CHAPTER - V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I

'Women' is not a mere biologically determined concept. This concept is socially, culturally and psychologically formed in addition to the biological characteristics of female human beings. The image of an ideal woman/womanhood is, thus, shaped by the four bases of a society jointly. At large, we can say, like other ideal behaviours, the ideal behaviours of woman are culturally prescribed and are internalised through the process of socialization. These ideals are kept alive in the society by the mechanism of social control and the process of socialization.

In the Manipuri society, of the three sets of ideal work at the axis of women, the two, i.e., Imoinu-model and Panthoibi-model operate dialectically while the third model namely Khamnu-model operates intermediary. The Imoinu-model is one of idealism, shaped by the historically emerged dominant patriarchalism while the Panthoibi-model is the feminist tradition that continues even after the amalgamation of matrilineality in the larger patri-oriented social system. The dialectic relation of the two models are still yet to be
synthesized though it attains a structural and dynamic equilibrium in the society. The Khamnu-model is intermediary operating in which the women are expected to play both the expressive and the instrumental roles. The feminist personality that opposes the patriarcal female personality structure operates to bring out the women in the economic front so that the patriarchal and matrilineal characters are equally shared by the women in their out-door activities. The Panthoibi-model is, therefore, pulling the female individuals in projecting their personalities in the larger socio-economic system while the Imoinu-model pushing them in the patriarchal expressive in-door roles. This peculiarity: operation of the three sets of ideal, sometimes, causes confusion to the minds of students of Manipuri women. Manjusri Chaki-Sircar (1984), though she deals with Manipuri women's behaviours very minutely, fails to see these dialectically organised sets of ideal.

These ideals are protected by the living laws of the society. Living laws operating in the society differ from one ethnic group to another though we find a cultural dichotomous realm at the Meitei-tribal plane. This situation of operation of different living laws in the state gives raise to the problem of legal pluralism in which there is conflict
of laws between (a) statutory and customary laws, (b) different customary laws. Both the legal systems exert pressure on individual actions and act as a social control mechanism in the overall social system. There is, however, a compromising situation in the Meitei society in which the customary laws are kept neutral, to a large extent, to certain legal issues while enacted laws are not attracted to other issues. In tribal scene, the customary laws are playing upper hand in the living laws against the statutory authority over almost all the legal issues even today.

Crime, in this situation of legal pluralism, is a confusion to a student of deviant action. In such a state of affairs, each legal system defines crime in its own way with reference to its established system of ideal norms. It is safe to define, therefore, crime as a legally defined deviant social action/behaviour whose penalty is prescribed by the law itself. Here the term 'law' means the living law - not necessarily the customary law nor the enacted law.

To a student of social system, crime cannot be taken as a mere legal behaviour. In addition to the identification of criminal act/behaviour, the system analysis needs to identify the systemic strains that generate the criminal
acts/behaviours. This demands a close look at the social and cultural, personality systems in general and the internal and external inconsistencies in value and motivation systems in particular.

The criminal actions are socially controlled through various agencies of social control. Though there is systemic inconsistency that generates crime in the social system, the criminal actions are dealt with within the system; the society, present or past, always tries to control the crime-generating units or individual behaviours. In the present Manipuri society, the women are expected to act in one of the three ideal models - the Panthoibi-model where the feminine personality is highly projected in the social system, is not encouraged fully though it is not considered as deviant model. It is, however, seen that the norms, in historical dimension, are engineered to shape the patriarchalism. There are matrilineality elements in the functional and differentiated social system because the patriarchalism might not dominate fully the matriarchal heritage of some constituent ethnic groups of larger social system. Thus, the normative structure allows matriarchal elements to exist though the norms are primarily enforced at the axis of women to shape women's behaviours in terms of Imoinu-model.
The legal norms, i.e. living laws, in the Meitei historical kingdom were of three kinds viz., (a) decrees and royal declaration (b) customary laws (c) Leikai-level praxis law based on public opinion. These legal norms are not equally binding to all the sexes. The penology of Manipuri criminal jurisprudence does not give the same punishment to the same offence committed by different sexes. Female offenders are subjected to light penalty for an offence which may impose rigorous penalty for the same if committed by a male. The sex-differentiation of penalty does not, however, mean that the women are immune to the penalties. Their exemption from the severe corporal punishment is because of their inferior position in the society that needs protection of their husbands or fathers as is so provided in the Imoinu-model. So, the highest form of punishment to the female is Khun’goinaba (See p. 83).

