Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Globalization resulted in the revolution of cable television and satellite television due to which India has entered the universal market & television industry had experienced a complete new transformation. There was a major shift in its content and style as well as in its purpose and presentation. Because of such revolution in satellite television, western entertainment genres like soap operas and reality shows have made an entry at our home. The main intention of the television in India was to educate and inform masses but this old tendency changed when entertainment took its place. Indian television, with its entry into the entertainment world, introduced some new Indian version of Western shows for the Indian audiences. And this experiment was successful as the local version of American soap opera has appealed the Indian masses more than any other global product. As a result the soap operas as the most popular genre are dominating the national television as well as the provincial channels too. Soaps have a great impact on the Indian society. Life style and behavior of the people have changed drastically viewing these soaps. The growth of television in rural areas had a large effect and viewing the city life portrayed in serials has influenced the villagers to a great extent.

People of various age groups, from children to grandparents, love to watch serials after their routine day out. It not only helps them to relax but also provides them an opportunity to understand the society by relating the serials with their own daily happenings and thus becomes a part of their day to day life and they become serious on it.

Soap operas are exclusively produced to target women audience. The result of the roaring success of soap operas has grabbed the attention of the feminists and the scholars all over the world. As Mumford says, "As a genre designed for and watched primarily by women...soaps have effectively been impossible for feminists to ignore" (Mumford 1998:118). To some of the feminist scholars, soaps are rubbish, exploitative, and patriarchal, but others have attempted to understand the nature of pleasure

that is derived by millions of women by consuming these texts. Several western scholars have contributed to this specific section of television entertainment. Most importantly, its audiences have been extensively discussed and debated among the academics in the western context. Though the fraction of such an audience is not extremely considerable, significant studies on television serials and their audiences are found in plenty in the Indian sub-continent. The late entry of soap operas in the Indian television industry is the sole reason as to why a considerable amount of audience research remains unexplored in India.

The state owned television (Doordarshan) has attracted the attention of the scholars to study the soap operas in India. The work done during that period can be divided into two categories: i) textual or content analysis of a particular genre or programme, ii) textual analysis enriched with audience response which are mostly done through ethnographic method. Works done by Jyoti Punwani (1998), Anand Mitra (1993), Prabha Krishnan (1990), Krishnan and Dighe (1997), Arvind Rajagopal (1997) fall into various traditions in media studies (starting from effect studies to cultural studies). As they have critically analyzed the text of different serials on Doordarshan to reveal the Hindu-Hindi ideology embedded within them, and to address the gendered representation of women in the popular serials. Later on works done by Mankekar (1999) and Monteiro (1998) have paved the way women are shown in the television serials on Doordarshan and enrich their textual analysis of the media texts with empirical audience research.

Mankekar (1999), in her study showed through serials like Ramayana, Mahabharata, Udaan, and Tamas aired on Doordarshan constructed an ideal womanhood by re-enacting the age old issues like women's oppression/exploitation. In her study, she tried to prove the significance of mass media in the formation of identity and also in the construction of national and gendered subjects, through a dialogical interaction between text and audience. On the other hand, Monteiro (1998) explains how women derive pleasure from watching television and the way television provides a space for women, to escape from the claustrophobic domestic space. Through her study, Monteiro tried to explain how viewers, situated in networks of power within family and neighborhood, make sense of television.

Like Monteiro, Ien Ang's (1985) ethnographic study, also revolves mainly around the 'pleasure' de-

rived in watching the program, particularly feminine pleasure, than focusing on the 'meaning' of the program as a popular culture. She concludes by saying that '... where cultural consumption is concerned, no fixed standard exists for gauging the 'progressiveness' of a fantasy. The personal may be political, but the personal and political do not always go hand in hand' (Ang 1985:136). This means that pleasure may not always have an ideological functions. Another famous feminist scholar Tania Modleski, in her work 'The Search For Tomorrow In Today's Soap Operas (1979)', focuses on gendered address of soap opera and analyzes soap operas structural features in relation both to psychoanalytically informed theories of female subjectivity and to the rhythms of women's work at home. She argues that to be more creative, honest, and interesting than one expressed through mass culture forms like soap opera, feminists must find new and more empowering ways of meeting utopian needs and desires, or else the search for tomorrow threatens to go on, endlessly (Modleski 1996:46-7). (Shodhaganga.inflibnet.ac.in)

