Centre for Health and Social Justice

JUNE 2018

NORMS TO NORMAL

How Social Norms Normalise Violence Against Women in India

Literature Review and Social Norm Mapping

ROMA DEY, SANA CONTRACTOR, ABHIJIT DAS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

PREFACE

Gender inequality is a persistent social reality in India. Gender discriminatory practices are all around us, in our homes, our families and obviously in the larger community and even in public institutions. The Constitution of India promises equality for all citizens, and India has been a signatory of the International Convention CEDAW which binds it to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. Gender discrimination or the unequal and unfair treatment of girls and women has been consistently recognised as an issue of concern for over 150 years in India with laws being passed as early as the 1830's banning female infanticide, sati (or the practice of burning the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband). However, many laws remain in the statute books because there is little social support for them. A case in point is the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 which legislated against early marriage nearly 90 years ago, but the practice is still common. Added to these, there are increasing reports of physical and sexual violence against women both in the home and in public places. Recently significant changes were made to the laws through the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2013, strengthening legal action against sexual offences.

While laws can be a deterrent, there is an increasing global agreement, and grounded interventions in India and elsewhere have also shown that to change gender discriminatory practices and reduce incidents of violence, it is necessary to change existing gendered social norms. Women's empowerment has been shown to increase women's autonomy, but with a very conservative social context, this empowerment has also shown to increase women's vulnerability to violence and abuse. Work done by the Centre for Health and Social Justice and its partners of FEM (Forum to Engage Men) in different states of India has shown that working with men and boys to change gendered social norms and practices can also reduce overall gender discrimination and violence faced by women. Drawing upon these experiences, members of networks Forum to Engage Men (FEM), One Billion Rising (OBR) and India Alliance for Gender Justice (IAGJ) have come together to create a national wide campaign called Ek Saath- Men and Boys for Gender Justice. The campaign aims to work with male gender champions or Samanta Saathis across different states to challenge and change gender discriminatory social norms in the family, community and institutions.

The present study was undertaken as part of the Ek Saath National Campaign to understand the prevailing social norms in different states of India. The study reviews the literature on social

norms and gender norms in the Indian context. The report has three parts. The first part consists of a review of literature on social norms in general to try to understand what social norms are, how they work and how can social norms be changed. An important aspect of this is the power that social norm has over individuals and groups and their attitude, behaviour and actions. The second part of the study reviews the available literature on various gendered social norms prevalent in different regions of India charting out the norms over the lifecycle of a female. The literature shows how every life event and everyday life of girls and women are constantly being subjected to social checks through norms that are being monitored through the family, peer, religion, community, work place, media and market among other social institutions.

The final part of the study puts together the findings of a social mapping exercise conducted through campaign partners through a number of conclaves and online forms in 13 states of India and the national capital region of Delhi.

Participants in the mapping exercise included 72 civil society organisations which include a few trade unions from the North Eastern states. The mapping is an attempt to get an idea of the norms prevalent on the ground. The norms that have emerged through the mapping exercise supports those being identified through the literature review and also alerted us towards possible literature on issues such as witch hunting (norms identified in Jharkhand and Meghalaya) and restriction on women on the use of plough (norms identified in Jharkhand). The mapping exercise has also alerted us towards the effect of socio-economic changes, here industrialization and migration in Odisha leading to increased violence and crime, on the gender norms and relations in the area.

The study endeavors to look at the existing gender norms through lenses of different theoretical perspectives and provide the theoretical framework to understand the social norm change processes proposed in the campaign.

CHAPTER 1: UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL NORMS AND SOCIAL NORM CHANGE

1.1. Social Norms: An Area of Interest for Different Social Sciences

With an increasing understanding of social determinants of health there has been a rising interest in social norms as a determinant of health related behaviours in recent times. From an earlier IEC (Information Education Communication), then BCC (Behaviour Change Communication) approach there is an increasing understanding that social norms influence a range of health and allied behaviours. However social norms have been studied extensively by different disciplines of social sciences such as anthropology, sociology, economics and laws with each of them studying social norms from their own disciplinary perspectives for a long time. For example, in anthropology Geertz's (1973) tried to understand how social norms differ from culture to culture while sociologists Durkheim (1950), Parsons (1937), Parsons and Shils (1951), Coleman (1990) explored the role social norms played in molding people's behavior and actions[i]. Psychologists have been interested in understanding an individual's motivation to follow norms or be a deviant. For economists such as Akerlof (1976) and Young (1998) the challenge has been to understand how adherence to norms influences market behavior

while legal scholars Ellickson (1991) and Posner (2000) have argued that social norms can be/are efficient alternatives to legal rules[ii].

1.1.1 Different Sociological Perspectives on Social Norms

The present study largely focuses on the sociological literature while interacting with other disciplines as well. The functions and use of social norms varies in different sociological perspectives. For the functionalists social norms are seen as means to achieve some social goal such as maintaining social order or solving a problem and are linked to the notion of efficiency of a norm[iii]. The conflict theorist sees social norms as coercive while the ethnomethodologists and symbolic-interactionists emphasize the role of both individuals and norms in shaping each other through contestation and interactions[iv]. In this review we try to study social norms from the perspective that these are social constructs, hence, they emerge, sustain or die out within a culture and differ from culture to culture.

The Table 1.1 (below) gives a bird's eye view of the different conceptions of social norms by social scientists from fields such as sociology, social psychology, economics and psychology. While it may not be important to understand

the differences in understanding, it is important to understand that there are different ways of understanding how social norms are constructed and operate and mediate the relationship between an individual and society.

Analyst/tradition	Theoretical position	Social norms…
Comte	Positivism	are the influence of individuals over each other
Marx	Dialectical materialism	are outcomes of property relationships
Durkheim	Positivism	have strong causal status, coercing individual behaviour
Simmel	Anti-positivism	are behaviour patterns agents can conform to or deviate from
Weber	Anti-positivism	are causes of social actions
Parsons	Functionalism	are the regulatory patterns that ensure social order
Giddens	Structuration	are both motivation for and consequence of individual action
Bourdieu	Theory of practice	are part of the 'habitus' into which people are socialised and become 'doxa' (beyond the limits of what can be challenged)
Developmental psychology	Socialisation theory	are inculcated through socialisation in childhood and adolescence
Elster	Rational choice	work through shame and guilt rather than reward and punishment

Coleman	Individualism	are the result of iterated interactions of individuals
Ullmann-Margalit	Game theory	are Nash equilibria* in coordination games
Bicchieri	Game theory	are situation frames triggering scripts of behaviour
Mackie	Social convention theory	are held in place by rewards and sanctions
Social psychology	Conformity studies	Individuals comply with norms because they wish to fit in with their group

Table 1.1 Some Sociological Perspectives On Social Norms[v]

Social norms form an important matter of investigation in sociology and other social sciences as norms are present in every sphere of our lives and tend to influence attitudes and behavior of people. Precisely because of this reason understanding social norms and designing models of social change has become imperative in the development sector. As we proceed further in the review, we come to realize how norms are embedded within social interactions, structures and institutions and derive power from these. Further, discriminatory norms such as caste and gender related norms are in place to maintain and sustain power relations. This review focuses on gender norms, that is, social norms that function and contribute to maintain gender inequalities. Consequently, it focuses on the role of social norms in gendered distribution of power and ways to change these.

In subsequent sections we will interrogate different aspects of social norms viz. What is a norm? How is it different from other collective practices and when is a collective practice a norm. Different ways in which norms emerge and are learnt/propagated. The issue of coercion and agency of individuals will be discussed to understand norms and their power over individuals. Finally we will review maintenance and change in norms- How they work? How they are sustained and what can cause norms to change.

1.2 Different Aspects Of Social Norms

1, 2, 1 Social Norms Definition

In a lay person's understanding social norms are part of a culture- beliefs, customs, values and practices. The Oxford Dictionary defines social norm as "Common standards within a social group regarding socially acceptable or appropriate behavior in particular social situations, the breach of which has social consequences" [vi]. Social norms are also defined as customary rules of behavior that coordinate our interactions with others[vii]. As evident from Table 1.1., there are various concepts of social norms and their functions which often are interlinked or seen from a particular perspective. However, for the purpose of this review we need to get at the technicalities of what are social norms- what are its components; is a belief, custom, value or practice a social norm; what makes a belief, custom, value or practice a social norm or how do these differ.

For this, we will work with the definition given by Heise which states that a social norm is, "A pattern of behavior motivated by a desire to conform to the shared social expectations of an important reference group"[viii] where the role of the reference group in maintaining and compliance with the norm is pivotal. This reference group is people with the group- a geographical or ethnic community and people who influence them. For example, for a father who marries off his underage daughter, the reference group might include other fathers/parents in his village or the village elders.

1.2.2. How does a Social Norm differ from other Collective Practices?

The widespread prevalence of a collective practice is often felt as a reason for terming it as a social norm. However, there are certain conditions that make a collective practice a social norm. We will use the work of Cristina Bicchieri, Ting Jiang and Jan Willem Lindemans (2014) to bring out the meaning of social norm and its difference from beliefs, values, cultural practice, institution and custom. The work, an endeavour to develop a framework for UNICEF on a social norms perspective on child marriage, explains that child marriage is said to be a "culture", a "practice", an "institution", a "custom", a "convention", a "social norm", or a "moral" imperative. But there are conditions that help in deciding if the practice of child marriage is any of these.

They explain that child marriage can be called a "custom" if it is followed in certain communities; people follow it because they have been taught to do so but the reason for it might have been long forgotten[ix]. In deciding to marry off their daughter, if parents are

influenced by when other parents are marrying off their daughters, their action is based on "empirical expectations", that is beliefs about the behaviour of other people[x].

Practices that depend on empirical expectations only are called descriptive norms or conventions, for example, the practice of driving on a particular side of the road. People follow it because they have belief that others drive on the same side too, an empirical expectation[xi].

When parents marry off their daughters early because they believe that daughters should be chaste it is their personal normative belief as compared to their belief that others believe daughters should be chaste and they marry their daughter early as they do not want to go against the normative beliefs of others, it is normative expectations. That is, beliefs about what others think should be done are called normative expectations[xii]. According to them, empirical and normative expectations are both beliefs about others and both are social expectations.

However, not all social expectations matter for social norms. For example, what people of a different country or community think may not matter to the father of a daughter who wants to marry her off early. For him what matters is what his reference group, that is other fathers in the village, family elders and village elders, think. Further, not everyone in his reference group will behave and think in the same way but for him what matters is that a majority of his reference group thinks that way is good enough for him to follow that.

The diagram below summarizes what a social norm is:
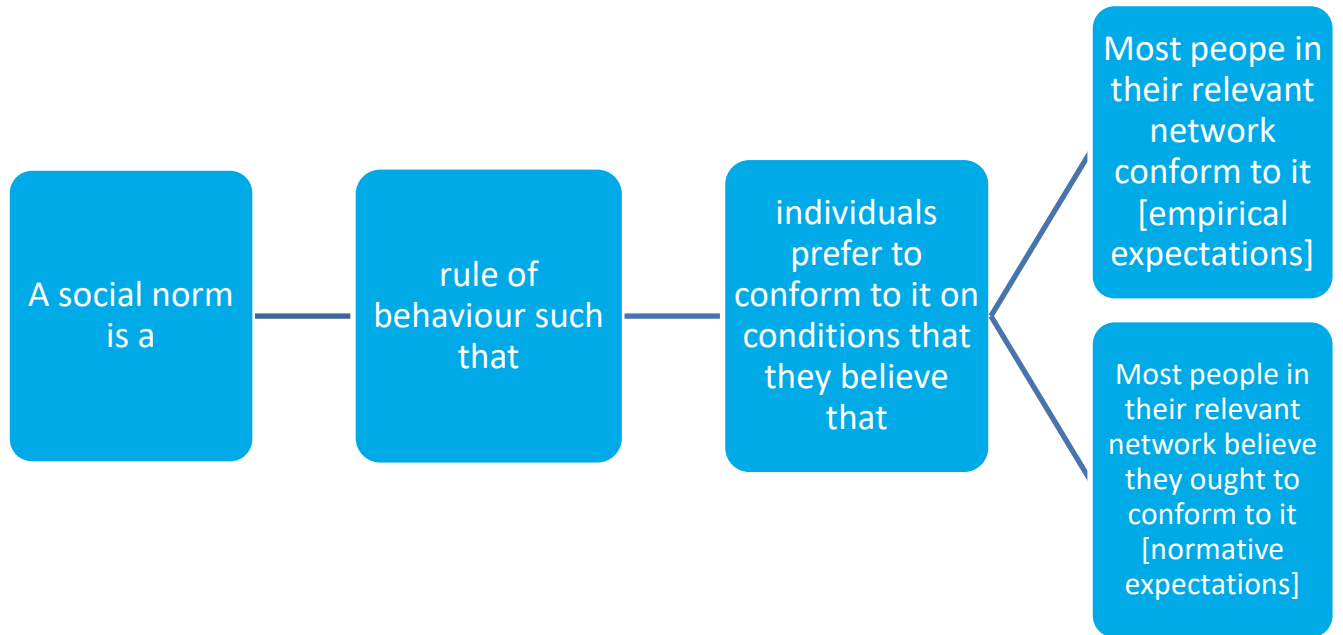
Figure 1. Pictorial Representation Of What Is A Social Norm. Source: Bicchieri (2012)[xiii].