The Imoinu-model of women’s behaviour, thus, protects them from severe corporal punishment and such a protection is a privilege to them on the basis of legal fiction that they are (a) weaker sex (b) having no independent personality (c) and their selves are subordinate to their husbands’/fathers’. The Pantoibibi-model has given no room for protection of the ordinary women; the culturally recognized groups
of woman such as Maibi (priestess) may act in deviant manner (from the ordinary stand-point) of which no penalty is prescribed. This feminine-power of the cultural specialists may be an indirect feedback of Panthoibi-model. But in the ordinary course of penal system, Panthoibi-model is not considered. The Khamnu-model, on the other hand, plays a subtle instrumental role giving an independent self of women; this fact leads to the penology a situation of giving penalty to women (because women have independent selves in the social system but the selves are restricted by the Imoinu-model, so the penalty is restricted to a few light forms).

In spite of the social control mechanism, the criminal acts are normally generated in the functioning social system. Many strains are developed in the functioning whole as observed on the inconsistency between the structural units because of the dynamism - internal and external - of the value, motive which are the conditioners of human action, and on the role fluctuation in the social system due to the social differentiation and role failure in the ego-alt exchange system. The value which directs the human action by defining desirable or undesirable state of affairs, changes along with the social process of modernization. The core value system faces dis-equilibrium in Manipuri society with the structural differen-
tiation. The newly emerged statuses, mainly achieved ones, exert pressure on the traditional core value system to change. It shifts from community effort to individual achievement. Individuals in both Meitei and Maram social settings are encouraged to achieve their own statuses. Side by side, the means-value is less weighted than the end-value. This leads to a conflict situation between traditionally ascribed status and newly emerged achieved status. The conflict at present is not fully observed as the new social statuses cannot form a powerful social force.

In the work-value sphere, government service is at the apex. Private establishment having regular income, business, contract, small-scale industries, auto-rickshaw drivers, taxi drivers etc. occupy their position in descending order depending upon the 'income' received with less manual labour. The more and more income out of less and less labour, the more is value of the work. This monetary dimension of the social value is linked with the value of the material comfort of life. Success in life is at present counted on in terms of comfort materials enjoyed by the individuals. This material basis of life manifest in various human actions, the need-component of which is extended largely to the secondary needs.
The patriarchalism in the family is seen threatened because of the nuclearization as well as of the emergence of working women. But familial activities and decisions are still controlled by the males and hence husbands' ambivalent attitude to wives' income is developed. This ambivalence is the manifestation of the frustration developed by the tension between the age-old male-chauvinism and the demands of the social system. However, it can be noted here that the dis-integrating value of patriarchalism is not fully replaced by the value of equality between the sexes.

The changing scene and crisis in value system directly and indirectly affects the motivational system in a cybernetic fashion. The individual achievement values encourage the large-scale increase in the number of working women in the society. This group of working women are engaged in various establishments from 9 A.M. to 4.30 P.M. This long absence from domestic affairs in day time affects a motivational equilibrium. The affectional needs in mother-child relation cannot be satisfied out of which arises a two-fold type of frustration (a) to the children because of deprivation of their mothers' care, (b) to the mothers because of their helplessness in the situations. This motivational crisis leads to various transformations in the society - the pro-
longed and loud crying of children accompanied with the breaking of feeding bottles, the quarrelsome acts of working women over petty matters etc., are some of the indicators.

The physical security of the individuals is threatened by the increasing value of pecuniary command. Every individual looks forwards to raising up their economic returns. This motivates him/her to earn more and more in order to attain higher position in the prestige structure. Those who have a little or no means at all are motivated to choose either (a) contractual works or (b) deviant path such as drug-trafficking, wine vendor, etc.