Soap operas on Indian television have been studied and discussed from time to time. The study reveals that scholars from different era were confused regarding the definition of this genre. Many a times, serialized items like sitcoms and even mythological serials like Mahabharata and Ramayana were also tagged as soap operas. In 90's, the scholars of United States defined 'Soap Opera' and the confusion was finally resolved. Earlier serials were imported from west; later production houses in India began producing them. Production houses like Balaji Telefilms produced many serials like 'Kahani ghar ghar ki' and 'Kyun ki saans bhi kabhi bahu thi' became very popular and were one of the longest telecasted serials of Indian TV industry. A recent study by Shoma Munshi (2010) in production houses (Balaji Telefilms, Sphere Origin, and Director's Kut) has provided a closer view at the text of the soap operas and the popular protagonists (especially women like Parvati, Ragini, Saloni & Tulsi) in them and argued how these empowered characters depicted in soaps can empower the audience as well.

1.1.2. Television and Women in India

Doordarshan, with its social objectives like family planning, population control, family welfare and

well-being of women, children, and the less privileged (Doordarshan, 1996); plays an important role in the administration's efforts towards development of women in the country.

The content analysis of Doordarshan (DD) point out that over decades, development serials that showed critical awarenss of the diversity of women groups and their desires & requirements were almost absent. Dhansraj (1994), after her analysis of serials like *Adhikar* (Rights), *Kashmakash* (Struggle), *Stri* (Women), *Aur Bhi Hai Rahain* (There are other ways), *Air hostess and Udaan* (height), found that Doordarshan assumed all women have uniform desires & needs and their depiction was that of middle class, upper caste, urban Hindu seen in most shows; domestic labor was portrayed as an extension of a woman's natural mothering role. Patriarchal norms defined 'Women in power' which showed it is essential to down play her sexuality. Mankekars (1999) analysis of mythological programs like Ramayana and Mahabharata and of 'women-oriented' narratives like Rajani and Udaan of the 80's reveal that women in these dramas were either presented as divine beings within the constraints of Hindu revivalism or as powerful and progressive women who were limited by their women attributes as in the case of contemporary drama.

In 1984, Joshi working group attempted to hold good in the current environment for Doodarshan to diversify channels and programming to meet market demands. The role of a state in utilizing television for national development has been far more dynamic. If the potential of television for development in India is to be revived, it becomes pertinent to shift the programming from being centralized, top-down patriarchal to the one that is critical, decentralized, alternative, based on grass root level and far-reaching in its efforts (Singh land Rogers, 2001).

Doordarshan cable network and satellite channels are also responsible for contributing equally to development programming. A critical paradigm has been set for the current television environment in India as it accommodates diversity in production as well as consumption. It has also been recognized that women are differentiated by their class, language, and experiences. The phenomenal success of *Hum log* in 1980's from Doordarshan can be a lesson for revival of infotainment programs to meet the development objectives (Dr. Aaliya Ahmed & Ms.Malik Zahra Khalid, June 2012)

1.1.3. Women and Soap Opera

Soap operas have become an integral part of the daily lives of their audience. They have successfully been able to reflect the social scenario and also form a part of the cultural exchange which goes on in the home and the work place. Television puts emphasis on the gender roles and helps to reinforce them in the families where gender inequality prevails. In this way television plays important role in the construction of gender roles. Taste, options, and opinion of the audiences about gender image are different. Depending on their own interpretation, they can accept, disregard or even reject them. Television provides a wide range of potential role-models, both positive and negative. Viewers find these models as extremely inspiring for them.

The basic question in communication research is about finding out the effects of soap operas on the behaviour of the viewers and its contribution to viewers' conception of reality that are shown logically in the soap operas' contents. Modern soap operas aired in satellite channels, mostly have female protagonists, who are traditional, independent and strong. Women related issues are focused in the soap operas as majority of the audiences are comprised of women and these soap operas since its origin target the women as its primary audience.

Many a times, watching soap opera helps in encouraging women to enter the labor force, take on extra hassles and risks to develop a career of their own. Modern soap operas seem to have strong work and career-oriented portrayals of various characters emphasizing the professional goals. Soap operas carry different messages and portray different kinds of social relations. In some show, more women were shown in professional occupations while others are not career-oriented. Earlier women characters in soap operas were type casted, but the representation of a woman has transformed in the recent times. From being a humble, quiet, submissive house wife, she has grown and evolved into a strong individual. She not only excels in her profession but is also a perfect and able homemaker. This change in the role is partially, if not fully perceptible in the soap operas shown on Indian television as yet (Dr. Aaliya Ahmed & Ms. Malik Zahra Khalid, June 2012).

