

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Uncovering subtle biases by exploring multidimensional attitudes towards gender in the South Indian context

Christie M. Gressel, Christopher Coley*, Srividya Sheshadri, Alphonse Anto,
Aparna J, Anakha Anil

Center for Women's Empowerment & Gender Equality, Amrita Vishwa
Vidyapeetham, Amritapuri, India

Abstract

Gender-based discrimination, including violent and more subtle forms, is a persistent problem in India as it is globally. The roots of this issue grow deep into myriad sources but are especially visible in certain social and cultural norms. As such, it is a systemic and generational problem that is not easily solved. One potential solution to disrupt these inherited biases is to develop awareness courses targeting youth and young adults. The present pilot study takes up this effort by surveying university students and faculty at a South Indian institute on their attitudes toward gender. The results of a survey designed to capture basic gender attitudes for university students and faculty in India indicate generally positive gender attitudes yet suggest the persistence of subtle, unresolved discriminatory attitudes. The findings highlight that issues of social-cultural norms, education standards, and safety issues are the most pressing. By utilizing such findings, an improved awareness program can be developed that is aligned with the global goal of gender equality and also grounded in relevant local norms.

Keywords: gender, gender attitudes, gender equality, gender roles, cultural norms

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their unending gratitude to Sri Mata Amritanandamay Devi, the inspiration and guiding beacon that forms the foundation of our research. Additionally, the authors would like to sincerely thank the faculty and staff at Amrita Vishwa Vidyapeetham, who support and guide all of our research endeavors. In particular, the authors would like to acknowledge Dr. Rao R. Bhavani, Dr. Meltem Alkoyak-Yildiz, Dr. Sophia von Lieres, and Dr. Malini Lisa Frey for their particular roles in this work.

Introduction

The World Economic Forum's 2021 Global Gender Gap Index Report ranked India at 140 out of 158 countries, a slip of 28 places in the rankings from 2020 (World Economic Forum, 2021). This index measures four primary dimensions: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment (ibid). Additionally, only two small Union Territories in India were cited as "performers" in the 2021 Niti Aayog SDG Index for SDG5

- Puducherry and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Niti Aayog, 2021), while the rest of the nation failed to demonstrate adequate improvement in gender-related outcomes. The issue of gender inequality is long-standing and deep-seated in India and has been found, in part, to be influenced by cultural norms informing gender attitudes (Alesina et al., 2013; Bertrand et al., 2013). These attitudes must be addressed to affect sustainable change in India's gender equality conditions, and there is evidence to suggest that gender sensitization programs is an effective approach to do this (Vyas et al., 2020).

In alignment with this goal, a private Indian university has designed a gender-sensitization curriculum that will be taught to all faculty, staff, and students across multiple campuses in five Indian states. Following the recommendation of the Indian government and the University Grants Commission (UGC), gender sensitization has become a much more popular approach to several of the gender inequalities that are commonly experienced in India. The gender sensitization workshop has been designed following UGC recommendations for this kind of certificate course and supplemented with activities and guided discussions recommended by the UN and other international NGOs with significant expertise in this



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

area. The curriculum was then structured following the implementing department's own experience working with students in Indian universities to ensure the content was grounded in local norms, relevant to the target population, and fitting within the time limitations given by the university. As a part of this curriculum, a pre- intervention baseline survey was used to assess the general gender attitudes of university-students (and faculty who will be teaching the curriculum) before the gender sensitization workshop.

This paper explores the survey's initial findings before the first pilot workshop deployment. The pilot sample draws from 217 university students and 63 faculty at two different campuses in Kerala, India. Using the AWESOME Framework (Gressel et al., 2021) as a guide, the initial results indicate a relatively high level of gender-equitable attitudes. However, upon taking a closer look at the data, we find that these results have a more nuanced reality. Despite a generally gender- positive attitude, noticeable trends were found that describe subtle forms of gender-based discrimination (by both men and women) that can be linked with the traditionally understood power dynamics and gender roles common throughout India. Although the demographic was selected purposely to inform a university-wide gender sensitization initiative, these respondents

offer insights into a younger, educated population's attitudes toward gender in society. We take this study as an opportunity to evaluate some of the responses that are indicative of more subtle attitudes that undermine gender equality and may lead to more overt expressions of gender discrimination and inequalities.

