
BLOCK III

GENDER, GROUP AND CULTURE



UNIT 9 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RELATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE INTERDEPENDENCE*

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Self-Construal and Gender
- 9.2 An Expanded View of Gender and Interdependence
 - 9.2.1 Origins of Gendered Forms of Interdependence
- 9.3 Gender Differences in Self-Construal
- 9.4 Impact of Self-Construal on Social Cognition
- 9.5 Gender Differences in Emotions, Social Needs, and Motivation
 - 9.5.1 Effects on Emotions
 - 9.5.2 Effects on Motivation and Social Needs
- 9.6 Gender Differences in Self-Evaluation and Regulation
- 9.7 Summary
- 9.8 Keywords
- 9.9 Review Questions
- 9.10 References and Further Reading
- 9.11 Additional Online Resources

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After having read this Unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the link between self-construal and gender;
- Elaborate upon the expanded view of gender and interdependence; and
- Summarize the implications of self-construal vis-à-vis gender, on self-related views, social behaviour and subjective well-being.

9.0 INTRODUCTION

Men are different from women. This statement may seem quite obvious and even intuitive as gender differences seem to be pervasive. This topic has also been well-picked by popular culture and entertainment media and industry. Gender differences and conflicts have often been explored in reality TV shows, movies, dramas, and sitcoms. But it is not just the popular culture, empirical evidence also suggests that gender differences exist across various psychological domains, including cognition, emotion, behaviour and even language use (Deaux, 1998).

Interestingly, it appears that one's belief about gender-based difference concerns the social domain. Women have been thought to place greater importance on social interactions and ties in comparison to men. Gender differences are also studied in gender-linked motivations, especially towards agency or communion. These are visible and are also reinforced by different social roles that men and women adopt. Thus, men are considered to be oriented towards agency, with

* Vrushali Pathak, Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

traits such as assertiveness, self-confidence and instrumentality, whereas women are thought to be more oriented towards communion, that are the traits involving warmth, empathy, concern for others, and expressiveness (Bakan, 1966; Bem, 1974; Wood et al., 1997). Individuals end up internalizing these self-concepts of men and women, essentializing the whole concept and serving as standards for self-evaluation (Wood et al., 1997). Therefore, as a result of these norms, men develop and maintain a view of self that is more independent in nature (grounded in individual abilities and preferences) and women develop and maintain a more interdependent view of self (grounded in social ties with close relationships and groups).

In this Unit, we will try and understand independent and interdependent self-construal. Another important aspect that needs attention is understanding features of interdependent identities in both men and women and how distinct or similar they are. Thus, we will try to make sense of the literature from which the construct of an interdependent self-construal has emerged. We will also discuss different socialization processes that may encourage such a self-construal and different forms it may take when the lens becomes gendered.

9.1 SELF-CONSTRUAL AND GENDER

Self has been understood and defined in various ways. One of the ways in which it has been defined is by distinguishing between private and public selves (Baumeister, 1986). Therefore, there is a difference between inner, unobservable self and an outer self that we display to others. These two together, provide us with a conceptual framework for understanding a range of representations of self and its implication for affect, behaviour, and cognition. Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued how individuals from different cultures construct differing self-views. They demonstrated that Western cultures prioritize individual over group, seeking autonomy and independence. On the other hand, East Asian cultures prioritize group over individual. Therefore, individuals seek to fit in the group and maintain harmony.

Markus and Kitayama (1991) coined the term self-construal. To construe means to “show or explain the meaning or intention of” (Random House Dictionary, 1980); therefore, self-construal can be understood as how individuals define and make meaning of the self. It has been typically defined as how individuals see the self in relation to others. They concluded that for a person with high individual self-construal, the question “Who am I?” would be answered with reference to internal traits that could be stable across situations (for instance, shy or outgoing, intelligent etc.). For them, indicating one’s uniqueness is an important basis of self-esteem and self-concept. For them, others could be a source of social comparison, especially for confirming one’s uniqueness. On the other hand, people with interdependent self-construal view self as being connected to others and defined by relationship with others. For them the question, “Who am I?” would be answered with reference to important relationships in their life (for example, friend, daughter, and co-worker) or group memberships (Indian, musician, Asian etc.). Indicating one’s ability to fit in a group is an important basis of self-esteem and self-concept for them. Interpersonal relationships are extremely important to them, thus, ‘others’ become an important source of definition for their self and social comparison ensures if one is fulfilling the obligations expected within those relationships.

