CHAPTER - V

SELECTED CASE STUDIES
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In this chapter some of the important case histories of the respondents interviewed at the micro and macro levels have been discussed. Respondents found at the micro level (Aligarh District Jail) have been divided into four separate categories according to the offence they are supposed to have been committed. These four categories are Dowry Death, Kidnapping, Attempt to Murder and Offence Against Public Tranquility. Whereas at the macro level (Tihar Jail of New Delhi) respondents have been divided into five separate categories according to the offence they are supposed to have been committed. These five offences are Dowry Death, Kidnapping, Murder, Prostitution and Drug Trafficking.

Attempt has been made to represent each category with the help of case history. The number of case histories prepared from each category depends upon the strength of the respondents in that particular category.

For preventing any possibility of identification of the respondents, their real names have not been mentioned. However, the incidents, experiences and other details about their life histories and
about themselves that have been presented in their case studies are factual. The case study has been prepared in a biographical form.

In the present study at the micro level out of the forty respondents, twenty-eight are charged for the offence of dowry death. They have been booked under Sections 498A and 304B of the IPC. Case study of three respondents belonging to this category of offence is being discussed below.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. A**

Mrs. A is a fifty year old, dark complexioned lady. She has grey hair and wrinkles on her face. She is plain looking and has a very reserved nature. The pressures of life, it seems, has sobered her sense of dressing up. For, she is dressed in a white saree with an unmatched blouse. Overall, her appearance is very neat and soothing.

Mrs A is an illiterate Muslim woman. She belongs to the Backward Class. Her husband has fifty ‘bigha’ of land and is engaged in cultivation. They have a ‘Pucca’ house with two rooms, verandah, courtyard and a well. However, the house is without electricity. They live in a village near Aligarh.

Mrs. A is the youngest child of her parents having four elder sisters and one elder brother. One of the sisters is married in
Hathras, two are in the same village and the eldest had died at an early age. Her brother is in Badayun and is engaged in cultivation. Her father could read and write in Urdu as well as in Hindi. But her mother was illiterate.

Talking about her father she said, “My father, unlike other men in the village was a man of liberal views. He believed in educating his children and was against child marriage. The other villagers were not interested in educating their children. Luckily, the women in our family enjoyed more freedom. However, I could not enjoy the love and care of my father because he died when I was only three years old. After his death my mother had to face a lot of problems. My mother, an illiterate woman, had to fight legal battle to retain whatever property we had. To feed the family she was forced to do work which men usually did. Each day she had to go to the fields to supervise the sowing and harvesting of crops. She had to sell her jewelry to meet the expenses. My brother was quite young and the entire responsibility fell on my mother. Once, she went to meet a distant relative in another village and there was no one at home. Some people broke into our house and destroyed many items. The villagers
thought they would harass her so much that in desperation she would be forced to leave the village, and then they could grab the land”.

Due to all these pressures on her Mrs. A’s mother was not able to look after her. She was a strong woman yet she could not in many ways fulfill the role of both the parents. “I always missed the presence of an elderly, responsible male member in my family. I strongly felt at that time that if my father had been alive, life would have been much easier for my mother and much happier for my siblings and me”.

Talking about her marriage Mrs. A revealed that after much inquiring her mother agreed to give her in marriage to a boy of her community who lived in a village near Aligarh. Her husband has one brother and one sister. Both of them were married. Her father-in-law had died and five years after her marriage her mother-in-law also passed away. Initially, everything was quite peaceful and happy. Mrs. A has eight children, two daughters and six sons. Her daughters are married at Khurja and Bulandshahar. Three of her sons are married. Her daughters-in-law are from Hathras, Badayun and Etawa. All of them lived jointly with Mrs. A and her husband. Her second daughter-in-law is from Badayun and she is the only one who could recite
Quran. Her second son works in a factory in Aligarh and visited his wife and parents on holidays.

“Immediately after my second son’s marriage things at home were quite peaceful. Later, I realized that my daughter-in-law had difficulty in adjusting herself to the material discomforts of our home. She often grumbled at the village way of living and wanted to live in Aligarh with her husband. Her parents are economically better than we are and she always compared the two families and pointed out the differences. She never helped us in the household work and stayed very aloof. My other two daughters-in-law have adjusted with us very easily and have no grievances. I understood her problem but had no way to take her out of it. My son’s earning is quite modest and it would be difficult for him to settle in Aligarh with his wife. Her father too had come to know about her daughter’s discomfort and suggested that she along with her husband should shift permanently to his house. He would get his son-in-law employed in Badayun. This proposal did not suit my son and he refused to go. This made my daughter-in-law all the more helpless and disappointed”.

After a small break, the researcher enquired the reason why her daughter-in-law committed suicide. To this Mrs. A replied,
that the only reason which she could think of was that the life which
her daughter-in-law had after marriage was not upto her expectations.
The dissatisfaction was so strong that it compelled her to end her life
by taking poison. “She poisoned herself during night and in the
morning we found her to be dead”.

It was my neighbours who reported to the police that my
daughter-in-law used to be harassed for bringing insufficient dowry.

Reporting on the attitude of the police, she said “all the
laws, punishment and harassment are for the poor. The rich and the
powerful are always spared”.

After going through the case history of Mrs. A following
conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. A’s daughter-in-law resided in an urban locality since
her childhood. Her parents are economically in a much more
comfortable position than her in-laws.

2. Mrs. A’s daughter-in-law was unable to adjust herself with the
material discomforts at her in-law’s residence.

3. Mrs. A’s daughter-in-law was assured that her husband’s
modest income could never let her reside in an urban area
away from her in-laws. She felt helpless and committed suicide to get rid of the situation.

CASE STUDY OF MRS. B

Mrs. B is a short and rather plump woman in her late forties. Her hair is tied in a tight oily plait and she is dressed in a clourful saree. She is in the habit of chewing ‘Pan’ and is very talkative. She is an illiterate woman and belongs to the Brahmin caste. She lives with her husband and six children in the suburbs of Aligarh.

Mrs. B is the second child of her parents’ eight children. She has one elder sister, five younger brothers and one younger sister. Her father had eight acres of land, which he used to till. Her parents were illiterate. On being requested to relate the important incidents of her childhood, adolescence and adulthood and facts about her family environment and the care and attention that she received from her parents and others, Mrs. B stated, “My memory of childhood, as far back as I can remember, when I was about five or six my father liked me and my elder sister and cared for us but my mother was indifferent towards us. I remember that my mother often shouted at my father saying that she was most frustrated at being burdened by the birth of daughters one after the other when she had very much expected to
have sons. She repeatedly taunted me and my sister for making our parents paupers, as they would have to provide dowry for us. Father was a rather quite and reserved person but mother was very often after his blood to worry about his daughters and work much harder to earn more money.”

Mrs. B further reported, “Even at that age I had real sympathy for my father and resentment against my mother for troubling him. For my mother, the birth of a son would relieve her from all tensions and would make her financially and emotionally secure. She created lots of confusion when my elder sister was getting married.”

Narrating her experiences of married life Mrs. B went on to reveal that she consented to her parents’ choice and was married at the age of eleven to a man who was fifteen years elder to her. He is the only son of his parents. He has studied upto class eight. His father cultivated on his own land and was assisted by his son. Her in-laws were in a much better financial position than her parents were. Besides fifty “Bigha” of land, they had four buffaloes, radio, cycle etc. Speaking about her husband she said, “He is very understanding and responsible and made every effort to keep me happy and feel
important. I never had any problem with him and am happy to have him as my husband. Till today we are happy with each other. But my in-laws were never happy with me, as I had not brought as much dowry as they had expected and taunted me often saying that I came from a useless family. My in-laws had sufficient money but I never felt happy with them.

Talking about her children she said, “I have four daughters and two sons. By the time my children reached a certain age, my parents in-laws had expired. When the eldest son reached the age of marriage I arranged a match for him from a nearby village. In the meantime my husband contacted Tuberculosis and his health began to deteriorate. Now it had become difficult for him to work on the field. It was our eldest son on whom the entire family was depending. I was very much worried about my financial security because my husband was not in a position to earn much. Since my husband was not keeping well I did not think it proper to discuss the matter with him. Consequently, after marriage I asked my daughter-in-law to hand over all her gold ornaments to me and also to bring a sum of Rs. 30,000 from her parents’ place. I needed the amount for the future security of my family. After marriage, I presumed, if my
son stopped supporting us, I would hand over the amount collected from my daughter-in-law to my husband or to my younger son to start a small business. This would help to meet the family’s expenses. But I never harassed her or nagged her for the amount. Besides this there was no other disagreement between my daughter-in-law and other family members. It has become very difficult for me to understand the reason what made her burn herself. We informed her parents about the incidence through her uncle. The police beat my husband. Later my daughter-in-law’s brother joined the police and beat my husband badly”.