Gender, Attitudes, and Norms and the Indian Context

Gender norms are frequently understood through social-psychological terms, in which they are defined as the sex differences and similarities in social behavior (Landry et al., 2020). More specifically, "...they are culturally shared expectations about the characteristics that men and women should possess and how they ought to behave" (Yu, 2017). These are generally widely accepted within a given societal context, but it is up to an individual to determine how much they personally subscribe to their contextualized gender norms—or an individual's gender attitudes. These include one's perceptions, beliefs, and support (or lack thereof) of those gender norms. Prevalent gender norms can dictate medical attention, food distribution, education rights, division of household labor, and many other aspects of daily



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

life, particularly in resource-poor countries such as India (Landry et al., 2020). These decisions are centered around the prevailing patriarchal gender norms that normalize male supremacy in society and place women in an inferior position. If gender norms and attitudes can be shifted, we can change fundamental inequalities across all aspects of life in India.

Fortunately, gender sensitization and education effectively shift gender attitudes and norms (Achyut et al., 2011; Alesina et al., 2013; Dhar et al., 2018, 2019; Landry et al., 2020). However, at the time of writing, we could not find research into the widespread gender attitudes held by Indian university-age students and faculty publicly available. Without a better understanding of the basic gender attitudes of the target audience, developing an education program to shift gender attitudes will face monumental obstacles. There are some investigations into Indian school-aged children (Achyut et al., 2011), students in secondary school (Landry et al., 2020; Patel et al., 2021), and adults outside of educational institutions (Singh & Aggarwal, 2020), but not among university-aged students or educators. There is also research into specific questions of students at the university level, such as attitudes toward pre-marital sex (Ghule et al., 2007), but these are few and are directed at very specific issues.

While there is evidence (Bhambhaniya, 1997, and Kabeer, 2005). We posit that these patriarchal norms inform gender attitudes both overtly and subtly, and it is important to understand the intricacies of commonly held gender attitudes that may influence future generations.

It is from this frame of reference that we approach the pilot results of this survey, looking at the variances in response as indicators of more subtle commonly held beliefs and attitudes that underpin gender inequality as a systemic and insidious barrier to women's empowerment. As noted in UNESCO's Transforming Men's Roles report (Coley et al., 2020), most existing literature and interventions on gender equality in India focus on two primary dimensions: health and safety. However, also discussed in the Transforming Men's Roles report, more subtle social and cultural norms often form the foundations of overt expressions of sexism and inequality. These norms are often expressed as benevolent sexism, predicated on the idea that women are the "keepers" of purity and honor - both familial and social (Eswaran, Ramaswami, and Wadhwa, 2013). Therefore, women must be protected and sequestered to preserve the family's reputation. Various manifestations of this attitude may have evolved along with social changes to improve education or economic participation for women, but the fundamental attitudes still exist and affect society. The overall objective of this research is to develop effective, scalable, and customizable gender sensitization curricula for Indian



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

universities that are responsive to the needs of various student and faculty demographics. As noted in UNESCO's 2022 report on Indian Women in Science (Coley et al., 2022), significantly more women than men graduate with postgraduate degrees in various professional fields. However, far fewer women than men are employed in those same professions. The report indicates that there are multiple reasons for this discrepancy, one of which is the invisible biases that women face in professional settings. These biases have multiple sources, one of which is gender norms embedded in culture, and the attitudes that naturally spring from those norms inform gendered behaviors. It is our hope that by addressing these attitudes at this juncture before Indian youth enter the professional workplace, we may shift attitudes and behaviors. However, this course is not just aimed at changing male behaviors and attitudes; it is also for young women who have internalized hegemonic patriarchal norms and gender roles throughout their lifetimes.

Further, we find it prudent to examine these questions in the context of university education because, as showcased by Landry et al. (2020), parental guidance is the most important influence on the development of gender attitudes in Indian schoolchildren, as children get older, peer influence plays a greater role in shaping these attitudes. As university is often the first time Indian youth is separated from their parents for any length of time, it is a unique opportunity for exploration and development both personally, academically, and professionally. In particular, we are concerned about preparing young people to enter the workforce, as we know from existing studies (Sheshadri et al., 2023; Bonin et al., 2021), that the workplace is an environment with much gender discrimination. Any solution to this problem will have to include larger social networks of women and girls to create a more equitable environment in the future and cultivate peer and family support, which has been shown to improve women's empowerment in the long term (Coley, 2023).

