



Mental Health and Female  
Well-Being:  
A Critical Analysis of Shanta  
Gokhale's *Rita Welinkar*

**Samrita Sinha**

Department of English, Sophia College, Mumbai  
samrita.sinha@sophiacollege.edu.in

**Abstract**

The objective of this paper is to explore the contemporary optics predicated on social psychiatry that focusses on the socio-cultural determinants of mental well-being. Making a departure from biological psychiatry, the current dispensation of social psychiatry has shaped newer imaginaries about what constitutes well-beingness of a precarious self, entrenched in a context of environmental crises and multiple instances of violence, conflict and trauma. Principally and theoretically aligned with contemporary “social psychiatry” that has made such a turn towards studying socio-cultural causalities of mental “well-being” of human subjects.

This paper reads the representation of women’s mental health in Shanta Gokhale’s seminal novel, *Rita Welinkar*, published in the year, 1995. This paper argues that caught in the interstices of patriarchal violence, systemic gender oppression and myriad fault lines of societal expectations, is the embattled female subject, who is perpetually threatened by forces inimical to her mental well-being.

**Key words:**

mental health, social psychiatry, well-beingness, precarious self, embattled, female

Current scholarly dispensation in the domain of social epidemiology is deeply invested in epistemological debates about the role of social factors in shaping the human subject’s mental health (Chadda, Kumar, and Sarkar 2018, 45). The topical purchase of such an epistemological turn has risen from a humanitarian concern about the limitations of the domain of biological psychiatry in managing the human subject’s mental frontiers. Social psychiatry reckons that there should be a psychosocial epidemiological approach beyond that of clinical

psychiatry towards mental well-being of humanity which is under protracted threat in the contemporary context of imperiled planetary conditions like climate chaos, breakdown of human connections in the face of rampant social media, indefinite phases of global violence and conflict to name a few. In the light of this, the paper explores the contemporary optics predicated on social psychiatry that focusses on the socio-cultural determinants of mental well-being (Chadda, Kumar, and Sarkar 2018, 1-50). This in turn has shaped newer imaginaries about what constitutes well-beingness of a precarious self, entrenched in a context of environmental crises and multiple instances of violence, conflict and trauma. Principally and theoretically aligned with contemporary “social psychiatry” (Chadda, Kumar, and Sarkar 2018, 40-45) that has made such a turn towards studying socio-cultural causalities of mental “well-being” of human subjects (Misra 2010, 95), this paper reads the representation of women’s mental health in Shanta Gokhale’s seminal novel, *Rita Welinkar*, published in the year, 1995. Caught in the interstices of patriarchal violence, systemic gender oppression and myriad fault lines of societal expectations, is the embattled female subject, the eponymous Rita Welinkar, who is perpetually threatened by forces inimical to her mental well-being. This interplay between mental health and gender has been established by social psychiatry –

Overall, women have higher prevalence of psychological morbidity in general; as regards depression, women are twice as likely to suffer from it during their lifetime as compared to men. Plausible explanations for this gender disparity are many. Firstly, because of their traditional social position in almost all societies, they are likely to be exposed to greater frequency and may also be of greater severity of social stressors. This situation gets further worsened in modern times when women are increasingly stepping out of home to take over additional social roles. Another risk factor for greater impact of stressor is their generally higher temperamental sensitivity as well as their tendency for greater emotional involvement. Women also have a habitual tendency to introject and be nonexpressive about their anger and anguish. (Chadda, Kumar, and Sarkar 2018, 146)

Shanta Gokhale has written prolifically in Marathi and English. She has also been a renowned translator. A well-known literary figure in the Marathi literary circle, she has been the recipient of two Maharashtra State awards, the Vijay Khandekar award for her first published novel, *Rita Welinkar* (1995). This novel, originally written in Marathi was later translated by Shanta Gokhale into English in the year 1995. Albeit a well-received and acclaimed novel, *Rita Welinkar* has not garnered much scholarly attention in the past. It is a powerful and sensitive first-person account of a woman's retrospective of her failed hopes and desires in a life circumscribed by parental expectations, familial responsibilities and a love affair that has no societal recognition or future. The indefiniteness of her future in conflict with personal desires and ambitions with its attendant feeling of a stifled existence, push *Rita Welinkar* towards a brink of mental breakdown and a complete psychic disintegration. Tripti Karekatti has read the novel as offering an Indian feminist consciousness about "sisterhood" (2005, 96) as an alternative to masculinist expectations that women internalize as way of self-fulfillment. Making a departure from such apolitical readings about sisterhood, this paper argues that the novel foregrounds affective communities of female solidarities as a way of consolidating women's cogent inner lives and mental well-being. As such the novel expounds the multiple precarities of women's social locations that are inimical to their mental well-being and builds a case for crafting female spaces of interpersonal solidarities as mechanisms of achieving personal well-being.