The above discussion shows that social norms are a particular type of collective practice and differ from other collective practices such as customs and descriptive norms. The diagram and table 1.2 below further clarifies this:
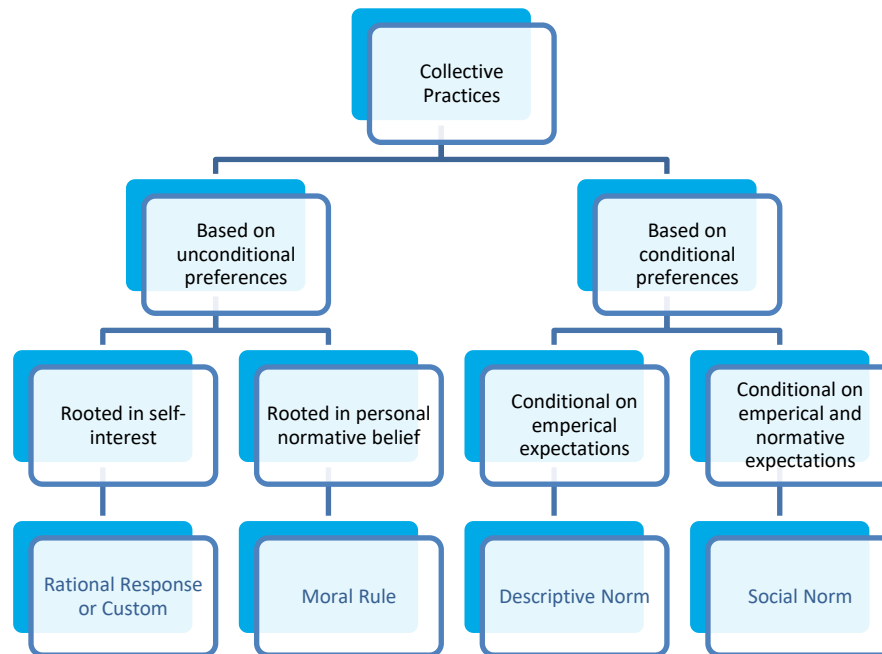
Figure 2. Categorization Of Collective Practices Based On Preferences And Beliefs. Adapted From Bicchieri (2012)[xiv].

Type of Collective Practices	Definition	Examples
Rational response	A rule that people follow because they reason it maximally satisfies their preferences.	Fathers marry off their daughters young because girls are a financial burden
Custom	A rule that people follow more or less blindly but which would be abandoned if no longer in their own interest.	Fathers just marry off their daughters young because it is a tradition and nobody thinks much about it.
Moral Rule	A rule that people follow because they believe that it should be followed (personal normative belief)	Fathers believe that girls should marry young because girls should be pure and chaste.
Descriptive Norm	A rule that people follow because they believe others follow it (empirical expectations)	Fathers marry off their daughters because they believe other fathers also marry off their daughters young.
Social Norm	A rule that people follow because they believe that others follow it (empirical expectation) and that others think it should be followed (normative expectation)	Fathers marry off their daughters young because they believe other fathers also marry off their daughters young and, moreover, they believe other fathers think that girls should marry young (because girls should be pure and chaste).

Table 1.2. Different Kinds Of Collective Practices[xv].

For change agents the interest in understanding the kind of collective practice is based on the need to bring change in it. The above discussion provides us a fair idea of the motivations of a particular kind of collective practice and hence what can be done to change the collective practice. For example, if child marriage is a rational response where the parents have done an analysis of the benefits or profits of an early marriage, providing them incentives to change can make a dent. If it is a custom, people will give it up if they realize the reason for which the custom was established no more exists. In case a practice is based on a moral rule it can be tackled through personal persuasion.

The Table 1.3. Below gives a bird's eye view of the ways that can work to change the collective practice, as derived from Bicchieri et al (2014), p.15.

Type of collective practices	Ways that the collective practices can be changed
Rational response	Since it is followed because of profit motive, provide incentives to change
Custom	If people realize that the reason why a certain custom was once established no longer holds at present, they will abandon it.
Moral Rule	Individual belief or view has to be changed.
Descriptive norm and Social Norms	Since people's behaviour depends on what others do and think, they will not change their behaviour unless others do so as well. Change can occur, but it must occur collectively, in a coordinated way.

Table 1.3. Ways That Can Work To Change The Collective Practices

Finally, whatever kind of practice child marriage is, it is possible that it is based on false beliefs, which opens new routes for intervention. If a norm is based on false beliefs of people that others expect them to follow the norm or others follow the norm, it means nobody endorses the norm but they do not question it either. This situation in which a norm persists because many people are ignorant about other people's true beliefs is called pluralistic ignorance[xvi].

1.2.3. How does a Norm Work?

There are various ways norms work. Some norms thrive on shared expectations, for example, using money as a form of business fear of social disapproval or punishment. For example, if it is expected socially for male members of the family to take decision or be

the family head, deviance from it will cause social censor. The third mechanism of norms is through internalization of norms of proper conduct. For example, in many families it is the girls who do the household work and boys do not contribute in any way as from the very beginning they learn this by observation at home and internalize it as "proper conduct" that is acceptable by society.

> **According to Coleman (1987, p.4) norms are a form of social capital and wield social power of upholding an action or behavior as right or departure from norm is negatively perceived and can trigger emotions of shame or guilt even when third party enforcement is absent.**

The importance of norm in social interactions can be understood from the point that a person who does not follow social norms may be not be relied upon in other social situations (Posner, 2000). This power in social norms in terms of its capital helps in its maintenance.

Further, social interactions and indication of displeasure allow people to signal their sensitivity to norms in general; they also provide a training ground for learning to follow norms, and for disciplining those who fail to do so.

1.2.4. Power and Social Norms

Social norms are often coercive and exercise control over individuals. This control comes through power vested in the norms to discipline or sanction the person who does not follow them. The questions that arise immediately are how is this power gathered or held in place and the mechanism through which it works on individuals. According to Mackie and Le Jeune (2009) social norms have control over individuals owing to a number of factors which may be operative at different levels. For example, a gendered social norm may be experienced primarily within the household but gather its power through legitimisation by a custom, particular religious tradition, media projections and so on[xvii].

Individuals tend to be overpowered by norms due to lack of agency or autonomy. Autonomy is the ability and desire to make one's own choices, to choose what one really wants, and to reflect on what one might want, rather than having others make choices for you and decide for you what you want[xviii].

Social norms also create and maintain social hierarchies. In India hierarchies of caste, religious majorities as well as gender are created and reinforced through a set of social norms, which individuals rarely have the autonomy to change. Various punitive measures including punitive rape as well as

lynching is done when norms maintaining social hierarchies are challenged. Cleaning of toilets is associated with dalits in India, and so when dalits are found to 'transgress' they are made to eat human excreta as public punishment. [xix]

Within the framework of gender norms there are a specific set of norms associated with men – which lead to the creation of a set of expectations of how men should behave in society. These norms collectively lead to the creation of a set of behaviours, manner of speaking, ways of interaction with others and division of tasks which are appropriate to men. Inherent in these norms is the creation of a sense of entitlement or privilege among men *vis a vis* women. This creates and maintains the power hierarchy inherent in gender relations. However the norms associated with masculinities are not only restricted to gender power relationships but with respect to other social hierarchies as well e.g., caste relationships, gay men and so on. Thus there are specific norms on how upper caste men relate to dalit men in the community and within social institutions. It is important to understand the interaction of norms related to different social hierarchies if one has to work towards changing these hierarchical relationships. 'Intersectionality' provides a theoretical framework to study these interactions.

1.2.5. Social Norms and Moral Norms

Social norms have been viewed and defined by different experts from different disciplines perspectives. Some of the common aspects are that these are usually collective or shared practices, linked to social expectations of others or a group, and are usually associated by some form of sanction or coercion to promote it. We have also seen that in some situations, especially with respect to relations like gender or caste, there are implicit power relations which these norms create and reinforce. Another dimension of norms which needs to be explored is that of morality implied through norms. Morality is linked with the ideas of 'right', 'fair', 'just' and so on. Experts like Bicchieri make a clear distinction between a 'social' norm which is conditional and depends upon the normative and empirical expectations, while a 'moral' norm require unconditional commitment and are associated with strong emotional responses. These norms may be less difficult to disobey as they are associated with values like 'fairness' and 'honesty', and it is also possible that "social norms may also include many norms that could be *prima facie* be considered as moral"[xx]. According to Elster a distinction between a social and moral norm is the feeling that it creates in the violator. If it is a 'social' norm the feeling is mostly 'shame' while if it is a 'moral' norm it is 'guilt'. Shame requires someone to observe the violator whereas guilt

is an internal feeling, and is often independent to whether the violation of the norm has been observed by another. Elster has also proposed a third category of quasi-moral norms which are more moral than social norms and less moral than moral norms because they require observing others complying to motivate compliance.[xxi]

If one considers the various 'gendered' social norms one can easily make out that there is a 'morality' implied within the 'norm'. A father does not necessarily get his daughter married at age 15 because he sees others getting their daughters married at that age and thinks that others expect him to also marry off his daughter, but he also independently thinks that it is the 'right' thing to do. He will be able to protect her 'chastity' and she will be protected from 'temptation'. If however she 'transgresses' through acts like having sex with or marrying someone outside the caste group or religion, she brings down the 'honour' of the household and the family. Honour is a crucial dimension of 'masculinity' in the South Asian context and closely related to morality[xxii]. So from a 'power' and 'control' framework this norm controls women's sexuality and is an expression of gender-power relationships in society, but it also includes a clear moral dimension as well. The norm that men can physically beat women especially their spouse to 'discipline' them, also includes a moral 'dimension' along with a

power dimension. While some experts (e.g. functionalists) have proposed that 'norms' get established because they promote social 'efficiency' and solve problems, gendered social norms include a strong power and moral dimension.

1.2.6. How Norms Emerge/Change

One hypothesis is that they emerge in small, close-knit groups in which people have ongoing interactions with each other[xxiii]. According to another hypothesis, norms arise from historical accident and the accumulation of precedent. Further, it is expected that societies get rid of inefficient norms. Some of the ways inefficient norms are ridden of are: through displacement of societies with inferior norms by societies with superior norms through growth, conquest, or migration; imitation of successful norms of others; a norm change comes from within society through gradual and almost imperceptible changes in expectations that "tip" the society into a new way of doing things without anyone intending it[xxiv].

Dennis Chong a political scientist has tried to look at norm change as a process of both social influences and individual psychological influences[xxv]. Chong describes a dynamic model of group choice where an old norm is replaced by a new one as a result of the interaction between three

major variables: the state of a norm N, the compliance C and the attitudes A.

While social norms refer to a common social expectation in any society, it is not necessary that there should be only one norm in any particular society, since society can be multi layered or multi-cultural. Thus in any community there could be multiple racial, religious or caste groups and each of these could have different social norms around particular issues like – consanguinous marriage may be appropriate within one social group while not appropriate in another group, or dowry appropriate in one group and bride price in another. Even within one larger religious or cultural tradition in India there are often alternative sub-cultures and traditions – this is present 'sufi' or 'bhakti' saints or 'peers' and their traditions, and these are widespread in India, and often of a very abiding nature. Followers of such alternative subcultures may have different social norms compared to the more dominant or majority group. One mechanism of change that has been seen in India is that the so-called lower social groups often start adopting the practices of the higher social group and this process is called 'sanskritization'.

1.2.7. Norm Change Processes and Planned Social Norm Change

As discussed earlier in section, we have seen that social norms are rules of behaviour regularities that are dependent on the combination of empirical expectation (I should stand in queue for the ticket as all will stand in a queue) and normative expectation (I should stand in a queue for the ticket because others in the queue think I should wait for my turn). Further, there is a sense of sanction or punishment attached in failure to live up to the normative expectation that ensures compliance.

Thus, for a change agent one possibility to make a change in a social norm is by working "upon the expectations that support the norm we wish to eradicate" or "work at creating new expectations, and focus on those factors that will bridge expectations and behavior."

