Love-marriage and kin-support in India:
Ten women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into a love-marriage.

Kaisa Nylin

LUND UNIVERSITY
School of Social Work

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Supervisor: Eva-Malin Antoniusson

Abstract

Author: Kaisa Nylin

Title: Love-marriage and kin-support in India: Ten women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into a love-marriage.

Supervisor: Eva-Malin Antoniusson

Assessor: Tove Harnett

The purpose of this study was to examine ten women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into a love-marriage, especially the negative sanction of reduced kin-support, and in which way this can be perceived to be of significance when it comes to women's capability to manage the challenges experienced in married life. This has been done by applying a qualitative research strategy and conducting semi-structured interviews with ten women living in one slum area of Bangalore. What I have come to notice is that love-marriage challenge the marital norm of arranged marriage, and is therefore target of negative sanctions, one of which I found is reduced kin-support or social exclusion. From the theoretical perspective of *welfare regimes*, India can be categorized as a failing 'informal security regime' which indicates that the family and the community are the main providers of socio-economical security. I found that entering into a love-marriage endangers the entitlement to receive security from the family in various degrees. Thus the open labor market or state will not provide sufficient security; the experience of losing entitlement to kin-support points at a more vulnerable situation when encountering difficulties in managing marital conflicts and financial insecurity. My findings indicate that entering into a love-marriage in this context, may aggravate the women's marital life due to reduced or no kin-support, which is of significance when living as a poor woman in the slum of Bangalore.

Key words: Love-marriage, Kin-support, India, Welfare regime theory,

Acknowledgments

Content

1. Introduction

This field study took place, between February and March 2013, in one of the slum areas from the city of Bangalore, India. It is a place where poverty, alcoholism and domestic violence are part of everyday life.

India is a culturally diverse country with many geographical differences. The majority of the population is Hindu (80%), other big religious groups are Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. Nonetheless, people from these other groups follow many of the socio-religious beliefs and practices of Hinduism; the practice of arranged marriage is one of them (Mullatthi 1995). Several sources confirm that arranged marriage is the norm and custom among the majority of the cultural, ethnic and religious groups in India[1]. However, according to some, love-marriage as a practice has increased in popularity in the Indian society, challenging conventional marital norms (Allendorf 2013; Goli, Singh, Sekher 2013). Love, affection and romantic relationships before marriage are not encouraged and the wish for a love-marriage often encounters strong disapproval from parents (Grover 2009). Commonly, they are viewed as less ideal, based on personal choice, on ignorance of the parent's judgment and selection. These are characteristics of societies that emphasize individualism, which become contradictory in India, since it is characterized as a collective society. The preference for a love-marriage among the modern youth is a challenge the Indian families face today (Medora 2007).

1.1 Purpose of study and research questions

In this study I examine women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into love-marriage, i.e. by not conforming to the norm of arranged marriage. Specifically, I explore how the kin-support is experienced to be affected. This is of relevance, since the family and the community are the main providers of short- and long-term security in a developing country such as India (Gough & Abu Sharkh 2010).

Marriage is a crucial event in life for most of the Indian women, not getting married are almost out of consideration (Bass 2009; Gupta 1976). According to Medora (2007), marriage is "a social, religious, and cultural duty and obligation" (2007:182). Most of the marriages are arranged and its

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1   See e.g Mullatti 1995; Grover 2006; Medora 2007; Bass 2009; Allendorf 2013.

purpose is more about the union of two families rather than of two individuals. The maintenance of family lines, traditions and unity are prioritized above individual goals. Values that the family emphasizes are social bonds, cooperation and interdependence (Ibid.). Basically, there are two types of marriages: arranged and love-marriages. Arranged marriages are "typically caste-endogamous unions initiated by parents while love-marriages are self-chosen marriages unions preceded by premarital relationships based on love, which may contravene the norm of caste endogamy" (Grover 2009:2). Arranged marriages have much more credibility, they are viewed as more robust and lifelong unions supported by parents (Ibid). The arranged marriage is the "culturally appropriate way" (Allendorf 2013:460). It supports the tradition of the caste system, which love-marriage on the contrary may not. Inter-caste marriages can be seen as disrespectful to the social hierarchy (Baas 2009). In another study, Mody (2002) found love-marriage to be considered as anti-social and to differ substantially from the norm.

However, the issue of love-marriage does not only exist in India. In Europe, an opposite scenario is taking place in terms of conflicting marital norms. From a global perspective it is relevant to gain an understanding of the experience of love-marriage in a context where it is not the norm. In 2009, the Swedish National board for Youth Affairs delivered a report named *Gift mot sin vilja* (Married against ones will; my own translation). The report addresses that both voluntary and constrained arranged marriages exist in Sweden and cause problems for those who would rather prefer a love-marriage.

As a social worker it is relevant to study women's experiences of love-marriage in a context where it is deviant from the norm, as "social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments" (IASSW). The profession promotes social change in order to enhance people's wellbeing. By studying experiences from a qualitative approach, the significance of the context from the perspective of the subject becomes accessible; in this case the women who entered into a love-marriage. To be able to work for their empowerment and liberation, an understanding of their experiences and what they identify to be significant in their environment is essential. By understanding what love-marriage can mean in a context where it is in conflict with marital norms, may help to better understand those who struggle with this issue inside or outside of India.

The purpose of this study is to examine ten women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into a love-marriage, especially the negative sanction of reduced kin-support, and in which way this can be perceived to be of significance when it comes to women's capability to manage the challenges experienced in married life.

1. How can reduced kin-support be experienced to be used as a negative sanction when entering into a love-marriage?

2. Due to reduced kin-support, which aspects from married life are identified as challenges for the women who are entering into a love-marriage?

3. In which way can the negative sanction of reduced kin-support to love-marriages be perceived to be of significance when it comes to the women's capability to manage the challenges experienced in married life?

1.2 Definitions

I use Giddens' (2006:1023) definition of *marriage* as "a socially approved sexual relationship between two individuals. […] It is expected that the married couple will produce and bring up children". When parents or other influential third parts are involved in the selection of a spouse, the term referred to will be *arranged marriage* (Grover 2005). Those marriages can be voluntary, made in consultation and on request from the child or forced upon. The term *love-marriage* will be used for self-chosen marriages or elopements, those marriages are based on love and no third part has been involved in the selection of spouse (Ibid). Love-marriage is the common term used in India and among my interviewees. There is also a hybrid of them, which I referred to as *love and arranged marriage*, a love-marriage that the parents agree to and decide to arrange (Ibid.). *Kin-support* is defined as "the inter-generational transfer process of: welfare to deal with present insecurity; and investment in capacity to deal with future insecurity" (Wood 2004:79), not only inter-generational but also horizontal support, for example from brothers.

1.3 Background

Under this chapter the political and economical situation in India is briefly presented. I also provide a short explanation of the ancient caste system and of its relevance in the context of contemporary India.

With over 1.2 billion people, India is the second most populated country in the world after China (CIA World Fact Book 2012). The country is often referred to as the biggest democracy in the world. It is a federal republic consisting of twenty-eight states with a strong regional influence and freedom from central governance. This has resulted in a great economic diversity between

states, with an advantage for the states with a stronger economy and a more effective administration. The government is ruled by a democratic principle, but serious corruption scandals have been unfolded (Embassy of Swedish 2011). In the recent years India has had one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The middle class is growing and approximately 1% of the population moves every year above the poverty line, still about 40% of the Indian population lives below the poverty line. Every citizen has the right by Indian law to primary education and health care, but the government fails to deliver this every year, especially in rural areas. India is a big country and the economic development has mostly affected the cities, the southern and western parts (SIDA 2012).

A key feature of the Indian society is the rigid caste system, which has existed for centuries. Castes exist predominantly among Hindus, still it can be found among other religious groups but as complex phenomena (Goli et al. 2013). For Hindus all individuals are born into a specific caste, a social position determined for life. It is a big part of both the individual and the group identity; it can be defined as a "group of persons characterized by marriage within a group, hereditary membership, and specific style of life such as ritual status or a particular occupation" (Dhar 2013:3).