It has been argued that individuals possess both independent and interdependent self-construal and it is the cultural context that mainly promotes development of

one over the other. Interestingly, the independent self-construal and interdependent self-construal are typically identified as corresponding to individualist and collectivist cultures respectively. Conceptually, individualism and collectivism are dimensions used to describe cultures and self-construal describes individuals. But the difference is complicated because whether a country falls under individualism or collectivism is actually determined by the responses of the individual given there on self-report surveys. It would be important to remember here that self-construal is just one of the various components used to differentiate individualistic and collectivistic cultures. For instance, Triandis (1995) discussed there are more attributes in this direction – (a) in-group focused vs. individual focused goals, (b) behaviour as a function of social norm vs. individual centric attitudes, (c) focus on needs of in-group vs. social exchanges.

Cross and Madson (1997) studied it further in the Western population and argued that gender differences can be noted and explained by differences in self-construal. Integrating various gender theories, they suggested that women in Western societies are more likely than men to construct a view of self that takes into account close relationships with other people (Cross, Bacon & Morris, 2000), whereas men are more likely to consider themselves as independent from their close relationships. It would be interesting to note here that Cross and Madson (1997) used the term interdependent self-construal to explain the ways in which Western women were defining themselves and they duly acknowledged that the form of interdependence experienced by women in the West could be different from the group-oriented interdependence of East Asians. They discussed how Western women who defined themselves on the basis of relationships with others focused more on individual relationships (with one's spouse, parents, close friends) than on group membership or their social roles. This was referred to as relational-interdependent self-construal or often called as relational self-construal. It can be defined as the extent to which people define themselves especially in terms of close relationships yet differentiated it from group-centred collective-interdependent self-construal. It can be measured by Interdependent Self-Construal Scale (Singelis, 1994). It is only recently that sex differences in social aspects of the self have been given importance by the researchers. They have found the shared importance of social associations to self as a basis for identity for both men and women. We will explore this further in this Unit.

9.2 AN EXPANDED VIEW OF GENDER AND INTERDEPENDENCE

The difference between independent versus interdependent construal of self can be mainly understood by personal traits and attributes versus social roles and close relationships. An independent self-construal arises from a belief that emphasizes the inherent separateness or uniqueness of individuals from others. Thus, individuals are encouraged to discover what makes them different from others. An interdependent self-construal on the other hand, follows the belief that individual should be rooted in a larger network of close relationships and group memberships. It also encourages the larger goal of maintaining harmony with others (Lee, Aaker, & Gardner, 2000). To some extent, children grow up in cultures which are separated and segregated on the basis of sex, thus, distinct gender norms and practices are followed. Therefore, it would be suitable to infer that extending the cultural distinction between independent and interdependent self-construal to explore probable “cultures of gender” would help us in understanding sex differences in affect behaviour and cognition as well. We have already discussed

Cross and Madson's (1997) work which argued about development of a more interdependent focus in women as compared to men. Developmental literature also supports this notion that girls are more attuned to relationships than boys (Rosenburg, 1989). For instance, young girls spontaneously describe themselves by referring to their close relationships and relational characteristics attached with it than boys of the same age and this sensitivity to close relationships continue in adulthood as well. According to Pratt and colleagues (1988), close relationships have a greater positive impact on women's well-being whereas men found interpersonal problems to be a major source of distress. Despite this, one must acknowledge the importance and necessity of social ties. As we all know, need to belong is a powerful need that has been proposed to be basic to our psychological make-up. It can mainly be fulfilled through affiliation and acceptance from others (Gardner, Pickett, & Brewer, 2000). So, to some extent interdependent self, rests upon and also reflects (to a certain extent) the need to belong to others. By this logic, just being male should not allow one to escape the importance of regulating and maintaining an interdependent view of self. Therefore, belongingness is a basic need but different people fulfil it in a number of different ways. It may range from marital satisfaction to various community activities one may get involved in. Thus, given the necessity of social connections and bond, men and women should not differ in the overall importance of social bonds to self, although, they may manifest it and express it differently from each other. In order to make sense of this, various theorists turned to socialization processes and discussed how in different cultures men and women are differently encouraged to emphasize differing aspects of interdependence as important, mainly the relational and the collective forms (Gardner & Gabriel, 2005a; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Here, relational interdependence would reflect those aspects of self which define it in terms of the roles an individual may play in close ties and relationship, that of a wife, son, friend, aunt, etc.; collective interdependence on the other hand, would reflect those aspects of self which define it in terms of membership in important groups, for instance, ethnic identity, political organization, an organization in college or at workplace etc. This is more similar to the construct of social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Gardner and Gabriel (2005) hypothesized that women maintain a greater relational sense of self in comparison to men who maintain a greater collective sense of self. Therefore, it can be referred that gender differences in interdependent self-construal are mainly about the "kind" rather than the extent of it. The classic distinction that has been discussed and described over the years between agency and communion can also be understood consistently in this light. For instance, communal traits of affection, support, compassion, and sympathy are relationally interdependent and do not imply collective interdependence. Agentic traits like competitiveness, aggression, and dominance are also not so limited to an individualistic construal. Baumeister and Sommer (1997) have further supported this by stating that these agentic characteristics are also helpful in steering various social hierarchies, gaining group membership, leadership and other tasks that require collective interdependence.