Methodology

We designed this survey to answer the following two questions:

- What are the basic gender attitudes (along several dimensions) for university students and faculty in India?
- What are the critical dimensions of gender inequality attitudes that should be incorporated into gender sensitization curricula?

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

To address these questions, the survey was designed by drawing on themes identified in the following studies: the Gender Equity Movement in Schools program (Achyut et al., 2011), the Gender Equitable Men Scale (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008), the National Family Health Survey 5 (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, n.d.), and the UDAYA study (Patel et al., 2021). We chose these surveys to draw from because they all contain contextualized and Indian-verified surveys that had sufficient sampling across a variety of the Indian population.

The survey was developed to be an anonymous, online survey to encourage honest responses. Using the identified themes in these surveys, we developed a robust, Likert scale format survey that covers the following topics: demographic information, education and skill development, economy and livelihoods, social, cultural, and political norms, safety and security, and health. These topics are also in alignment with the Advancing Women's Empowerment through Systems Oriented Model Expansion (AWESOME) Framework (Gressel et al., 2020), which we have chosen to align with because it argues that approaching gender equality work requires a holistic approach, covering all aspects of human life.

The AWESOME framework advocates for understanding the subtle drivers of inequalities in intervention design, which is the ultimate purpose of this survey. This framework is a holistic, multi-dimensional approach to assessing and structuring interventions for empowering women and achieving gender equality. It seeks to, "Fundamentally shift the approach to women's empowerment through key considerations: approaching the topic from a holistic, contextual perspective; identifying those factors which inhibit a woman's empowerment as well as areas of strength, and optimizing the design and implementation of future WE interventions," (Gressel et al., 2020).

Through an extensive vulnerability mapping using social science methods and geospatial mapping, the indicators of a community's level of gender equality and issues facing women and other vulnerable groups can be more accurately understood. Tools such as the one presented in this research study contribute to this process of vulnerability mapping and community assessment.

The pilot survey was sent to 280 students and faculty via Google Forms, and the results were cleaned and shifted into SPSS. The sampling method was purposive, specifically selecting students and faculty from the future participants of the gender sensitization workshop. The survey was voluntary, and all respondents indicated their willingness to participate. The



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

study was approved by our university's ethics committee (approval number: IEC_SSBS_AL-CWEGE-AVV_011) as both an adequately structured study and one that protects the participants' rights, safety, and confidentiality.

Results

The survey data, although a pilot and distributed among a small sample, yielded interesting results worthy of further study. We found some evidence of the subtle sexism and gender-based discrimination that reflects the existing literature and points to important elements that should be included in any gender-sensitization training program. The following analysis was conducted with a population of N=280. Table 1 gives an overview of the demographics of this population.

	Gender	Profession	Marital Status	Children	Household type
Frequency	219 Female 59 males 2 3rd gender	217 Students 63 Faculty	219 Single 61 Married	234 No 46 Yes	219 Nuclear 55 Joint 6 Female head
Percent	78% female 21.1% male 0.7% 3rd	77.5% Students 22.5% Faculty	78.2% single 21.8% married	83.6% No 16.4% Yes	78.2% Nuclear 19.6% Joint 2.1% Female head
Total	280	280	280	280	280

As previously mentioned, the AWESOME Framework was used as a thematic guide to help organize the findings into more manageable groupings that also contribute to the relevant discussion on the current theme. The ultimate aim of this pilot study is to identify and highlight any discriminatory attitudes based primarily on gender to eventually improve gender sensitization courses and thereby improve overall gender attitudes among university students. The five thematic groups or dimensions that were studied include education, socio-culture, economics, health, and safety & security. These dimensions represent a holistic view



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

of private and public life and align with the literature on the most important aspects of gender inequality.

The survey tool included 74 questions, 64 of which were an accumulation of relevant questions, as discussed in the Methodology section. All of the thematic questions were based on a 5-point Likert scale with answer options ranging from totally agree to totally disagree. A copy of these

questions can be found in Appendix A. The answers to the 64 thematic questions were transformed to be unidirectional and then tallied to create an overall “Gender Attitude Score.” Likewise, the questions were further organized by dimension, and “Dimension-wise gender attitude scores” were also calculated. Using either a T-Test or Chi-Square test, significance was tested for overall scores and dimension-wise scores for gender, profession, and household type as these demographics had the most varied distribution of the demographic variables collected.