Television (TV) is a cultural commodity. At the same time, it is a two-way mirror reflecting society and in turn being modified by the society. Issues like rape, extra-marital relationship, murders, which were considered taboo even to be talked about, have earned acceptance in the social set up of our country. People no longer switch off their TV sets when crime thrillers and reality shows based on crime thrillers are aired. The audience is more interested to know the resolution of a certain issue, rather than just getting entertained. But soap operas portraying interpersonal issues, crisis in the family, balance between career and home, modern yet traditional beliefs and values have gained immense popularity among the masses. Contemporaneously, soap operas have shifted their focus to reflect the class difference prevalent in society. The issue of child marriage and the message imparted through its narrative gained high place on the popularity charts and also gained the attention of the viewers towards this menace.

By challenging the stereotyped roles of women in the Indian television and inventing strong, active female characters, soap operas have created orthodox narrative of femininity and woman's desires. In contrast to the neat wrap up in movies which often ends up by showing women in a traditional role in society, soap operas have had to invent new places continuously for women. As the format of soap opera is open-ended and resists closure, they represent strong women who resist their roles in male hierarchies and portray women empowerment.

Many characters and many sub-plots are interwoven in soap operas. Soaps like 'Bade Achhe Lagte Hain', 'Punar Vivaah' and others portray women as independent and decision maker individual. There are variety of women characters such as grandmother, married women, spinster and young women, and these representations of women in a soap makes it more interesting for female fraction of the audience to watch especially if they can correlate to certain characters in the program. In the contemporary scenario of a soap opera, the character of a woman is considered to be strong. Women feel connected to the soap operas since they can relate their own personal and business life to the show. The viewers sustain a steady relationship with the characters that relate to themselves and these characters help the viewers find their own inner self (Dr. Aaliya Ahmed & Ms. Malik Zahra Khalid, June 2012).

1.1.4. Defining Soap Opera

According to Vir Bala Aggarwal (2002), a soap opera is a dramatic serial broadcast mainly intended to entertain. The term was originally used in the United States because the sponsors of these broadcasts were generally soap companies whose advertisements were primarily targeted at an audience of house-wives. The term 'opera' suggested the melodrama of the high brow musical genre. In the beginning these soap operas were radio serials patronised by soap powder manufacturers like Proctor and Gamble.

In order to identify a soap opera, there are certain characteristics which are extremely common amongst all of them. The characteristics have been identified by Cantor and Pingree (1983) and are as follow:

- " Soap operas are dramatic serials broadcast on television or radio. They are aired on a daily basis throughout the year and around four to five days a week.
- " Soaps are stories about people and their daily life; their actions are set generally in present rather than historical and most of the action occurs in domestic settings.
- The stories generally revolve around relationship of two or three families and their associates.

 They do have several central characters, but equal importance is given to all other characters intertwined with the central characters.
- " Characters presented in soap operas are easily identified as good or bad. Good characters are primarily family-oriented and always keep a check in their ambitions and selfish desires, whereas characters with antagonistic traits are openly evil, seductive, and aggressive in their nature.
- "Soap operas proceed at a slow pace. The vital information is repeated from day to day. For those who miss episodes, some magazines and newspaper's report the previous week's events in the soap opera.
- " Actions in soap operas are usually told through conversation and not through portrayal of events. They are generally not action-oriented.
- " All soaps qualify as manifestation of woman's nature. Occasionally, an adventure plot will be

included in a soap opera, but most of them are the stories of women revolving around love, duty, and family.

- " Soap operas are not satires, comedies, or parodies.
- " They are targeted at female viewers. Hence, the story focuses predominantly on female characters and 'feminine' or domestic concerns.
- " It is said that in Indian perspective, all the above characteristics are possessed by soap operas. With its primetime broadcast schedule, the target audience is always women.