Consequently, a change in expectation will work towards a change in compliance with a norm and if the change in expectation is sufficiently widespread it may lead to the rejection or abandonment of the norm[xxvi].

According to Cristina Bicchieri and Hugo Mercie (2014, p.62) the first step towards change in empirical expectation is that individuals should observe or expect different behaviour in a large

enough number of relevant people, that is, people whose behaviour and judgment they care about and who form their reference group. Through a study of Tostan's (an organisation) work on Female Genital Cutting (FGC) in parts of Africa they show that laws or sanctions from the government fail to bring changes to norms which are enmeshed with people's cultural values and belief systems. What works with norms is discussion and deliberation within their reference group, whereby they get an idea about what others believe. Sometimes this may also mean stumbling upon a pluralistic ignorance, a mistaken belief that others want to continue to follow a particular norm. Many times people do not talk about norms as their culture does not allow discussions around them. Other ways of norm change can take place when leaders tell people that their normative beliefs are mistaken, argumentation that questions beliefs starting with the peripheral beliefs and moving in towards central beliefs or trying to show how a social norm conflicts with some central value of the community.

> **An important aspect of norm change is the tipping point, that is, sufficient number of people collectively stepping towards the change.**

Thus, deliberations, discussion, arguments in small groups have to reach out to others,

through recruitment by the members of the small group, to the point when a sufficient number of people (mostly a majority) are ready to accept a norm change. This diffusion can take place in multiple ways, "ordinary discussions with family and friends; meetings with elders, religious leaders, and the women's group; a meeting of the whole community; discussions in nearby communities; and inter-village meetings with delegates from surrounding communities"[xxvii] to bring in a behavioural change. An important aspect of social norm change is communicating this change so that everyone knows that a majority of the people are abandoning the norm. This is achieved through public pledges, declarations, postings, flag signings to make the change public.

Group theory and associated force field analysis provides a different insight into how social norms may change. CHSJ's own work with men and resulting change in societal norms around gender indicate that it possible to change the levels of acceptability associated with social norms eg. education of girls or kinds of work appropriate for men through using participatory experiential learning methodology[xxviii]. It has been found that the adoption of an intersectional analytic framework helps men to develop an appreciation of the 'value' of equality, women's comparative disadvantage and male 'privilege' in an intersecting system of

social hierarchies. This leads to the development of an alternate 'consciousness'.

> **Individual change in 'consciousness' when supported and embedded within a collective reflective learning process can lead to a new 'community aspiration' around relationships with women in the family.**

Changes in relationships with women within families have a lesser opportunity of being affected by social sanctions, and these changes when adopted on a large scale through collective processes can lead to the establishment of new egalitarian social norms[xxix].

1.2.8. Attitude/Behaviour Change through Social Norm Approach[xxx]

Social norms are expected behaviours of a society and may change from culture to culture (are cultural specific). Studies show that often what people perceive as a social norm may be wrong; it may not be so prevalent as people think it is.

The social norm approach to change is based on the concept that most people want to fit into society and do what they think is acceptable in society and is expected of them. For example, for many parents in north India marrying off their daughters as soon as they attain teenage is seen as an accepted social norm.

In 1986 Alan David Berkowitz and H. Wesley Perkins found that the most effective method of changing behaviour is changing the perception of people regarding that behaviour. To evaluate the change in behaviour and perception, an initial survey has to evaluate actual behaviour and the perception of the behaviour, the campaign of social norm change is run for some time and a second survey is run to evaluate change. Change in behaviour is also seen in official reports and records.

Media is known as a strong influence on social norms, it can accentuate or break down an existing social norm. Hence it can be a vehicle for social norm change. Social norms can be changed by influencing the way people think about particular behaviours.

> **However, unlike the older method of scaring or negative messaging social norm approach uses positive messaging whereby the people choose to be part of the group.**

For example, the approach believes that rather than presenting a dark and suffering picture of a drunk person, the message of a majority of happy people who do not drink is more effective."Instead of using scare tactics or stigmatizing messages, the social norms approach steers people towards healthy behavior by letting them know *it's the normal thing to do*."[xxxi] In the Spring 2013 National

College Health Assessment Survey in the US it was found that 25.1% college students perceived that their college peers smoke cigarettes daily but in reality only 4% college students reported to daily smoking, showing that perceptions are often inaccurate and can influence us to make unhealthy or wrong choices.

1.3. Conclusion

From the literature reviewed above, it is evident that social legitimization of norms posit norms with certain amount of power, that is coercive in its very nature. Many of the social norms, especially those related to gender also have an implied moral dimension to them. This means individuals are bound to follow the norm to retain their social status and maintain their social relationships, which in the case of gender relations, perpetuates the hierarchy implicit in these. Norms are routinely not questioned and often continue without the population actually supporting them. However, it is possible to bring change in norms by changing people's perception about the norm by showing the actual level of support for the norms, having discussions around the need of the norms and the ill effects of the norms if any. This also means making room for and setting up the process for a new just norm to develop. The process of change in gender social norms would require an understanding of gender social norms, their prevalence and changes in them over the years.

CHAPTER 2: INSCRIBING GENDER NORMS IN THE LIFE-CYCLE OF A WOMAN IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

2.1 Gendered Social Norms

In this section, we look into different forms of gendered social norms presently prevalent in different parts of India, their histories and present status, the regions they are more prevalent and the changes in form and region of prevalence, if any. This part of the review is not comprehensive and dependent on the available literature. However, in order to include as many of them as possible we have used a lifecycle approach and the norms are presented around the different life-events of women.

Gender norms are a set of "rules" or ideas about how each gender should behave. They are not based in biology, but instead determined by a culture or society[xxxii]. Thus, a gender norm may be accepted of men in one society and unacceptable in another. In most societies children are taught from an early age the ways to behave or act like a "female" or a "male" and it is through this process of gender socialization humans learn to 'do' gender. In many cultures, young girls and boys are taught to communicate differently, girls are taught to express emotions and boys taught not to be expressive. They are given different sets of toys, boys more of professional toys such as doctor's and engineer's sets and girls more of housekeeping toys such as a kitchen set or a set of household furniture toys to build their perception of what they are supposed to do. This continues in most segments of their lives from the games they play, their hobbies and extracurricular activities to subjects in school that they should excel in. These often become restrictive for individuals, both boys and girls and create conflicts in their lives. For example, a boy who loves to dance is told that it is a "womanly" pursuit and advised to pursue "manly" activities. Individuals are subjected to these kind of subtle to stronger coercion for larger decisions of their lives. Apart from families, peer and neighbourhood, their primary institutions of gender socialization, the education system, media, the market, religion all continue to demarcate the activities and interests in these gendered lines through sets of norms for girls and boys. Through the replication of these norms in the family, community and in institutions the overall gender power hierarchy implicit in gender relationship is constituted and reinforced.

The next few sections endeavours to bring out the various gender norms in the Indian context that have been thrown up by the literature

review. These norms tend to gender-socialize women in different ways and at different junctures of their lives. The presentation tries to bring together the norms attached to lifecycle events and everyday life events without essentializing the life events.

2.2 Norms Around Childbirth

2.2.1. Son Preference

May he (Prajapati) elsewhere afford the birth of a female, but here he shall bestow a man!

This hymn from the Atharva Veda that dates back to the 7th Century shows that son preference was common in the northern parts of India in that period. It is an ancient Indian charm for women to give birth to sons[xxxiii]. With modern technology the preference for sons has moved from prayers and charms to use of technology to predetermine the sex of a foetus and sex-selective abortion.

This cultural norm of son-preference is closely linked to devaluation and negligence of the girl child, which starts even before the birth of the child as we see in the case of sex-selective abortion. It is interlinked with many other social practices which value sons, such as celebration on a son's birth, choosing the best of food and facilities such as schools for education for sons and devaluation of daughters evident in the practice of female infanticide, load of household chores, low paid work on women and so on.

Son preference is not universal within India. There are regions and communities that show a preference for sons. Studies have argued that it is more prevalent in the northern states as compared to the southern states based on the pattern of marriages, exogamous and endogamous, respectively[xxxiv]. However, over the years this distinction has been blurring as later studies have shown[xxxv]. Other studies have shown that it is mostly prevalent within upper caste Hindu communities. There have been works that argue that in the south and the north-east states which had communities with matrilineal inheritance such as Kerala and Meghalaya and a dominant tribe culture the female child is equally celebrated. Another reason for this has been argued to be the organization of the agrarian economy. "In east and south India the main crop is paddy where women play a key role in weeding, transplantation, harvesting and threshing. In contrast, in the north and west, wheat and other dry-agriculture crops predominate, and - particularly where there is irrigation - the work involves more male-biased "muscle power" (Bardhan, 1974)[xxxvi]

Some other works argue that son preference is related to perceived economic utility of sons as compared to daughters - in providing labour in

farms, dowries to be paid for daughters and received at sons marriages to sons providing for parents in old age. We will look into these interlinks in the next section.

2.2.2. Son preference, land inheritance and the norm that "sons should provide security in old age to parents"

M. Vlassoff and Carol Vlassoff (1980) looked at the notion of utility of children as old age security in 371 villages in Maharashtra[xxxvii]. According to them, in demography there has been work on the economic utility of children in peasant societies and the relationship of fertility with economic motive, vis-à-vis, the labour of the children towards the family income and economic assistance to the parents in their old age (Vlassoff & Vlassoff, 1980, p.487).

In this paper, they discussed the attitudes of villagers in 371 villages in Maharashtra on the material contribution of their children to family welfare and old age security. It was found that 53% men aged between 25-59 felt optimistic because they believed their sons would provide for them. As analyzed by the authors, this "probably reflected a persisting norm that sons should provide security" (p.494). However, they found that optimism concerning security in old age was linked as closely to landholding as to presence of sons. This brings out an important point: in the village economy, which has as its basis the ancestral ownership of land, property

and sons are intimately connected (498). The social norm of male child preference and the better treatment meted out to sons in contrast to daughters in families can be an extension of this old age security and retirement norm.

2.2.3. Norms around Food

"Food availability does not always ensure equal access to all the family members. Even today the distribution of food and nutrition depends on the old age tradition and norms set by the communities."[xxxviii]

Studies on malnutrition among women have stressed that gender inequality, *Women's lower status within family and society, and perceptions of women's labour as being of less worth, leads to unequal distribution of resources within the family, including food*[xxxix]. This is practiced through norms such as women being expected to eat less than men, eat leftovers after others in the family have eaten, eat only after the men have eaten and eat the last, even during pregnancy. The underlying norm is that a woman who eats before the husband is not 'a good woman'[xl]. Even among children, the male children are fed more and before the female children and female adults, instilling amongst children inequality based on their sex.

2.2.4. Women's Segregation and Seclusion

One of the most pertinent aspects of gender norms is separation of the social sphere and

rendering them gendered. Seclusion norms such as veiling/*purdah*, segregation of women, restrictions on women's mobility varies across geographical regions and communities within the country. These norms have a strong contribution towards creation, performativity and maintenance of gender. The practice of *purdah* or *ghunghat* is probably the most visible. There is geographical and communal variation in this practice. The norm is strictly followed in certain communities in Rajasthan; the head is covered with the end of the *saree*/*dupatta* in most parts of north and central India while there is a total absence of *purdah* or *ghunghat* in southern India. In some communities, regardless of their age, women living in their in-laws' homes practise *purdah* (literally 'curtain'), which entails remaining inside the family compound, covering their faces (*ghunghat*), and speaking little or quietly in front of strangers, senior men and senior women, while this is not required of unmarried girls who live with their parents.[xli]

Some other norms that seclude women are segregation of spaces within the house that are marked for use for women (*zenana*) and men in certain parts of the country or in certain communities. In some families men and women eat together while in others it is a norm for women to eat after the men. In some families it is unthinkable for a daughter-in-law to eat with her father-in-law[xlii].

In many parts of the country women are not allowed to go outside their neighbourhood without the permission of family elders[xliii]. Often this norm is restricted to the women of upper class and upper caste while women of the lower class and lower caste can go to work and be in public view[xliv].

Within the Indian context, specifically within Hinduism, the hierarchies sanctioned by the caste system go a long way to build people's attitude and perceptions and reinforce gender norms. The notion of purity and pollution is the defining principle of the caste system which is observed through rituals and norms around restrictions of sexual relations, marriages and contact[xlv]. Intermixing of bloods is looked down upon to maintain the purity of the caste hence caste women have to bear the burden of purity through seclusion and restrictions of mobility. At the same time women from the Dalit communities and tribes face lesser norms of restrictions to maintain purity. The influence of caste system on the other religious communities in the subcontinent has led to the adaptation of the caste systems in them. Women's mobility also succumbed to the pressure of colonial notions of aristocracy and nobility. Further, the nationalists in their endeavour to retain the purity of culture had reinforced the notion of women as cultural repositories and men as social when faced with women's questions[xlvi]. These notions of purity-

pollution and restrictions based on them affect all other aspects of the lives of women from their access to education and opportunities of paid work to the right to choose if they want to marry and/or reproduce.