After going through the case history of Mrs. B following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. B was emotionally insecure during childhood.

2. She had learnt from her mother that daughters were a financial burden for the family while it was the sons who were a support to their parents.

3. Her husband’s illness had made her financially insecure. In order to avoid this she could only depend on her son and not on her daughters. She also feared that after marriage her son would turn away from his responsibilities towards the family.
Before marriage Mrs. B had seen a lot of confusion in her family because of poor finance and the birth of daughters. When her husband fell ill she feared that similar situation would erupt in her family of procreation. In order to avoid this she wanted to make the family financially secure. As she was illiterate she could not be of any help financially to her family. Consequently, she thought of demanding money from her daughter-in-law. She had plans of investing it on any small business in future. As she is illiterate she was unaware of the Dowry Prohibition Act. Thus Mrs. B made demands for money from her daughter-in-law because of her past as well as present financial insecurity and also because of her illiteracy.

Regarding the attitude of police Mrs B reported policemen trust the rich and the powerful. Police are not for the poor people. They are well aware that the charges are false but they dare not open their mouth against people who have bribed them handsomely.
CASE STUDY OF MRS. C

Mrs. C is a tall fair complexioned lady. She is very weak, so much so that she could not walk straight and speak very clearly. She is an illiterate woman of forty-five years. She belongs to Backward Class. She lives with her husband, four sons and one daughter in the suburbs of Aligarh.

Talking about her life and experiences since childhood, she pointed out that her mother was the second wife of her father. Her father’s first wife had died and had no children. She was the only child of her parents but her mother died when she was very young.

She further related, “My father was a ‘Dhobi’ and earned his livelihood by washing clothes. My parents were happily married in the sense that I seldom saw them fighting. But we hardly had enough to eat and wear. And it was on this account that my mother used to be very tense.”

“Being a child, I could not really understand my mother’s problem. She was very weak and most of the time looked over-tired because she had to do all the household chores herself. She also helped my father in his work.”
Recollecting the sad and shocking experience of her childhood Mrs. C revealed, “She was only nine years old when her mother died. On that day I was playing outside since my father went out in the morning, my mother used to go out on various errands for the household. That day she might have gone to the market or to the doctor and on her way she fell down on the road, got severe injuries on her head and before she could be taken to a doctor, she died. Father was terribly shocked and depressed and he even became indifferent towards me. Instead of loving me more he spoke very little with me and I started feeling the loss of my mother very intensely. My father was worried that I should not be left alone in the house and that there should be someone to help in carrying out the household work. Finding, no solution to this situation he shifted me to my uncle’s house and I continued to stay with his family. My aunt was never unkind to me but she made me do the household work and look after her children. My father visited me frequently and when I was thirteen years old he arranged a match for me in the nearby village.”

After marriage, Mrs. C related, “I lived with my parents-in-law. My husband earns his livelihood by washing clothes. I have only one sister-in-law and she is married in Meerut. My father-in-law
too was engaged in washing clothes. We live in a ‘Kuchcha’ house. I have four sons and one daughter. My eldest son is married to a girl from Ghaziabad.”

Talking further she said, “After marriage when my daughter-in-law came to my house I found her to be weak and pale. She seemed overtired and did not keep well. Sometimes she had fever and used to cough profusely. Besides her ill health she had all the qualities, which a mother-in-law would expect her daughter-in-law to have. She was obedient and cared for her husband. She always wanted to help in the household work but could not do so because of her ill health. After a while we consulted a physician and she was under his treatment. But there was no improvement. So I asked my son to take her to Ghaziabad. There, thinking it to be a town we hoped to find qualified doctors. My son took her to Ghaziabad. There his parents-in-law asked him to leave their daughter at their place and they would look after her and get her treated. My son agreed to their proposal and leaving his wife with her parents, he returned to his village.”

She stayed there for sometime and then we were informed that now she is perfectly all right and can be brought back. Thinking the assurance to be truthful we brought her back. Much to our
disappointment her health remained the same. After a while we consulted the physician of our village. The treatment continued but the improvement was very slow. It was from the village doctor that we came to know that she was suffering from Tuberculosis.

Mrs. C further reported that few days before she died her condition had deteriorated beyond control. Once she had gone with her husband to bring medicine. When they were in the market two of her children came to inform them that their daughter-in-law’s condition was very serious. They rushed back immediately and were arranging to take her to the nearby town, as there was no hospital in the village. But that could not happen as their daughter-in-law succumbed to death.

Mrs. C further reported, “We had informed her parents about the seriousness of her condition. But no one turned up. After her death they reported the incidence as a case of dowry death. None of my family members have ever harassed or questioned her about dowry. Moreover, there is no reason to question her because she had brought enough dowries with her. I would have been the last person to harass her because I had faced a lot of problem during childhood and had missed the presence of my mother.”
After going through the case history of Mrs. C following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. C had lost her mother at an early age. Her aunt and uncle had brought her up.

2. Mrs. C had a difficult childhood because of her mother’s absence.

3. Since Mrs. C had experienced staying away from her own home and without a mother, she could be expected not to nag or harass her daughter-in-law.

4. Since Mrs. C’s daughter-in-law had brought sufficient dowry there was no reason to trouble her.

Regarding the attitude of police Mrs. C reported that police resorted to inhuman treatment and compelled her family members to accept the crime which they had never committed.

At the micro level the three cases of Mrs. A, B and C (charged of dowry death) have three common features. Firstly, all three of them belong to rural locality. Secondly, all three of them are illiterate. Thirdly, all three of them are economically distressed. Lack of education made them helpless and they had no means of lessening or removing their economic frustration. Daughter-in-law of Mrs. A
could not adjust herself with the material discomforts at her in-law’s residence. Mrs. B demanded money from her daughter-in-law because her husband is unable to contribute financially. As she is illiterate she too could be of no help and was unaware of the *Dowry Prohibition Act*. Mrs. C’s daughter-in-law could not receive proper medical treatment because of financial strain and lack of education and awareness in the family.

At the Macro level out of the forty respondents twenty-four are charged for the offence of dowry death. Case study of two respondents belonging to this category is given as under.

**CASE STUDY OF MISS. D**

Twenty-six years old Miss D is more than five feet tall and has an average look. She belongs to the *Brahmin* caste. She has completed her M.Sc in Physics and is planning to join research. Her father and brother are successfully engaged in business. Her parents and brother are inside the prison. She is very quite and sad but still gathers enough courage to console her mother who is crying most of the time.

Miss D welcomes the researcher and asks her to make herself comfortable. She explains to her mother that the researcher is
here to learn about them and they should co-operate with her. The researcher comes to know that Miss D’s father owns a cloth mill. She has one brother only who is engaged in the family business. Earlier her brother only slightly assisted his father in the business but as his father grew old and weak he began to take over the responsibility.

Miss D’s brother married a girl of his choice. Although his parents received several proposals but he did not agree to any one of them. Miss D stated that her sister-in-law was a typist in a private company. Her father is a clerk. She is the eldest child followed by two younger brothers and a sister. Her mother had expired and her father is to retire from his work within a few months. Miss D further informs the researcher that she and her parents never gave a thought about the social status or the economic position of the family of her sister-in-law and agreed for the match because the girl was educated and good looking. These were the only qualities that she and her parents valued.

After marriage Miss D’s sister-in-law left her job because the place of work is distant from her in-law’s residence. She stayed with her in-laws but was quite unhappy on being confined to the house. She expected her husband to take her out regularly and spend extravagantly on her. Initially her husband surrendered to her desires
but things did not end up here. She often desired and forced her husband to take her to places outside Delhi where they spent a week or a fortnight. This greatly hampered Miss D’s family business.

Things continued in this way for three years. Since Miss D’s brother looked after the family business, his frequent and long absence showed on the family income and savings. Gradually Miss D’s brother had lesser to spend on his wife and very often he was unable to fulfill her demands for financial reasons. This disappointed Miss D’s sister-in-law and led to frequent quarrels with her husband. Moreover, the financial strain had made Miss D’s brother short tempered and frustrated.