## **Precarious lives of Women and the Social Psychology of Mental Health**

In her early forties, *Rita Welinkar* the titular character of the novel has suffered a nervous breakdown and most of the narrative is her recounting of her traumatic past from her narrow hospital bed, where her lover and ex-boss, Vitthal Salvi has admitted her. It is from this hospital bed, that Rita takes an evaluative look back at her life and comes to a difficult but necessary decision, that of severing her long clandestine love relationship with Salvi, a married man and fifteen years her senior, who has refused to openly acknowledge their relationship. The unsettled psychic state that Rita finds herself in is a corollary of numerous socio-cultural factors and the somaticity of her nervous breakdown, this paper argues is a

manifestation of how societal pressures psychologically cripple and emotionally stifle “eldest daughters of non-earning fathers” (35). Rita reminisces –

How, when one starts work at eighteen, the first few years are spent floating lightly on waves of pride. You are working for the family. The family is comfortable because of you. You’ve deprived yourself of college to put your kid sisters and brothers through school. You deny your own young appetite to satisfy your old parents’ every craving. You remain single so your brothers and sisters may marry. They do. Then you are left with your old parents, and you catch yourself casting a furtive glance over your shoulder at the irretrievable past to find out where it has brought you. Do you know, little one, that there is a whole social group made up of women like you and me in this country? The eldest daughters of non-earning fathers? (Gokhale 1995, 495)

This social group of women as Rita tells us are those who have been trapped in an eternal cycle of self-denial because of what has been identified by social psychiatry as “role overload” (Chadda, Kumar, & Sarkar 2018, 142). This overburdening of Rita with multiple responsibilities detrimental to self-pursuit has been identified as a great social stressor in the domain of social psychiatry, impacting mental health negatively. What Shanta Gokhale poignantly projects in this novel is that the precarity of women’s mental health is deeply entrenched in the nexus between oppressive socio-cultural exigencies and patriarchal power structures. The social model of mental health as offered by significant scholars like Bernard Gallagher is deeply rooted in socially constructed negative perceptions about persons with mental illness (Gallagher, Jones, and Pisa et al. 2008, 127-132). However, this paper, in reading Rita Welinkar focusses on the social causalities as determinants of mental health problems. At the outset, it is important to clarify that this paper does not use the phrase “mental illness” from a medical perspective. On the contrary, it posits a socio-cultural causal model in analyzing the social context of women’s embattled inner lives as determinants of their mental health.

The social causality of class, race and gender in producing a disruption in the inner lives of human subjects and producing symptoms of mental disorder

has been reckoned by certain scholars (Mirowsky and Ross, 1983, 228–39). For instance, persons from low socio-economic positions constantly negotiate with powerlessness, multiple forms of social injustice and the “threat of victimization” (Hiday 1995, 125). These socially disadvantaged locations of subservient economic class, race and gender in turn generate a pathological fear of external control which can be pernicious to mental well-being. In the novel, *Rita Welinkar* too comes from an economically impoverished background where suddenly her father lost his job and as his eldest daughter with three younger sisters, she finds her life’s control wrenched out of her hands and reined by external factors such as an economically sustainable job. Rita’s social vulnerability is only compounded by the deficit of parental love and understanding leading to her emotional vulnerability. In the earlier section of the novel, we find a young *Rita Welinkar*, still in her pre-teens completely emotionally bankrupt as her parents are too busy keeping up their social pretenses by attending parties. Her mother cares only for physical appearance and is always dressed to the skies, in her chiffon sarees and immaculately done up face and hair. From early on in life, Rita had been a lonely child, bereft of her parents’ love or concern. Her parents have been too cooped up in their own islands of self concern and social vanities around which their lives revolved. While in the hospital’s psychiatry ward, in one of her retrospective mood, Rita tells us –

Mother, did you want any of us? Did you weep the same way when you were expecting me, your first child? Was it the bottle for me too, from the first day, as it was for Dolly and Sherry and Sangeeta? I want so much to ask you one of these days – about how you feel towards me. Humiliated because my skin isn’t light? Then what about Dolly and Sherry? Their skin’s like yours. But you did not welcome them either. Didn’t you ever guess how much we felt like climbing straight onto your lap when we came back from school? (Gokhale 1995, 121).