2.3. Norms around Marriage

2.3.1. Early Marriage

According to Desai and Andrist (2010)[xlvii] there is a regional diversity in marriage timings for women within India. They have used data from the National Family Health Survey III (NFHS III) to show that in cohorts of women aged 18-29 in the NFHS III, 52% of the women were married by age 18 in Uttar Pradesh while the corresponding percentages for Tamil Nadu and Kerala were 25% and 17%, respectively. This regional diversity in marriage timing for women follows the regional diversity in different dimensions of gender[xlviii].

There has been ample amount of research to find out the driving forces of early marriage. The social valuation of female virginity and the norm that sexual activity and pregnancy should be within the wedlock builds a kind of pressure on parents to marry their daughters early to ensure that their daughters are away from non-marital sexual activity or a non-marital pregnancy[xlix]. Parents are also put under anxiety that girls who marry late face scrutiny about

their sexual purity and may risk damage to them and their family's reputation[l].

Economic reasons have also come up as one of the key drivers of the early marriage norm[li]. According to Desai and Andrist (2010, p. 669) studies based on rational choice theory have shown that parents' base the timing of their daughters marriage on economic incentives and restrictions. For example, studies have shown that where there was availability of wage work for women or there was a rise of wedding expenses and groomprice, daughters' age of marriage was delayed by parents.

The norm of early marriage is enmeshed within the larger social devaluation of women's work and autonomy. A young girl may not be able to raise her voice against her own family or that in the family she is married into. This is a reason for preference of a young bride, in the expectation she would be docile and the in-laws could limit her powers[lii]. Consequently, age at marriage is intrinsically linked to women's autonomy, her choice and decision-making capability such as her ability to decide if she wants to marry, choice of spouse as well as her ownership and control over family resources, from ownership of house to having decision-making capacity for household and other expenses[liii].

Thus, the norm of early marriage is closely associated with the notion of power over

daughters/ girls and their lack of autonomy or say over what they want to do in their lives. Early marriage restricts girls in many ways, often they have to leave schooling and further education and attend to the needs of either their own families or that of their husband's family. Due to their lack of educational qualifications and authority in the families girls often are not able to be part of the paid workforce or have a career.

Enmeshed within early marriage is the norm that parents choose the groom, that is, the girl is expected to marry a person of her parents' choice. This again helps in maintaining the norms of marrying within caste and community that underpins the concept of arranged marriage[liv].

2.3.2. Dowry or Bride price

Marriages in the pre-industrial societies meant transfer of the bride from her household to another accompanied with the passage of goods or services from the kin of the groom to the kin of the bride, which is known as brideprice or bridewealth. According to Gaulin and Boster (1990) two-thirds of the 1,267 societies listed in Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas followed a system of bridewealth and only six percent of the societies followed dowry as a norm. Following the work of other social scientists, they observe that marriage transactions and customs differed regionally in

India until recently[lv]. Unlike many communities in the northern part of India, cross-cousin and uncle-niece alliances and brideprice was practiced by most communities in the southern part of India. Unlike the south where marriage was isogamous, that is among status equals, marriage among the upper castes in northern India (excluding the sub-Himalayan region) were hypergamous, that is, a woman was given in marriage to a man of superior clan or the same caste, but seldom to one lower. Such marriages were accompanied by a gift of dowry while in contrast marriages among the lower-caste groups were largely isogamous as in south India wealth was transferred from the grooms' family to the brides'[lvi].

According to ethnographers, the norm of dowry has come up around the turn of the century amongst communities that had earlier practiced brideprice in both the northern and southern part of India and has increased manifold for those who were already following it[lvii]. Studies show the trend was set in Bengal, where the upper caste sought out English educated grooms in high government posts for the daughters of their family[lviii]. From there it spread to other parts of India, including the south, first in the urban areas among educated Brahmins and then spread rapidly to rural areas among lower castes, Christians and Muslims[lix].

In the Kumaun region, the change of norm from brideprice to dowry in the colonial and post colonial period has been studied. According to Vasudha Pande (1996), beginning from the colonial times, the domination of particular discourses have led to the assertion of the Brahminical practices of *kanyadan*, that is, *gift of the virgin* and dowry and brideprice is associated with backwardness and low caste status. The excerpt below depicts parts of the discourse in Kumaun around brideprice[lx] in the colonial period:

> Family practices of the Thuljaat thus established their cultural superiority over the Khasa and the Doms. This was also accompanied by a scathing attack on the Nayaks. Both the colonial authority and the local elite converged with their moral and political clout against the institution of Nayak prostitution. This process of attacking Nayak customs began in the 1850's with Commissioner Ramsay's assault on the practice of dedicating the eldest daughter to the Devi and therefore indirectly to the Nayaks. It was followed by a regulation which banned the export of minor girls to the plains by the Nayaks. Nayaks were also not granted permission to adopt young girls, and the colonial state not only maintained a register of Nayak girls but also monitored their activities closely. The intelligentsia supported Ramsay's position, and this was articulated on various platforms by social reformers drawn from the Indian National Congress, the Servants of India Society, Prayag Sewa Samiti and Arya Samaj Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai who on their visit to Kumaun also referred to this appalling practice as a stigma and Narayan Swami settled down in Ramgarh to provide missionary support to local activists. Social reformers drawn from the intelligentsia sought the help of the colonial state in abolishing the institution of hereditary prostitution. In 1924, a sub-committee was formed, in the United Provinces Legislative Council, to look into the matter. By 1929 a Bill had been drafted and passed known as the Nayak Girls Protection Bill. Local opposition to this Bill and to reform was intense, consistent and ideological. It could not however withstand the reformist zeal of the state and that of the emerging elite—the Nayak community was forced into extinction. The moral fervour of the modernising elite did not and could not end the practice of prostitution—but it removed one indicator of Kumauni 'backwardness', and

simultaneously propelled this intelligentsia to the centrestage of modern Indian politics. The social significance of these reforms was that they established the domination of Brahminical ideology, if not the writ of reformist Brahmins. A growing significance was attached to the ritual of kanyadan, pativrata dharma and consequently chastity. Kanyadan emerged as a counterpoint to the sale of daughters and this led to an interesting transformation, the conversion of brideprice to marriage expense, now understood as dowry.

Over the decades brideprice has disappeared and the trend of dowry has spread in a manner that finds social legitimization despite legal prohibition (the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961) against it. Dowry has come to be seen as a status symbol for families of both the groom and bride, leading families to destitution.

Within the largely agricultural society, the worth of individuals is attached to their relationship with land. Thus, in female farming systems there is polygyny and brideprice, while in male farming systems there is monogamy and dowry[lxi]. Based on this rationale, dowry is conceived as a compensation paid to a groom's household for accepting an 'unproductive' member, this is also attached to the notion of

women's work being perceived as 'unproductive' which is applicable to large parts of patrilineal and patriarchal India.

In their paper, P. N. Mari Bhat and Shiva S. Halli (1999)[lxii], claim that dowry is a consequence of marriage squeeze, that is, sex imbalance in the Indian marriage market in India around the turn of the century that came with a decline in maternal mortality and the incidence of widowerhood, where widowers were a big source of grooms as they were allowed to remarry while widows were prohibited to remarry.

Dowry is related to a number of gender norms that tend to emerge from and perpetuate the secondary position of women within her agnate as well as marital family. Some such norms are the norms of marrying off daughters at the onset of puberty and investing on education of the son and not on education of the daughter. According to Mari Bhat and Halli (1999) dowry is also related to the norms of early marriage, as parents are under pressure to marry off their daughters as soon as they reach puberty (Gupta, 1972)[lxiii] which is linked to the norm of virginity. Dowry is also used as a justification for use of violence against women when their family is not able to meet the dowry demands of the groom's family[lxiv]. This finds manifestations in mental as well as physical

violence including bride-burning and murders of brides.

2.3.3 Patrilocality

Patrilocality refers to the norm, prevalent in most Hindu communities in north India, according to which a woman has to leave her parental home at the time of marriage to join her husband in his home. In most Hindu families, especially in north India, marriage rules dictate marriage outside the clan and village. Thus, marriage entails a woman to move to her husband's family and house which keeps his lifestyle, family, employment and social life intact while drastically alienating the women from her parental family, social circle and relationships. This also means the woman has to adjust to the new environment and often this is without much support from others around.

2.4. Norms around Work and Livelihood

As we discussed earlier, some women, especially caste Hindu and Muslim women face restrictions on their movement. Additionally, there are norms that restrict women's participation in the labour force. There is a view that women from Dalit and tribe communities face fewer social restrictions to their movement and enjoy greater economic autonomy and control over household financial decisions relative to caste Hindu women (Joan R Mencher 1988). However, within the family and the community, dalits and women from the tribes face discrimination owing to community norms that tend to re-emphasize gender. For example, despite contributing equally and often more than the men in the families, women in agricultural and related fields are not allowed to use the plough to till the land or are regarded as farmers.

Traditional religious and caste institutions and norms in India that impose restrictions on women's behaviour such as restrictions on mobility and social interactions, limited or no exposure to aspiration and knowledge of business opportunities influence their business and entrepreneurial activities[lxv]. In a study on women's entrepreneurship, it was found that religion and caste systems restricted the entrepreneurship of women. Based on the differences in religion and caste, women face differential amounts and ways of restrictions on mobility and social interactions, that is, Muslim women face the most restrictions, followed by caste Hindu women[lxvi]. In the study it was felt that Muslim women faced more discrimination in the marketplace. With norms restricting women's education, training and opportunities in entrepreneurship women do not enter the field of entrepreneurship.

Further, the separation of the spheres of paid work and childcare, which essentially necessitates women to take care of children

create restrictions for women to pursue a career. There are many social norms that perpetuate the idea of separation of division of labour and work marked as women's work as unpaid or low paid work. In a study of 100 rural women in Odisha the women gave several reasons for their lack of interest in engaging themselves in market activities. These according to their decreasing strength are religious taboo, negligence towards children's care, self esteem of husband and lack of time[lxvii].

2.5. Norms around Participation in Local Self Governance

The 73rd Amendment to the Indian Constitution in 1993 has reserved 33 percent of elected seats in village councils for female candidates. However, this has not been able to guarantee women's effective participation in the village panchayats of village council meetings. Women's participation is *limited by barriers rooted in patriarchal social structures and norms about a woman's proper place and appropriate behaviour in society. These barriers include the responsibility of housework and child rearing, lack of education and knowledge, economic constraints, fear of failure and ridicule, corruption, fear of character debasement and bringing shame to the family*[lxviii].

2.6. Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence is "an extreme form of discrimination and is inextricably linked to gender role demands and expectations"[lxix] and in many contexts socially legitimized as "disciplining" women when they do not fulfill gender role expectations. The gender roles expected of women are all-pervasive and perpetuate the secondary status of women. These differ from one family to another and from one community to another. These roles are concurrent and there are often competing roles around women's roles as wives, daughters-in-law and mothers in the marital home and the woman has to learn them once they shift base to their partner's home after marriage. These roles are divided into four domains - household chores, mobility, so-called modesty behaviours, and sex[lxx]. The general gender roles in the Indian context are completing household chores, showing respect to the in-laws and "listening" to the male partner[lxxi]. Intimate partner violence is a "culturally acceptable form of punishment and appropriate demonstration of masculinity" which studies show are accepted by a majority of men and women as justified on any of the following reasons - if she goes out without telling him, neglects the house or children, argues with him, refuses sex to him, in his view shows disrespect to in-laws, does not cook properly or is unfaithful to him[lxxii]. Often

violence can be instigated by the men even if the women have fulfilled gender roles. The social norm of using violence to "discipline" women is so strongly entrenched that even women are strongly socialized to believe that violence is necessary[lxxiii].

Tacit social sanction for physical violence against women by an intimate partner has resulted in acceptance of the practice at a larger societal level[lxxiv]. Despite social change intimate partner violence, often normalized by cultural norms and social cultural settings, continues in communities as they have a "shared meaning" and acceptance in the group. It is also suggested that periods of social change may see an increase in intimate partner violence at the societal level as change tends to frighten the precarious balance of existing power structures, social status and masculinities[lxxv].