Relating an incident Miss D said that once her brother and sister-in-law were planning their routine trip to Nainital during the summers. Her father came to know about it and was very upset because he wanted his son to put an end to all the extravagance and concentrate on his business. He demanded that the trip should be cancelled. Miss D’s brother thinking that his father’s demand is justified cancelled the trip. This greatly disappointed Miss D’s sister-in-law and she picked up a quarrel with her husband. When Miss D’s parents came to know about it they tried to explain the things to their
daughter-in-law saying that she might visit the place in future once the family income becomes stable. They were imposing restrictions for the betterment of the entire family.

Miss D’s sister-in-law did not take all this in the right spirit and claimed that she had sacrificed her career for the sake of her in-laws and this is what she received in return. She immediately packed her belongings and left for her father’s residence saying that she wanted to continue her job so that she would be financially secure.

Later, she registered a case of harassment for the sake of dowry against her husband and in-laws. She had created false bruise marks on her body that she showed to the court when she appeared for the trial.

Miss D’s sister-in-law has taken back all her jewelry and the material items which she had received in the form of dowry. Moreover, she is demanding a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs from her in-laws in order to dismiss the case.

Miss D’s mother just could not control her tears. Crying profusely she talks with the researcher for a very long time. Her major lament is that her daughter-in-law has not only ruined them financially but has also led to the loss of their respect and dignity in the society.
They are innocent and God will help them come out of the jail. But this incident will leave a black patch on her daughter's character and it would be very difficult for her to find a suitable match for her daughter.

After going through the case history of Miss D following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Miss D’s sister-in-law had married Miss D’s brother because he was rich man.

2. Miss D’s sister-in-law misused the Dowry Prohibition Act for making economic gains as well as for putting her husband and in-laws in trouble when she saw the purpose of her marriage being defeated.

Miss D, her brother and parents are rich, educated and respectable people. They have neither the greed nor the need to ask for dowry. They are non-interfering and had agreed to their son’s choice. It is only when the family business had suffered a great loss that they thought of restricting the activities of their daughter-in-law. Their daughter-in-law belongs to a family of low economy. She had married Miss D’s brother for the fulfillment of her suppressed fancies and desires. When she observed that her parents-in-law would be a
hurdle in the attainment of her goal, she misused the *Dowry Prohibition Act* for putting them in trouble. Thus in this case it is Miss D and her mother who is victimized and is put behind bars.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. E**

Mrs. E is a fifty-five years old woman. She is fair complexioned but very weak. She belongs to a *Thakur* family and is illiterate. She lives with her husband and three sons. Her husband and two sons are engaged in a motor-parts shop. The third son works in a passport office.

Out of her three sons only her eldest son is married. Her son had been married for three years and has a son aged two years. Her daughter-in-law belonged to a lower middle class family. Her father is a cook who prepares food for marriages or for other functions. He does not have any son and had three daughters. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law was the eldest. The marriage was an arranged one.

The researcher inquires Mrs. E about her childhood to which she replies, “My father is a teacher in a primary school. He also gives tuition at home. My mother is illiterate. I am the third child of my parents’ seven children. We are five sisters and two brothers. We did not have a very comfortable life but the atmosphere of the
home was peaceful. My parents never had a serious quarrel and unlike other families they never grumbled over not being economically well or having too many daughters. My father was very fond of educating his children but he could not do so. *Firstly,* because he did not have enough money and *secondly,* because in my family education of girl was not encouraged. Once my father began to teach us at home but he had to bear a lot from our relatives and ultimately he gave up the idea. My brothers were not interested in education."

Narrating about the incidence that had brought her in prison, Mrs. E informed the researcher that her daughter-in-law died because she had consumed poison. After the death her daughter-in-law’s parents demanded that their daughter’s son should be given to them. And along with the child, the share of property, which he would have inherited from his grand parents, should also be given to them. Along with that, they also demanded rupees thirty-five thousand in cash which they would be spending on the child’s education. They threatened Mrs. E’s family members that if they failed to fulfill their demands they would register a case against them on the charge of harassing their daughter to death for bringing fewer dowries. Mrs. E further reported that initially they thought that these threats would in
no way harm them because the police would register the case only when they will have sufficient proof. Mrs. E’s family took the threats very lightly and they refused to give the child, the demanded cash as well as his share of property. But to the families surprise the police without much inquiry and proof accepted the charges against them.

The researcher further enquired Mrs. E about what made her daughter-in-law take poison. To which she replied, “My daughter-in-law belonged to a comparatively wealthier family than ours. Besides being a cook her father also engaged himself in other small business. Besides, her family was a joint family and they had a good number of animals and many hectares of land. They had given a handsome dowry to their daughter and though earlier we had heard about her unstable character but we believed that after marriage she would try to change herself. She was also in the habit of stealing things from the house. Her parents were very strict with her as far as her movements outside the house were concerned. She was not allowed to go out of the house with her friends especially in the evening. But inspite of all the strictness she did manage to go out with her friends. She resented her parents conservative attitude because she loved social life and mixing with boys and girls.” Another thing that
Mrs. E noticed, “Her daughter-in-law was given enough money by her father to spend on herself. Life on the whole was happy but her daughter-in-law found the restricted sort of life very boring. Her father was always seen with other women besides his wife on whom he spent a lot of money. This irritated Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law very much and she too tried to be like her father and resented his restrictions. As far as Mrs. E can guess from the activities of her daughter-in-law, it seemed that she was interested in getting married because she wanted to be away from the closed and dull atmosphere of her parents home and believed that after marriage there would not be any restrictions on her. Thus she got married with exaggerated expectations of a married life. But after marriage when Mrs. E’s son also resented to her habits she felt very helpless and always threatened to commit suicide.”

Mrs. E further reported that her daughter-in-law had become friendly with some of her husband’s friend and would often talk and cut jokes with them in his absence. As she was craving for this sort of life she enjoyed it thoroughly. But when the reports of her friendship reached her husband, he wrote a letter to her father against her. But she was not ready to change herself and there was always
conflict between her father, her husband and herself. Mrs. E further reported that her daughter-in-law must have taken poison because she did not want to change herself and her husband and father were not ready to accept her as she was.

After going through the case history of Mrs. E following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law’s father is a womanizer. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law had been influenced by her father’s character.

2. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law wanted to lead a carefree life without any social or moral restrictions. This was not appreciated by her father and neither by her husband. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law found it difficult to adjust herself to her father’s as well as to her husband’s instructions for leading her life.

3. Mrs. E’s daughter-in-law’s father had misused the *Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961*.

4. The police did not investigate the case properly.

At the macro level the two cases of Miss D and Mrs. E (charged for dowry death) have a lot of dissimilarities in their
personal and social characteristics. Miss D (charged for harassing her sister-in-law for dowry was in the prison along with her mother) is unmarried, young educated, rich and belongs to urban locality. Mrs. E is married, elderly, illiterate, poor and belongs to rural locality. However, the cases of Miss D and Mrs. E have two similarities. 

*Firstly,* both of them belong to higher caste group and *secondly,* in both the cases the daughter-in-laws have difficulties in adjusting with their in-laws. This led to conflict in the family and misuse of the *Dowry Prohibition Act.*

After going through the cases of Mrs. A, B, C, E and Miss D the following conclusions have been drawn.

In four out of the five cases, daughter-in-law is not willing to adjust with her in-laws. Leading to conflict in the family of procreation and between the family of orientation and procreation.

Misuse of the *Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961* is observed at the micro as well as macro levels. The common reason for this is conflict between the family of orientation of the daughter-in-law and her family of procreation.

Excluding Miss D, the other four respondents are illiterate and financially distressed and have a rural background.
At the micro level out of forty respondents nine are charged for kidnapping. They have been booked under *Section 363* of the *IPC*. Case study of two respondents belonging to this category of offence is as follows.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. F**

Mrs. F is a poorly built lady of forty-five years. She could neither gather enough courage to walk straight nor could she talk very clearly. But she seems to be a strong woman even at this age for she neither resorts to crying while talking to the researcher nor did she make any effort to gain sympathy. Her replies are direct and brief. She is of a reserved nature and is being treated as an elderly person by the other inmates.

She is an illiterate woman. She belongs to the *Kaesth* caste and works on the field.