Overall, it was found that almost all of the respondents held a positive attitude toward gender. Table 2 provides a more in-depth summary of the score distribution. Similarly, there was a mostly positive range of scores for the dimension-wise gender attitude scores, as seen in Table 3. There was a significant difference between males and females in the overall gender attitude score, with men scoring lower, $X^2(6, N = 280) = 23.889, p = .001$. A similar finding was found for each dimension-wise score, with men scoring lower across the board. As the overall scores are still positive, this only suggests that men and women have slightly different views of gender equality overall. Faculty and members of a joint family were also found to have statistically significantly lower overall gender attitude scores, although just as the gender differences, the differences here are between a positive gender attitude and an extremely positive gender attitude. The Chi-Square values for both are: profession, $X^2(3, N = 280) = 21.217, p = .0001$; and household structure, $X^2(6, N = 280) = 22.147, p = .001$.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Negative GA	1	.4
	Neutral GA	8	2.9
	Positive GA	130	46.4



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

		What is your gender?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Social Cultural Scores		Male	59	127.15	18.631
		Female	219	135.95	10.537
	Extremely Positive GA	141		50.4	
	Total	280		100.0	

<i>32 Q's, 160 max score, 32 min score</i>				
Economy Scores <i>14 Q's, 70 max, 14 min</i>	Male	59	57.19	7.842
	Female	219	59.81	5.120
Health Scores <i>6 Q's, 30 max, 6 min</i>	Male	59	24.41	3.635
	Female	219	25.77	2.951
Safety Security Scores <i>11 Q's, 55 max, 11 min</i>	Male	59	46.56	6.839
	Female	219	49.73	4.195
Education Scores <i>10 Q's, 50 max, 10 min</i>	Male	59	44.42	6.745
	Female	219	47.96	3.185

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Exploring the dimension-wise questions within the survey shed some light into the nature of the differences between gender, profession, and household structure.

Education

The education dimension had relatively fewer associated questions, and there was general homogeneity between the demographic groups in how they scored. The only statistically significant differences in scoring were found between genders, with male respondents agreeing more with statements related to the ultimate purpose of education, as can be seen, summarized in Table 4. As the results indicate, gender was significantly correlated with a number of variables related to gender norms. We found that men tended to agree more than women with: the belief that men are better at math and science disciplines, women were better at “soft skills,” and that it is more important for sons to be better educated than daughters. This is aligned with the qualitative finding that many believe a son’s education is more important because he has the duty of caring for his parents in their old age. A girl’s education was thought to be needed only so she could find a better marriage partner, and that too much education would make a girl undisciplined and willful. As with the overall gender attitude scores, these findings are only within subtle differences in neutral attitudes and slight agreement. However, it is noteworthy that almost all the female respondents were adamantly opposed to these ideas, while several male respondents held some agreement with them.

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Table 4: Pearson Chi-Square Tests in education against Gender			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance comparing responses of men and women (2-sided)
Q1, Boys are naturally better at math and science than girls.	27.063	8	.001
Q4, It is important that sons have more education than daughters.	24.625	8	.002
Q6, Daughters only need to be educated as necessary to find them a good spouse.	32.412	8	.0001
Q7, Sons should be more educated than daughters so that they can better look after their parents when they are older.	17.379	8	.026
Q8, Educated girls become undisciplined and don't listen to their parents.	24.296	8	.002

Social-cultural

The social and cultural dimension was the largest and most divisive dimension within the study, as could be predicted given the nature of this phenomenon. Each of the three demographic groups (gender, profession, and household structure) demonstrated statistically significant differences in their gender attitudes. A sample of these results has been given in Table 5 which compares responses of men and women to the questions listed. The results from this table indicate that among the male respondents, the trend continued with education, where women were considered more appropriately married, sequestered at home, and not working (or if working with her salary under the control of her husband). Interestingly, men were more likely to think that gender equality has already been accomplished; however, more than a few women also agreed with this statement. This suggested a lack of awareness of gender inequality (by both men and women), and is yet more reason to create gender sensitization courses.