2.7 Essential Motherhood/ Stigma of Childlessness and Premarital Childbearing

Women's status in India is precariously balanced upon her motherhood[lxxvi]. Catherine Riessman (2000, 112), who had worked on the ways women resist stigmatization around their childlessness in Kerala, writes,

> The institutional importance of motherhood in India cannot be overestimated, even as family life is undergoing change. The normative social biography for an Indian woman mandates childbearing after marriage. Motherhood is her sacred duty - a value enshrined in religious laws for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians alike. Bearing and rearing children are central to a woman's power and well being, and reproduction brings in its stead concrete benefits over the life course: A child solidifies a wife's often fragile bond with a spouse in an arranged marriage and improves her status in the joint family' and larger community; and with a child, she can eventually become a mother-in-law, a position of considerable power and influence in Indian families. In old age, women depend on children (particularly sons) for economic security in a country like India with few governmental social welfare programs, and upon death, a son makes possible the essential rituals for Hindus. For families with significant property or wealth, sexual reproduction allows for social reproduction - the orderly transfer of privilege through inheritance to the next generation of kin. Motherhood, in a word, serves critical cultural functions in India's hierarchical society - stratified by

gender, caste, and class - that are masked by psychological or sentimental discourses (eg, it is "natural" for a woman to want to bear a child). Indian women are keenly aware that their reproductive capacities are an important source of power, especially when they lack it from other sources (Dube 1986; Jeffery, Jeffery, and Lyon 1989; Stone and James 1995; Uberoi 1993).

As evident, motherhood is perceived as a position of social power for women within the patriarchal framework, which on the one hand glorifies it and on the other stigmatizes those who do not live up to it. This is well connected to other social norms of giving birth to a male child to provide a male heir to the family, inheritance of the family property by the eldest male child (in joint families) or sons who are perceived as the economic security and caretakers of parents in their old age and following essential rituals, such as the norm among Hindus that only a son can light the pyre of parents.

The social norm of motherhood also delegitimizes childbirth outside marriage and attaches stigma to such a child and mother as a way to reprimand such a birth, even while the birth of a child, especially, a male child is a cause of celebration in families. The social

pressure is such that women tend to self-blame in case of involuntary childlessness and voluntary childlessness is rare[lxxvii].

2.8. Norms around Sexuality

The dominant Hindu upper caste patriarchy sets women's duties of "pativrata" and sex within marriage as the ideal for upper caste women as a mechanism to control women's sexuality. Norms of pre-marital virginity, early marriage to contain sexual activity within marriage, men as the initiators of sex and women as passive recipient are in defense and maintenance of patriarchy. Likewise, for elderly post-menopausal women, *asexuality is assumed to replace passive sexuality among women*[lxxviii]. Women's sexual behaviour is shaped through the social expectations from them, to give birth within a year of marriage to prove their fertility. The other side of the same coin is the norm for men to prove their virility by the ability to impregnate their spouse within months. The norm of son preference is another norm that tries to control the sexual and intimate lives of both men and women along with their social status and the belief that they would have their son to take care of them in their old age and also to carry out their last rites.

While women are taught to be sexually passive, the men learn aggression and violence as the markers of their difference from women and

markers of their masculinity. Intimate partner violence and violence against women in general are a manifestation of the same values and norms set for women and men. Further, the social control on sexual lives of men and women continues as they grow old, even here, the control is gendered. Men continue to have the freedom that they had when it comes to their sexuality within the parameters of heterosexuality, there is less punishment and stigma around men's polygamy, adultery and sexual interest and activities outside marriage. Women are expected to enter into roles of caretaker of house and family, cook and feed them, keep fasts and pray for them while maintaining their sexual purity and passivity. This continues even after they grow old and sexual activity is particularly not considered desirable after the son enters his conjugal phase after his marriage[lxxix]. This trend has continued till date with the media also portraying mature or elderly men as sexually attractive, while portraying women in the post-menopausal age as sexually inactive and unattractive. The next section looks into some other norms pertaining to ageing.

2.9. Norms around Divorce

The Hindu marriage traditionally does not have the notion of divorce as marriage is seen as sacred and a religious sacrament rather than a contract as in marriage in Islam. Thus, there is social stigma attached to the idea of separation and divorce that has been made legally possible by the 1955 Hindu Marriage Act. Further, due to negative community attitude and low acceptance of women's remarriage, most women do not remarry after divorce. Going through divorce and life after divorce is tougher for women as compared to men due to the general gender discrimination against women within the patriarchal social context. Also, it was more difficult for women with children to remarry after divorce. The excerpt below gives us a slice of the gendered norms around divorce. Divorce is also difficult for women because of their overall economic dependency on their partners or fathers, no property inherited from either their natal or marital families despite legal provision of inheritance from her own family, no control over the gifts and dowry given to her and no control over finances generally.

> In India, divorce is highly stigmatizing. Although surveys reveal a general acceptance of the idea that divorce should be legally available (Desai, 1991), most people find it objectionable (Chouhan, 1986; Gore, 1968; Kurian, 1982; Singh, 1988). Community disapproval, however, is stronger for women than for men. Traditionally, wives are expected to follow the

principle of *pati vratya*, that is, a woman is supposed to devote herself completely to her husband and sacrifice her own needs for those of her husband and his family (Kapadia, 1966). Therefore, when a marriage breaks up, people are inclined to feel that it is the wife's fault (Kumari, 1989). This occurs not only in cases of divorce by mutual consent, but also in fault-based cases in which the wife sues for divorce because of her husband's infidelity or cruelty. In other words, people assume that her deficiencies must have caused the husband's problematic behaviour in the first place. Furthermore, many people believe that a wife should not divorce her husband, no matter how bad he is. For these reasons, divorced women report receiving more disapproval from others than do divorced men (Choudhary, 1988; Pothen, 1986; YWCA, undated).[lxxx]

The degree of social acceptance of divorce appears to vary with social class and caste, while it is easier for the upper middle class women to be accepted after their divorce, it is difficult for lower middle class women. At the same time, some lower castes in India have traditionally allowed divorce and remain more tolerant of it.

For a woman, divorce is more disadvantageous than for a man. Unlike the man who stayed with his family after marriage and continued with his living and employment arrangements, the woman had to leave her family and relocate after marriage. Divorce entails that the woman has to leave her marital house once more and work out her living and employment arrangements afresh.

2.10. Norms around Ageing

Ageism is a belief that a person's worth and abilities are determined solely by chronological age[lxxxi]. This stereotype has also been used to justify poverty and isolation among the elderly and have marked out the elderly as incapable of productive work. This is also the period of need of health care, which makes them further vulnerable to such stereotypes.

Hindu religious belief, which is skewed towards the male, defines the duties of the life of men in the four age-based stages of life, called *ashrams*. These *ashrams* are markers of the *varna* of the twice born or the upper castes. The four ashrams are *Brahmacharya* (student), *Grihastha* (householder), *Vanaprastha* (retired) and *Sanyasa* (renunciation). It directs the elderly male to *vanaprastha*, that is, leave the household and go to the forests and *Sanyasa*, that is, renunciation of the household. The women's role in this is *to facilitate the*

performance of men's social duties[lxxxii] and her husband could chose to leave her in the care of her sons. According to Murli Desai (1999) within the Indian context, specifically the Hindu women, *the problems of older women are found to be not so much a product of the ageing process per se as they are a product of the subordinate status of women throughout their life cycle*[lxxxiii] through the patriarchal control over women's sexuality and reproduction which effects their family relationships and their labour that affects their financial status in old age.

Like elderly men, elderly women too are seen as unproductive within the dominant notion of work and productivity. This is evident in the practice of elderly women driven by poverty taking up "inferior dead-end jobs" at "lower the supply price of their labour in order to get an entry"[lxxxiv] as they are seen as less productive workers. Their desperation and acceptance of the poor conditions and returns of work increases many fold if they come from female-headed households and are widows, spinsters or single women as they carry a stigma of falling out of the gender roles of male-dependency prescribed to them socially.

Further, following the work of Gutmann (1987)[lxxxv] who suggested that since gender stereotypes were a power attribute, social behaviour that is viewed as less important or less relevant to societal maintenance, would be seen as feminine. Hence, social behaviour in old age is being seen as less important and thus as less masculine for men and even less powerful for women. Thus, an elderly woman living with her husband or alone within her son's family tends to have a lower economic and decision making status than she had within her own household, while the social ideal is that the elderly woman in her son's house continues to have her say and power while the incoming woman, that is, the daughter-in-law has a lower status. Socially, the contestation between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is expected and justified through proverbs, myths and rituals that show elderly women as more powerful and often in a negative connotation.

One example from the non-Hindu communities could be witch-hunting, particularly of elderly landed widows such as within tribes like Santhals and Mundas where the widow becomes a substitute father for her sons and administers the household and supervises cultivation[lxxxvi]. The following quote[lxxxvii] makes the link of old and widowed women within these communities with their torture as witches evident:

> Various studies of witch-hunting show that the victims were not just women but also those who were old and unprotected. A police officer analysed

records in one district (Malda) and pointed out, "Most of [them] ...were widows and aged... the significant thing had been the lack of protection or coverage from powerful relatives" [Chaudhuri 1987:156]. In other analyses what stands out is that the accused women were closely related to the accusers [Kochar 1979:6, 296 and Rout 1979:6, 406], thus being within the circle of persons likely to benefit from the elimination of these women as claimants to land.

Thus, even though some social norms, such as the tribal widows' ownership of land allow women some space and power, other dominant norms of male ownership and inheritance of property tend to find ways to subvert these, as the practice of witch-hunting has shown[lxxxviii].

For elderly women, along with ageing came issues of spousal bereavement which tend to be an emotional, social and financial setback for them. The next section discusses the norms around widowhood in general.

2.11. Norms around Widowhood

Widowhood brings a major turn in the social life of a woman as she is pushed to the periphery of society, is socially unwanted and treated as an ill-omen as opposed to the ideal of being married and tied to her husband. Among

Hindus, to be a *'suhagan'* is the best status a woman can attain [lxxxix].

The rule of Brahamanical patriarchy which advocated Sati and prohibited widow remarriage was an "extremely repressive system" for upper caste Hindu widows who are condemned to "a life of living hell"[xc]. In the 19th century, social reformers attacked these norms and got the colonial government to establish laws to abolish Sati in 1829 and legitimize widow remarriage in 1856. These were strongly opposed by religious heads and leaders who claimed that widow remarriage was allowed amongst the lower castes, hence, it was a form of degradation for the upper castes. According to Prem Choudhary (1990), forms of widow remarriage such as *Karewa*, levirate marriage, was practiced amongst upper castes too in the states of Punjab and Haryana. Excerpts from her work will help understand the work:[xci]

> Known as *karewa*, *karawo*, or *chaddar andazi*, it is a throwback to the old Rig Vedic custom of *niyog* (levirate marriage), which was prevalent in the geographical region of Haryana and Punjab associated with the early Vedic Aryan settlements. *Karewa*, a white sheet colored at the corners, was thrown by the man over the widow's head, signifying his acceptance of her as his wife…. Karewa, as a rule, has been

and continues to be primarily a levirate marriage in which the widow is accepted as wife by one of the younger brothers of the deceased husband; failing him the husband's elder brother; failing him his agnatic first cousin, etc. In fact, the widow's right as to whom she could remarry was not only severely restricted, it could be settled only by her late husband's family. And although the widow could not be compelled to remarry, she was not free to marry without their consent. So complete was their control over the woman and the question of her remarriage that it was freely admitted that the widow was often practically forced to yield to their wishes (JOSEPH 1911, 45). This situation has not changed.

The other form of widow remarriage was *punarvivah* where a woman would run away with the man of her choice or was married off by her brother outside the male lineage of her ex-husband's family.

According to Vasudha Pande (1996)[xcii], the system of "levirate" was prevalent in the Kumaun region too, however, over the years it has come to be identified with backwardness and low caste status. That has been also the case of the practice of brideprice. The excerpt below depicts parts of the discourses in Kumaun around the norms of *Sati* and *pativrata*, celibacy of widows and remarriage[xciii]:

Even more remarkable was the fact that the periodicals and weeklies of Kumaun depicted ambivalence to the custom of Sati. Sati attracted a great amount of attention, and even those who were critical of it could not refrain from valorising it. Separate instances of Sati in 1918, 1921 and even in 1950 were invariably reported in local journals as a pious act of *pativratas* or women devoted to their husbands. 1912 witnessed the publication of a poem entitled *Gopi Geet*. This poem, rendered in Kumauni verse, described the virtues of a pure Kurmanchali Pradesh widow Gopi. She was the daughter of a Brahmin of Almora, who became a widow at the age of seventeen and died a year later. She then appeared to her father in a dream and inspired the poem *Ekadashi Vrata Katha*. This was to be the basis for the propagation of *pativrata* dharma. Addressed to Kumauni, Garhwali and Nepali women, it was composed in a woman's voice, lamenting the state of widowhood. Its pathos is heart rending—yet it does not fail to castigate those who do not follow the norm— and warns that the widow who lives

with another man will die of sorrow and go to hell, and be born again as the daughter of a prostitute, "for numerous births to come". This is in contrast to the celibate widow who suffers for only one lifetime….. Also, important was the growing focus on marriage as a sacrament, different from the earlier understanding of it as a secular contract. From this perspective, divorce and widow remarriage were indefensible and could not be permitted.