In the social network, out of various social expectations, sociality is a demanding need of an individual that directs his/her action. The actor has to fulfil many social demands – fashion, contribution, gift exchange – the failure of which causes a sense of valuelessness in the ego. Such individuals are, thus, ostracized in many social episodes. This ostracism is obvious in the more differentiated Meitei social system than in the less differentiated Maram social system. The deprivation of sociality in preference for the economic goals, is however, universal in the Manipuri society and it is observed as being dominated by the compulsive alie-
nated component in the total action system in both social systems under study. The component is expressed socially either (a) actively as in many cases of prostitutes through agents or (b) passively as in petty theft.

Though power-base ostracism is reported in many social instances, it is observed only at individual level. The power-crisis between traditional offices and newly emerged tribal middle class/elites or between sexes in the Meitei society do not pose any threat to the larger social system nor is a cause of compulsive alienation. We can safely conclude that the alienated individuals are conformatively dominated either (a) actively (compulsive performance orientation) or (b) passively (compulsive acquiescence in status-expectations) (following the directions of deviant orientation, Parsons, 1951, pp. 256-67).

The religico-philosophical motivational crisis due to the functioning of two religious systems is seen in both the Meitei and the Maram societies. However, the Meitei crisis between Hinduism and Meiteism is more or less resolved. The Meitei individuals, at present, cannot be controlled by the religious practices except in their crisis-periods. But, in the Maram religious faith,
a conflict is still seen between traditional animism and newly introduced christianity. This creates a push and pull situation among the members of the Maram society.

The son-value is more in the Meitei society than in the Maram society. The son, in the Meitei society, is taken as torch-bearer of a lineage. This value is the main cause of many divorce cases, and is woman's security in married life. A sonless woman is socially disapproved. It is the woman to be blamed of. A woman, therefore, likes to give birth to a son within two years of marriage. The motivational crisis of sonless mother is at high peak at the end of second year of her marriage. This crisis may transform into either (a) committing adultery (active) or (b) leading life of co-wife or divorcee (passive). Such 'sonless' motivational crisis is not seen in the Maram society.

Orientations of the value and the motivation are currently observed in dynamic diequilibrium because of which the individual actions are directed in different ways. In such a situation, the social expectation system between ego and alter cannot be controlled by the normative structure of the society. The various social control
agencies, sometimes, fail to hold the individuals in the social system conformatively. Rather the orientations generate the crime motive in order to cope with individual's secondary needs developed as a member of the society. The criminals can, hereby, looked into in their ego-alter relationship in larger social system to locate the dysfunctional structural units that generate their anti-social motives.

Prostitutes: Looking into the meaning and origin of the term, it is obvious that prostitutes emerged in the colonial period when the economy was more differentiated on the pressure of colonialism. The term Kasubi is a species of the genus Oktabi. The former is those actors acting extra-marital sexual services by selling their time to their clients in return of which they get cash or kind. The latter term includes any woman acting in contravence to marriage norms (it includes Kasubi too). However, prostitution as institution is not fully developed in the Manipuri society. On the basis of their operational network, there are two types of Kasubi in the society - (a) free Kasubi and (b) Kasubi through agents. Both types of Kasubi are professing the business in their part time, besides their primary business activities.
The instrumental role expectation on a Manipuri women in the Khamnu-model encourages those women whose husbands do not perform their expected roles. The non-performance of the husbands' role may be due to the physical disability of proper social means to the goal. The physical disability makes their husbands to evade from the social expectation system with 'sick-roles' while non-availability of proper means forces them to lead a life of compulsive independence. Their husbands' failure of performing expected roles exerts pressure on the Khamnu-model to cause push and pull of their motivation. The money-value and its related motivation affect their actions to gratify their need-disposition at the family level. This is one of the reasons why the age of entry to women's market as seller is seen decreased in last two decades.

The Khamnu-model in conformity with the Imono-model cannot provide the means to meet the needs - of which secondary needs are the prime motivating factor in the society. This situation of non-availability of proper means on the part of women acting in the Khamnu-model and their motivational fluctuation forces them to develop alienative dominance personality but expressed passively.