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

In reviewing the findings further, the faculty were more in agreement with students about a majority of the questions but did have more respondents agreeing that men should have the final decision authority at home and that unmarried girls should never be alone in the company of boys. The joint family respondents were generally more socially conservative, falling into the traditional norms of preferring men in the public sector and women kept in private. Here also, more respondents agreed that a working wife should make compromises in favor of her husband's work.

These findings suggest that the traditionally held Indian gender norms are at least somewhat still alive and well among this study population.

Table 5: Pearson Chi-Square Tests in Social Cultural			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance
			comparing genders (2- sided)
Against Gender			
Q17, Women should stop working after they get married.	37.355	8	.0001
Q21, A man's career is more important than his wife's.	31.606	8	.0001
Q63, Gender equality has already been achieved for the most part.	18.436	8	.018
Against Profession			
Q22, A man should have the final say about decisions in his home.	15.815	4	.003
Against Household Structure			
Q24, A woman's role is to take care of her home and family.	15.979	8	.043
Q64, When women gain rights, they are taking rights away from men.	17.311	8	.027



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Economic

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

There is quite a bit of overlap between the economic and social-cultural dimensions for gender attitudes. This is because the roots of these attitudes are by their nature social, while the results are largely economic. The freedom to pursue a career of one's choice, the relative importance of that career in the face of family obligations, and control over finances were the main questions where significant differences were observed. A sample of these results has been given in Table 6 which reports the comparison in responses between those in nuclear and those in joint family situations. As with the previous dimensions, male, faculty, and joint family respondents were more likely to have lower economic gender attitude scores. A common finding was that women should only work if they do not have children, if it does not interfere with her husband's work, and only if the family is poor enough to require two salaries. Even though these findings are subtle (with more people in these categories having neutral or slightly agreeing positions rather than in strong agreement with these opinions), they do suggest that women face more economic and social obstacles to pursuing their careers and deciding the kind of family they will eventually have.

Table 6: Pearson Chi-Square Tests in Economics			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance comparing nuclear with joint-family respondents (2-sided)
Against Gender			
Q 10, Women should be able to work outside the home after they have children if they want to	15.766	8	.046
Q 15, Women should be allowed to work only if the family's economic condition is poor.	20.89	8	.007
Q 37, A husband has the right to control his wife's finances.	39.866	8	.0001
Against Household Structure			
Q14, Women should be taught to manage finances	22.337	8	.004
Q36, A working woman owes her salary to her husband.	18.784	8	.016
Q37, A husband has the right to control his wife's finances.	19.346	8	.013



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Health

The health dimension had the least number of significant findings of difference between demographic groups. A sample of these results has been given in Table 7 which reports the differences in responses between men and women. Of these, both men and faculty disagreed in greater numbers that boys should learn about women's health and menstruation. Interestingly, many women and students also agreed with this (although to a lesser extent). This seems to reflect the existing literature, which describes menstruation (and women's reproductive health in general) as a taboo topic that is better ignored. The negative consequences of such an attitude are well known. The other significant finding was that joint family respondents also were more likely to believe that women require the permission of their husbands before seeking any health advice or treatment.

Table 7: Pearson Chi-Square Tests in Health			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance comparing responses of men and women (2- sided)
Against Gender			
Q46, Boys and men should not know the details of what menstruation is.	17.135	8	.029
Against Profession			
Q46, Boys and men should not know the details of what menstruation is.	20.753	4	.0001
Against Household Structure			
Q33, A woman should be able to go to the health facility without her husband's permission.	19.899	8	.011

Safety and Security

This dimension included questions that were perhaps the most telling for gender discrimination, as the focus was primarily on the causes of rape and the best means of protecting women from violence. However, as with the other dimensions, there were not many cases of stark differences between demographic groups in their answers, and those that were found were subtle and merely suggestive. A sample of these results has been given in



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Table 8 which reports the findings that compare responses between faculty and student respondents. What was found was that both faculty and joint family respondents were more likely to agree that it is a woman's responsibility to dress in a manner that ensures she will not get raped. There was also a similar finding with male and joint family respondents that a religious or pious woman is less likely to be a victim of sexual assault. Male respondents were likewise more likely to agree that when a woman is raped, she usually does something careless to put herself in that situation.