There are four main castes, all containing several sub-castes connected to specific occupations. Below or outside these four main castes you find Dalits and tribal people, also known as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Castes are considered impure and unholy and suffer from daily discrimination. Even if the government abolished the caste system around 1950 it still plays a crucial part of the everyday Indian life (Medora 2007). In a study of the socio-economic situation of the "common people" of India, Sengupta, Kannan & Raveendran (2008) found Scheduled Castes to be the group in the least favorable position; they "form the bottom layer in all respects considered" (Ibid 2008:59). Their study shows a strong relation between caste and socio-economic wellbeing. Scheduled Castes are limited to jobs like sweepers, to remove waste or to begging.

The state implemented the Special Marriage Act 1954, which endorses and legally legitimates inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. It also enabled individuals to marry without the parents or the communities consent (Mody 2002). Still marriages are conventionally caste-endogamous. Among women who enter into a love-marriage, inter-caste marriages are four times more common than in arranged marriages. Still, Goli et al. (2013) found both love-marriages and inter-caste marriages to be rare in their national-wide survey. Inter-caste marriages are commonly not well respected and are treated badly by many, especially by the families and the caste community. Inter-caste marriages between Scheduled Castes and higher castes are sanctioned harder than Inter-caste

marriages between the four main castes or in between sub-castes (Dhar 2013; Allendorf 2013). Even so, some argue that a change in attitude is taking place (Allendorf 2013; Goli et al. 2013).

1.4 Earlier research

In this section I give a short summary of earlier research on the topic of love-marriage in India. There is more research on love-marriage in addition to what is presented here. However, I have chosen two ethnographic studies that approach the subject differently, and have decided to dedicate this space to present their findings. In addition to these two studies as the main sources, the ideas and findings of other relevant studies are presented throughout this text.

In 2005, Shalini Grover did an ethnographic study on women's experiences of marriage in a slum in New Delhi. She examines lived experiences of love-marriages and arranged marriages, and she shows in a nuanced way how both types elicit heterogeneous responses from natal kin. Her study of working class women in Delhi shows that women's access to post-marital support is strongly affected by the type of marriage into which they enter. She found that women who enter into love-marriages endure more vulnerability and insecurity. Since they chose their husband on their own, they are expected to accept responsibility for the outcome. Her sample consists of 12 married couples, were she interviewed both husbands and wives. Her study resembles in many ways the study I did in Bangalore, but in much wider proportions. Her ethnographic study focused at the point where the women interact with their environment, which provides a dissertation full with thick descriptions. Grover's dissertation provides a deeper and broader understanding of what a love-marriage means and what impact it can have in married women's lives.

Keera Allendorf (2013) from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign performed another ethnographic study of significance. She made semi-structured interviews and fieldwork on the increasing practice of love-marriages in the north of India. Both positive and negative characteristics attributed to the different types of marriages are identified, and her study contributes to a deeper understanding of people's thoughts and ideas about love-marriage. Arranged and same-caste marriages were perceived to be more prestigious and honorable than love-marriages. For women, it is perceived that the arranged marriage facilitates good relationships with her in-laws and reinforces ties with her family of origin, compared to love-marriages, which endanger post-marital kin-support. Nevertheless, one positive aspect the informants attributed to love-marriage is the possibility of being able to choose one's spouse.

Research by Gough and Abu Sharkh (2010) categorizes India as a failing 'informal security regime' and highlights the significance of family and community support. Their analysis acts as the theoretical foundation for my study. This research study is presented in more in detail under the third chapter.

2. Methodology and approach

This study is based on fieldwork carried out in Bangalore, India between February and March 2013. I collected material through semi-structured interviews with women living in one slum area. I have done an inductive qualitative study composed of a sample of ten informants in order to examine women's lived experiences at a micro-level.

2.1 Method and fieldwork

In September 2012 I received a minor field scholarship from SIDA, which made it possible for me to travel to India and collect material for this bachelor's thesis. At that time I had established contact with the Center for Social Action (CSA) at Christ University in Bangalore. They agreed to let me perform the field study with support from their organization. The CSA is a center at the university "where student communities are sensitized on various issues affecting the poor and marginalized sections of society. […] CSA aims to enable the students to be aware of the social realities around them as well as impart them with ideas of how they can contribute towards the uplift of unheeded sections" (Center for Social Action 2013). CSA has several social programs for sustainable social development within and around Bangalore. The programs target groups are "children, women, youth and the student community in urban slums, rural and tribal villages and educational institutions" (Ibid.). They are recognized as a non-governmental organization (NGO); therefore I saw them as a valuable source and gatekeeper to carry out this field study.

The most important preparation I did before leaving Sweden, was reading about customs and the culture to be aware of what would be expected from me. When I arrived in Bangalore I took some days to adjust myself to the life and climate. I learned what and where to eat, how to handle the heat and how to talk to people.

One of the first things I did was to buy Indian traditional clothes, which basically all women wore. I wore lose or tight pants, a tunic with sleeves and a matching scarf covering the chest. Just like Laine (2009) experienced during her field study in India, I also saw the importance of wearing proper clothes. Even if Bangalore is a modern city, most of the women wear traditional clothes. At the university and in the slum I never saw a woman wearing anything else.

I needed to interact with the field and do a pre-study in order to define purpose, method and theory, as India was an unknown culture for me. I also needed to do a pre-study in order to avoid unnecessary mistakes (Asper 2007).

The CSA organized and introduced me to a project in one slum area where they knew I could meet and speak to women about their *family life*, the topic of my interest. During two days I interacted with the women from the project, the slum area and the project manager who gave me a thorough introduction to the situation in the slum area. As Asper (2007) suggests I did this pre-study from a holistic perspective, I observed what they were talking about, what was happening during the days and who was present. I was introduced to the area and went on house-visits[2] in order to get a better perspective of the conditions in which the women lived in. At the same time this was a good way to start building relationships. I continued doing house-visits during the entire field study.

A Norwegian woman, who already knew the women and the project, introduced me to the field and answered many of my questions during the first days. She was also present during the first two interviews. Her presence made it easier for me to get to know the field and establish a relationship with each of the women in a faster way. Asper (2007) explains that only someone from your own culture, who has the experience of the unfamiliar, can understand the meeting between you and the new culture.

This pre-study provided me with the insight of which possibilities and limitations existed for this field study. I concluded that family life was a possible subject to examine since I, just as Grover (2005), also experienced that the women spoke freely about this topic. Ethnographic observations would not be possible due to the language barrier; they all spoke in Kannada, Tamil or Telugu with each other. I realized that interviews with a translator would be a better research strategy.

I went to the slum four days a week to interact with the informants and the other women. I wanted to get to know them, their daily life, their job, the area and the project. I had two months to

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2   We walked around the slum and spoke to people. Some of them invited us in to their homes for tea and snacks.

complete the field study, so I decided to spread the interviews during this time. I also wanted the informants to get to know me, so they would feel comfortable sharing their private life with me.

The question of ontology has a constructionist position of reality and social entities. The meaning of social phenomena is generated by the social actors (Bryman 2008). The hermeneutic or interpretive position is taken when epistemological consideration has been made. This position stresses understanding and non-fixed explanations as knowledge (Thomassen 2007). I emphasize the *experiences* in regard to the constructionist ontological standpoint of this thesis; it is the subjective experience of negative sanctions that is of interest. I do not look for the objective truth.

2.2 The qualitative research strategy: the semi-structured interview

Qualitative research strategy emphasizes the significance of the context for the subject being studied instead of isolation of the phenomena; it also strives for an understanding about the phenomena through an examination of the interpretation by its participants. By applying a qualitative strategy I have striven to examine and provide relevant descriptive details of the context (Bryman 2008).