The negative means adopted by the kasubis to achieve their goals are just manifestation of their passive alie-
native component. This is because of this fact that free kasubis are observed as less economically stressed than the kasubis through agents. More instrumental roles are demanded on women of the latter type of kasubi. Here it can be further added that the social system. One woman cannot help but crossing the limit set by the model and thereby meet the challenges of the changing society out of compulsion, but with negative means since she has no access to the positive or socially acceptable means. We have seen, for instance, that the income of a kasubi is more than that of her pre-kasubi period; there is an obvious increase in her income after adopting this business of kasubi.

In the case of Mrs. Nirmala and Mrs. Ipemhal, it has been observed that their husbands could not (or do not) perform their instrumental roles in their respective families, so the economic burden of their families is solely laid upon their shoulders. They are expected to accept the burden. But, it has also be seen that the small scale earning with the positive commercial means cannot meet all the needs. So, beyond the socially agreed upon means, they start to look for other negative means in order to raise their income level. In this juncture of time, a motiva-
tional crisis is observed as being pulled by two forces. One leads them to compulsive - dominance and on the other hand, to the needs of the family so created by the husbands' 'sick-roles'. Their expected roles in the Khamnu-model compel them to choose alienative-dominance.

Their such adaptation to the crisis is neither active nor passive fully. They do not evade all the social norms nor withdraw themselves from all the social expectations. The Parsonian paradigm cannot place the Manipuri prostitutes therein because the latter do not like to disturb the larger ego-alter system as far as possible, though they adopt the anti-social means. They feel pain as they lose the alter but they console their loss with the money they earn. This is because of this fact that their relation to clients is ambivalent. The clients represent the source of money and simultaneously they are the threat to their 'normal' ego-alter system.

Sex-life of the kasubis in their pre-kasubi periods cannot be generalised because of the wide variations observed among them. However, some of common features are (a) they started masturbation as voluntary sexual outlet since their early adolescence; (b) their sexual knowledge was
acquired by observing and/or listening to sexual plays of adults as they lived in poor-partitioned congested rooms; (c) they had pre-marital sexual relations with one or more boy-friends which shaped their sex-motive and less sexual value; (d) though they were afraid of first love act, later they started liking it. So it is hard to conclude anything about kasubi, basing on these common features as they are also shared by many non-kasubi women in the society.

Goal of kasubis: The practices of prostitutes are socially condemned and as such are taken to be an offence in Manipuri living laws. The ends of their actions are not, however, different from those of other members of the society. The so-called lust-prone prostitutes are fictitious; they are found only in pronographic magazines that aim to sexually arouse the readers. Both the types of kasubi earn money by selling their 'sexual service and time'; but it is observed that their clients are limited and restricted. The limitation and restriction of client-circle enable them to hide their actions as to maintain the equilibrium of their relations with alters. Though kasubis, by their nature, are promiscuous the Manipuri kasubis seldom entertain the strangers.
The money earned with the negative means is utilized in carrying out their familial duties. Money is ethically neutral; in this regard, peoples use to say 'money is money wherever or however you earn it'. To-day, with the value attached to money and material comfort of life, everyone in the society earns money in this principle. A kasubi (free) who is a lower divisional clerk in Thoubal, once expresses, "If I commit wrong when I earn money in this way, do you think that corrupt officers do right? Living in the society only with the bare necessity will make you less important than a kasubi". Against all odds, they earn money to maintain (a) their family (b) their 'normal' social position (c) their leikai/kinship position. Moreover, their income meet all the educational, social and psychological needs of the children. Children born to and/or maintained by the kasubis, with a few exception, attend schools, colleges and even the University classes.

Kasubis do not like their children to indulge in immoral activities. Unlike the conventional image of kasubi, all of them do not like (rather do not allow) their daughters to meet their clients. They dream of their daughters' 'happy married life'. The author was rebuked by many prostitutes when he cut jokes on their young daughters. "I shall send my children to school for
their better days even if I have to sell my flesh" says a Maram kasubi.

Though husbands are having 'sick-roles' in their expected role system, married kasubis do not like to divorce them. They are the 'social shields' of kasubis against the sexually aggressive leikai males. To save their images in the leikai, kin circle and society at large, they do not have sexual acts with leikai-members. It minimizes the chance of being caught red-handed even if everyone in the leikai knows of their oktabi-character.