Shoma Munshi (2010) in her latest study figured out the following generic features of Indian primetime soaps:

- 1. Narrative closure is resisted by open-ended narratives told in serial/episodic form.
- 2. Multiple characters, plots, and sub-plots.
- 3. Use of time at twin level one, that parallels actual time and imply that soap characters' lives go on whether we view or not; and two, when the story takes a generation leap to introduce new characters and new story lines.
- 4. Attempt at resolution & Emphasis on dialogue.
- 5. Mixing of genres of melodrama, myth, realism, and entertainment.
- 6. Hook Precap and Recap.
- 7. Male characters whose actions move the narrative forward.
- 8. Women as the main character.
- 9. The family home as the main setting for the show. (Shodhaganga.inflibnet.ac.in).

The central element of a soap opera is its open-ended nature of narrative, with stories spanning several episodes. The defining attribute that makes a television program a soap opera, according to Albert Moran, is "that form of television that works with a continuous open narrative. Each episode ends with a promise that the story line is to be continued in another episode".

Soap operas which are telecasted in the evening and especially those which aired once per week are

more likely to feature the entire cast as well as represent all current storylines in each episode. Evening soap operas and serials that run for only part of the year are inclined to bring things to a theatrical end-of-season cliffhanger.

In 1976, American daytime TV serials have been considered as "TV's richest market," noting the loyalty of the soap opera fan base and the expansion of numerous 30 minutes series into hour-long broadcasts in order to maximize ad revenues. The article explained that during that time, daytime serials made profits several times more than their production costs, where as many prime time series lost money.

The main characteristics that define soap operas are an emphasis on family life, personal relationships, sexual programs, emotional and moral disagreement; some coverage of topical issues; set in familiar domestic interiors with rare expedition into new locations. Fitting in with these characteristics, most of the soap operas follow the lives of a group of characters who live or work in a particular place, or focus on an extended joint family. The plots follow the everyday activities and personal relationships of these characters. Soap narratives, just as melodramas of movies, are marked by what Steve Neale has described as 'chance happenings, coincidences, sudden conversions, last-minute rescues and revelations, missed meetings, Deus ex machine endings. These elements may be found across the length & breadth of soap operas, from East Enders to Dallas.

1.1.5. History of Soap Opera

According to Vir Bala Aggarwal (2002), K. J. Kumar (2008), in Latin America, soap operas are termed as 'telenovelas' (television novels). It is one of the most popular genres of television programs. Telenovelas were originated in Mexico and Cuba in the 1950's. Britain's most admired and elongated television soap was 'Coronation Street', which started in 1960. The most popular soap of Britain which is described as the chronicle of our times, 'Coronation Street' has provided entertainment to huge fraction of audience across the globe.

Indigenously produced Indian language television serials came into being in the mid-80s. For almost a decade since 1976, when the first commercial was allowed to be aired, Indian television was dominated by Hindi feature films and film-based programs. But most of the sitcoms, soap operas, crime thrillers, or other television programs were from the United Kingdom, the United States of America or German television. For Indian viewers, the British television provided some of its foremost productions such as Bronowski's 'Ascent of Man', Kenneth Clark's 'Civilization', and David Attenborough's nature documentaries. American serials like 'I Love Lucy' and 'Startrek', or Germany's 'Tele matches' and crime thriller series like 'The Fox' introduced the Indian audience to a completely different style of television entertainment. The only Indian television programs that were popular at this specific period of time were quiz shows like 'What's the Good word?' talk shows by Kamleshwar and Tabassum and sports programs.

Indian television soap operas were not inspired by American daytime soap operas, but by the success of Mexico's Televisa, a private commercial network, which produced popular melodramatic series such as 'Ven Conmigo' (Come with Me), which promoted family planning. The Mexican telenovela was again influenced by the Peruvian telenovela 'Simplemente Maria', which told the story of an immigrant girl who by her skills in sewing with a 'Singer' stitching machine became rich. The telenovela was sponsored by 'Singer', the manufacturer of the machine.

1.1.6. Sexuality in Soap Opera:

For a long time, sensuality or scenes with sexual overtones were covertly expressed on the small screen. Even if it were an integral part of a story, directors resorted to suggestive scenes to convey the message.

It was with the advent of Zee TV and serials like *Tara*, *Banegi Apni Baat*, *Kurukshetra* and *Hasratein* that seductive scenes came to be incorporated expansively. *Tara*, probably, led the way with a bold and blatant storyline.

Strangely enough, despite their popularity, seductive scenes went out of fashion once these serials were over. Family dramas soon dominated the tube and it is also realized that television viewed mainly by women and they are not very comfortable with raunchy scenes. That is the reason they switched over to serials with joint families.