The strategy of the semi-structured interview helped me to focus on topics with flexibility. The interviews were structured by explorative themes with conflict management as the starting point (Appendix 1). Still, this allowed me to be open for changes, new angles and to penetrate interesting topics. The focus of this study was broad from the start but narrowed down to be more or less narrow in scope; in the end I only had specific themes. The empirical material developed as a result of the interaction. If you see through the eyes of the people being studied you can get access to the meaning they attribute to their environment (Bryman 2008). By letting the women speak their own words and encouraging them to speak with thick descriptions, I gained an understanding of what the informants experienced and identified as meaningful. I was aware that talking freely about private issues may just be a jargon, so I was careful to conduct the interviews in private, without any stress, and with a serious and active listening mind from me.

The interviews were structured with regard to time, place and themes, but where open for digressions and alternatives. After some interviews and unofficial conversations I found one recurring factor related to conflict management; the involvement and support of natal family. I learned that in India the norm is to have an arranged marriage, which made me observant to the fact that nine out of the ten informants defined their marriage as a love-marriage. I needed to make a

second round because I then narrowed and changed the focus towards the themes and connection between kin-support and love-marriage. During the first interviews I missed to ask further questions about love-marriage and the meaning and experience of that.

Through the analysis and coding of the empirical material, and by applying the theoretical framework, I have identified and categorized several topics. I found patterns and overlapping topics that I organized and summarized into the themes presented in this thesis.

In total I made 17 interviews including the second round with seven of the women. I interviewed five of the informants in the interviewee's house. One interview was done at the kindergarten when the kids were sleeping. I realize that the presence of the sleeping children did not inhibit her to speak, as I first thought it would. The rest of the interviews were conducted in a separate room at the project. The room was not closed but the most private one available. Sometimes friends, children or family members disturbed us, but I did not see that as a problem or to affect the results in any way. When that happened we took a break and then nicely asked the person to leave us. I always brought some sweets, chocolate and water for all the interviews. Six of the women invited me to their home for tea, snacks and lunch where unofficial interaction took place. To show my gratitude to the informants, I gave each one of them a small gift I brought from Sweden. No money was paid for participating in the interviews.

The reader should note that the material collected about love-marriage and kin-support through interviews is not conclusive. This material was collected during particular circumstances and emerges as the result from the interaction right there and then.

2.3 Sampling

The population, from which I selected the sample (Bryman 2008), was working mothers and wives, between the ages of 25-33 years old. They all live in one slum area in the city of Bangalore where the CSA has a running project. The informants have 1 to 5 children, are married and have a job in the project or outside. Their husbands work for daily wages. One husband does not have a job and another one left his family. In my sample nine informants define their marriage as a love-marriage and one define hers as an arranged marriage. The woman with an arranged marriage has indirect experience of love-marriage through relatives.

I wanted to meet the informants as much as possible to be able to establish a relationship and gain their confidence; therefore all the informants live the same area. By doing so I had a better

chance to capture the dynamics and penetrate the subject deeper, due to the time limit. Eriksson-Zetterqiust & Ahrne (2011) suggest a minimum of 10 informants to make the interviews representative and saturated, but according to Bryman (2008) studies with a broader research focus and more heterogeneous samples, needs bigger samples to support convincing conclusions. I concluded 10 interviewees would be enough. Thus, the sample was relatively homogeneous in the beginning and I had two months to complete the field study.

I approached four of the women and asked if I could interview them. The manager, in a discussion with the translator and me, facilitated the other six informants. He recommended me to contact women he thought would be open to speak to me. Thus the sampling strategy I have used is purposive sampling (Bryman 2008). None of the women who were asked to participate in the interviews said no. No one of them had direct contact with the manager as I know about, so he did not encourage them to participate. Maybe they hoped to gain something from participating.

2.4 The setting and obstacles

The whole study was conducted through the CSA's project. The target for the project was to empower children, women and youths. All the women I interviewed live in the slum, seven of them worked in the project. The project is not the focus of this study; it is only a facilitator and gatekeeper. Therefore I will not go deeper into their work.

The slum
The slum can be described as an area with high illiteracy, inadequate quality and numbers of schools, and lack of employment/livelihood opportunities for women, men and youths. The governmental schools are not functioning well and the private schools are few and fees are high. People work for daily wages, like unskilled workers with irregular and insecure jobs. The women are the main breadwinners; still their financial position is very bad and insecure. The people in the slum are landless and 85 % generally live below the poverty line with big families. Child labor and early dropouts from school are a problem. The draining system is bad, in addition the lack of toilets and problems with the drinking water affects the children's health. The slum also lacks infrastructure to withstand bad weather conditions. Alcoholism, addiction and "bad habits" are part of the problems in the slum (CSA 2009). In a study of 744 married women living in the urban slum

of Bangalore, Rocca et al. (2009) found that 1/3 reported to have a love-marriage, which can serve as a reference, but can not be used to generalize all of Bangalore's slums.

To gain trust and build relationships

Entering an unknown field forced me to be prepared and remain open-minded to be able to handle the obstacles I encountered. I tried to step out from my Swedish box and leave everything I know as real behind. Still, I have my cultural identity, but strived to be aware of my values and myself every day, and tried to gain their trust by showing respect, flexibility and openness.

I worked hard to create reciprocal relationships where we could share thoughts and I told them about my life in Sweden and myself. Still, sometimes both theirs and my ethnocentrism, made it challenging, thus the risk for misunderstandings were high. By being sensitive to and aware of what was considered appropriate in this context I believe I managed to create good relationships.

Before I made the first interview the manager told me not to go too deep and ask too much questions, which could lead to changes in their mindset and could create problems. During the interviews I only asked relevant questions for the purpose of the study and never pushed the informants to think differently. In the beginning I saw this as an obstacle, but I realized it was not the case late on. By speaking about their experiences, by listening actively and by having open questions, I never needed to ask "too much".

Definition problems

The definition of kin-support can be interpreted in many ways, and with some of the informants the definition was unclear. But I solved this by examining specific situations, were I explored how kin-support was experienced.

The translator

I needed a translator for the interviews and to interact with the field. The CSA helped me hire a translator, a woman from the slum. Her English was not perfect, but good enough. The fact that she knew the field and was part of it made it easy to move around and it was valued to have someone familiar who introduced me. She could also explain many aspects of the Indian life and customs as they occurred. In the end she worked more or less as a field-assistant. However, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) alert for one risk, the translator might subtly enter into an interviewer or interviewee role because she might have an agenda of her own. This was possible, as she was not

only part of the field; she was also one of the informants. I evaluated this and informed her about the importance of her role as a translator. Three of the interviews were conducted without translator, and all informants knew some English, which reduces the risk of her influencing the study.

The fact that she was part of the field, influence the feasibility of the study in a positive way. As she already knew the informants it eased the contact for me. She was informed that the principle of confidentiality also applied to her. Her name will not be mentioned, as she was one of the informants.

2.5 Ethical considerations

During the field study I interviewed women about their family life, conflicts and behaviors, which can be perceived as a sensitive matter. But like Grover (2005) experienced, I also noticed that speaking openly about family matters is not as sensitive in the slum as I expected it to be. Before starting the first interview I consulted with my supervisor in the field about this matter, and then concluded that the ethical principles from the Swedish research council (Vetenskapsrådet 1990) were also applicable in the Indian context.

The ethical consideration is something I could not fully do before entering the field, as I did not know what type of environment I would encounter. I needed to deal with arising issues during the research process, which is nothing unusual according to Bryman (2008). An analysis of all the ethical issues that arose was therefore needed in order to continue the study without harming anyone. This has been done by establishing discussions with my supervisor in field, the two managers at the project, my translator and especially the women from the slum, all people who know the field very well. No ethical risks have been taken on behalf of the participants.