Talking about her parents she said, "My parents used to live in *Farukhabad* but they are no longer alive. My father owned a house and used to carry goods from one place to another. I have two brothers. They are employed as labourers in *Farukhabad*. We are three sisters and all of us are married. The atmosphere at home was peaceful. Though my father had a very modest income but he never
scolded us or quarreled with my mother. My brothers used to help our father in his work. My mother, my sisters and myself stayed at home. However, I could sense that our parents were always concerned about their daughters. It was not that they were unhappy with us or considered us to be burdens. They were always worried as to how, with the modest income that my father had, they would be able to fulfill their responsibilities towards their daughters. On the other hand I too used to feel that we were of no help to our father or to our brothers. However, we never received any scolding or comment from our parents on this issue.”

She was married at an early age to a person who also like her father is a labourer. His daily earning is rupees fifty. They live in a Kuccha house and have one daughter and four sons. She and her husband were happy with their children.

Mrs. F further reported, “I was very much concerned about my daughter and wanted to marry her as early as possible. I too started working on fields in order to supplement my husband’s earnings. I was too busy with the household chores and working on the field. My only mission was to get my daughter married before other liabilities dawned upon. I was too ignorant about my sons’
activities and believed that they did not require any guidance. With much effort I was able to receive a match for my daughter but the amount to be spent was so large that it drained me of all my savings. Very shortly, I also married my eldest son. He has three children. After these two occasions we were hardly left with any amount. The daily earning was spent on the household expenses. Life continued in this way for long and I was trying to save some money for my second son’s marriage. In the meantime he told to me that he was interested in marrying a girl, who was the daughter of a Mali. I asked him to change his mind, as the caste difference would create problems. But he was adamant. I discussed the matter with my husband and other family members and they resented the match. But all of us tried to convince him that this sort of a match would not be accepted in the village and in the family. Our idea was to give the issue sometime so that he would change his mind and if he did not then by that time we will have some saving for his marriage and will have a talk with the girl’s parents.”

While all this was going on Mrs. F reported that her second son announced his plan of visiting maternal uncle. “He went saying that he would return after three or four days. On the third day
of his departure police came to our house and asked about his whereabouts. We informed them about his plan of visiting his maternal uncle. Hearing this, they started abusing and arrested all the family members. We were brought to the nearby police station and over there we came to know that my son and the girl whom he desired to marry were missing."

Mrs. F further continued, "My eldest son has borrowed rupees two thousand to pay the police. If the amount is not paid, the police will harass us and give statements that will aggravate our problems."

After going through the case history of Mrs. F following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. F is an illiterate woman.

2. She belongs to a conservative family, where inter-caste marriage is not acceptable.

3. Her son wanted to marry a girl of another caste. Mrs. F was trying to persuade her son to change his mind.

4. Mrs. F's son realised that his plan of an intercaste marriage will not be acceptable to his family members. He thus decided to run away with the girl whom he wanted to marry.
5. As the police could not get hold of Mrs F’s son they arrested the available family members.

Mrs. F further reported that police plays an important role in shaping a particular case. Everything depends on their statement. So we have to move according to the terms and conditions dictated by them.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS.G**

Mrs. G is a short statured, dark complexioned woman of forty-five years. She is illiterate and belongs to the backward caste. She is the only daughter of her parents and has been married at the age of fourteen years.

Recapitulating her experiences since childhood Mrs. G stated, “I had a very peaceful atmosphere at home. We did not have enough money but the simple earning, which my father had, was sufficient to fulfil our requirements. I had never seen any of my parents scolding or quarrelling. They led a very routined life. My father was a labourer and my mother stayed at home. We lived at Bahranpura, a village near Aligarh. In the morning my father would leave for work. He would carry his lunch with himself. Throughout, the day I along with my mother would be left at home. We spent our
time doing the household chores and sometimes visited the families in our neighbourhood. In the evening, father would return from work and all three of us would have our meal and go to sleep. Life continued in this way and when I was fourteen my parents found a match for me. He too is a labourer and stays in a nearby village.”

Later Mrs. G reported that from the very beginning her husband is short tempered and would get angry at the slightest pretext. Mrs. G stayed with her in-laws. They were very old and she would very often see her husband getting angry and shouting at his mother. Her father-in-law would remain silent and indifferent towards his son. Later, her parents-in-law died. Mrs. G has four sons and two daughters. The children were very much scared of their father. They would either go off to sleep before their father returned or would try to hide themselves and avoid their father. Mrs. G’s husband imposed very strict discipline on the children. He wanted every act to be perfect and could not tolerate any carelessness. From the cooking of meal to the behaviour of the children, everything he wanted to be according to his wish. He would very often abuse Mrs G saying that she had not learnt anything at her father’s place. Sometimes, in the middle of the night he would ask Mrs G and their children to leave the
house. Mrs. G would request him not to behave in this way but he would not listen to her. Mrs. G, along with her children would leave the house and sit in the courtyard. In the morning she would make an attempt to enter the house and would again be abused by her husband. However, thinking that the people nearby would make him a laughing stock, he would allow his wife and children to come back. The atmosphere at home would be very tense. Then gradually things would become normal and would continue to be so for a few days. Then suddenly, if Mrs. G showed carelessness in the household work or if the children misbehaved, Mr. G’s husband would resume his previous mood and temper. However, Mrs. G never disclosed her husband’s behaviour to her parents. Mrs. G confessed that her husband is neither a drunkard nor a womaniser. He tried to provide her and the children with all the material comforts. The only problem with him is that he has no control over his anger. He has very few friends and always under-estimates people.

Mrs. G further remarks, “Of all the children, it is my eldest son who is very sensitive and would be very much disturbed by his father’s behaviour. He would often ask me to leave the house along with him and the other children. Gradually as he grew up he
would often grumble over his father’s behaviour. Very often when my husband was shouting at me he would quit the house and would return only when he had cooled down. Sometimes, he would reply back to his father and they would have heated argument. From an early age he began to work as a motor mechanic and would hand over the earnings to me. Thinking that he was the eldest son and had begun to earn we thought of searching a bride for him. We had few proposals and would try to discuss them with our eldest son. But he would refuse, saying that he would not marry a girl of our choice. He would often say that my husband had ruined my life and if he agreed to his father’s choice his life would also be disturbed. But his father always pressurised him for some or the other proposal. Things continued in this way and then my eldest son announced that he was going to a nearby town and would be working over there. He shifted to his new place of work and would visit us once in a month and sometimes even fortnightly. When he visited us he would often discuss the person under whom he was working. His employer had offered him a room on rent. They were rich and sophisticated people. He would on his own praise his employer’s daughter and would regret at the fact that in comparison to her he stood nowhere. I came to know from him that
she was very polite and understanding towards him. But I had never seen the girl.”

Mrs. G further remarked that her son had all praises for his employer’s daughter but she could not realise his intentions of settling with her. She and the family members came to know about his intentions only when the police arrested them. It was the police who informed them that their son and his employer’s daughter were missing since the last few days.

The police abused them saying that their son had cheated a rich and respectable person.

After going through the case history of Mrs. G following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. G’s husband was strict and inhuman towards his wife and children.

2. This made the children loose their love and respect for their father. They had no faith in his decision.

3. Thus Mrs. G’s eldest son did not agree to marry any girl of his father’s choice. He was aware of the fact that his father would not consent to a marriage of his own choice. Thinking so no way out, he decided to runaway with the girl of his choice.
Regarding police Mrs. G reports that they have no respect or sympathy for the poor. For them being poor is the most heinous crime.

At the micro level the two cases of Mrs. F and Mrs. G have three common features. *Firstly*, both of them are illiterate. *Secondly*, they are economically weak. *Thirdly*, they are not directly involved in kidnapping but have been arrested because their sons ran away with the girls whom they wanted to marry and the police is unable to trace them. Mrs. F belongs to a conservative family. Her son is sure that his family will never agree to an inter-caste marriage and he thus runs away with the girl he wants to marry. In this case it is the family atmosphere, which encouraged Mrs. F’s son to indulge in deviant activity and has put Mrs. F behind the bars. In the case of Mrs. G her husband is short tempered and rude towards her and their children. This made her son lose his faith in the family and decides to marry without his family’s consent. Here, again it is the family atmosphere that pushed Mrs. G’s son to act in a deviant manner.

At the macro level out of forty respondents one is charged for kidnapping. She has been booked under *Section 363* of the *IPC*. 
Case study of one respondent belonging to this category of offence is as follow.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. H**

Mrs. H is a dark complexioned, thirty years old lady. She is tall and has several marks on her face. She is dressed in a dirty *Salwar Kameez*. She is an illiterate woman and belongs to the *Kshatriya* caste.