The stigma of widowhood is so huge that Uma Chakravorty calls it "social death"[xciv] as women who lose their husbands are seen as "inauspicious" compared to the notion of *sumangali* or an "auspicious" married woman whose husband is still alive. In general, widows face social isolation of various kinds, some of these are[xcv]:

(1) Rumours and accusations: widows are often accused of being 'responsible' for their husbands' deaths, regarded as sexually threatening, and generally considered inauspicious.

(2) Enforced dress and behaviour codes: many widows are under strong pressure to observe restrictive codes of dress, appearance and behaviour. Some of the traditional restrictions (eg shaving of

head) have become quite rare, even among the upper castes, but others (eg not wearing *bind*i or *kumkum*) remain widespread.

(3) Social ostracism: a widow is often excluded from the religious and social life of the community, due to her perceived inauspiciousness.

(4) Physical violence: violence against widows primarily takes the form of sexual harassment (young widows being considered as sexually vulnerable and/or promiscuous) or property-related violence (because widows are seen as unwanted claimants to ancestral property).

At the same time, there is a regional difference in following these discriminatory norms against widows along with caste and tribe. The condition of widows is much better in terms of their living conditions, right over parental and marital property, participation in gainful employment in southern India in contrast to the north owing to the norm of exogamous marriage and patrilocality in northern India, whereby woman are drastically cut-off from their families and native place[xcvi].

2.12. Norms around Death

Hindu rituals round death are also gendered. The notion of *sumangali* or a married woman

whose husband is still alive, plays a major part in the way the last rituals are performed for women. Women who die before their husbands are dressed in bride's colour and the marks of being a *sumangali,* and women internalize it as the best way to die. Further, amongst Hindus the death rituals are to be conducted by the eldest son, hence, the social pressure of giving birth to a son on women.

2.13. Conclusion

As evident from the literature around gender norms, there are norms dictating almost every aspect of the lives of girls and women. Through these norms society and patriarchal forces exert their power over girls and women in a way to control them, their movements and actions. These gender norms restrict women from accessing equal education and health facilities, work and professional opportunities; equality in decision making and relationships at the family level; opportunities to participate in social, economic and political avenues and keeping women as always the other in the narrative of human history which is seen as the narrative of

men. The literature makes it evident that most of these norms are religious and historical precedence and also have regional variations and justifications. Any change in gender norms towards an equitable distribution of opportunities and resources' needs to consider these contextual factors.

3. SOCIAL NORMS IN PRACTICE

This chapter is a compilation of data collected in the process of social norm mapping by CHSJ and Ek Saath campaign partners. It consists of a description of the mapping exercise and in enlisting of the norms that have been identified at the ground.

3.1. Social Norm Mapping

3.1.1 Objective and Scope of the Mapping Exercise

The exercise of mapping of social norms was conducted through an online questionnaire administered to more than 72 partner organizations, including a handful of trade unions from the north east, in 14 states and the national capital region of Delhi. More than 100 entries were received, of which 40% were online and the others offline.

The geographical areas covered by the mapping are:

1) Assam
2) Delhi
3) Jharkhand
4) Manipur (Meiti community)
5) Meghalaya
6) Madhya Pradesh
7) Nagaland
8) Odisha
9) Rajasthan
10) Tamil Nadu
11) Tripura
12) Uttar Pradesh
13) Uttarakhand
14) West Bengal

The following were the objectives of the exercise:

1) To identify different kinds of gendered social norms, their geographical prevalence, the social spaces where these norms are practiced, economic profile of the community where the norms are being practiced, norm promoters.
2) To study whether there has been a change in the norm and how and to what extent the norm affects individuals.
3) The mapping of social norms across the country is an ongoing process and the list is not exhaustive but indicative of the kinds of gendered social norms prevalent in India.

3.2. Gender Social Norms Identified in the Field

This section lists out the various gender social norms identified in the field. These are further categorized as norms around birth; norms around growing up (access to education, nutrition and health); norms around menstruation; norms around marriage; norms

around childbirth; and norms around separation/widowhood.

Some of the norms identified, their spread and changes in them are given below:

3.2.1. Norms Around Childbirth

Table 3.1. below gives information on the various norms around childbirth. The norms of son preference, lack of enthusiasm for female babies and the belief that girls are a liability shows that our society is biased against girls from their very birth.

Norms	Description	States
Preference for Male Child (*Beta vansh ko agey chalata hai*)	This includes practice of sex determination of foetus, sex selective abortion; gender discrimination in terms of education, health, nutrition, safety, rights, and other needs of the girl child	Uttar Pradesh Jharkhand Tamil Nadu Assam
Female children born in poor families are shifted to orphanage homes		Tripura
Female children are killed immediately after birth		Tripura
Girls are a Liability for Family (*Jhia janam paragharaku*)	Proper care of girl child is not taken by family members as she will go to someone else's house after marriage	Odisha, Tripura

Table. 3.1. Norms around Childbirth

3.2.2. Norms around Growing Up

The Table 3.2 below gives us information about gender discriminatory norms at the level of the house in the growing up years of girls and boys, showing how gender norms try to restrict young children within gendered social boundaries.

Norms	Description	States
Discrimination in terms of Nutrition (*Khaan-paan mei bhed bhav*)	Sons are provided more food and nutrition as compared to daughters; in homes, males eat before the females.	Uttarakhand (Rural), Manipur (Meiti community)**,** Assam, Tripura, Assam **(**Bodoland Territorial Area District)
Girls have Responsibilities of Domestic Work	Girls and women have the responsibility of domestic work like cooking, cleaning the house, fetching water etc. If a girl goes to school, she has to manage her school time and leave the studies for domestic work.	Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha
Discrimination in education for girls	Girls are still treated as someone else's responsibility after marriage; hence their education is a waste of money.	Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh**,** Tamil Nadu (Rural), Tripura, Nagaland, Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)
Differentiation in selecting clothes, games and other things based on gender		Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)

Table 3.2. Norms around Growing Up

3.2.3. Norms around Menstruation

The Table 3.3 gives us information on norms that restrict the movement and activities of girls and women during menstruation, based on the notion of bodily pollution of women owing to the biological process of menstruation.

Norms	Description	States
Restrictions on Women during Menstruation (*Chhut)*	Menstruating women cannot go into the kitchen, touch pickles, worship, live in the same room with	Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand (Rural)

	other members of the family; moreover, nobody is allowed touch them during their periods.	
Restriction on Girls to Stay Indoors for 7 days during the First Menstrual Cycle *(Jhia Ghare Rahila; Jhia Bada Hela)*	Menstruating girls are restricted from going outside, worshipping, cooking, entering the kitchen, talking to elders, touching any male.	Odisha (Rural)
Functions celebrating puberty, marriage and pregnancy *(Malungu)*	At the time of puberty, pregnancy and marriage, girls will be greeted by elders and relatives	Tamil Nadu

Table 3.3. Norms around Menstruation

3.2.4. Norms Around Marriage

The Table 3.4. below gives us a view of the norms around marriage. One of the most prevalent norm is the early and forced marriage of girls. It is practiced among all socio-economic categories; family and community leaders are the norm promoters. However, change has been observed in the case of this norm and it is happening on account of individual and civil society efforts.

Another common norm is dowry. It is also prevalent across socio-economic categories and affects economic and social well being of women and families. There have been noticeable positive changes on this front due to individual, community, civil society and state efforts. It is observed that dowry is becoming increasingly common among tribes in Jharkhand and Meghalaya where it was earlier not practised. While on the one hand there has been some reduction in the practice of dowry, on the other hand, newer forms such as gifts called *samanthi seer* on the occasion of the death of an in-law are emerging in states like Tamil Nadu.

Norms	Description	States
Early and forced marriage (Baal Vivah)	One of the most prevalent norms, leads to discontinuation of education, early motherhood, poor health	Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Tripura
Married women have to bear visible signs of being married	To identify that women are married, females are bound to wear Conch Bangles (Shakha) and put vermillion (Sindoor) on forehead while there is no such customary	Assam

	law for married males	
Dowry (Dahej; Uphar; Lagan Rashi)	One of the most prevalent social norms that has an impact on women's physical and emotional well being and often leads to domestic violence	Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Tamil Nadu, Meghalaya
Dowry pressure growing among tribes	Traditionally, dowry is a Hindu norm and not followed by tribes, however, this is changing	Meghalaya, Jharkhand
New forms of dowry on the occasion of death of in-laws (Samanthi Seer)	A new form of dowry in the form of gifts given at the time of death in the groom's family	Tamil Nadu
Bride selling and Child Marriage (Natha Pratha)	Girls are married in exchange for money received from the parents of the boy, and then she is sent to someone else if more money is paid for her.	Rajasthan (Prevalent in particular vulnerable socio-economic groups. The conditions of girls has worsened with the worsening economic conditions of these communities)
Age of woman has to be less than man in a marriage	The man has to be older to exert power on the woman	Tripura, Uttar Pradesh
Eloping and marriage culture		Manipur (Meiti community)
Duping and trafficking	Families are lured with promise of marriage and girls are trafficked after the marriage ceremony	Jharkhand (Mostly Muslim families from lower economic background)

Table 3.4. Norms Around Marriage

3.2.5. Norms Around Motherhood

Given below is a norm around motherhood that is followed in Uttarakhand (Table 3.5.)

Norms	Description	States
Restriction on food for	Religious sanctions against taking meals for 3 days after	Uttarakhand (Rural).

some days for a new mother (*Path*)	delivery for the new mother; a new mother has to conduct some rituals before she is allowed to eat food	Prevalent among lower socio-economic groups

Table 3.5. Norms Around Motherhood

3.2.6. Norms around Work

Traditionally women's work has been devalued as unpaid work and norms have been put in place to deny women the opportunity to learn the skills required for paid work. One such norm that has continued over generations is the prohibition of use of the plough by women amongst tribes in Jharkhand. It is held in place by families, fathers teach sons how to plough and tell them it is the man's responsibility, girls are taught not to touch the plough. Such restrictions impact the economic and social well being of women and families and sometimes lead to violence. The Table 3.6. Below shows the norms around work that have been identified.

Norms	Description	States
Less opportunity for girls and women in institutes and organizations		Nagaland, Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)
Gender discrimination in daily wages		Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District), Jharkhand
Women are deprived of opportunities to do business		Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)
Women are prohibited to plough (*Mahilaon ka hal chalane par pratibandh*)	Religious sanction against women using the plough, people's perception is that if women touch the plough farming will be negatively affected	Jharkhand (Rural)
Women workers deprived of facilities like changing rooms, rest rooms, ladies urinals and toilets etc.		NE Railways Trade Union
In workplaces men always criticize women workers		NE Railways Trade Union
Mistreatment and trafficking	Young women are lured with the promise of paid work and undergo mistreatment and are sometimes	Jharkhand

	trafficked	

Table 3.6. Norms Around Work

3. 2.7. Religious Norms

Religious norms tend to create and reinforce male-female biases. Further, being closely linked to issues of faith, religious norms are often seen as the most difficult to change. The Table 3.7. below shows the religious norms that have been identified by the mapping exercise.

Norms	States
Religious celebration being done only for males	Tripura
Women are not allowed to enter mosques	Tripura
Religious discrimination as women are not allowed to participate in rituals	Meghalaya, Manipur (Meiti community)

Table 3.7. Religious Norms

3.2.8. Norms around Divorce and Child Care

Norms	Description	States
No support system for single mothers/separated women	Traditional marriage not recognize by law resulting in women not being eligible for maintenance after divorce. Women burdened with responsibility of taking care of the children and themselves	Meghalaya

Table 3.8. Norms around divorce and child care

3.2.9. Norms around Widowhood

The Table 3.9. below show the norms around widowhood that have been identified by the mapping exercise.

Norms	Description	States

Stigmatisation of widows *(Vidhva mahila apshagun hoti hai)*	Widows are treated as bad omen, are not allowed to participate in religious and auspicious ceremonies	Uttarakhand (Rural)
Widows are not allowed to take non-vegetarian food, wearing of colourful clothes is restricted for them		Tripura
Re-marriage is difficult for divorced/separated women		Tripura
Witch-hunting *(Dayan Pratha; Taro; Thlen)*	Most of the time, it is single women or widows who are branded as a witch; often this is done to usurp property owned by her or her family	Jharkhand (rural areas), Meghalaya

Table 3.9. Norms Around Widowhood

3.2.10. Norms Around Death

Given below is a norm around death that is practiced in some parts of the country (Table 3.10).