Now, judged from the goal of their actions, the prostitutes do not evidently negate the culturally defined goal. Their motivational system is also socially shaped to attain the socially valued objects. They, however, adopt the negative means which are criminal in legal sense. Their negative-means adaptation is passively directed and hence they do not like to lose the social and cultural objects in the social system.

Adulteress: Like prostitutes, adulteress is punished in both the legal systems (i.e. of the Maram and the Meitei) under their respective living laws. Though
the Indian penal code does not provide punishment to the adulteress and the Kuki living laws do not punish their adulteresses, the Meitei and the Maram laws take the act of adultery as an offence committed by both the actors (the adulteress and her paramour) and hence the actors involved in the offence are punished. The legal pluralism, thus, is clearly observed in the laws of adultery and of prostitutes. The customary laws, in this state of conflict, play the dominant legal roles. The punishment of the adulteress is, penologically speaking, a legal device to save the marriage norms which protect the Imoinu-model of behaviours at the axis of the woman. The ideality of the model is internalized by the women in the larger patri-oriented socialization; such internalization of the model is integrated with the rewards and punishments involved in the model.

The acts of adultery observed in the fields cannot be explained at the individual levels. The acts vary from mere sexual adventuralism of some women to the acts, motivated by the socio-culturally determined needs. In order to conclude on adultery, it needs to examine the acts of adultery with reference to the motivational system, value system as well as social system. Women, living as
ideal women, not sexually motivated, are observed indulging in adultery out of socio-cultural demands upon them.

Besides sexual motivation, in the society, there are other socio-cultural motivations that lead to the act of adultery. There are three broad categories of such socio-cultural motivation - (a) reciprocity of the paramours' service prior to the act of adultery, (b) higher status that can be attained by the adulteress with an adulterous act, (c) value of 'son' that gives security to the married women in the social system.

The service of the paramours prior to the act of adultery is considered in the cathetic relation of the adulteress with the alters. The alters' services, in many other pro-social episodes, are reciprocally considered. This reciprocal relation leads to the motivational crisis of some women. They were helped by the paramours before they (the paramours) moved for sexually advance. Because of the services rendered to them and the expectation of the reciprocal services in the social system, they could not resist such sexual advancements.

The acquiring of higher status is one of the motives to adultery. Though there is no direct and cross-
checked cases, the existence of this type of adultery (motivated to attain higher status) is informed by several informants. As mentioned elsewhere, such sexual service is reported of persons seeking government jobs and seeking job promotions. The local gossip in the sample areas clearly shows the existence of such 'unproved' acts of adultery that are motivated so.

Son-preference of Manipuri Hindu universe is a socio-religious motive. Son, in the religious outlook, is one who will offer pinda to nourish the spirit of the deceased ancestors. Socially, a son is the security of married life of a woman. So, sonless wives are seriously motivated to get son(s). In the face of fear of getting divorced or living as a co-wife, such issueless/sonless wives try all the available resorts to achieve their goals. When all the pro-social means fail, they are motivated to develop alienative dominant component as to choose the act of adultery.

There is an interesting point on their pre-marital sex that almost everyone enjoyed sexual intercourse with their boy-friends before marriage. But, the extra-marital coitus cannot be taken as continuance of their pre-marital experiences and/or as act of sexual motivational residue.
The acts of adultery reported here are motivated by different goals, not by sexual satisfaction alone. Hence sexual satisfaction is not an essential part in the act of adultery except in the sexual adventuralism of a few adulteresses.

The paramours are the members of primary groups—usually they are leikai-members, husbands' friends, etc. This minimizes the risk of being caught. Unlike prostitute, the adulteress' relation with her paramour is non-economic. Between the parties there is certain emotional tie and hence the strangers seldom become paramours. But it cannot be said that act of adultery is committed only within the primary groups.