Mrs. H has only one brother. Her father was technical staff in a private company. Her mother was illiterate. While talking about her life and experiences from childhood onwards, Mrs. H said, “My father felt that his income was not sufficient and he was always thinking of ways to increase his income. Finally, he decided to take up a job in a Middle-East country. He left us behind and moved to another country. Initially, he had promised to take us along with him after a few years. But later on he changed his mind. At that time I was four years old and my brother was three years elder to me. My brother was admitted to a school when our father used to stay with us. When the time of my admission came he had moved to another place. Immediately, after his departure he did not send any amount of money for our expenses. My mother used to make some earning by stitching
clothes. After a few years my father began to send some amount to us but not in a regular manner. Things continued in this way and father hardly ever visited us. So my childhood was spent only with my mother and brother. I had no father figure and was thus emotionally insecure. But my brother was very responsible and caring and he in every way tried to fill the void created by my father. He continued his education with much difficulty and I tried to help my mother. After completing his education my brother had taken up a small job and that relieved my mother’s burden to a certain extent. However, we were not very well off and my mother missed the presence of my father much more than my brother or myself. My mother had lost all hopes of my father’s return and this had made her irritable. I never felt bitter about the fact that I had to start working so early. But when I was fifteen or sixteen years old then that was the only time in my life that I remember being really disillusioned with the works because I had no money. It’s an age when you want nice clothes and you find you can’t buy clothes because you just can’t afford them. I was nasty and stubborn and hated everybody. I hated my mother, my life and everything. I never compared myself to anybody but I went through a very long period of self-pity and hatred.”
Mrs. H further continued, “I was married at an early age and stayed with my in-laws and husband in Delhi. After the death of my parents-in-law my husband along with me began to stay separately. After eight years of marriage my husband became friendly with an eighteen-year-old girl who took tuition from him. I first became suspicious when I found that the tuition classes would continue late into the night. We had frequent arguments over this but I never thought he would leave me. In the meantime my mother had expired and my brother was married and had three children. After some time my husband sent me to his relatives place saying he would join me but he never did. I went to him several times but he did not allow me to stay with him for long. Either he would leave me alone and move out of the house saying he was going for some important work or he would keep sending me to my sister and brother-in-law’s place. I had no children. Once my husband brought a seven-year-old girl. He explained that she was the daughter of one of his close relatives and would stay with us since she had been orphaned. I was happy to have a company and felt that now my husband would not throw me out, as he would need someone to look after the child. As before, once my husband had gone out of station and I was in the
kitchen when the girl slowly slipped away from the house. I was very much worried and informed my neighbour about the incidence. I spent the rest of the days waiting for the girl or my husband to return. After a few days when my husband returned I informed him of the happening. He suggested that the police should be informed. As I am illiterate I left the matter completely to my husband. Only a few days had passed when the police came to my house and arrested me in the absence of my husband. Later, in jail I came to know that I was charged for kidnapping the child and was also declared to be mentally ill by my husband. So for a few months I was kept in the mental hospital. But I had to present myself before the court for the hearing of the case and also for the confirmation of the fact that I was mentally ill. In the court I answered to the queries and proved myself to be in a sound state of mind. Consequently I was removed from the hospital and was put in jail. My brother had come to meet me and he has assured me of his help. It is now that I realize that all this was planned by my husband to get rid of me.”

After going through the case history of Mrs. H following conclusions have been drawn:
1. Mrs. H's husband wanted to get rid of her because he was interested in some other girl.

2. Mrs. H is illiterate and could not earn a livelihood for herself. She was an orphan and could not expect parental support. She had no other alternative but to stay with her husband inspite of the fact that he was not interested in her.

Mrs. H further reported that she is surprised to know how the police can declare a mentally sound person as mentally ill and make arrest.

At the macro level the case of Mrs. H reveals certain similarities with the case histories of Mrs. F and G. Mrs. H like Mrs. F and G is illiterate and economically insecure. Mrs. H is emotionally insecure because her husband is involved in an extra-marital relationship. In order to get rid of her he falsely implicates Mrs. H in the case of kidnapping and also declares her to be mentally ill.

After going through the case histories of Mrs. F, G and H it has been concluded that at the micro as well as macro levels it is the family environment that has put them behind the bars.

At the micro level, out of the forty respondents, only one is charged for attempt to murder. She has been booked under Section
307 of the IPC. A detailed case study of the respondent is given below.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS I**

Mrs. I is a tall and fair complexioned lady of sixty years. She is a widow and belongs to the Brahmin caste. She is illiterate and of a very reserved nature. She keeps staring at the walls as if thinking ‘what the rest of her life has in store for her?’

Mrs. I’s husband owned twenty bigha of land. Out of this, fourteen bigha was used for cultivation and the rest six bigha was in the form of orchard. Mrs. I lost her husband eighteen years ago. Before that she lived with her husband and six children in a village near Hathras. They had three sons and three daughters. One of the daughters had been married during the lifetime of Mrs. I’s husband.

Mrs. I is the only daughter of her parents and had only one younger brother. Mrs. I’s brother had expired before her marriage. Her parents were illiterate and were engaged in the cultivation of land. They lived in a village near Bulandshahar.

Recalling her life as a child Mrs. I related, “My father used to take care of everything. I think he always was the dominating factor in our house. It’s not that my mother was a weak person. In
fact, both were very hard working and responsible. They were committed towards each other as well as towards their children. It was my mother who willingly allowed my father to play the dominating role in most of the matters. However, there were certain issues, which were decided by my mother. We were not used to live in large families; ours was a very close-knit family of four. Both my parents lost their parents quite early in their life. It was just my parents, my brother, and myself. My brother and myself led a very protected life. I remember going out was a big occasion for us and would be only for relative’s marriage. My father was a strict disciplinarian and he never pampered or spoiled us. He was never on leave except when he was too ill to work. Discipline permeated into every aspect of our lives, just as there had to be an occasion for going out, there also had to be an occasion for buying things and clothes. I don’t remember leading a life as other girls of my village. My father believed in valuing everything we have in life and not take things for granted.”

Mrs. I further stated, “When I was around fifteen, my father thought that it was time to get his daughter married. Like all fathers, he believed that there was nothing more special than his daughter. So he wanted someone extra special for me. Nobody
according to him was good enough. But he eventually found someone who he thought was right and I was married to him.”

“My parents-in-law were very simple and warm people. I never felt alienated or aloof. I was consulted in the family affairs and was very much respected and looked after. My husband too was very loving and I was very happy with them. However, my parents-in-law died within ten years of my marriage. Seven years later my husband fell ill. We thought it was nothing serious and we consulted a doctor of our village. He was under his treatment for quite a long time. But his condition was not stable. Later, the doctor advised us to take him to a nearby government hospital. A lot of time was wasted in the hospital saying the equipment was not working or that something had gone wrong; when they eventually diagnosed that he had leukemia it was too late to do anything. He died one month after he was admitted into the hospital. After that I had to face a rough weather.”

“I had to do things I had never done before. My eldest son was in Hathras. He had an Ambassador car that he was renting as a taxi. I along with my two unmarried daughters and my youngest son moved to Hathras. My second son stayed in the village to look after the land. While I was in Hathras he got involved in a fight with the
village boys and was subsequently killed. Since none of my children
were in the village I decided to lease out the land on sharecropping
basis to my husband’s elder brother’s son. They would cultivate the
land in my absence, give a portion of the produce to me and keep the
rest with themselves. This agreement was done till I returned to the
village. Things continued in this way. I was able to get both my
daughters married. Thinking that we had to return to our village, my
son sold off the car. I returned to my village with my two sons. My
eldest son wanted to take the land from his cousins and work on it.
Two months later his cousins took him along with them on some
pretext and killed him.” When the police enquired the case her name
was also given to the police as one of the suspects by my relatives.

After going through the case history of Mrs. I following
conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. I is an illiterate widow.

2. She has a plot of land, which her relatives wanted to take
   away from her. Her eldest son was the only protector, which
   she had.
3. Realising this, her relatives decided to kill him and register a case of attempt to murder against Mrs. I. This enabled them to get the plot of land free from the hold of Mrs. I and her son.

4. In this case it was Mrs. I's relative's greed that led her arrest and she was put behind the bars.

Mrs. I is very much disappointed by the police behaviour. She reports that the policewomen, inspite of being women have no sympathy for the women whom they arrest. Mrs. I reports that even at this age she is pressurised physically as well as mentally to accept her involvement in the murder of her son.

