everything. Told household matters. Told matters on father and mother. And thus our fear went away. We were afraid. We can’t say anything to him. Listening to whatever he says[x] Now I ask .Now you are talking to me. If you were talking to at the time of our wedding “it” (ithu) won’t be there. I ask. If you were talking at the time of our wedding[x].

Now the girls discuss everything in hostels. They see everything. Those days we won’t talk. We girls then don’t talk.

And finally he tried to talk. But by that time I was scared. I was dead scared. Then stopped reaching nowhere. Think we slept in exhaustion.

I was not ready mentally. I think, if he has started talking to me before this, if there was love between us, I could have[x] But there was nothing.

He doesn’t talk much. Then and now. He is an introvert. It’s very difficult to decipher what is inside his mind. I had this difficulty initially. Even now I have. He told me he is coming back from Dubai on the day before coming. He hasn’t told me that he is coming back forever. I wish he was more expressive. At least he could have talked to me. We don’t know anyone in the house. We are there because he put a garland on our neck. And he is not talking. That is very confusing.

He doesn’t talk much. That night we haven’t talked anything. I was disappointed. I thought he will ask me something.

We were only talking. We heard music. He made me sing. I always wanted sing for him. And it was what to say, a dream come true? (laughing). But I find it difficult sing in a low voice. But we did not
I don’t know why. I am so scared of pain. You know my ears where pierced when I was five. No. when I was in fifth standard. It was so painful. Ear piercing was postponed due to my fear of pain. I have the same mental state when it comes to this [first night].

I am generally fearful type. I don’t know why. I had a feeling that this is painful. Just think that I got this knowledge from somewhere. Do you remember I used to teach in the nearby tuition centre? Then we [x] Teachers there used to discuss all these things. It is more painful [x] It is there inside my mind. I am even scared of an injection. I was scared. I was on the verge of tears. When he approaches I would try to escape.

When he first did it, it was painful. It was painful there. You know the hymen [x] There was bleeding. I couldn’t urinate. That was on the fourth night.

Though there was nothing between us on that night, my body was aching as he has tried to grab me. My body was shaken (ulanju poyi). When I sat on the floor, he insisted on getting onto the coat. I was scared. He has tried to convince me a lot. Finally he got angry. I won’t blame him. Men are impatient. So he tried to pull me to the coat. And I resisted. And the next day my entire body was aching due to this push and pull (pițivali)

I find it difficult to walk. I could feel a slit being opened up there. It was difficult to urinate. I think no other woman has bleded as I did. My blood went beyond the bed sheet and soaked up the bed. It was like the bleeding of
Divya

menstrual period. I think my opening was so small. There was no cover to the bed. So blood oozed out of the sheet to the bed and stained it. Blood stain won’t go from bed. So we made a cover to the bed. Later when we shifted to the new house we have given that bed to a lady in our neighbourhood. I don’t know how they are using the bed. Even when I go there to give cloth for tailoring I think of the bed. That moment is the first thing that comes to my mind when I step into that house.

We don’t know. It is an unknown pain. We haven’t experienced that pain yet. These are the most sensitive areas of your body. So if there’s pain that’s some pain which we don’t know yet. How can I conceive it? I don’t care me breaking legs or hands. I am someone who has burnt my black moles myself. These things I could manage with my willpower. I don’t know then, how it is. What it is. So I was curious. So what in it is unbearable? One of my friends in Bangalore told me “gal if you are scared once, you will remain scared forever. Whenever you try for it, it will be painful for you. If you can withstand that pain once, the rest of the days will be o.k.” So I thought one day I will go through the pain and will live peacefully the other days.

Bindhu

To go to urinate[x] I won’t go to urinate. I am into crying. It needs getting up to go to urinate. I can’t get up. I can’t get up. I can’t stand up. Can I tell? Whom should I tell? See if I had a friend like you we can say “look I can’t get up”. We have no one then. We have nothing. We have no elder sisters.

Leena

Made me lye on arms. Positioning my head like this [enacting a position]. Did after that.

Haven’t talked anything.

He said nothing of this sort on first night. When I said no, he said yes. He wanted it. He too was nervous. He wanted it. He was taking it as a night given to us. He was trying to make me believe that. But I couldn’t. I think it
| Ramya | was failure because of my fault. I was not ready mentally. I think, if he has started talking to me before this, if there was love between us, I could have... But there was nothing. Entered suddenly to the room. A lodge room. Someone pushed a woman to a lodge room. I still can’t accept it. I tell him now; all my respect for you vanishes when I remember that night. If there was a bit patience... But a man cannot do that. When they get a woman’s body near... a body upon which they have right... they can’t be patient and wait. It was almost a half rape. It was that.

. See, somebody tries to say no. But no one listens. Somebody pushes away the hand. No. Tries to block. But can’t. That is it.

That night I told him no no no no several times. But he didn’t listen to me. I felt sad. Really sad. I felt rage towards this guy. That was the moment where I felt whether I have married a guy who doesn’t understand me?

Rape is not just someone pushing you to the ground and doing. Any touch that happens without our consent is rape. I tried my best to block. I said no. Even after my repeated attempts to block and “no” if somebody tries to touch me what is it? I have told him later. I have felt it that way.

It was painful. I didn’t know it was painful because of my lack of cooperation. I realized it when he came back after his leave. By that time we have started phone calls and letter writing. We found the company (njangal company aayi). It wasn’t really painful after that. |