All the informants have been informed verbally about the study, who I am, the intentions of the study and their ethical rights before the interview starts. Everyone participated voluntarily and was informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time during the interview or after, as long as I was in India. This covers the demand of information and rule no.1 given by the Swedish research council (Vetenskapsrådet 1990). I have verbally made sure they have understood it. I did not request them to sign any paper, as it could have raised suspicions and it could have ended up with their denial to participate in the study (Bryman 2008).

There was nothing I had to hide from them about the study. The demand of confidentiality states that information about the participants should remain confidential (Vetenskapsrådet 1990). In this way I guaranteed the informants that I would not surrender their information to anyone and that I

would write about their case in a way in which their anonymity was kept without degrading the quality of the study. Therefore I have taken a Universalist stance, which means that this ethical principle should never be broken (Bryman 2008). In this study all names are changes and replaced with the names of Bollywood actresses. In the quotes, I have corrected grammatical mistakes and removed repetitions from the original interviews. This was done in order to make the quotes more understandable.

By listening actively and using open questions I tried to make them feel comfortable about sharing their family stories with me. I thought carefully before asking questions in order to not offend them or go too deep. After the interview I asked them how they felt about talking to me, to which all of them replied that they felt comfortable. I took this as a confirmation, could they have replied something else?

I wanted to give something in return to show my gratitude. As I knew the informant faced many issues, which I could not solve, I concluded a phone number to the women's helpline in Bangalore could be appropriate. There they could call for free for consultation and get professional advice. None of the women knew earlier about this number and I asked them if they were interested in that.

One of the biggest issues for me was the relationship I created with them. I knew from the start I was going to leave, and most likely never see them again. Was it right to come and go, like so many other western people? I cannot answer this question; I just hope I gave them something more than I took.

2.6 Trustworthiness

In this study I speak about trustworthiness and make no attempts to apply the criteria of reliability and validity, criteria that assess the quality of quantitative research. It is still important that qualitative research can be judged and evaluated. Bryman (2008) discerns between several positions; one among them speaks about trustworthiness, which I apply.

In order to increase the quality and trustworthiness of this study I have recorded every interview and transcribed all of it as soon as possible (Bryman 2008). I also took notes during the interviews to be prepared for technical problems, and in worst case, the fact that the recording might disappear, which happened to one of the interviews. To take notes during the interview also helped me follow up quotes and leads I might have forgotten otherwise (Eriksson-Zetterquist & Ahrne 2011). The objective has been to be transparent and open about the research process in order to make it possible for the reader to criticize and evaluate the dissertation. My aim has been to discuss rather than hide

imperfections, which increase the trustworthiness and quality of the study (Svensson & Ahrne 2011).

The manager and my supervisor in field insisted on two things; do not talk about *caste* or *sex*, which could be perceived as inappropriate and offensive. I never asked about caste and the informants never brought it up. Nor did I ask about sex but in the end of my field study some of the women started to ask me, so I assumed it was all right to ask back, which it was. My supervisor in the field and I interpreted this as a sign that I had gained their trust, and that they felt comfortable sharing sensitive things with me. The topic of sex was not part of my study and will not be considered later on.

Qualitative studies do not strive for generalization, but rather for cogency of the theoretical inferences. I do not try to generalize the theoretical inferences I make out of the collected data to other contexts; I will leave that to the reader. To provide thick descriptions about the relevant context I strive to make it easier for the reader to make judgments about transferability.

Depending on interview questions, coding, theory and analysis I could have found multiple accounts, no one has to be right or wrong, they are just different accounts of the social world (Bryman 2008). No theory or method can alone fully explain the social world. All methodological and theoretical perspectives have their pros and cons, and they will highlight different aspects depending on which one you apply. It is important to remember that someone else could have found different inclinations; I am only giving one among many perspectives to the relation between love-marriage and kin-support.

I cannot fully guarantee that my own personal values or theoretical inclinations have affected the research and the findings deriving from it. There were no more observers other than me, I have conducted this research on my own and I don't know if anyone else would have made the same observations as I did (Bryman 2008). I was a foreigner meeting a new culture and there is a risk for ethnocentrism. There is no such thing as total objectivity in social research and therefore I can only be open and clear about how I made the inclinations. It is important to remember the context and situation of the sample to decide its applicability in other contexts.

3. Theory and concepts

The theory has served as a guide and frame during the field study and in this thesis. A central position advocated by Asper (2007), between letting the theory control the whole research and not using a theory at all. The conceptual framework of welfare regimes (Gough & Wood 2004) along with the concepts of 'norms' and 'sanctions' defined by Giddens (2006) has directed the focus to central aspects. By focusing on some aspects I disregarded others.

3.1 Welfare Regime Theory – India as an failing 'informal security regime'

Gough and Wood's (2004) conceptual framework and middle-range theory of *welfare regimes*[3] is relatively recently developed to analyze social policy within a developing context. However I have used the theory a bit different from that. Instead I used it to highlight the significance of family and community as the main provider of security in a developing context as India, from an economic and political perspective. Along with this, the importance of the relationship between rights and correlative duties are paid special attention.

    Welfare regime is a broad definition embracing all forms of producers of security in the society, a welfare mix including state and non-state institutions. Esping-Andersen developed a three dimensional triangle of providers; state, market and family, Gough and Wood (2004) extended it to include community (e.g. NGOs or caste) and recognized the role of international actors. In the welfare regime theory, the state is seen as one among others in providing security, not necessarily the main one. The concept of welfare regime is more general than the original theory of welfare state regimes by Esping-Andersen, as it contains three meta-welfare regimes, the *welfare state regime, informal security regime* and *insecurity regime*[4]. The 'informal security regime' "reflects a set of conditions where people rely upon community and family relationships to meet their security needs" (Gough 2004:33). Different groups of people from the same country can experience different regimes (Ibid).

    In 2010, Gough and Abu Sharkh test the claims of the extended welfare regime theory. Welfare

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3   Developed out of Esping-Andersen's (1990) *welfare state regimes* which Gough and Wood (2004) did not find applicable in the developing context, thus that model relies upon two key assumptions; a legitimate state and a formal sector of labor market as primary source of security

4   For more information regarding welfare state regime and insecurity regimes see Gough and Wood (2004 p.32).

regimes were defined as a combination of relevant institutions that act to enhance welfare and security, and the final welfare conditions in the population. Through a cluster analysis[5] of 65 developing countries, they confirm the theory and support the distinctions between the three meta-welfare regimes. However they found the need to discriminate between failing and successful informal security regimes. Data was analyzed in two separate years, 1990 and 2000 and their result confirms regimes to be 'sticky' over time.

India is one of the developing countries they analyzed and were identified as a "failing 'informal security regime' with high illiteracy" (Gough & Abu Sharkh 2010:48). According to this analysis and definition of India as a failing informal security regime, the country shows poor welfare outcomes, low level of public responsibility and for a majority of the population, persistent insecurity and high illiteracy especially among women. Countries that are defined as failing 'informal security regimes' with high illiteracy, also predicts low income, an ex-colonial ancestry[6] and high cultural diversity. In short, there is an absence in effective schooling, health care and security policies with "highly gendered outcomes" (Gough & Abu Sharkh 2010:48) despite public programs and informal security mechanisms. A crucial aspect is the significance of kinship unity as the provider of long- and short-term security and this is in accordance with the idea of the family as the most important institution in the Indian society. As stated earlier, India has developed rapidly in the recent years and is forecast to be a future economical giant (Ibid.).