At the micro level the case study of Mrs. I reveals that she is an illiterate widow. She owns twenty Bigha of land that her relatives wanted to take away from her. Her son was the only protector that she had. Realising this, her relatives decided to kill him and register a case of attempt to murder against her. This enables them to make the land free from the hold of Mrs. I and her son. Death of Mrs. I's husband has made her family vulnerable and her relatives took advantage of the situation.

At the macro level none of the respondent is charged for attempt to murder. However, out of the forty respondents, ten are
charged for murder. They have been booked under Section 302 of the IPC. Case study of two respondents belonging to this category of offence is as follows.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. J**

Mrs. J is a short stature lady of fifty years. She has wheatish complexion and her hairs have turned grey. She is dressed in blue *saree*, is a *Muslim* lady and works as a household maid.

She is an illiterate woman. Talking about her childhood she reported, "I was the second child born to my mother. I had one elder brother. I was born in a remote and poverty stricken village. Our house was a simple one, made of bricks with a thatched roof. My mother died when I was a few months old and my father died of tuberculosis when I was four. My brother and I were separated when my parents died and I was taken into my mother's side of the family and he was taken by my father's side relatives. I guess that is why I have never felt attached to anyone. When you don't grow up in an environment of closeness, you don't long for attachment because you haven't known it in the first place."

It is not easy being an orphan and having no memories of your parents. My grandfather was a policeman and would get a
pension of Rs. 3000/= a month. My grandparents looked after me but they had their own limitations and I was thus forced to move from one relative to another. I had only two sets of clothes. When one was drying in the yard, I would be wearing the other. There was this burning desire to stand on my own feet and not trouble my relatives anymore but what to do when you are not educated. To study would mean that I would have to depend more and more on my relatives. In such a situation marriage seemed to be the only way out. I earnestly began to desire for it simply because then I would not be a burden on my relatives and would have a home and a family of my own.

Understanding the need of the situation my grandfather arranged a match for me. I was married at the age of sixteen. For two years, I was beaten and tortured for not having brought in sufficient dowry. Then my husband went to Saudi Arabia and my in-laws told me that I would have to pay for my meals. Since it was not possible for me to pay, I was thrown out of home. I informed my husband who told me to go back to my in-laws but they refused to accept me. I returned to my grandfather’s house. After two years of marriage I had a son. My husband came back but did not take me to his house. Finally one day, my grandmother dropped me back at my in-laws’
place. When I landed there, my husband disappeared and my brother-
in-law and mother-in-law would beat me everyday. My husband, I
found, had remarried and used up all that was given to me in
marriage.

I was hardly twenty years of age and returned to my
grandfather’s house feeling rejected and destitute. I had no desire for
living except for my son. I had just one mission in life and it was to
bring up my son giving him a loving and secure childhood. I agreed to
my relatives’ pressure for a second marriage. My husband was a
motor mechanic and very elderly to me. His first wife had expired and
he had three children. The children were married and lived separately.
In the beginning things went on smoothly and I found my husband to
be a responsible man. But gradually things began to change. He
pointed out that the expenses of the family were quite large and could
not be met by him alone. Thinking that my son’s responsibility was
mine alone and I should not burden by husband with it. I began to
think of making some earning. As I was not educated I had no
alternative but to work as a housemaid. As soon as I began to work, I
saw that my husband started neglecting his work. Life continued in
this way and though I took care of every need of my son, I was
financially not in a position to provide him with any education. He learnt some work of apprenticeship and began to work as a mechanic.

As soon as he began to make some earning I arranged a match for him and got him married. Within two years of marriage he had a daughter. As my husband was not pleased with the idea that my son and his family should stay with us he settled in an urban locality along with his family. After a few years my daughter-in-law contracted Tuberculosis and she expired. As there was no one to look after my granddaughter, I asked my son to leave her with me.

My granddaughter continued to stay with us. I would leave for work in the morning and she would stay at home. Later, I got her admitted to a nearby school. The day this incident took place, her school was closed and she was at home. My husband had complained of some stomach disorder and was also at home. I left for work in the morning but while working I thought that today I should reach home early, as my husband was not well. So, I left work in one of the house and reached home early. On reaching home, I received the greatest shock of my life, I saw my granddaughter being raped by my husband. I lost all control on myself and picked up a big stone to hit him. On seeing me he left my granddaughter and began to escape. But I did not
allow him to escape and hit him hard on the head. He immediately collapsed and died. Later, when the police reached I surrendered myself.

After going through the case history of Mrs. J following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Mrs. J’s environment under which she grew up was unfavourable for proper socialisation of a child.

2. Mrs. J is illiterate. She could not find a respectable source of livelihood for herself and her son. Finding no other alternative she went for a second marriage.

3. Mrs. J’s husband had betrayed her trust in her absence that led to his murder by Mrs. J.

Reporting on the behaviour of police Mrs. J said that she has accepted her crime and has surrendered herself to the police without any interrogation.

**CASE STUDY OF MISS. K**

Miss K is twenty-six years old and belongs to the Kshatriya caste. She has completed her graduation and is a very reserved person. She keeps herself aloof and seems to be revengeful. Of all the inmates that the researcher met, Miss K is the one who has
no complaint against staying in prison and feels that she is safe and secure inside the prison. She dreads the outside world.

Miss K is the only daughter of her parents. Her father is a rich businessman. Miss K is in no mood to be interviewed. She is hesitant to answer the queries before the researcher. So the researcher had left the issue for sometime and tried to engage Miss K in other issues of conversation in order to win her confidence. However, after a while Miss K gradually begins to talk about herself.

Miss K reports, “I have very few memories of my mother for she was with me only till I was six years old, She did not die but had just disappeared. From childhood, to teenage, to adulthood I was in search of her. Unfortunately, being the youngest in his family, my father had been thoroughly spoilt by his aging and wealthy parents who allowed him to do whatever he wanted to do. At first my parents had been very much in love and were the envy of most of their friends, for it seemed as if they had everything they could ask for. Later, my mother’s sister came to stay with us. May be she was there to help my mother when she was expecting me and even afterwards. Childhood for me was caring and lot of love, laughter and picnics. But that was only till I was six years old. After that my mother
disappeared and I stayed with my aunt and father. My aunt was very much like my mother. She continued to stay with us since her parents had died. She was with us, caring for me, looking after all my needs and yet she could not be a substitute for my mother. Later, she married my father”.

Miss K further continued, “The past remains crystal clear till date. I still remember the day when I realised that my mother had not been in her room all the day. She had been ill, very ill, her forehead was bandaged. She had fallen at the picnic we had all gone for. And they would not allow me to visit her room. I was told that she was tired and did not wish to see anyone. I had wept at that and continued weeping for a long time, till my tears were dried and they stopped flowing from my eyes. I used to stare at her through the window of her room; call her, but she always seemed to be sleeping. And father, he used to sit morose, deep in thought. And then I never saw my mother.”

Miss K informed that this incident had made her very restless and even after they moved to another place; she used to ask her father to get her mother back. But everytime she received a standard reply that her mother will not come back and things will be
explained to her when she will grow up. She grew up from an insecure child to a lonely teenager but she stopped asking. Her father never bothered to explain things to her on his own. As a result, Miss K distanced herself from her father inspite of all the love he showered on her. Her father and aunt tried to draw her out of her isolation. They tried all means. They removed Miss K’s mother’s clothes and even her photographs. May be it was for this reason that they fixed her marriage as soon as she completed her intermediate. She was engaged to be married. But she continued her studies. Her father saw to it that she went out occasionally. Perhaps, it was to help her forget her mother.

Miss K further continued, “I was never completely myself. There was just one question that kept me occupied. I had not received any answer regarding it and now I wanted to find an answer to it before I entered into my new life. With great difficulty I managed to procure the address of our previous house. A friend of mine who stayed in boarding belonged to the same place. I handed over the address to her and asked her to make enquiry about my family when she visited the place. As my father is a rich businessman people knew him well. Later, through my friend I came to know that when we all
had gone for the picnic my mother had been pushed off by her husband and sister from a cliff. She had fallen, but hung on to an unsuspecting rock on which she had plunged her head and both of them in panic had pulled her up. After that she had become hysterical because of pain and betrayal. She was put in a sanatorium but no one visited her for she failed to recognize anyone. Later, she died in the sanatorium”.