Norms	Description	States
Crematory rites *Antyesti/ Mukhagni*	Only a son or the next male kin is allowed to perform funeral rites.	Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

Table 3. 10. Norms Around Death

3.2.11. Some Important Everyday Life Norms

The table below (Table. 3.11.) gives a list of important everyday life norms that affect women adversely. Restrictions on the movement of women, social justification of violence, separation of private and public space and control over property by male family members are some crucial gendered norms that affect everyday lives of girls and women.

Norms	Description	States
Restrictions on mobility	Women's movement is restricted based on the time of the day, locality etc; they have to explain and reason for every movement; it limits their autonomy	Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal (Urban Areas), Tripura, Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)

Domestic violence and abuse *(Pati Parmeshwar; Pati marta bhi hai, dularta bhi hai)*	Justified as a husband or father's prerogative and a "family matter" that has to be kept within the family; marriage is socially accepted as a license for spousal abuse	Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha (rural)
Separation of public and private spaces	Range of licenses and entitlements that men enjoy and limitations that women face, particularly in public spaces which restricts their opportunities to study, work, shop and so on	Tamil Nadu (Urban)
Women have no rights on property		Manipur (Meiti community), Assam
Men control property even when women inherit it	Women inherit family property, but the actual control lies with the maternal uncles / brothers	Meghalaya
Changing gender relations due to socio-economic changes	Due to industrialization and migration, the people are confronted with a host of new challenge such as socio-economic issues, mental and physical wellbeing, increasing violence and crime	Odisha
Gender discrimination in health care within family		Areas, Tripura, Assam (Bodoland Territorial Area District)

Table 3.11. Some Important Everyday Life Norms

3.2.12. Norms around Decision Making and Political Participation

Women in many parts of the country are not free to make decisions about their own lives, they do not have much say in taking decisions for their own family, community or village. The Table 3.12. below gives us a view of discriminatory norms that keep women out of decision making.

Norms	Description	States
Women are not involved in village level decisions	Women are not directly part of village discussion making bodies, only their husbands who are *Gram Bura*/Chairman are part of these bodies	Nagaland
Gender discrimination in		Assam (Bodoland

leadership roles		Territorial Area District BTDA)
Women not allowed in traditional institutions	Even though the Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council (JHADC) passed an Act that accepted 1/3 women's representation it has not helped women's involvement in traditional institutions; In Jharkhand women cannot be part of traditional religious and administrative bodies	Meghalaya, Jharkhand
Family decision taken by male head	Decisions in a family are taken by the male head of the family, whether it is related to marriage, education or family planning; female participation is not allowed; similarly, at workplaces the opinion of female workers is not taken into consideration.	Madhya Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur (Meiti community), Assam including Bodoland Territorial Area District

Table 3.12. Norms Around Decision Making and Political Participation

3.3. Discriminatory Norms that Directly Affect Boys

The Table 3.13 below gives some of the discriminatory norms that affect boys directly and have been identified in the gender norm mapping exercise.

Norms	States
Boys should not play with girls	Manipur (Meiti community)
Men should earn to support family	Manipur (Meiti community)
Men should not cry	Manipur (Meiti community)
A man is considered weak or less intelligent if he gives space to women	Nagaland
Family pressure on boys to take up responsibilities	Nagaland

Table 3.13. Discriminatory Norms that Directly Affect Boys

3.IV. Conclusion

The norms identified in the mapping exercise go beyond those being identified in the literature review, especially in the areas of decision making and political participation. Also, according to the process, the most prevalent gender discriminatory social norms are early and forced marriage and dowry and different forms of dowry that are coming up. The study

also shows how communities such as tribes in Jharkhand and Meghalaya who did not have a tradition of dowry have imbibed this norm over the years. The process goes to show that norms are dynamic, they have the ability to adapt to situations, remain dormant or spread to newer communities. One of the most important finding from the mapping exercise is the possibility of positive norm change as has been in the case of dowry, where the prevalence has been reportedly decreased in some parts of northern India due to individual, community, civil society and state efforts.

4. ANNEXURE

Annexure 1 -List of Ek Saath partners involved in the Social Mapping Exercise

S No.	Organisation
1.	Aatm Chintan Seva Sansthan, Singrauli, Madhya Pradesh
2.	Adivasi Vikas Samiti, Balia, Uttar Pradesh
3.	Ahsas Sanstha, Satna, Madhya Pradesh
4.	APDCL 4th Grade Staff Union, Assam
5.	Association For Social And Human Awareness, Ranchi, Jharkhand
6.	Awaz Foundation, Tripura
7.	BADS, Tripura
8.	Barak Valley Voluntary Blood Donor's Forum, Assam
9.	Can Youth, Nagaland
10	CLAP, Cuttack, Odisha
11	Community Awareness Centre, Bheerapani, Nainital, Uttarakhand
12	Darpan, Hazaribagh, Jharkhand
13	Dharti Sanstha, Morena, Madhya Pradesh
14	Dibrugarh Blood Donor's Forum, Assam
15	Eka, Madhya Pradesh
16	GHAROA, Assam
17	Gram Mangal Sansthan, Odisha
18	Gram Sudhar Samiti, Satna, Madhya Pradesh
19	Gramin Vikas Trust, Uttar Pradesh
20	Gramya Bikash Mancha, Nalbari, Assam
21	Grass Root Options (Northeast India Magazine)
22	Guardian Angel, Nagaland
23	HARD Shadol, Madhya Pradesh
24	HARD Anuppur, Madhya Pradesh
25	Indigenous Perspective
26	Institute for Social Development, Bhubaneswar, Odisha

27	Jan Sarokar, Giridih, Jharkhand
28	Jeevika Development Society, West Bengal
29	L.N Star News, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
30	Mahila Mukti Sanstha, Hazaribagh, Jharkhand
31	Manas Foundation, Delhi
32	Manav Foundation Sheopur, Madhya Pradesh
33	Manav Vikas Seva Samiti, Dabhaura, Rewa, Madhya Pradesh
34	Manjari Sansthan, Bundi, Rajasthan
35	MASVAW network, Uttar Pradesh
36	Morena Youth Academy, Madhya Pradesh
37	NEN (North East Network), Nagaland
38	NF Railway Mazdoor Union, Assam
39	Pallishree, Bhubaneswar, Odisha
40	Parichiti- A Society for Empowerment of Women, Kolkata, West Bengal
41	Patang, Sambalpur, Odisha
42	Pratibha Foundation, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
43	Prayas, Nainital, Uttarakhand
44	PSI, Madhya Pradesh
45	RADA, Assam
46	Regional Youth Action Network (RYAN), Nagaland
47	SAHAYOG, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh
48	Sahyogini, Bokaro, Jharkhand
49	Samarpan, Koderma, Jharkhand
50	Sahbhagi Vikas Sanskritik Sangh, Simdega, Jharkhand
51	Sarvodaya Saint Lal Dada Jan Seva Samiti, Madhya Pradesh
52	Sathiya Welfare Society, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
53	Satyakam Jan Kalyan Samiti, Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh
54	SNEHA, Jharkhand
55	Society For Participatory Action And Reflection (SPAR), Kolkata, West Bengal
56	SPARK, Lohardaga, Jharkhand
57	Srijan Foundation, Ranchi, Jharkhand

58	Srijan Mahila Vikas Manch, Chakradharpur , Jharkhand
59	Srijan Seva Samiti Govindgarh, Rewa, Madhya Pradesh
60	Srijanatmak Manushi Sanstha (SMS), Delhi
61	Sunita Murab Foundation Society, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
62	SYNERGY, Madhya Pradesh
63	Tarun Chetna, Pratapgarh, Uttar Pradesh
64	The ANT (Rowmari) Chirang, BTAD, Assam
65	The Prajnya Trust, Chennai
66	VHAI, Delhi
67	WaterAid India
68	WORD, Tamil Nadu
69	Women's Rights Resource Centre (WRRC), Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh

5. References

[i] Details of works cited- Coleman, J. (1990). Foundations of Social Theory, Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Durkheim, E. (1950). *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays, New York: Basic Books.

Hechter, M. and K.D. Opp (2001). Social Norms, New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

Parsons, T. (1968 [1937]). *The Structure of Social Action. A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers*, New York, London: Free Press.

Parsons, T., and E. A. Shils (1951). Towards a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Sourced from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/

[ii] Details of works cited-

Akerlof, George A. (1976). "The Economics of Caste and of the Rat Race and Other Woeful Tales,"The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 90(4): 599–617. [Available online]

Ellickson, R. (1991). Order Without Law: How Neighbors Settle Disputes, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Posner, E. (2000). Law and Social Norms, Harvard University Press.

Young, H. P. (1998),"Social Norms and Economic Welfare," *European Economic Review*, 42: 821–830. [Available online]

Sourced from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/

[iii] Sourced from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/

[iv] http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100515327

[v] Marcus, R. and Harper, C (2014). *Gender justice and social norms- processes of change for adolescent girls. Towards a conceptual framework 2*, ODI.

[vi] http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100515327

[vii] http://www.economics.ox.ac.uk/materials/PalgraveSocialNormsJuly07.pdf

[viii] Heise, L. (2013) *Social Norms. Introduction*, Presentation at the Expert workshop on empowering adolescent girls, 26/4/2013, London as quoted in Marcus, R. and Harper, C (2014) *Gender justice and social norms- processes of change for adolescent girls. Towards a conceptual framework 2*, ODI, p.9.

[ix] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.13.

[x] (Bicchieri, 2006) as quoted in Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.8.

[xi] (Bicchieri, 2006) as quoted in Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.13.

[xii] (Bicchieri, 2006) as quoted in Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft)*, University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.8.

[xiii] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014*). A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF.

[xiv] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.14.

[xv] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft)*, University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.14-15.

[xvi] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014*). A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft)*, University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.16.

[xvii] Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF.

xviii Bicchieri, C., Jiang, T., Lindemans, J.W. (2014). *A Social Norms Perspective on Child Marriage: The General Framework (Draft),* University of Pennsylvania and UNICEF, p.11.

xix Paswan S, Paramanshi J (2003). *Encyclopaedia of Dalits in India, Human Rights Problems and Perspectives Volume 12.* Kalpaz Publications, N Delhi p. 325

xx Bicchieri 2006 quoted in Dubrueil B and Gregoire J-F (2013) Are moral norms distinct from social norms? A critical assessment of Jon Elster and Cristina Bicchieri , Theory Dec. (2013) 75:137–152 DOI 10.1007/s11238-012-9342-3

xxi Ibid

xxii Chowdhry P ((2015) Masculinity in Rural North Indian Oral Traditions, *Asian Ethnology* 74/1, pp 5 - 36

xxiii Sourced from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/

xxiv http://www.economics.ox.ac.uk/materials/PalgraveSocialNormsJuly07.pdf, p.6

xxv Chong, D. (1999). *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. This part of the review is by Vikram Dhar.

xxvi Bicchieri, C. & Mercier, H. (2014). Norms and Beliefs: How Change Occurs. *Iyyun: The Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly, 63*: 60–82, p.63.

xxvii Bicchieri, C. & Mercier, H. (2014). Norms and Beliefs: How Change Occurs. *Iyyun: The Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly, 63*: 60–82, p. 74

xxviii Das A et al (2012) *Reviewing responsibilities and renewing relationships: an intervention with men on violence against women in India*, Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care, DOI:10.1080/13691058.2012.677477

xxix Das A (2015) *Transformative Change : From Masculinity to Humanity*, Presentation at Workshop on Reframing Men and Boys in Policy for Gender Equality, at IDS, Sussex, UK 27th – 30th Oct, 2015

xxx http://www.slideshare.net/jemz1200/social-norms

xxxi http://socialnorms.org/

xxxii Source: http://www.nsvrc.org/sites/default/files/SAAM_2012_Gender-norms.pdf

xxxiii Atharva Veda, Book VII, verse 11, translation by Bloomfield, 1897 as quoted in Explaining Son Preference in Rural India: The Independent Role of Structural versus Individual Factors. Author(s): Rohini P. Pande and Nan Marie Astone
Source: Population Research and Policy Review, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Feb., 2007), pp. 1-29

xxxiv Karve (1965) and Dyson and Moore (1983) as quoted in Pande, R. and Astone, N. M, (2007). Explaining Son Preference in Rural India: The Independent Role of Structural versus Individual Factors. Population Research and Policy Review , Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1-29

xxxv Pande, R. and Astone, N. M, (2007). Explaining Son Preference in Rural India: The Independent Role of Structural versus Individual Factors. Population Research and Policy Review , Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1-29

xxxvi Pande, R. and Astone, N. M, (2007). Explaining Son Preference in Rural India: The Independent Role of Structural versus Individual Factors. Population Research and Policy Review , Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1-29, p.5.