In a failing 'informal security regime', security from the state and open labor market cannot be expected, so informal arrangements within the community and family comes to the fore. One significant aspect is the relationship between rights and correlative duties, which can be explained as a membership. Being a member of a community or family is a key basis in the entitlement to rights. Membership can be gained through e.g. kinship, religion and caste. Not being able to conform to norms is one way among others to lose the membership, which according to this theory also leads to the loss of entitlements to receive rights and to be excluded. In a failing 'informal security regime' people have to rely upon kinship and community relationships where a significant part of socio-economical security and transfer takes place (Gough & Wood 2004). In this study I will focus on the membership gained through kinship. I will not examine the security provided from the wider community. I have used Gough and Wood's theoretical framework a bit different than it

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5   To know more about the methodological question behind cluster analysis see Abu Sharkh and Gough (2010)
6   India was a British colony for almost 100 years until 1947 when they reached independence.

was developed for; a lot of theoretical aspects are left out, as they are not of relevance for this thesis. This is an economic and political macro-theory, so this framework does not give any explanations to why and how this relationship between rights and correlative duties are applied and operate at a micro level. To gain an understanding of that, I also apply the concepts of 'norm' and 'sanction'.

3.2 Norms and Sanctions

Durkheim, an influential functionalist theorist in explaining deviance, recognized that there would always be some non-conformity and lack of total consensus about norms in every society. He saw deviance as a necessary part, thus it fulfills two functions. The first is the adaptive function of introducing and challenging prevailing ideas and values. The second function points out that deviance in the society helps to maintain the boundaries between 'good' and 'bad' behavior (Giddens 2006).

As stated earlier, love-marriage can be problematic and viewed as deviant from the norm of arranged marriage, and may therefore be followed by negative sanctions to promote conformity. 'Norms' are "rules of behavior which reflect or embody a culture's values, either prescribing a given type of behavior, or forbidding it" (Giddens 2006:1027). Norms are followed by positive or negative sanctions: "a mode of reward or punishment that reinforces socially expected forms of behavior" (Giddens 2006:1032). Negative sanctions can be divided into informal and formal sanctions. The informal sanctions are less organized than the formal sanctions, which are organized by the state and through law. Couples do not need to have their parents consent to make their marriage legal. Thus, as love-marriage is legal by law, there are no formal sanctions from the state (Mody 2002). By thinking of love-marriage as not conforming to the norm of arranged marriage, I examine the experiences of negative informal sanctions. I have especially looked in to the experience of reduced kin-support as a punishment and negative sanction to the practice of love-marriage.

There are a lot of other interesting angles to look at and examine regarding love-marriage. By using Gough and Wood's conceptual framework model together with the concepts of norm and sanction I miss many of those other angles. For example I do not say anything about why the women chose a love-marriage from the start or how the experience of love affects them now.

4. Result and analysis

I present my results and analysis together and try to make the variation in my empirical findings explicit. Some of the informants will be more visible than others in order to highlight specific aspects, but all of them served as a basis for the conclusions. First, I present the results and analysis of how reduced kin-support can be experienced to be used as a negative sanction when entering into a love-marriage. The two following chapters offer insight into how the negative sanctions of reduced kin-support can be perceived to be of significance when it comes to women's capability to manage the challenges experienced in married life.

4.1 Experiences of negative sanctions to love-marriage

All informants were found to experience some kind of reduced kin-support for entering the love-marriage, however in various ways and different degrees.

The case of Katrina

Katrina, a 25 years old woman, experienced the hardest punishment of social exclusion and total deprivation of all kin-support. When she was 18 years old her parents found out she had a boyfriend. Her parents became furious, they started screaming and hitting her. "How dare you have a boyfriend?!" She begged them to arrange their marriage and she asked them over and over again, "we both will get married, please agree". They refused, instead they told her, "no arranged marriage for you, how you went with him, you have to suffer with him [...] my daughter has died, I don't want my daughter". She loved him very much so they eloped. They had a small wedding with only their close friends present. After the wedding they moved to Bangalore. She has not seen her family or in-laws since then, they do not know where she is, nor that she has three daughters nowadays.

A friend to Katrina gave her explanation about why her parents are not supporting her; "she got a love-marriage. In their family they are not helping her now, because she didn't obey their rules, so she had to leave".

From the theoretical perspective of welfare regimes this statement could be understood as the following: Katrina failed to conform to the given norms and rules that her family and community lived by, therefore she lost her membership and along with that, the entitlement to rights. "To lose

membership is to be excluded" (Wood 2004:75).

Katrina experienced social exclusion and expulsion; the following case of Sonam will contrast her experience of being an outcast.

The case of Sonam

Sonam was 17 years when she eloped. Her parents were searching for her when she did not come home. They took a photo of her and started to ask around, after a while someone told them she got married. For three months they were upset, and they did not speak to her, nor visit her.

> After I got married, for three month my parents never come to my house. After three months they started to come to my house again. From that time till now, my parents are looking after me. Only my parents, my mother and father, and also my sisters, but not my brothers. […] No, my brothers are very angry with me because of the marriage.

Her marriage was not as happy as she had hoped for. Her husband abused her and was an alcoholic. Her family in-law never accepted her. "I'm very fed up of that family, mother in-law, sister in-law, husband, I am getting very hurt of them". Seven months ago he left her without a notice. Since then she lives with her parents and they are fully supporting her, both financially and provide refuge for her and her children. During the marriage her parents were always caring and offering her a place.

> Every time he was beating me and giving too much of torture, they were telling 'we don't want that husband for you, come and live with us', we look after you, we don't want that husband, he is giving too much of torture. Please leave him and come and live with us'.

Sonam never got accepted by her in-laws and was detached from her natal family for three months. After three months, the relationship with her parents became reestablished and they are now fully supporting her. She first lost the entitlement to receive kin-support, but then she fully regained it. When contrasting Sonam's experience of how the kin-support is used as a negative sanction with the experience of Katrina's, fluctuation was found.

The next cases are about Kareena and Sonakshi, two women who both experienced detachment from their natal family for enter into a love-marriage. Also, they both experienced partial reconciliation after their first child was born.

The case of Kareena

Kareena was 14 years old when she got married, a love-marriage. She grew up in another state where she went to school. He was from the same neighborhood as she. They eloped and had a small wedding only the two of them, her parents were very angry: as they did not like her husband. "They are thinking that he is not a good person, that he is very bad […] my parents got very angry because of me getting a love-marriage". They never agreed to their marriage. Kareena and her husband had to leave and to move to Bangalore where they still live.

After her first daughter was born, her family came to visit her for reconciliation. "After I got pregnant, I got one baby, that time all the family, parents, sisters, all of them came to my house". Now they are visiting each other every year and family ties are restored. However, she can still not expect any support or sympathy when she is facing marital conflicts and economic problems.

The case of Sonakshi

Eight years ago Sonakshi and her husband got married, a love-marriage. Now she lives in the slum with her nuclear family and mother in-law. They had been a couple for one year and she was very much in love when they got married. But when her family found out she had a boyfriend that she intended to marry, they all engaged in a big fight.

> They all come and they fight. 'How you can marry my daughter?' They all went to his village and to see the in-laws, all they went there. 'How can you marrying my daughter?! They all came from here, brothers and sisters, all of them came, they were shouting 'how can you marry my sister!?' They were fighting. 'Where is my sister?!'

At that time she was feeling bad, she did not do anything, "I was only crying." One year later after the arrival her first son, there were no longer conflicts. "When I got married, one year there were conflicts, fighting and screaming. After that it became normal." Today, eight years later she sometimes looks after her mother. Still she receives no support from her or the five brothers "no support, no one gives us any support". Her in-laws always accepted her and agreed to the marriage. When she is facing problems her mother in-law is the one helping her. Sonakshi thinks her mother in-law shows more support for her than for her husband. Still she hoped for a love and arranged marriage, which would have been "very good for this life".

The other informants also experienced the negative sanction of reduced kin-support for entering into a love-marriage, they declare:

I am suffering from the love-marriage. […] No one is helping me in any way; I don't have a family support. (Amisha, 26 years).

We are only nuclear family [...] no one are supporting us (Bispasha. 32 years).

If I would have got an arranged marriage, it means that all the neighbors, my parents, all of them would be supporting me. But because of the love-marriage is no one supporting us now (Deepika, 32 years).