With much hesitation Miss K informs the researcher that on learning the facts, she was filled with hatred and revenge towards her aunt and father. She tried to forget what all had happened but found it very difficult. Each day the presence of her father and aunt reminded her that these were the people who had ruined her life. It was they, who robbed her of her childhood, who made her orphan and who gave her mother pain, betrayal, a vegetable existence and ultimately death. Many a times she attempted to end her life but changed her mood thinking that the death of her mother had in no way affected her father and aunt. They are living as they had desired. If she ends her life, it will again affect them in no way. She wanted to take her mother’s revenge by killing either her father or her aunt. She wanted to ruin their lives and all its planning. She wanted to make
either of them alone and make him/her lead a lonely, insecure, helpless and purposeless life as her own.

Miss K further informs the researcher that she was aware of the consequences of her deed. But she was not afraid because she had no desire to continue living with people who had betrayed her and her mother. She could have got married but now for her marriage had no meaning. She knew she could never trust her husband.

Thus, once when her father was out of the city, she poisoned her aunt. She made no attempt to hide her crime and at the time of arrest confessed the truth.

After going through the details of the case study of Miss K following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Miss K was emotionally insecure during childhood.

2. She had come to know that her father and aunt were responsible for the death of her mother.

3. She had become revengeful towards them and wanted to destroy their strategy even at the cost of her own life. She had resorted to crime for the sake of revenge and was neither a born nor a habitual criminal.
Her father's attitude towards her and her mother had made Miss K lose all faith in the institution of marriage.

At the macro level the two cases of Mrs. J and Miss K (charged for murder) are dissimilar in their personal and social characteristics. Mrs. J is an illiterate married, poor, household maid. She kills her husband because she saw her granddaughter being raped by him. Thus in this case it is the immoral behaviour of her husband that has put Mrs. J behind the bars. Miss K, on the other hand, is an educated, rich and unmarried girl. She poisoned her mother’s sister because she married her father and had attempted to kill her sister (Miss K's mother). Thus, it is the immoral behaviour of Miss K’s father that has made Miss K revengeful and has put her in prison.

After going through the cases of Mrs. I, J and Miss K following conclusions have been drawn.

At the micro level none of the respondent is directly involved in murder: Mrs. I has been implicated by her relatives. However, it is observed that at the macro level women are directly involved in killing. At both the levels it is the immoral behaviour and greed of the family members or the relatives that has placed the respondents in prison.
In the present study, out of the forty respondents at the micro level, two are charged for Disrupting Public Tranquility. They have been booked under Sections 148 and 149 of the IPC. Case study of one respondent belonging to this category of offence is as follows.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. L**

Mrs. L is a short and stout woman, thirty-eight years of age. She has large black eyes, wavy black hair and attractive features. She belongs to the backward caste. She gives the impression of being tense and nervous and looks much older than her age. She is an illiterate woman.

Mrs. L is the third child, of her lower middle class parents, eleven children. She has two elder and five younger sisters and three younger brothers. In spite of there being so many children whom her father had to feed, they did live well. Her father was educated up to class VII and was engaged in the cultivation of land. However, her mother was illiterate.

Mrs. L remembered that her father was so short tempered that he often shouted at them and even beat them. During childhood Mrs. L had suffered harsh beating from her father that she had not been able to forget. She said that she hated her father for that and was
mortal scared of him. She stated that her father wanted to send all of them to schools but her elder sister and she were not interested in studies. Consequently, each one of them was married at an early age. She disclosed that a lot of dowry had to be given in the marriages of her elder sisters and her own with the result that the monetary condition of the family had considerably affected and that after marriage she was not very much welcomed in her parents home.

Revealing her experiences after marriage Mrs. L reported, "The best period of my life was when I lived with my husband after marriage. He was a school bus driver. Though my in-laws were not very happy with me as I had not brought as much dowry as they had expected, it did not greatly affect married life because my husband was engaged in the cultivation of land and kept me separately with him. We had two daughters and my husband's income supported us fairly well".

Mrs. L became quite sad after narrating the facts about her married life. She kept quite and even had tears in her eyes. Then all of a sudden she remarked, "But the happiness of my married life was too short lived. After about nine years of marriage my husband died in an accident. My mother-in-law instead of sympathizing with me
cursed me for being responsible for her son’s death. None of my relatives from the in-laws or my parents side asked me to accompany them and after a while when the last rites of my husband were over I was left alone with my two daughters. Finding no other alternative, gradually I started to sell jewelry I had. That lasted for some time but after that I had no way out but to shift to my in-laws place permanently, although, I knew that we would be unwanted members.”

Relating her experiences at her in-laws place Mrs. L said, “I had hardly entered the house when my mother-in-law began to shout at me saying that I was so inauspicious that even my shadow would prove unlucky for her house. Though extremely hurt, I just kept quite as I had no place to go and no one to depend upon. My father-in-law was kind and he allowed me to come in and stay with them. My husband’s elder brother and his wife and children and his younger unmarried brother, all were living together in the same house. I was given a small room little away from the other rooms towards the outer side of the house and I started living there with my daughters. I cannot tell you how badly my mother-in-law and even elder sister-in-law were treating me. I and my children were not given the same food as the other members of the family and inspite of having a servant I was
asked to do the odd jobs in the house and was not allowed to sit and talk with anyone in the family or outside it.”

Mrs. L further revealed, “My younger brother-in-law, as I came to know by over-hearing the conversation of the family members, was friendly with a girl of a nearby village. He met her very often and wanted to marry her. But the girl belonged to a different religion and consequently both the parties were against this marriage. He made requests and all possible efforts to persuade his parents to agree to the match. Finally, half-heartedly they agreed for the match. But the girl’s parents were not ready to listen to any requests or threats. Finding no other alternative the girl ran away from her parents’ house. The girl’s parents reached our house to enquire about their daughter. They entered into some argument that gradually turned into a conflict. As a result, a large mob had collected in front of our house. The girl’s parents had taken the help of the police to bring back their daughter. The police reached the spot and began to make enquiries. My in-laws were not willing to disclose any information regarding their youngest son. This made the police angry. The violent behavior of the police made the village people angry and they held the girl’s parents responsible for all this. This resulted in the break up of
violent conflict between the girl’s parents and the village people. Along with the other people who were on the sight the police under the charge of disrupting public tranquility also arrested Mrs. L”.

After going through the case history of Mrs. L following conclusions has been drawn:

1. Mrs. L is economically unprotected after the death of her husband.

2. Mrs. L is a burden on her parents-in-law. Her parents-in-law made no effort to prevent her arrest because they wanted to get rid of her.

3. The police acted in haste.

At the micro level Mrs. L is charged for disrupting public tranquility. In this case Mrs. L and her children have become a burden on her parents-in-law. They are not willing to take up this responsibility and want to get rid of them. Consequently, they make no effort to prevent the arrest of Mrs. L. Thus in this case it is the irresponsible and indifferent parents-in-law who are responsible for putting Mrs. L in prison. At the macro level none of the respondent was charged for disrupting public tranquility.
At the macro level two respondents are found to be involved in drug trafficking. They have been booked under Section 27 of NDPS Act (Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances), 1985. Case study of one of the respondents belonging to this category of offence is given below.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. M**

Mrs. M is a slim and dark complexioned lady of forty years. She wears a big *bindi* and her hair is done in a big tight knot. She has an untidy appearance and is very talkative. Mrs. M is very much familiar with most of the inmates and knew their cases quite well. Mrs. M is a *Punjabi*, educated lady and worked as a Secretary in a private company. She is dissatisfied with the legal system of the country and has a revolting attitude towards it.

Jealousy is a strong emotion and that’s what most people are experiencing right now when they think of me. The people who are out to defame me are jealous because I was close to the Doctor (owner of the company) and his wife. Some of the so-called friends of the Doctor and his family were jealous of the mutual love that existed between the couple and me. They used to wonder how the couple was so attached to me, how they trusted me with everything.
Talking about her childhood Mrs. M reports, “We are nine brothers and sisters. I am the seventh child. My parents gave each of us equal love and attention and all nine of us were close to both mother and father. As there was no partiality in their love for us, we all grew up extremely united. Till today, ours is a joint family where three sisters-in-law stay happily together under one roof. My father was in a very good position at the *Kolar Gold Fields* (KGF). We had the facilities given to children of a highly placed small town officer. We had a very, very big house with a big garden, servants to help mother in all the housework and a school bus to take us to school and back. We never lacked anything in life. My mother in turn was a very good housewife. Childhood was really idyllic”.