According to M. Brewster Smith, certain social exigencies for many human beings require “individual adaptation to a particular life situation” (1950, 503-10) that is achieved only at the “cost of personal integration” (1950, 503-10). In *Rita Welinkar*, Rita’s personal integration and consolidation of her inner life is hugely compromised for the sake of her family’s upkeep after her father lost his job. From

early on as the eldest daughter, Rita is abandoned to her own devices to manage not only herself but also her siblings. One evening, an adolescent Rita recounts being left with her younger baby sisters while her parents are away at a party –

What a rage I'd be driven to, in the big house, by Daddy's bow-tie and Mummy's georgette saris. Every evening they'd dress up and be off chanting 'Goodnight darlings.' In the immensity of that house, there'd be just Victoria and the three of us huddled in our room. (Gokhale 1995, 99)

A sense of psychological adequacy, it is believed by thinkers, could be induced by attributes, such as "creativity, flexibility, self-acceptance, and effective intelligence", each in terms of its respective cultural milieu (Smith 1950, 503-10). Lindeman has described the "healthy man as a person who does not distort his life situation, knows that he never will be released from conflict, does not anticipate final solutions for difficulties, avoids either-or solutions, operates thru groups but insists upon the right of dissent, and maintains integrity" (Lindeman 1952, 18). Rita's life situations are drastically altered when at the young age of seventeen she has to let go of her youthful dreams of going to college and take up a job to financially support her family. Apart from a lowly job as a junior assistant at a firm where she has Vitthal Salvi as her boss, she also becomes the butt of constant taunting that of her ageing parents who themselves lead quite a purposeless life. Dwelling in their past glories, her parents have grown quite bitter and at the receiving end of their diatribes is Rita. They do not cut Rita any slack and are very picky, overriding the personal sacrifices Rita has made to keep them all going. Rita's personal space is constantly impinged upon by her parents and their constant nitpicking is silently borne by her.

## **Female Spaces of Spiritual Well-Being**

Indian scholars like N.N. Wig have pointed out that the present use of the word "mental health" is a western lexicon as there is no concept of just the mind in disjunction from the body in vocabularies of health in the Indian imaginary.

The first important point, it must be reiterated, is that Indian culture has always attached great significance to spiritual life. The term spiritual

is, of course, not identical with the term mental, but both recognize the value of inner mental life and experiences. In India the term health is usually not confined to physical state: in any Indian definition of health there is always reference to mental harmony and potential for spiritual growth. The present-day term mental health is European in concept and origin. There is no exact equivalent of the term mind in Indian languages, because the differentiation of "body" and "mind" has never been very important in Indian philosophy, as it has been in modern European thought. Thus, when we speak of "mental health," especially of positive mental health, not merely the absence of mental disorder, the average Indian will always perceive in it an underlying reference to spiritual development. Understood in this way, "mental health" is very important for him, is something to which he attaches great value; he is willing to spend time and resources in pursuit of it. (Wig 1989, 77)

In *Rita Welinkar*, it is such female spaces of spiritual well-being and its concomitant affective dimensions that defines mental well-being. Mental health therefore, in the Indian context is deeply imbricated with a cogent spiritual inner life. In Rita Welinkar, a pursuit of this holistic self is a way forward through the pursuit of personal care and self-actualization. While Salvi turns towards a spiritual guru when he himself is unable to resolve his ontological crises, Rita finds such a deed loathsome. For her, assigning one's spiritual quest to an external force such as a "guru" is an escapist route which reeks of masculinist entitlement. When Rita had asked Salvi, to bring their relationship out in the open as the life of secret loving according to her was a life of privation, he had backed out. As a woman it was offensive to Rita not to have a right to love with dignity. She had fallen for Salvi at a time when she was not only young but also very lonely and emotionally vulnerable. As a young seventeen-year-old woman working under financial stress with its concomitant familial exigencies and parental responsibilities, Rita's dream of attending college and taking up dance had been dashed to the grounds. In such a context, Salvi her first boss, described as an extremely gentle and warm man, financially supports her through college. He enabled her selflessly to become financially independent and after a college degree, he gently coaxed her towards a higher career path. She falls in love with him and for fifteen years,



they have a clandestine relationship as Salvi is married with two children. Along with other stifling social factors such as a predetermined career path, Rita also finds herself at the constant receiving end of her parent's jibes and is reduced to their personal punching bag whereby they externalize their own inner anxieties and frustrations. When Rita's mother hears about her being admitted to the hospital, she tells Salvi –