As illustrated here, love-marriage elicits detachment from natal family and reduction of kin-support as negative sanctions, however experienced in various ways. According to Katrina, you can never return to your parent's house, not even for refuge, after a love-marriage. The case of Sonam shows a different experience and knowledge, as she reunited with her natal family after three months of detachment and expulsion. Her in-laws accepted Sonakshi, but she was negatively sanctioned by her natal family in the form of detachment and deprivation of kin-support. Kareena reconciled with her natal family, but can still not expect any kin-support.

Relationships are not always static as it is visible here. Along with the findings of Grover (2009) I also noticed how the practice of love-marriage disrupts the ties to natal family and in-laws, and may damage severely the relationship. The observed and experienced reasons for resumption of ties and reconciliation in the cases of Kareena and Sonakshi go in accordance with her finding that "the birth of a child often brings about reconciliation" (Grover 2009:27). As divorce and remarriage is commonly not considered as a viable option in India, the negative sanction acts more as a punishment than to promote conformity for the women who already entered into a love-marriage. From the perspective of Durkheim this can be understood as a way of maintaining the boundaries between "good" and "bad" marital customs (Giddens 2006).

The sanctioning and loss of membership is not taking place in isolation. Allendorf (2013) found the community to be an influence in how families sanction their children. Even if the parents agree to the marriage the community might not, they can then force the parents to exclude the newly married couple; otherwise the whole family may venture expulsion. Caste is here a relevant aspect and can be interpreted as the community. Even if some people respect inter-caste marriages, they are treated badly by many. Social exclusion is a probable consequence. She found in her study that inter-caste love-marriages between Dalits and non-Dalits are punished harder than inter-caste marriages between higher castes or sub-castes. Thus, I was told not to ask about caste, I couldn't make any inferences regarding its relevance to my empirical findings; still it is a relevant aspect to keep in mind.

By categorizing India as a failing 'informal security regime', the significance of kinship and family-support as the main producer of security, is highlighted from a macro-perspective (Gough & Abu Sharkh 2010). The negative sanction of the withdrawal of kin-support and detachment from natal family can also be explained as losing the membership by not conforming to the norm. This ought to predict greater vulnerability if security is not provided elsewhere, thus the membership is the key to the entitlement of rights. But I like to think of the analogy of membership as more complex, I find it to be a dynamic process. The experience of partial reconciliation is found among the informants, the membership is renegotiated after time and context, and therefore can be considered a dynamic process.

In this chapter I have examined at a micro-level how the withdrawal of kin-support is used as a negative sanction due to the practice of love-marriage. In the Indian context, where the family and community serve as the main provider of security, it points towards an aggravating situation for the women's post-marital life. However, reality is more complex than this simplistic theoretical abstraction; this is also only one way to perceive it. I have also analyzed how the loss of membership and the negative sanction of reduced kin-support can be seen as a fluid indefinite process, not fixed in time nor polarized in black and white.

Under the next two chapters I will examine how the negative sanctions of reduced kin-support can be perceived to be of significance when it comes to women's capability to manage the two identified challenges experienced in married life; the financial insecurity and marital problems.

4.2 The economical challenge

First, I elucidate how the financial insecurity is experienced in the beginning of the marital life, since no dowry[7] or wedding gift can be expected. Thereafter, I analyze how the reduction of kin-support can be experienced as aggravating the financial position during the married life by limiting the capability to counter future insecurity.

In the slum live landless people and approximately 85 % of them generally live below the poverty line. In 85 % of households the women are the main breadwinners, they work for low salaries in the informal sector, with insecure jobs where they face arbitrary removal and little social security benefits (CSA 2009). This observation made by the CSA reaffirms the lack of security

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7   Dowry is the money and property they daughter bring to her husband after the marriage. It's an illegal and a controversial custom but still widely practice (see for example Mohanty, Sen & Sahu 2012; Shenk 2007).

provided by the labor market, which is a characteristic of the informal security regime. The salary has to cover rent, food, everyday supply, interests, and school fees among other things. Nonetheless, the most expensive expenditure the informants perceived is the husband's alcohol.

All the interviewees reported that their husbands drank more or less every day and used most of their income for alcohol. Even if the husband had a job and an income, it first financed the alcohol and then the household expenditures. The wife's salary had to cover almost all expenditure of the household. Therefore the women can be seen as the main breadwinner and provider even if their husbands have a job. Alcoholism is widely spread in the slum and part of the problem description of the area. It is important to be aware of alcoholism's effect on the families' financial situation. However, it is not only about money, it also creates conflicts and tensions due to unfulfilled expectations of the husband as a provider. Along with Grover (2009:9), I also found that "the ideal husband is one who is seen to take responsibility for the long-time welfare of his family", and the husbands inability to provide is a likely source for marital conflicts and unhappiness.

The purpose of this study is not to examine alcoholism. Still, I found this aspect highly relevant, and I consider it important to be aware of alcoholism as part of the women's marital life.

4.2.1 Starting married life going up-hill

Grover (2005) found that the custom of dowry is practiced even among the poorest of families. A standard dowry among poor could contain following items among others; TV, refrigerator, clothes, furniture, kitchen items, cash and motor scooters. In case of love-marriage the custom of dowry and wedding gifts cannot be expected at the time of the wedding. The couple has to start their married life one their own. None of the women I interviewed who entered into a love-marriage received any dowry, money, property or household items.

> If it is an arranged marriage they will come and give this... dowry! They will give us dowry. [...] If you have love-marriage, we don't get dowries, we don't get money (Katrina, 25 years).

> My mother and father, they didn't give me anything. Not even my husband, mother in-law or father in-law, kept anything for us (Priyanka, 31 years).

> If it is a love-marriage it means they give no dowry and no money. [...] Not any dowry, which is the difference. No clothes as well they gave me when I got married (Deepika, 32 years).

The issue of not getting access to a dowry is not only a concern for the couple, but also for the husband's family. Dhar (2013) found that the loss of dowry for the husband's family is a big incitement for them to fend off love-marriages.

Aishwariya, the only informant who had an arranged marriage, witnessed closely the differences between the two types of marriages, as she saw her older sisters getting married. Some of her sisters entered into love-marriages and they were treated very differently from those who entered into arranged marriages. The significance and value of parental and kin-support that were only following with the arranged marriage was clear to her, so she decided to let her parents find her a husband. Her decision gave her a different experience from those informants and her sisters who entered into a love-marriage. She started her married life with some money, kitchen items and clothes.

> When I got married, my mother and father, and my sisters and my brothers, everyone was there with me. [...] In that time, my family gave me lots of cloths, vessels. Lots of wealth, everything they put away and wait for me to get married (Aishwariya, 27 years).

The gitfts Aishwariya's parents gave to her when she got married can be understood as "the inter-generational transfer process of: welfare to deal with present insecurity" (Wood 2004:79). The women who entered into a love-marriage did not get access to this, which can be interpreted as a negative sanction. Instead, they looked for security and welfare somewhere else. Some of them took loans from moneylenders with high interests, which put them in a dependent relationship, others borrowed from friends. The loss of dowry and other wedding gifts can therefore be understood as eliciting the need to deal with the present insecurity in expense of investment that would give the couple the capacity to deal with future insecurity (Wood 2004:79). Aishwariya could prioritize to save money when the women who enter into a love-marriage first has to invest in establishing a household, if the newlyweds do not move in with the husbands natal family.

I conclude that the experienced economical situation for the new married couple can vary a lot depending on the type of marriage. This indicates that couples that enter into a love-marriage start their married life in a situation where they have to prioritize to deal with the present insecurity instead of invest in resources that will give them the capacity to deal with this insecurity later on.

4.2.2 The continuous economical up-hill.

Continuation of Katrina's case.