Mrs. M continues further, “After school, I had to choose a profession. My childhood dream was to be a nun. That life fascinated me. But my parents convinced me that I was too young to live the life of a nun. Later, I wanted to be a nurse or a teacher, but my parents very logically pointed out that I had more scope as a secretary. I joined a diploma course. After I finished my diploma, I took up a part-time job as a secretary in a German company. Later, I shifted to the Doctor’s company as a full-time secretary. Madam (Doctor’s wife)
was a very systematic and strict boss. There was a lot of love but there was lot of discipline too. The stricter Madam was, the kinder Doctor would be. The couple used to proudly introduce me as their secretary. They always used to praise me to the skies to visitors and I used to be embarrassed. At time, I never dreamt that all this would create problem for me. Slowly, Madam started calling me home whenever she was not feeling well. Since I was not married, I could go and stay overnight with her. My parents had absolute faith in the couple. They looked after me, as well as, perhaps even better than, they would take care of their own daughter, I had even started doing their marketing. Buying vegetables for the house, going to the tailors’ etc. I was like a daughter to them”.

Mrs. M further continues, “I was married after being in service for six years and had a daughter after one year of marriage. Meanwhile, my husband wanted me to leave my job, as there was nobody to take care of the baby. It was then that my elder sister came forward to look after my daughter. My husband warned me to think twice before accepting this obligation. I wish I had heeded my husband’s advice and kept my sister’s husband far away from my family. Far away from the couple for whom I worked.”
Mrs. M narrates further, "Madam is a very gullible woman. My brother-in-law learnt her weak points by getting all the information from me and then he slowly attacked her. He wanted to throw me out and take over my position. He told Madam that he would sort out the files, as I was busy. He was trying to win over madam by spoiling my image. Once when Doctor was away he told Madam to give him her jewelry for safe keeping. Madam trusted him and handed it over to him. When Doctor heard about it, he was furious and warned Madam of his intentions. After that he began visiting Madam in Doctor’s absence. Gradually, he began to bad mouth about me. In the meantime my husband had gone to some foreign place for a few years. I took leave for few months to visit my husband. After my return I saw my brother-in-law staying in my house with one of his friend. His friend was not familiar to me."

Her brother-in-law informed Mrs. M that his friend was new to the place. He had come for business purpose and would be leaving soon.

Mrs. M further continues, "I was surprised to see police personnel at my house. They had come to search my house for some hidden material. It is through them that I came to know that the friend
of my bother-in-law was a drug trafficker. The police was in search of
him and he had taken shelter in my house. The police was not
convinced by my argument that the person staying in my house as a
guest was unknown to me. The police suspected my involvement and
I was arrested.”

At the macro level Mrs. M is charged for involvement in
Drug Trafficking. In the case of Mrs. M her brother-in-law is jealous
of her. He wants to take her place and be close to the rich couple with
whom Mrs. M worked. In order to make his task easy he tries to
implicate Mrs. M in drug trafficking. Thus in this case it is the jealous
and greedy relative who is responsible for putting Mrs. M in trouble.
At the micro level no respondent is found to have been involved in
drug trafficking.

At the macro level three respondents are found to be sex
workers. They have been booked under Section 8 and 9 of PITA
(Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act), 1986. Case study of one of the
respondents belonging to this category of offence is given below.

**CASE STUDY OF MRS. M**

Miss N is a tall and fair complexioned girl of twenty-eight
years. She has completed her high school from a missionary
institution. She belongs to the *Vaish* caste. She is an extrovert and real tomboy.

Talking about the experiences of her life Miss N says, “I think I came to terms with myself long ago. I had to do that to understand reality. So I don’t think I had a problem there. I was always myself. My parents are divorced so it was my mother, my elder brother and I living together. My father was in the army so we would be in odd outstation places all the time. I was six years old when my parents got divorced and my father went off to live in Australia. They divorced because my father didn’t like India and wanted to go to Australia while my mother didn’t. And though I didn’t quite understand what was going on, I remember I started crying when I saw my brother crying. I didn’t really miss having a father because my mother was a very strong person. My brother is wonderful person and his personality is the complete opposite of mine. I am glad if I had of him. I was quite wild, as I didn’t have a father to really control me. My brother is older to me by four years. I felt safe when he was around. Now he is in Australia, he is married and has three sons. My brother was the main source of strength in my life, especially in terms of controlling me. He really used to get me
into line though sometimes I feel that when I was growing up he couldn’t really handle me. I just wanted to do my own thing but then again I used to shake in his presence”

Miss N took up a job quite early in life and worked as a telephone operator after she finished her school that is why she couldn’t go to a college. Miss N and her brother had to support their mother because they had a lot of financial problems. Their mother had some property and because she was not a businesswoman she was taken for a major ride and was in a lot of debt.

Miss N continues further, “For me, my work was just a job. I didn’t like it, I knew I could do something better than be a telephone operator, but it served the purpose. I first thought I would do my M.A in Philosophy and become a teacher because the profession fascinated me. But when I saw all these teachers and how much they really earned. I decided against it. I loved acting and somehow felt that I would do well in this field. My mother’s sister told my mother that she must let me come to Delhi because she felt I must widen my horizons. So I packed my bags and headed for Delhi. I learnt acting and was also selling jeans. It was there that I got a chance to work for a theatre company. I thought why not give a shot,
as it would mean better money than what I made selling jeans. Later, I began to enjoy it. I travelled a lot and used to stay in guesthouses. When all the troop members were together we had a good time. I had many pairs of shoes and accessories, Indian, western or anything. The theatre world is basically full of very happy-go-lucky types. But it’s professional too.”

Talking of her experiences with male friends Miss N reports, “I was friendly with an elderly man who lived in Delhi. I knew him for six or seven years and one day he just beat me up. I was really shocked. I came back home but went back after a while. But when it happened the second time I left him never to return. In the beginning there was nobody I knew in Delhi except my aunt. I stayed with her for a while and then I moved to a small rented place, I learnt from my aunt that my mother had remarried. I was very scary of staying alone and never felt secure. Something inside me was very shaky. I thought that it might be through marriage I would find security. I thought it was a basic insecurity that I was carrying right from my childhood. And I found a lot of the security that I was looking for with one of my colleagues. We had decided to marry. He was warm, friendly and a very easy person to be with. But as days
passed by I felt that commitments were not for me. I felt scared of marriage, commitment and responsibilities. I didn’t want to get married. I really thought that I was making a very big mistake and called off the whole thing”.

Talking of a bad experience Miss N informs the researcher; “One bad experience I remember was when we had gone to Dubai for a show and I suddenly found these Sheiks sort of hanging around and wondered what was going on. The organizer said to be nice to them, as they were our clients. I smelt something fishy; so I would do my rehearsals, do a little bit of shopping and go back to my room. Then there would be knock on the door and the sheikh would be there insisting to come out with them as all the others were going out. Initially, I refused and told the organizer that I was not interested in the show and that I wanted to go back to Delhi. But I was not allowed to go as I had not finished the show. I would not afford to leave the assignment because of financial difficulties and I saw some of female colleagues going out with the sheikhs. I too felt like giving it a try and saw that it was easy money. Gradually, I began to shed all inhibitions and by the time we returned to India I had become accustomed to it.”
After going through the case history of Miss N following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Father’s absence had made Miss N financially and emotionally insecure since childhood.

2. Parents divorce made Miss N lose faith in marriage. She was scared of commitments and responsibilities.

3. Miss N believes in earning her livelihood in an easy way.

Miss N has all sympathy for the police. She believes their work to be duty-bound, hard and not rewarding. They work under political and administrative pressure. They hardly have any opportunity for enjoyment and leisure. Regarding the police behaviour Miss N reports that she has not been interrogated and the police are never hard on her.

At the macro level Miss N is a sex worker. Father’s absence has made her emotionally and financially insecure since childhood. She has to support herself financially from the very beginning. This exposes her to the outside world at a young age. Divorce of parents led to improper socialization and lack of guidance and guardianship. Miss N learns to believe in making quick and easy money. For this she tries working as a sex worker and gradually
became accustomed to it. After going through the case history of Miss N it can be concluded that it is the disturbed family atmosphere that led to her poor socialization and pushed her towards anti-social activities. At the micro level no respondent is charged for prostitution.