Good. This was my first thought when you told me you'd had her admitted to hospital. I said to myself, it would be good if the illness helps her slim down. How fat she'd grown in the last few years. God knows what had got into her. Her eyes and her figure, that's all she ever had. (Gokhale 1995, 209)

Everything was going fine between Rita and Salvi as long as Rita did not question the status quo. Her tacit silence about internalized guilt over her love for a married man was perceived as consent by Salvi. He even tells Rita that she had been very mature in handling everything. Rita's subservience was construed as maturity but when she decided not to live with the burden of guilt, she is deemed as difficult and vindictive.

For seven years, when I lied with every breath I took, I was mature. But when I decided it was time we faced up to our life together, acknowledged our feelings openly, held our heads high; when I sought to wipe away the layers of falsehood that had gathered on me like soot and come through clear, I became suddenly immature. (Gokhale 1995, 537)

Gradually Rita learns to negotiate with the stressors in her life and decides to move out from her parents' house. She is urged by her younger sister Sangeeta to buy a flat for herself with her savings after the two other sisters, Dolly and Sherry, are married off. Sangeeta is the only empathetic companion Rita has in her circle of family who stands by her and emotionally connects with her. Although the story is told through the perspective of Rita predominantly, it charts the trajectory of the inner lives of three women, Rita, her sister, Sangeeta and her best friend, Saraswati who is a Tamil Brahmin and their quest for self-determination

and spiritual well-being. The novel offers a sharp critique of the socio-cultural determinants that psychologically colonize women and stifle them inwardly pushing them towards a self-abstemious path of life. In the context of this, Rita's buying a flat is a symbolic gesture that translates into her first step towards a quest for the self. The flat bought with her own money comes to symbolize for Rita, freedom and the right to live life on her own terms. It is in this flat that she wants to receive Salvi freely as her companion and lover without further guilt or secrecy. However, this act of freedom and taking the course of life in her own hands, wresting its control out of the hands of her parents and Salvi, infuriates him, as for him it impinges upon his own moral comfort zone. Patronizing Rita with his love, care and sympathy, for Salvi this step comes as a blow as he would now be meeting Rita as a woman unto herself in her own space and on her own terms. This puncturing of Salvi's hypocritical moral topos happens when Rita comes out of the domain of his male patronage. The fact that Rita wants to have a relationship with him not to convenience him but on her own terms, is hard for Salvi to accept. The flat, Rita's house, is a site of multiple disputations of patriarchal values and shackles and is an embodiment of female assertion -

How many people there must be whose lives are shaped according to whose houses they live in. When Salvi brought Susheela to Bombay, she was left with no other house but his. She was struck off her father's house. In Salvi's house her life was shaped according to Salvi's wishes. (Gokhale 1995, 285)

While Rita negotiates with a lover who will not grant dignity and honour to their relationship, Sangeeta is seen grappling with the corporate space with all its complexities of human entanglements. She works for a cosmetics company that sells "false colours for women to paint their faces with" (Gokhale 1995, 396). Sangeeta is appalled to witness a dog-eats-dog world from up close where the relationality of the self complexly interweaves with transactional matters such as promotions and corporate advancements. While on her way back home from the hospital, in the bus, Sangeeta ruminates over the petty corporate politics she has to witness everyday -

There they are, the entire workforce in her fancy Company, engaged in a brutal game. Each man sees his dream realized in the abject defeat of another man's dream. Your shoulder was made for me to climb on; then crush. If it's bloodied in the process, that's your funeral. Yes sir yes sir three bags full sir, here, wipe your shoes on me sir but give me that promotion. What a circus! They talk of teams; link arms in a show of spirit, but wait for the first chance to strangle each other. (Gokhale 1995, 396)

Sangeeta decides to resign as she does not want to be party to the moral hypocrisy of it all – working for a company that perpetuates patriarchal norms about femininities by selling women's beauty products and false dreams. Locked in this ideological contention, Sangeeta decides to buy her freedom by resigning and to persevere towards following her dream of helping lesser privileged women through an NGO her friend Eric worked for. These forces that wear these three women down are finally toppled as they decide to actively pursue self-care and self-definition not by prescriptive standards set by society for them. Women like Rita and Sangeeta and the young nurse Mariamma are circumscribed by a perpetual circle of moralities that define the ideology of femininity in society – those of the moral duty of the eldest or only daughters of non-earning fathers.