Katrina experienced the struggle with financial insecurity. She and her husband live in a rented house with their three daughters. He works for daily wages as a carpenter and she has two jobs, one in the project and one as a maid. She explains that the duty of her husband is to work and provide for the family, when he does that she is satisfied, otherwise they fight. She considers herself to be a good wife "me myself, I'm a good wife […] I am doing all the housework like cooking, everything. Also I'm sharing all the happiness and sadness." There is one thing they usually fight about.

> I'll fight about money, him not going for work. We should eat, we should pay the children's fees, school fees, and rent, electric bill, water bill […] If I got money I will tell him 'no I don't have any money'. He should go for work and earn some money and give them to me. […] Only about money I won't tell him, because if I got some money he won't go for work, like now he's not working. Should only I work? How can I? I'm getting only 3000, how can I look after my family with that?

She is often feeling stressed about this, thus her husband seldom goes for work and no one is helping her as she depicts. Still she doesn't regret her marriage and despite the conflicts over money she considers them to have a good relationship. The last month, she could only afford to pay half of the children's school fees, which had to be paid in time.

> My life is already gone. But now the children's future is very important. I have three children and already got married. I have no more interest in anything, the children's future is very important [...] If I get more money, I will change this place and I'll go to live in a better place, because the children are now young, they should be in a nice place where they can learn good things, in this place they won't learn any good things. For the future I should be in another place.

Katrina explains that it is her children who will provide for her and her husband when they grow old. The importance of the children's welfare and education can in this case be understood as an investment for the future.

Continuation of Sonakshi's case.

Sonakshi experiences her financial situation different from Katrina. She and her husband own their own house, where they now live with their two children and father in-law. She works in the project

and in the business she owns together with her husband and father in-law. Her father in-law works as an auto-driver and her husband as painter. They have no loans. There are three working adults in the household. Her husband started drinking seven years ago, which he finances from his income, she never gives him money for alcohol. However, this means that less of his money goes to the household.

> When he was not drinking, he was a good husband. Now when he is drinking, he'll come home and drink, lie on the road, lie in front of the door, he will do things like that. I'll get full of shame of that. I am going to work in the morning, in evening I'll go to the house, then he will be drinking and walking on the road, maybe he will be sleeping on road. That's all shame.

Sonakshi tries to solve the entire families problems within the family, she does not speak to anyone else. Nontheless, when problems are unmanageable, like when her husband was drinking for one entire month was only drinking, fighting and abusing her, then she asked her father in-law for help and he helped her solve the problem.

> Sometimes I call in my father in-law, but not every time, only if it is a big issue. When we have big problems I ask father in-law to help us solve the problem. […] If he won't go to work, continuously he has to go. If he won't go for work, that is a big problem. One time, he did not go for work for one month. He was drinking, shouting and beating me every day. Then there was big problem that my father in-law helped me to solve.

In the case of Sonakshi, the significance of kin-support is explicit, not only in providing direct financial support, from her father's in-law work, but also to deal with the husband's inability to provide and contribute to the welfare of the family.

The case of Deepika

Deepika was 21 years old when she got married. They fell in love when they were working for the same household. Her parents were never angry about the love-marriage, but have never showed any support. They did not provide her with anything at the time of the marriage, not even clothes. Nowadays, it is only her sisters who come to visit her and she experiences no kin-support at all. In the beginning she received some support from her in-laws, in form of rice and small every day supplies, but not more. "No one is helping me, what to do? I got a mother, but she is also not helping me with anything."

Deepika works in the project and as a maid, sometimes they leave the remaining food for her to take home for her son and daughter, thus they know about her situation. By herself, she does not manage to give her children education and food three times a day. "When money is there, means I am cooking, when money is not there, means I am not cooking."

She face marital problems due to her husband's drinking along with their financial problems, which she feels that she cannot manage.

> He gets very angry if there is no food. When he comes home from work, he will drink, and he won't give money to me. Then he will ask, 'give me some food', so I tell him 'no money, no food', this means he'll get upset. [...] He won't give me the money so I can prepare food, but then he'll ask me to cook anyway. This makes me very angry.

In her case it is possible to see how the community can fill a partial role in providing some short-term security, like food. The struggle with economy in everyday life and the need to deal with present insecurity puts investments for the future on hold. It leaves no space to prepare and counter future insecurity, and may therefore reproduce the poverty (Gough & Wood 2004).

The importance of kin-support becomes visible if one compares the experiences faced by Deepika and Katrina with the experiences from Aishwariya. They all have financial and marital problems due to alcoholism, insecure jobs and poverty. However, there is a crucial difference in their capability to deal with this. Aishwariya has kin-support from all members of her family.

> You know, in my family there are lots of problems going on, my husband does not have a job right now. So my family are helping me now, some of them are giving me money, some of them are giving me food, some of them give me oil, like that, everyone are going to help me. […] If I have any problem, it means they will come and ask me 'what is the problem?' Then they will help me solve the problems (Aishwariya).

Aishwariya experience illustrates what kin-support can mean at a micro-level to manage insecurity encountered in everyday life. This may be seen as short-term security provision, but comparing this with the other women, Aishwariya does not have to take expensive loans and engage in problematic relationships to manage insecurity in daily life. This also means she has a greater chance to invest in order to counter future insecurity than Katrina and Deepika will have. They need to focus on managing short-term security. Some of the informants sometimes even took loans to manage everyday life. They have to prioritize food, school fees and rent, before they can save some money.

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Under this chapter I analyzed how the financial situation and the women's capability to manage insecurity can be negatively affected by not being entitled to kin-support. According to the CSAs (2009) project plan, the women live under harsh conditions with or without kin-support in the slum. It is a context where poverty and financial insecurity is part of the everyday life. Still, kin-support can make a difference in managing insecurity. Experienced as a resource, as a provider of small supplies, refugee and if needed, parry abuse.

4.2 The value of kin-support when facing marital conflicts

When facing marital problems and domestic violence in a love-marriage, refuge or sympathy cannot be expected. When it comes to conflict management and physical protection the negative sanction of reduced kin-support is explicit.

> If we got any problem, and if I tell to my parents in-law, they will just say 'no, we can't solve this problem. Both of you had love-marriage, so you two have to solve this on you own.' […] If I got an arranged marriage, if I then get any conflict, my parents and in-laws would support me, they would be sitting down and taking some decision. I would get some support from my parents and in-laws. That is the difference of love-marriage and arranged marriage (Amisha, 26 years old).

Grover (2009) found that the women in arranged marriages easily walked out on their husbands and back to their natal home for refuge. This is possible thus; the parents can be hold responsible for the conflict-ridden situation. In love-marriage the access and opportunity to refuge and to receive sympathy are restricted as the women are expected to take responsibility for their unhappy and violent marriages. This is severe in the case if Kareena.

Continuiation of Kareena's case.
Kareena blames her financial difficulties and conflict-ridden relationship on her love-marriage. She does not think she made a good choice sixteen years ago. When I asked her about her children's future she says she will arrange their marriages, as she considers love-marriage to be very bad. Her parents are no longer angry with her, but still they are not giving her any support when she is facing marital problems. Her husband is drinking and abusing her, and the last months he has not worked one day. She explains the lack of support from her natal family as a consequence of her love-marriage.

Whatever now me and my husband are fighting about, for small things or over big issues, my parents will always just say 'see you got a love-marriage so now you have this problem. If you were arranged means it would not be a problem.' [...] 'So don't tell us anything about your family, just be quiet. If you two are fighting, keep it to yourself'.

What Kareena is experiencing can be explained as social exclusion or loss of membership and entitlement to rights. Her capability to manage their marital problems limited.

She was thinking about reporting her husbands abuse to the police. This is the only case in which the informants spoke about looking for security outside the family and the community. Kareena tells me her friend went to the police to report her husbands abuse some weeks ago, but did not receive sufficient help. Therefore she says that she won't report her husband's abuse.

– So she went to the police with her husband, then the police told them that, 'you should not disturb him in any way, and he should not disturb you in any way, so can both of you please sign here and give one letter to us.' [...] So she told me they both signed and gave the letter to the policeman. In the letter stood something like: I'm not going to do this the next time...