1.1.7. Phases in Indian Television:

1.1.7. i) First Phase:

The Foundation Of Soap Opera On TV Took In India:

The serials like *Humlog, Buniyaad, Circus, and Fauji* laid the foundation of soap opera in Indian television. These serials depicted typical lower middle class psychology of India, thus it acted as a bridge between the common man of India and the prevailing about women during those days. Though the theme of women empowerment found its place in these serials, but its prominence was almost negligible. In other, the theme of women empowerment was not centralized in these family entertainers.

1.1.7. ii) Second Phase:

The Elite And Empowerment Era:

The serials like *Shanti* and *Swabhiman* gained immense momentum in their popularity. As bold and outspoken image of a woman, Shanti became an inspirational character for the young women in India. Serials like *Shanti* and *Swabhiman* focused on the psychology and lifestyle of the newly-emerging elite India. Politicization, criminalization and their effects, which shape up their lives - these serials traversed these complicated areas of the Indian society.

1.1.7. iii) Third Phase:

The Chronicles Of Saas-Bahu:

During this period queen of melodrama Ms. Ekta Kapoor stepped into the world of Indian television

family entertainment and established herself as the reigning of the Indian television. Unraveling the complications of the much-talked-about Saas-Bahu relationship, Ekta Kapoor and Balaji Telefilms soon became the undisputed leader in the world of small screen entertainment. Her primary focus was on two principal characters - a woman who reflected the piousness of an Indian woman and the other lady in the league was a spoiler to all the good of a woman. A 'vamp' in Ekta Kapoor serial was an essential ingredient for every family entertainer. Popular bahus like Prerna, Tulsi and Parvati were the most talked-about characters in Indian television industry. But it was not just the women who enjoyed popularity; men like Anurag or Mihir became ideal groom material for every Indian bride. The villainous characters also churned immense hate and negative response from the audience. In spite of being critiqued for encouraging nonsensical family entertainment, Ekta Kapoor and her serials managed to popularize the beauty of a Sari and the charm an Indian woman creates by wearing this beautiful traditional costume. The Saas-Bahu phase of the Indian television has paved new paths for more interesting and riveting soaps and serials. With a dynamic audience at perusal, the pace of entertainment has also transformed immensely.

1.1.7. iv) Fourth Phase:

Portrayal of women: the pivotal objective:

This is the specific period in the history of Indian television industry when societal issues were chosen to be the core instrument for entertainment and social change. This included child marriage, dowry, barter of girl child, girl child education, psychological ups and downs of a woman etc. This phase is much more concentrated on the women empowerment factor as compared to any other phase in the history of the Indian soap opera. Soap operas of that period were centered on societal issues. Such issues were rampant in the rural as well as in the urban society and which were almost common to every section of the Indian population. Moreover, the serials of these times, with a hint of drama and emotions convey the message that the woman today is no longer submissive and weak as we always used to quote her since ages, but she is the one who should and will live on her own terms as she has all the rights to do so.

The present phase has played an important role in motivating people to have a girl child and to allow her to build her own individuality in a patriarchy (Khattri, 2011).

1.1.8. Interpretive Community

The term "Interpretive Community' was first coined by the American theorist & intellectual stalwart, Stanley Fish in his article in 1976 entitled "Interpreting the Variorum". According to Fish, "Interpretive communities" are groups who interpret text similarly because they share similar social position and experiences. His theory believes that meaning of a text cannot be derived outside a set of cultural assumptions regarding what the characters actually mean & how they ideally be interpreted. Every individual is a part of one or other interpretive community & that facilitates them to read & interpret a text in a particular way. Though the total meaning that every individual in a group generates will vary, but we may expect to see more resemblance between two individuals belonging to same interpretive community. People can and do belong to many interpretive communities at once depending on the similarity and variation in their interpretive strategies.

As per Fish's model, interpretive communities give rise to all producers, texts and audiences in first place. The community, to which an individual belongs, shapes how that person will interpret texts. But the community, to which a producer/creator/author belongs, also influences how the individuals will construct the text initially.