The other female protagonist whose life intersects with Rita's is Saraswati, her best friend from school who Rita tells us belongs to the other social category of "pampered daughters of well-off parents whose greatest joy is to spend all their time, money and energy helping their daughters develop their talents, study as much as they want to, and finally, marry the men whom they have gone through heaven and hell to find for them – good natured, intelligent men with promising careers" (Gokhale 1995, 495). These are the predetermined trajectories of women's lives one way or the other depending on which social location they find themselves entrenched in. Saraswati is married to Sundaram who was given a handsome dowry of 25000 by her father and after the initial days of euphoric elation that marriage brought, Saraswati now sees plainly and painfully through the sham that her marriage is. She now discovers for herself that Sundaram is incapable of loving another human being, least so, of loving his wife. For him, she is just a glorified maid and a bedfellow. Like Salvi, who had married Susheela,

the daughter of a wealthy bidi merchant in return of an expensive English higher education, Sundaram too had married Saraswati for the handsome dowry her father had offered. Sangeeta's only solace in life is writing. She had always wanted to write a novel on Victoria, the erstwhile nanny-cum-cook of the Welinkar family who had to be let go after Rita's father lost his job.

## **Towards an Affective Praxis of Self-Determination**

According to mental Health scholars, the social act of "capability building" (Crociata, Agovino and Sacco 2014, 220) causes individuals to gain in self-confidence, thus improving their level of self-determination, which affirms positive "health-serving habits and practices" (Crociata, Agovino and Sacco 2014, 220) Here, what is specifically significant are culture-related capabilities that enhance an individual's inner coherence. "Both cultural access per se and the capability building that is naturally associated to it can affect subjective well-being in a positive way" (Crociata, Agovino and Sacco 2014, 220-227). While in hospital, Rita retrospectively assesses her relationship with Salvi and her toxic emotional dependency on him. Paradoxically her greatest moments of clarity and self-cogency comes while she is recuperating in the hospital from her nervous breakdown. She is grateful for the realization that the man she had loved with her heart and soul had also been the cause of her breakdown and that her toxic emotional dependency on a man has only been rather self-confining. As a married man Salvi would never be able to honour Rita's desires and her right to love freely. Her final decision to sever this cycle of toxic emotional dependency finally sets her on a path towards recovery and self-sufficiency.

*And me? Free at last. Examining them all, waiting to decide who I want to link hands with. Bullocks, if they had minds, would not pull the water wheel round and round all day, every day of their working lives. They'd throw off their yokes and run into other fields, grazing where they wished. But bullocks don't have minds.....What a gift this nervous breakdown is. A miraculous escape from bullockness. For this too, I must thank you, Salvi. Just as all the 'good' things in my life are yours, so is this. (Gokhale 1995, 124)*

In the ending section of the novel, we see the three female characters gaining a strong consciousness about their capability building social praxis, beyond spaces of patriarchal sanction. Saraswati has a new-found determination to write, as Rita assigns a writing space to her in her flat. Sangeeta has made a radical decision of resigning from her job where she could no longer be a tacit party to sexual offensives by her senior male colleagues on a younger girl and Rita herself clambers out of Salvi's emotional patronage and takes to dance that has always been her first passion. Participation in socially sanctioned cultural activities are important indices of mental health, and "cultural participation may have an important indirect role in fostering social mobilization and awareness about the social consequences of individual behaviors as related to environmental issues" (Crociata, Agovino and Sacco 2014, 220-225). This paper main argument, that affective sisterhood in this novel is the cultural participation that Shanta Gokhale identifies as a feminine arena of emplacement and mental well-being of the female subjects, Rita, Saraswati and Sangeeta. Such sisterhood acts as an affective emplacement as their friendship not only emotionally anchors them, it also enables them to mobilize each other to achieve a cogent inner life of contentment. They also mobilize self articulation by inspiring and facilitating one another's cultural selves. The self is emotionally relational and this relationality of the female self is embedded in affective sisterhood as this novel depicts.