– Did it work?

– No, again he is fighting. [...] It was a waste letter; [...] He only signed it at that time. Now he is doing the same thing again. [...] He is not getting scared from police at all.

– What was it that made her go to the police?

– She told me that he wanted to kill her, so she went to the police. He took a big knife and hold it over her throat and said, 'I will kill you!' She got very scared.

Deepika and Katrina also went to the police to report their husband's abuse, and they had a similar experience such as the one that Kareena is talked about. In this informal security regime like India, the security against domestic violence has to come from the family or community; the state and market will not provide enough protection.

The case of Anushka

Anushka faces a conflict-ridden situation both with her husband and parents in-law. She has lived in her father in-law's house since she got married, but they have never accepted her. Her own parents agreed to the marriage. Her relationship with her husband has been conflicts-ridden the last two years and her mother in-law shows no interest in helping them solve the problems. Now, she has decided to look for another place to live.

When my husband is hitting me, my mother in-law and father in-law, they will sit outside and be laughing. [...] They are very bad to me, not sad at all when he is beating me. I got very bad in-laws. [...] Father in-law is always telling me to 'go out, take all the things you got. Get out and leave, this is my house, this is not your house'. I decided I want to leave and go out with my daughter and with my husband. So I am now looking for a new house. I got some problems with money. So I'm staying, every day my in-laws will scold me, be fighting, 'get out, get out, this is my house', both mother in-law and father in-law are scolding me every day.

She explains her relationship with her in-laws as a consequence of the love-marriage she entered into. Allendorf (2013) also noticed the problematic aspect of the inter-generational relationship between the wife and in-laws. In India, usually the wife moves in to live with her husband's family after the wedding. In love-marriage, there is good understanding between the couple, but the in-laws may not like the new daughter in-law. In the cases where parents-in-law played a part in choosing her, some of Allendorf's informants suggested that this could help in forging a better relationship with them. On the other side, some informants experience that their in-laws give a higher priority to support them, instead of their husbands. Although, the problematic inter-generational relationship between the mother and daughter in-law is not only experienced in love-marriages.

In a case study of 15 married women from Bombay, performed by Fernandez (1997), the experience of domestic violence and the involvement of female kin in the harassment is studied, especially the involvement of the mother in-law. This is explained by the hierarchical interplay of gender and generation in the Indian family where women are subordinated to men and the older women are delegated to supervise the younger women. These two studies do not necessarily contradict each other, but demonstrates how domestic violence is complex and can be explained from multiple accounts.

The case of Priyanka
Priyanka is 31 years old, she has been married for fourteen years with her longtime boyfriend and they are now parents of five children. She works as a maid and her husband as a carpenter. Her in-laws accepted her, but did not arrange their marriage. Before they lived with her in-laws, but now they rent their own house and live as a nuclear family. Priyanka's mother never agreed to the marriage, today she regrets not listening to her. Neither her parents nor her husband's parents left anything to them. The last years her husband's drinking has increased and their relationship face many conflicts due to that.

> He hits me a lot, you know [...] Sometimes, some years ago he was good, but now he is doing like this, before he was not like that, he was very nice to me. [...] I loved him for so many years. He was waiting for me and I was waiting for him, but work was going on. One day he called me and said. ʹI want to get married with youʹ.

But she will not leave him. "I want to stay with my husband and my children. It's important in my life; in my life I don't have anything else" Her in-laws live close to their house and they support and look after her when there are conflicts.

> When he is fighting with me, beating me, I shout, I shout very loud. Then my mother in-law comes and my sister in-laws also come and they tell him 'why are you doing this, leave her, leave her alone'.

She tells me her husband sometimes wants to leave her. Many times he has tried to throw her out, one time he throw her and their two months old baby out. But her mother in-law is always showing her support by letting her in to her house, and her uncle won't let him leave her.

> They will fight with him, 'why do you not want her?' Sometime he tells me that 'I don't want you, tell her to go'. So then my husband's uncle come and talked for me. 'Why is she not nice? See, you have very cute children and a very nice wife. Why do you want to leave her? If you leave her, I will break your legs and arms and I will make you to sit in the house. Keep that on your mind'. I have a support. They will talk with my husband; they will come and talk for me.

Seven of the informants experience highly conflictive relationships and domestic violence. According to Rocca et al. (2008) love-marriage is a risk factor for abuse. When facing marital conflicts, the kin-support can be valued, as the case of Priyanka and Sonaskhi shows. The case of Sonam from the first section of this chapter shows that a woman who eloped still can return to her natal home for refuge and support. They can emotionally support you, provide refuge and repel abuse. Still, the cases of Anushka and Kareena along with earlier research and the theoretical inclinations indicates that women who enter into a love-marriage can be more at risk and experience greater vulnerability when encountering violence and unhappy marriages.

5. Discussion

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine ten women's experiences of negative sanctions for entering into a love-marriage, especially the negative sanction of reduced kin-support, and in which way this can be perceived to be of significance when it comes to women's capability to manage the challenges experienced in married life. It is not possible to generalize my conclusions, since my sample consists of only ten women and since my conclusions denote clear variations. My intention for this study has been to provide a deeper understanding of the experience of reduced kin-support as a negative sanction for entering into a love-marriage. I have argued that the women who entered into a love-marriage challenge the marital norm of arranged marriage, and may therefore be targets of negative sanctions, for example, reduced kin-support or social exclusion. From the theoretical perspective of welfare regimes this can also be understood as a loss of membership and therefore the associative entitlement to kin-support.

From the economic and political perspective of the welfare regime theory I have highlighted the importance of kin-support for the capability to manage financial insecurity and marital conflicts. As India can be categorized as a failing 'informal security regime' the family and community is the main provider of socio-economical security. Therefore, it may be a great loss to miss entitlement to kin-support, since the market or state will not provide necessary security. To claim this, more longitudinal and comparative studies are needed.

When facing financial insecurity and marital conflicts, the reduced or loss of kin-support may force the women to look for security somewhere else, like moneylenders and friends. Those are not always reliable and capable of establishing long-term security, and may even reproduce poverty. I should mention that the project that facilitated the field study provided some security for the women, which I suggest could be the focus for further research.

In short, the result from my study shows that the experienced negative sanction of reduced kin-support can be described as loss of financial assistance, detachment from natal family and problematic relationships with in-laws. As the family is one of the main providers of security, this loss may aggravate the marital life for women who are living in the slum. My results indicate that a love-marriage puts women in a more vulnerable situation. However, to be able to draw conclusions on causal connections and consequences of love-marriage, big samples and longitudinal studies over many years are needed. Men's experiences of love-marriage are also of significance for deeper understanding about the topic, as my study only focused on women.

Further research is needed to understand where do the women who enter a love-marriage find security. I made a conscious choice to focus this study on the negative sanction and highlight the women's vulnerability, I could equally have examined how and what kind of security was actually provided, for example from the project where I did this field study. I made the choice to limit this study to kin-support and not to examine how the security provided by the community was experienced, since it is through the community the social worker often intervenes.

6. Appendix

Themes for the interview

First round

- General questions of family background, economy situation right now.
- Duties of the wife and husband
- Conflicts
- Contributions to sustain a balanced family atmosphere
- Challenges in life right now
- How is a good wife/husband/mother/father?
- Decision in family planning (sterilization)

First round with more specific themes

- Conflict management, look for concrete explanations
- Who decides over different issues?
- When do you have conflicts?
- Do you do anything to avoid violence and conflicts?
- Advice from parents
- Support when having conflicts. Anyone else involved?
- Friends
- Alcohol

A second interview and the third update of questions

- Love-marriage.
- Kin-support.

Application: After the first three interviews I started to use the more specified themes and questions. The four last interviews also included the third question update. A second round was done with seven of the women, and then I prepared individual themes and question for each interviewee.

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