Table 8: Pearson Chi-Square Tests in Safety & Security			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance comparing responses of faculty and students (2-sided)
Against Gender			
Q56, Women who are religious will not get raped	28.226	8	.0001
Q57, When a woman is raped, she usually did something careless to put herself in that situation.	18.46	8	.018
Against Profession			
Q55, It is a woman's responsibility to dress in a manner that ensures she will not get raped.	25.935	4	.0001
Q60, Girls should never go out with boys alone.	26.243	4	.0001
Against Household Structure			
Q55, It is a woman's responsibility to dress in a manner that ensures she will not get raped.	22.897	8	.003
Q56, Women who are religious will not get raped	18.373	8	.019

These findings are troubling, but it should be remembered that the degree of agreement by these respondents was very subtle and largely neutral, with only a small number of respondents strongly agreeing. These small numbers could be explained away as outliers or perhaps as respondents who misunderstood the question. Without more research, especially using qualitative methods, it is impossible to fully understand the deeper reasons behind

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

these responses and how well they represent this population overall. This is true for all of the findings in this exploratory pilot study. What these findings do, however, is suggest areas that require more emphasis in training programs. Even if the individuals who hold discriminatory attitudes are already few and far between, including these critical elements of gender equality in a curriculum will raise awareness among the larger population and hopefully create a more supportive and protective environment where any violence or discrimination is rejected and stopped.

Limitations

We would like to acknowledge the many limitations of this particular study. The primary limitation is the early publication of survey results for a survey that was meant to be a baseline reading of a population. Forthcoming research will further contextualize these findings in terms of an expanded participant selection, intervention design, and post-workshop results. Along the same lines, our target population is limited due to the nature of the study design. Although future study expansion will increase the number of participants, we acknowledge that there is a selection bias towards an educated and wealthier demographic. There is also a lack of existing research regarding university-aged participants and gender attitudes, but we recognize that this indicates our tools have room for improved rigor and depth. Another limitation that may influence the outcome of this study and all future research is the reality that there is a strong social desirability bias. We attempted to mitigate this via anonymous surveys online; however, India's society has a strong dichotomy between what is publicly said and privately believed or enacted, and we must assume that even in the survey, these norms were followed to some extent. Finally, we regrettably acknowledge that the survey did not address one of the AWESOME Framework's dimensions: the environment. We believe that it is a vitally important element of all gender-related research but could not incorporate it into this survey design. Future research will rectify this.

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings of this study indicate that, while general responses are gender-positive, there are still subtle differences in gender attitudes and clear areas that require more attention and awareness. This indicates that any gender sensitization curricula that are developed must be



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

able to be adjusted to reflect the more subtle underpinnings of gender inequalities that are present as social norms in daily realities.

It is also important to design curricula that address both roles in the perpetuation of inequalities: men in such a manner that does not position them as wrongdoers and women as participants in an age-old hegemonic system that has created inequalities to undermine women's inherent value both to men and to women themselves. By raising awareness using these curricula, we hope to help those people that already identify as gender positive to become more informed champions of gender equality by pointing out that these more subtle issues are the underpinnings of more overt forms of gender violence and inequality.

Resources

Achyut P., Bhatla N., Khandekar S., Maitra S. and Verma R.K. (2011) *Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India*. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women.

Alesina, A.F., Giuliano, P. and Nunn, N. (2013) 'On the origins of gender roles: Women and the plough', *The quarterly journal of economics*, 182(2), pp. 469–530.

Bertrand, M., Pan, J. and Kamenica, E. (2013) 'Gender Identity and Relative Income within Households', p. 49.

Bonin, S., Singh, W., Suresh, V., Rashed, T., Uppaal, K., Nair, R., & Bhavani, R. R. (2021). A priority action roadmap for women's economic empowerment (PARWEE) amid COVID-19: a co-creation approach. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 13(2), 142-

161. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-09-2020-0148>.

Coley, C., Gressel, C. M., & Bhavani, R. R. (2021). *Transforming MENTalities: Gender equality and masculinities in India*. New Delhi: UNESCO. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377859.locale=en>.



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Coley, C., Gressel, C., Dhillon, A., Shukla, T., Sheshadri, S., Pandey, N., Kumar, G., Bhavani, R. R. (2022). *A Braided River: The Universe of Indian Women in Science*. New Delhi: UNESCO. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000380700.locale=en>.