Psychology has acknowledged the relationship between cultural access and individual psychological well-being. "Referring to the psychological general well-being index—PGWBI, a tool that has been validated through 30 years of clinical research, such studies show a positive impact of culture-related activities on individual" (Crociata, Agovino, and Sacco 2014, 220). At the closure of the text, all the three women are seen striving towards a greater acquisition of cultural capital as Rita goes back to dance, Saraswati dynamically turns towards writing and Sangeeta towards her social outreach work through helping female victims of domestic abuse and converting Rita's flat into a kind of a safe haven for such victims. The symbolic flat, becomes such a space of affective female labour as they sustain each other towards an intersubjective consolidation of psychological well-being. Initially though Rita had bought the flat so that Salvi could freely come and meet her, it now is converted into a site of female intersubjectivities,

psychologically nurturing and a locus of well-beingness of the three female characters in Rita Welinkar. Rita's flat from being a symbolic site of her emotional dependence on a man, Salvi, her lover, now transitions into a locus of feminine solidarities and personal freedom. All these three women actively reclaim spaces of selfhood and self-determination through acquisition of cultural participation like writing, dancing and social work and begin a journey towards personal well-being.

To conclude researcher studied that, Shanta Gokhale through a sensitive and empathetic depiction of the trajectories of the inner lives of the three women, Rita, Sangeeta and Saraswati, offers a critique of prescriptive social standards and moralities that impose a restraint upon women's personal freedom and are veritable causations of mental breakdown as that suffered by Rita. The novel is a radical interrogation of marriage as a social institution where Shanta Gokhale depicts marriage not as a corollary of love between two individuals but a social contract which guarantees the man a way forward with material ambitions and the woman a glorified life of romantic dependency and patronage of the husband. For Saraswati, after her initial callow days of romantic euphoria about marriage are over, she sees it as an imposition and a kind of social restraint as her life as a wife has cordoned her off from other social pursuits. As has been established by social psychiatry, a change in the immediate social topography can induce well-beingness. In *Rita Welinkar*, this paper concludes, Shanta Gokhale offers alternative social environment for women, like, building affective female communities, a nurturance of which can consolidate women's inner lives which in turn can induce a sense of well-being. The novel concludes with such a depiction of female socialities where the three women are seen wreathing garlands of flowers, laughing and content with their chosen pathways of self-determination, that of Rita deciding to pursue dance, Saraswati her writing and Sangeeta her social outreach work.

#### **WORKS CITED**

Chadda, R. K., Kumar, V., & Sarkar, S. (2018). *Social Psychiatry: Principles & Clinical Perspectives*. Jaypee Brothers Medical Publishers.

Crociata, A., Agovino, M., & Sacco, P. L. (2014). Cultural access and mental health: An exploratory study. *Social indicators research : An International and Interdisciplinary Journal for Quality-of-Life*

Measurement 118 (1), 219 – 233.

Gokhale, S. (1995). *Rita Welinkar*. Disha Books.

Hiday, V. A. (1995). The social context of mental illness and violence. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36 (2) 122-137.

Jones, B. J., Gallagher III, B. J., Pisa, A. M., & McFalls Jr, J. A. (2008). *Social class, family history and type of schizophrenia*. *Psychiatry research*, 159(1-2), 127-132.

Karekatti, T. (2005). "Theme of Sisterhood in Shanta Gokhale's *Rita Welinkar*, Shashi Deshpande's *A Matter of Time* and Shobha De's *Sisters*." *Indian Women Writing in English: New Perspectives* (96).

Lindeman, E. C. (1956). *Mental Hygiene and the Moral Crisis of Our Time*. Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, University of Texas.

McGuire, C. (1956). "Chapter III: Factors Influencing Individual Mental Health." *Review of Educational Research* 26, (5), 451-478.

Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (1983). Paranoia and the structure of powerlessness. *American Sociological Review* 48, (5), 228-239.

Misra, G (2010). "The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for well-being." *Personality, Human Development, and Culture*. Psychology Press.

Smith, M. B. (1950). "Optima of mental health: A general frame of reference." *Psychiatry* 13, (4), 503-510.

Wig, N. N. (1989). Indian concepts of mental health and their impact on care of the mentally ill. *International Journal of Mental Health*, 18(3), 71-80.