Fitch's article namely "Interpreting the Variorum" concludes with discussion on stable texts, interpretive communities and stable interpretations. He says that interpretive communities have different versions or edition of a text which may again differ across different communities. These differences in version or edition of text across different interpretive communities give rise to interpretive discussion and interpretive disagreement. This implies that a text may be stable in an interpretive community, but it is not globally stable across all communities. The community stability is compromised when the community members shift to other communities. Fish analysed that this shifting of textual stability brings the text into doubt and tend to bring interpretive meaning within the interpretive community. Fish

has been criticized by many on this issue stating how text can be so unstable as to disappear if there is stability enough for universally unresolved problems. Nevertheless, Fish's theoretical premises lead him to these conclusions.

1.2. Statement of the Problem:

The study tries to examine whether 'interpretive communities' can be defined or explained on the basis of gender, age, caste, class, race, and education. It also tends to find out how audiences switch between diverse interpretive communities as they shape their life style by understanding the texts.

The research paper tries to study how the soap opera viewers form different 'interpretive communities'. The study also attempts to find out the correlation between the viewers and soap opera texts and how viewers construct meaning out of these texts within the perspective of family and day-to-day life.

The study also tries to find out how soap operas by using the institutions like family, marriage and religion represent women, men and the power of relationships and also their interpretation by viewers.

It also finds out how viewers with similar socio political and economic structure vary in their interpretation of these medium or texts. Lastly, the study tries to examine the fact that how the structural factors as well as lifestyle of a particular individual play an important role in constructing the meaning especially in fast changing societies like India.

1.3. Scope of the study:

The character of feminine viewership with respect to soaps and serials in India is absolutely predictable. Given the fact that Indian women go through a male dominated labyrinth of existence, the small screen world has acted as the perfect vent to her undiscovered turmoil. Adhering to its entertainment

book, the small screen world has succeeded in luring in more audience than mainstream Hindi cinema.

A greater fraction of female population has been the major contributor to its popularity. This study

delves deep inside the feminine psychology to discover and justify the reason behind the viewership

inclination towards small screen entertainment. This will not only help in discovering new grounds of

feminine perspective towards the entertainment world but will also invite more discussions on female

centric, small scale entertainment.

1.4. Locale of the Study:

Silchar is situated by the bank of the Barak River, what is popularly known as Barak Valley. Silchar is

the head quarter of Cachar district and it is 343 kilometers (213mi) south east of Guwahati. It is the

second largest city of the state Assam in terms of population and municipal area.

Silchar is mostly populated by Bengali people, approximately 90% of residents are Bengali who

speak the Sylheti dialect, the rest of the people are Biharis, Bishnupriya Manipuri, Dimasa Kachari

(Barman), Manipuri (Meitei), Marwaris, Assamese and some Tribal groups like Nagas.

Hinduism is the major religion in Silchar city with 86.31% followers. Islam is the second most popular

religion in the city of Silchar town with approximately 12.17% followers, Jainism is followed by 0.79%,

Christianity by 0.59%, Buddhism by 0.04% & Sikhism by 0.04%.

As per provisional reports of census India, population of Silchar in 2011 is 172,830; of which female

and male are 85,946 and 86,884 respectively.

1.5. Operational definitions:

i) **Soap Opera:** Soap Opera sometimes called "soap" in short is an ongoing, episodic

(15)

work of dramatic fiction presented in serial format, which is broadcast either in radio or on television. These dramatic fictional serials are broadcast in weekday's daytime slots, usually five days a week, when most listeners are housewives. Aiming at the women, soap operas are designed in such a way that female audience consumes them.

ii) Violence: Violence is defined by the World Health Organization as the deliberate employ of physical force or authority, threatened or actual, against a person, or against a group or community that may result in or have the likelihood of injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation. The serials like *Dil Se Di Dua.....Saubhagyavati Bhava* and *Amrit Manthan*, of Life Ok are some of the violent serials which shows physical as well as mental torture and which disturbs our mental state of thinking.

iii) Family drama: Drama is the specific form of fiction which is presented on stage as performance. The use of "drama" in the narrow sense to designate a specific type of play originates from the 19th century. Drama in this regard refers to a play that is neither a comedy nor a tragedy. It is this fine sense that the movie and TV industry and film studies adopted to illustrate "drama" as a genre inside their respective media. "Radio drama" has been used in both senses-originally transmitted in a live performance, it is also used to portray the more highbrow and serious end of the dramatic output of radio. Family drama is based on family life, it shows how a member of a family stays together and fights all their adverse circumstances and stand together. Serials like *Bade Achhe Lagte Hain* and *Diya Aur Baati Hum* are totally family drama.

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