Coley, C., Sheshadri, S., Devanathan, S., & Bhavani, R. R. (2023). Contextualizing women's empowerment frameworks with an emphasis on social support: A study in rural, South India. *Community, Work & Family*, 26(1), 1-20. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2021.1879021>.

Deshmukh-Ranadive, J. (2006) 'Spaces, power and empowerment in India: The inter-linkage with domestic violence', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 12(1), pp. 63–100. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2006.11666005>.

Dhar, D., Jain, T. and Jayachandran, S. (2018) 'Reshaping adolescents' gender attitudes: Evidence from a school-based experiment in India', *National Beureau of Economic Research* [Preprint].

Dhar, D., Jain, T. and Jayachandran, S. (2019) 'Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Attitudes: Evidence from India', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 55(12), pp. 2572– 2592. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2018.1520214>.

Dube, L. (1997) *Women and kinship: perspectives on gender in South and South-East Asia*.

Tokyo ; New York: United Nations University Press.

Eswaran, M., Ramaswami, B. and Wadhwa, W. (2013) 'Status, Caste, and the Time Allocation of Women in Rural India', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 61(2), pp. 311–

333. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1086/668282>.

Ghule, M., Balaiah, D. and Joshi, B. (2007) 'Attitude Towards Premarital Sex among Rural College Youth in Maharashtra, India', *Sexuality & Culture*, 11(4), pp. 1–17. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-007-9006-6>.



9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences

28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Gressel, C. M., Rashed, T., Maciuika, L. A., Sheshadri, S., Coley, C., Kongeseri, S., & Bhavani, R. R. (2020). Vulnerability mapping: A conceptual framework towards a context-based approach to women's empowerment. *World development perspectives*, 20, 100245. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wdp.2020.100245>.

Kabeer, N. (2005) 'Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal', *Gender and Development*, 13(1), pp. 12–24.

Landry, M., Vyas, A., Malhotra, G., & Nagaraj, N. (2020). Adolescents' development of gender equity attitudes in India. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 25(1), 94-103.

Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2019.1590852>.

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (no date). *Release of Fact sheets for National Family Health Survey-5 (2019-20) for 22 Phase-I States/ UTs*. MoHFW Government of India.

Retrieved from: <https://main.mohfw.gov.in/newshighlights-26> (Accessed: 12 February 2022).

Niti Aayog (2021) *SDG India Index & Dashboard 2020-21: Partnerships in the Decade of Action*. New Delhi: Government of India.

Patel, S.K., Santhya, K.G. and Haberland, N. (2021) 'What shapes gender attitudes among adolescent girls and boys? Evidence from the UDAYA Longitudinal Study in India', *PLOS ONE*. Edited by W. Joe, 16(3), p. e0248766. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248766>.

Pulerwitz, J. and Barker, G. (2008) 'Measuring Attitudes toward Gender Norms among Young Men in Brazil: Development and Psychometric Evaluation of the GEM Scale', *Men and Masculinities*, 10(3), pp. 322–338. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X06298778>.

Sheshadri, S., Coley, C., Devanathan, S., & Rao, R. B. (2023). Towards synergistic women's empowerment-transformative learning framework for TVET in rural India. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training*, 75(2), 255-277. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13636820.2020.1834438>.

9th International Conference on New Findings in Humanities and Social Sciences



28-30 July 2023

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Singh, S. and Aggarwal, Y. (2020) 'Are Traditional, Negative Gender Attitudes Associated with Violent Attitudes toward Women? Insights from a New, Culturally Adapted Measure in India', *Sex Roles*, 83(3-4), pp. 143-162. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01102-3>.

Vyas, A. N., Malhotra, G., Nagaraj, N. C., & Landry, M. (2020). Gender attitudes in adolescence: evaluating the Girl Rising gender-sensitization program in India. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 25(1), 126-139. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2019.1598450>.

World Economic Forum. (2021) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2021*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Economic Forum. Retrieved from: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021>.

Yu, C., Zuo, X., Blum, R. W., Tolman, D. L., Kågesten, A., Mmari, K., ... & Lou, C. (2017). Marching to a different drummer: A cross-cultural comparison of young adolescents who challenge gender norms. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 61(4), S48-S54. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2017.07.005>.