Adultery as an adaptation to the husbands' failure of sexually satisfying their wives is the direct transformation of their sexual frustration. This frustration is normally reported among the young wives of kumleina husbands (those suffering from chronic diseases). The Imoinu-model of behaviour expects women being sexually satisfied by their own husbands in their family-lives. Such expectation is blocked with the physical weakness of the husbands and hence, in between the physical need of sex and the normative order of married life. In such
situation, these women face a fluctuation of their motivation. The frustration thus developed is transformed, in some cases, into the act of adultery. In such cases the cathetic relation disturbed by the physical failure of husband is re-established with the paramours. But adulteresses do not like to disturb all other relations in the Moinu-model. This is the reason why they still like to be the wives of the disabled husbands.

Another type of husband is the adhamora-husband (hen-pecked husband) whose wives are more free than what is being expected. Such a wife is, no doubt, projecting her personality in the Panthoibi-model but the subjugation of husband’s self to hers is not expected even in this model. The weak personality of the husband is taken as opportunity to her sexual adventurousism. Her husband is socially a sick person.

Husbands of sonless women are acting normally the neutral roles in between their parents searching new women and their wives trying to get children of their own. They extend their helps to both ends. They are also motivated to have children but they are expected by both parties to share their respective efforts.
Husbands' passive response to the stress arisen out of the inconsistency further motivates the wives. They either fail to satisfy their wives' sexual urge or to console them on their failure of reproduction. Some husbands, as observed in some cases, tried to marry second wives as they suspected their wives to be barren. Parents and local friends instigate them to do so. They take that there is no shortage of women; it refers to a folk statement of the Meitei on the sex-ratio in their society that 'there are seven women for each man' (certainly there was a time in the history of the people i.e., just after the Burmese occupation of Manipur, 1819-26 A.D. locally known as Chahi Taret Khuntakpa, when because of the death of thousands of Meitei male during this seven years, females far out-numbered males in the post-khuntakpa population of the state. The Meitei folk saying on the sex-ratio was probably true during that historical days. But, now when there has been maintained a more or less demographic balance, any reference to this folk knowledge is surely out of point. But, as it is observed here the past-time female out-number is transformed into an attitude showing the cheapness of females in the contemporary Manipuri society). Thus issueless women are divorced if not they have to live as co-wives with polygamous husbands.
Thief: Like the prostitute, the driving force for the female thief is normally economic consideration. She shares the instrumental roles of the family because of husband's failure or his little earning. Unlike prostitute, her such roles are less expected. In her case, the Khamnu-model operates in less degree but Imoinu-model cannot hold her in the expressive roles. Hence her economic role is generally subsidiary in nature. As theft is opportunity-bound action, her economic motive in the action is less concerned in the instrumental roles than that of a prostitute. Thus, the Khamnu-model is not fully adopted by her but the other two models fail to control her.

This is clearly indicated by the selective nature of stolen goods. A female thief steals only a few items of articles which are mostly light and small. These items are mainly kitchen materials/luxurious items. Non-kitchen materials are such articles as gold chain or ear-rings that can be sold easily. The female thief, moreover, unlike the male thief, awaits the opportunity in a limited time period (usually she steals in day time when there is lapse of security in the victim's family); a male thief, besides day time opportunity, roams about in night time so that he will get more and easy opportunity. Again it is also observed that her area of operation is mainly
confined in her own konlup (a segment of a leikal) or friends' houses etc.

Though a thief is economically motivated, in the female thief's case, the selectivity of stolen articles and limited area of operation reflect that the immediate needs - disposition is the main moving force to her. For such woman plays less instrumental roles in the family income; she is never motivated for huge amount of money. At another level, the social image of feminine character holds her even in her alienative dominant acts and hence she adapts to the crisis passively.

Another form of thief, i.e., the habituated thief is unconsciously attached to certain kinds of property that belong to others. She is motivated to steal the property when and only when she has an opportunity of picking it up. Her such action is not pre-planned. The goal of such act of theft is neither economic nor social; it is simply the satisfaction of her unconscious drive caused by the motivational residues. However, it can be added here that such action assumes economic meaning in social system at: the manifest level as there is a dimension of 'unlawful gain' and 'unlawful loss'.
The female thief acts as thief only when she gets opportunity and such opportunity is awaited to come in normal course of time. She adapts passively in the crisis-situation but manifests her action actively on getting opportunity. Like other forms of female deviants, she likes to behave normally in a social network.