xxxvii Old Age Security and the Utility of Children in Rural India
Author(s): M. Vlassoff and Carol Vlassoff
Source: Population Studies, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Nov., 1980), pp. 487-499

xxxviii Gender inequality, mothers' health, and unequal distribution of food: experience from a CARE project in India Author(s): Suniti Neogy Source: Gender and Development , Vol. 18, No. 3, Food (November 2010), pp. 479-489, p.479

xxxix Gender inequality, mothers' health, and unequal distribution of food: experience from a CARE project in India Author(s): Suniti Neogy Source: Gender and Development , Vol. 18, No. 3, Food (November 2010), pp. 479-489, p.480

xl Gender inequality, mothers' health, and unequal distribution of food: experience from a CARE project in India Author(s): Suniti Neogy Source: Gender and Development , Vol. 18, No. 3, Food (November 2010), pp. 479-489, p.479

xli Combining Sanitation and Women's Participation in Water Supply: An Example from Rajasthan Author(s): Kathleen O'Reilly Source: Development in Practice , Vol. 20, No. 1 (Feb., 2010), pp. 45-56, p. 55

[xlii] GENDER SCRIPTS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE IN INDIA Author(s): SONALDE DESAI and LESTER ANDRIST Source: Demography , Vol. 47, No. 3 (august 2010), pp. 667-687

[xliii] Gender Scripts and Age at Marriage in India Author(s): SONALDE DESAI and LESTER ANDRIST Source: Demography , Vol. 47, No. 3 (august 2010), pp. 667-687

[xliv] Combining Sanitation and Women's Participation in Water Supply: An Example from Rajasthan Author(s): Kathleen O'Reilly Source: Development in Practice , Vol. 20, No. 1 (Feb., 2010), pp. 45-56, p. 51

[xlv] Do Traditional Institutions Constrain Female Entrepreneurship? A Field Experiment on Business Training in India Author(s): Erica Field, Seema Jayachandran and Rohini Pande Source: The American Economic Review , Vol. 100, No. 2, PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE One Hundred Twenty Second Annual Meeting OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION (May 2010), pp. 125-129

[xlvi] Chatterjee, Partha, and Nivedita Menon. "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question (1989)."*Empire and Nation: Selected Essays*. Columbia UP, 2010.

Chatterjee, Partha, and Nivedita Menon. "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question (1989)." In *Empire and Nation: Selected Essays*, 116-35. Columbia University Press, 2010.

[xlvii] GENDER SCRIPTS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE IN INDIA Author(s): SONALDE DESAI and LESTER ANDRIST Source: Demography , Vol. 47, No. 3 (august 2010), pp. 667-687

[xlviii] Dyson and Moore, 1983 as quoted in GENDER SCRIPTS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE IN INDIA Author(s): SONALDE DESAI and LESTER ANDRIST Source: Demography , Vol. 47, No. 3 (august 2010), pp. 667-687

[xlix] What Works to Prevent Child Marriage: A Review of the Evidence Author(s): Susan Lee-Rife, Anju Malhotra, Ann Warner and Allison McGonagle Glinski Source: Studies in Family Planning, Vol. 43, No. 4 (DECEMBER 2012), pp. 287-303

[l] What Works to Prevent Child Marriage: A Review of the Evidence Author(s): Susan Lee-Rife, Anju Malhotra, Ann Warner and Allison McGonagle Glinski Source: Studies in Family Planning, Vol. 43, No. 4 (DECEMBER 2012), pp. 287-303

[li] (Desai and Andrist, 2010; Lee-Rife et al, 2012)

[lii] (Desai and Andrist, 2010)

[liii] From (Desai and Andrist, 2010, p.670) based on a number of studies.

[liv] "Why Would Such a Person Dream About Heaven?" Family, Faith, and Happiness in Arranged Marriages in India Author(s): Jennifer L. Bowman and David C. Dollahite Source: Journal of Comparative Family Studies , Vol. 44, No. 2 (MARCH-APRIL 2013), pp. 207-225

[lv] Miller 1981; Kolenda 1987 as quoted in Mari Bhat and Halli (1999)

[lvi] Following the work of Blunt (1931)

[lvii] Mari Bhat and Halli (1999)

[lviii] Risley 1915 as quoted in Mari Bhat and Halli (1999)

[lix] Epstein 1973; Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell 1983; Caplan 1984; Bradford 1985; Ifeka 1989; Rao 1993 as quoted in Mari Bhat and Halli (1999) Mari Bhat and Halli (1999)

[lx] Pande, V. (1996) Law, Women and Family in Kumaun, India International Centre Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3/4, Second Nature: Women and the Family (WINTER 1996), pp. 106-120, p.118

[lxi] Ester Boserup (1970) as quoted in

[lxii] Demography of Brideprice and Dowry: Causes and Consequences of the Indian Marriage Squeeze Author(s): P. N. Mari Bhat and Shiva S. Halli Source: Population Studies, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Jul., 1999), pp. 129-148

[lxiii] Religiosity, Economy and Patterns Of Hindu Marriage In India Author(s): Giri Raj Gupta Source: International Journal of Sociology of the Family , Vol. 2, No. 1 (MARCH, 1972), pp. 43-53, p.43.

[lxiv] The Institution of Dowry in India: Why It Continues to Prevail Author(s): Sonia Dalmia and Pareena G. Lawrence Source: The Journal of Developing Areas , Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring, 2005), pp. 71-93

[lxv] Do Traditional Institutions Constrain Female Entrepreneurship? A Field Experiment on Business Training in India Author(s): Erica Field, Seema Jayachandran and Rohini Pande Source: The American Economic Review , Vol. 100,

No. 2, PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE One Hundred Twenty Second Annual Meeting OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION (May 2010), pp. 125-129

lxvi Do Traditional Institutions Constrain Female Entrepreneurship? A Field Experiment on Business Training in India Author(s): Erica Field, Seema Jayachandran and Rohini Pande Source: The American Economic Review , Vol. 100, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the One Hundred Twenty Second Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May 2010), pp. 125-129

lxvii Status of Employment of Rural Women in India Author(s): Uttara Ray And M. Phukan Source: International Journal of Sociology of the Family , Vol. 29, No. 2 (Autumn 1999), pp. 107-116

lxviii Engendering Grassroots Democracy: Research, Training, and Networking for Women in Local Self-Governance in India Author(s): Joti Sekhon Source: NWSA Journal , Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer, 2006), pp. 101-122

lxix Barzelatto, J (1998): 'Understanding Sexual and Reproductive Violence: An Overview', International Federation of Gynaecology and Obstetrics, Vol 63, Supplement 1.

lxx Whose Mistake? Gender Roles and Physical Violence among Young Married Women Author(s): Nandita Kapadia-Kundu, Manisha Khale, Sachin Upadhaye and Deepti Chavan Source: Economic and Political Weekly , Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3 - 9, 2007), pp. 71-78

lxxi Whose Mistake? Gender Roles and Physical Violence among Young Married Women Author(s): Nandita Kapadia-Kundu, Manisha Khale, Sachin Upadhaye and Deepti Chavan Source: Economic and Political Weekly , Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3 - 9, 2007), pp. 71-78

lxxii Reproduction, Functional Autonomy and Changing Experiences of Intimate PartnerViolence Within Marriage in Rural India
Author(s): Christine Bourey, Rob Stephenson and Michelle J. Hindin
Source: International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, Vol. 39, No. 4(DECEMBER 2013), pp. 215-226

lxxiii Whose Mistake? Gender Roles and Physical Violence among Young Married Women Author(s): Nandita Kapadia-Kundu, Manisha Khale, Sachin Upadhaye and Deepti Chavan Source: Economic and Political Weekly , Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3 - 9, 2007), pp. 71-78

lxxiv Whose Mistake? Gender Roles and Physical Violence among Young Married Women Author(s): Nandita Kapadia-Kundu, Manisha Khale, Sachin Upadhaye and Deepti Chavan Source: Economic and Political Weekly , Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3 - 9, 2007), pp. 71-78

lxxv

Reproduction, Functional Autonomy and Changing Experiences of Intimate PartnerViolence Within Marriage in Rural India
Author(s): Christine Bourey, Rob Stephenson and Michelle J. Hindin
Source: International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, Vol. 39, No. 4(DECEMBER 2013), pp. 215-226

lxxvi Stigma and Everyday Resistance Practices: Childless Women in South India Author(s): Catherine Kohler Riessman Source: Gender and Society, Vol. 14, No. 1, Special Issue: Emergent and Reconfigured Forms of Family Life (Feb., 2000), pp. 111-135

lxxvii Stigma and Everyday Resistance Practices: Childless Women in South India Author(s): Catherine Kohler Riessman Source: Gender and Society, Vol. 14, No. 1, Special Issue: Emergent and Reconfigured Forms of Family Life (Feb., 2000), pp. 111-135, p.112.

lxxviii [Golub 1992] as quote in Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention Author(s): Murli Desai Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44 (Oct. 30 - Nov. 5, 1999), pp. WS57- WS62, p.WS-59

lxxix Vatuk, S (1975): 'The Ageing Woman in India: Self-Perception and Changing Roles' in A DeSouza (ed), Women in Contemporary India: Traditional Images and Changing Roles, Manohar, Delhi, 142-63

lxxx Amato, P.R. (1994) The Impact of Divorce on Men and Women in India and The United States, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 207-221, p.213

lxxxi Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention Author(s): Murli Desai Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44 (Oct. 30 - Nov. 5, 1999), pp. WS57- WS62, WS-57

[lxxxii] Desai, M. (1999) Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44, pp. WS57- WS62

[lxxxiii] Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention Author(s): Murli Desai Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44 (Oct. 30 - Nov. 5, 1999), pp. WS57- WS62, p.WS-58

[lxxxiv] Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention Author(s): Murli Desai Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44 (Oct. 30 - Nov. 5, 1999), pp. WS57- WS62, p.WS-59

[lxxxv] As cited in Turner, B F (1994): 'Introduction' in B F Turner and L E Troll (eds), Women Growing Older: Psychological Perspectives, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1

[lxxxvi] Women as Witches and Keepers of Demons: Cross-Cultural Analysis of Struggles to Change Gender Relations Author(s): Dev Nathan, Govind Kelkar and Yu Xiaogang Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 33, No. 44 (Oct. 31 - Nov. 6, 1998), pp. WS58- WS69, p.WS-61.

[lxxxvii] Women as Witches and Keepers of Demons: Cross-Cultural Analysis of Struggles to Change Gender Relations Author(s): Dev Nathan, Govind Kelkar and Yu Xiaogang Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 33, No. 44 (Oct. 31 - Nov. 6, 1998), pp. WS58- WS69, p.WS-62

[lxxxviii] It is important to note that caste wars also led to violence against the Dalit women where often they are branded and tortured to death as witches by non-Dalits. It is an equally important aspect of violence against women and norms around the intersections of caste and gender.

[lxxxix] Ageing of Women in Post-Menopausal Stage: Need for Intervention Author(s): Murli Desai Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 44 (Oct. 30 - Nov. 5, 1999), pp. WS57- WS62, p.WS-58

[xc] An Alternative to the "Sati" Model: Perceptions of a Social Reality in Folklore Author(s): Prem Chowdhry Source: Asian Folklore Studies , Vol. 49, No. 2 (1990), pp. 259-274

[xci] An Alternative to the "Sati" Model: Perceptions of a Social Reality in Folklore Author(s): Prem Chowdhry Source: Asian Folklore Studies , Vol. 49, No. 2 (1990), pp. 259-274, p.263-4.

[xcii] Law, Women and Family in Kumaun Author(s): VASUDHA PANDE Source: India International Centre Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3/4, Second Nature: Women and the Family (WINTER 1996), pp. 106-120

[xciii] Law, Women and Family in Kumaun Author(s): VASUDHA PANDE Source: India International Centre Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3/4, Second Nature: Women and the Family (WINTER 1996), pp. 106-120 Published by: India International Centre, p.115-118

[xciv] Shadow Lives: Writings on Widowhood

by Uma Chakravarti, Preeti Gill (Editor). 2007 by Kali for Women (first published 2001)

[xcv] Recent Research on Widows in India: Workshop and Conference Report Author(s): Marty Chen and Jean Dreze Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 30, No. 39 (Sep. 30, 1995), pp. 2435-2439+2442-2450, p.2442

[xcvi] Recent Research on Widows in India: Workshop and Conference Report Author(s): Marty Chen and Jean Dreze Source: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 30, No. 39 (Sep. 30, 1995), pp. 2435-2439+2442-2450