It is thus obvious that her goal is not negation to the culturally defined goals. She does not like to commit theft and knows the fate of thieves. But the secondary drives of her family which are encouraged by the changing pattern of value system push her to act in the negative manner so that her need-disposition can be met with immediately.

Murderess: In the society, women are socialized to be unaggressive actors and are taught to internalize the Imoinu-model so that they would speak in soft and low voice, proper speech etiquette which are largely relaxed for male folks. Her personality is thus molded to shape her self being tender, submissive and patient. She is not expected to express her anger in public; she is rather expected to blush or keep silence or weep while she is angry. She should not fight or argue with men in public places. At the same time, a man is discouraged to fight
with 'inferior' beings. This male-chauvinism is expressly embodied in the sexist popular sayings such as "Khudup Tara Setpaga Khudup Mari Setpaga Mannaganu" (one who wears cloth of 10 yards should not face one who wears of 4 yards). Anyone can interfere the fighting between a man and a woman; the man in fight is seldom praised in any case. However, wife battery is a normal act of husbands unless it is done at public places. Neighbours are not entitled to interfere such battery at private places.

Female aggression, in a mild form, is a frequent scene in market places where women carry out their business, move and interact. Both the parties are women. The aggression is manifested in the forms of exchange of words/sentences with tabooed terms of reference. At most they fight by hair plucking or scratching skin with nails/teeth. The fist or kick is not observed even at the high level of fighting between women. The only wild physical force is that involved in slapping which is frequently observed at initial stage of real fighting. No weapon is employed in their fighting.

Though physical confrontation is not encouraged, women sometimes are reported to beat men with their shoes when the latter try to assault indescently on them. Such
acts are neither condemned fully or encouraged. It is because of the inconsistency between the ideal pattern and the desired means to protect the ideal. Many a time, the beating with shoes is taken as an act of uncultured ladies or of a prostitute who like to veil her character under the mask of 'protection of modesty'. The witnesses will intervene the act of the lady though they do not support the beaten man.

The strong social control mechanism on potential female aggression makes the homicides committed by women less in the state. As the homicidal cases are treated under the statutory laws (as sanctioned by living laws too), such cases are instituted in the state judiciary courts. That is to say, the homicides are subjected to Indian Penal Code and its corresponding procedures throughout the state of Manipur. The customary laws of both the Meitei and the tribal people do not contravene the legal provisions of enacted laws. The conflict of laws in the state of legal pluralism is at low profile in cases of this specific crime.

The homicidal cases, where the accused are females, are limited in number. No reported case is available. There is no case in Senapati District within the study
The few cases of Thoubal District are mainly connected with 'sudden and grave provocation'. The discrete and isolated acts of provocation are not mere individual actions, rather they are the acts of ego's adaptation to a sudden strain in their cathetic relationship. The legal position of these particular cases is bound by the existing legal norms but their actions should be studied here with respect to the larger social system and to the situation where they act. There is no pre-planned homicide in the state generally and this fact may help in further examination of the particular cases.

In case No.1 (see page 223 in the above), it is seen that the so-called victim disturbed the ego-alter system with his effort to manhandle the ego. The sexual advancement of the victim caused a sudden and grave strain to the interaction network because of which the ego's adaptation to the system was disturbed. Again, woman, in Imoinu-model, becomes meaningless when she is raped and the post-rape life of hers will be discarded by the communities. Rape is, therefore, a common fear to all women. Out of this fear-psychosis and the sudden disturbance of the ego-alter relation, the ego had to react violently, rather aggressively. This aggression was not only a try to set re-equilibrium of the system but also to
safe her cultural image in the society. As the act of the victim did not correspond the ego's expectation and as the victim had made her a rape victim, she had no other means than the ultimate violent act that caused the victim's death.

The hiding of a knife in her bed showed that the ego had cared of such an eventuality as she was only with her minor children in the house. She was mentally preparing of using knife in the face of apprehending danger - to her person and fame. The preparation was a neutral act and was meant to protect her 'self'. It was not the preparation of a crime but the means to self-preservation and her esteem in the society.

Her ultimate aggression that cost a life was not an anti-social action. It was, sociologically, a pro-social action because she did like to save the disturbed ego-alter system in the culturally defined setting. The legality of the action may be decided in the law court as the case is still in front of a Judicial Magistrate. In spite of socialization and Imoinu-model, her action is an inevitable one in the existing body social and socio-cultural system. The goal of her action was positive in larger action system. The means, however, though negatively
sanctioned, was the only alternative to the situation in which the sudden strain arises to the cathectic ego-alter relationship.

Such aggressive action that arises in the cathectic relation is seen in the case no. 2 too, of the same context. In the case, the victim-husband stressed the family life with his immoral acts towards his own daughter. The ego who was both wife and mother could tolerate her husband's irresponsible acts as she had been socialized to bear whatever the husband did. Sometimes, he went far beyond her tolerable limit and she divorced him again and again. But with his frequent request against Imoinu-model and with the consideration of the children, she had to come back home. But she could not bear his treatment of their daughter in the inhumane manner. Though she did not know of the rape on her daughter by her husband, it was an intolerable sight. Such inhuman action of her husband posed a serious threat to the family relationship.

Her motivational crises could not be managed in compulsive dominance - it was partly because of the motherly affection. The ferocious beating on her daughter forced her to alienative-dominance with respect to husband-wife relation. She took up an axe, but it did not mean for
motiveless malice nor for murder. Holding the axe, she shouted to stop the beating and not to come forward. As the husband did not come in the tune, she did swing the axe. She could not control the swinging as such acts were not a part of her normal life and thus, she caused the death of her husband by cutting his neck with the axe.

In this case, too, the ego's action meant to protect the previous social relation in the family. The goal was positive as it was her duty to protect the relation and to protect her daughter. Her sudden and grave act was provoked by the inhuman treatment to her daughter. She could not recognize the ferocious person as her own husband but as a threat to her daughter's life and to her relationship with the children. The sudden strain arisen out of her husband's anti-social actions provoked her to choose the deadly means against the Imoinu-model of normal and ideal women's behaviour in Manipuri society.

Finale: **Review of the work in the light of hypotheses:**

The specific crimes undertaken for the study varied from economically motivated crimes i.e. prostitution, theft and non-economically motivated crimes, i.e., adultery
and homicides. All the specific crimes, however, directly and indirectly, link with the prevailing disequilibrium in value, norm and motivational system. The disequilibrium in the system of action-orientations causes a serious damage to the social control mechanism of previous state of affairs. The individuals are frequently motivated to act at their individual levels in order to attain the changing concept of goal; but it is seen that all the individuals cannot attain the goal only with available positive means. This creates frustration in their minds. Moreover, the role-partners' failure pushes the actors to increase frustration, generated in the changing orientations.

The developed frustration is manifested in the social system with the break-through of the ego-alter cathetic relation and the expectation-system therein. It is obviously seen that the ego's state of frustration developed on alters' failure of expected roles transforms itself into the specific crimes of prostitution and theft (in which the frustration is compounded by the inconsistency of Khamnu-model and social goal), adultery (both Imoinu-model and socio-religious value also act upon) and homicide (Imoinu-model and motivation of love and affection are associated with). Thus the social actions,
initiated not only by the need-disposition but also by other action-conditions, are rooted in the failure of role-partnership of the involved actors.

But, it will be wrong if we conclude that all the criminal acts are negative in both means and ends. Following the specific scheme of action system of R.K.Merton, almost all the criminal acts, discussed in Chapter IV, are the means-negative acts; however, all the criminals are positively motivated to attain and/or protect the culturally defined goals. The state of anomie in which the individuals' available positive social means cannot reach/attain the culturally positive goals, pushes these individuals to adopt negative-means. The prostitutes, thief, adulteress (in almost all the cases), murderess are but motivated to adopt the criminal path to get the ends of model-oriented cultural ideals.

Crime, as the concluding line, can be said as being generated by the society itself by virtue of its internal and/or external dynamism, anomie, value-inconsistency, role-failures. The Manipuri women's crimes studied are found to be goal-positive but negative-means, motivated by the social strains developed in the ego's cathetic relation with social and cultural objects.