9.2.1 Origins of Gendered Forms of Interdependence

We can employ multiple perspectives to understand the difference between collective and relational interdependence. It may range from biological viewpoints to various societal factors and perspectives. Let us try and understand these different views. According to the evolutionary perspective, there is a possibility of having distinct forms of interdependence due to biologically prepared

characteristics of individuals. Some researchers have argued that survival in early societies might have urged bonding of men in task-oriented groups such as hunting, especially for large animals and preys. This would have made them biologically prepared towards retaining collective skills. Upholding this “virtue” might have also increased their value to the group, making them more attractive and a likely choice as a mate. Similarly, Taylor and colleagues (2000) proposed that due to the protective mechanism that women had to adopt to buffer stress, they might have become biologically prepared for relational attachment and retained these genetic tendencies. This has been supported by stress literature as well which has found that women respond to stress with a “tend and befriend” pattern which involves activities and tasks that are nurturing in nature to reduce physiological and psychological stress. Biologically, male androgens block (at least partially) the calming effect of oxytocin, thus some of the benefits of relational support seeking are more specific to women than men (Taylor et al., 2000).

Now talking about the gender norms of the society, we say some of these gender asymmetries are encouraged by our society and culture. The role that men and women have traditionally inhabited are different from each other and also emphasize on dyadic relational bonding (child rearing, caregiving, etc.) and acceptance and success in collectives (sports, community, etc.). as we essentialize these social roles as typical for men and women, children are encouraged to internalize and behave according to these norms. For instance, parents encourage their children to play with gender-typed toys and other gender-typed activities. Boys are given guns and girls are asked to play with dolls. They are urged to develop interests that are considered “appropriate” for their gender (Etaugh & Liss, 1992). Leaper (2014) suggested that parental attitudes and behaviours have an important role to play in reinforcing gender-based stereotypes in young children. These may fall under mainly five areas: language, encouraging particular task and activities, types of play and play material given to the child, role modelling, and expectations. Another study reported that “parents are an important factor in shaping adolescents’ attitudes”, therefore when a parent reports a particular gender attitude, the child is more likely to hold that attitude (Dhar, Jain, & Jayachandran, 2018). Kiprotich and Chang’orok (2015) conducted a study in Africa and concluded that while choosing a career, a male child is encouraged to be ambitious and discouraged from choosing careers such as teaching, counselling, etc. which are considered as ‘softer’ in nature and thus meant for girls. It would be important to note here that gender socialization is not just limited to parents and/or caregivers but peers also play a crucial role in it. Children’s play also becomes sex-segregated by the age of 3 years and with age the pressure to adhere to gender norms keeps mounting, especially from peers’ side (Lewis & Phillipsen, 1998). Girls are likely to mingle with peers in close and same-sex dyads, whereas boys are found spending more time with their peers in teams and various group activities (Broderick & Beltz, 1996; Belle, 1989).

It can be inferred from the above discussion that irrespective of the theoretical lens acquired, gender differences in relational and collective self-construal are expected to some extent relatively early in childhood. They are then encouraged, thus maintained later in life as well. Interestingly, self-construal can work as a lens through which the individuals view their social world. Thus, they have a role in shaping cognition and behaviour which may be equivalent for both males and females in terms of the social connection and relatedness but relatively distinct in its emphasis placed on close relationships versus social groups or relational attachments versus collective bonds.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Define Self.

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Culture plays a significant role in self-construal. **True or False.**

- 3) _____ coined the term self-construal.

- 4) Differentiate between independent and interdependent self-construal.

.....

.....

.....

9.3 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SELF-CONSTRUAL

We have already discussed that gendered social interactions, social roles, and gender based social expectations have a role to play in our self-construal. Slowly and gradually we also start labelling ourselves a certain way and self-construal is a major contributing factor in that self-representation. These self-representations may also include different attributes that would resemble the behavioural consequences akin to the self-construal, for instance, ‘caring’ for the interdependent self-construal. Now let us focus on the differences in self-descriptions between men and women in the context of interdependence. This expanded model of gender (as described earlier) discusses how women usually employ relational roles while describing themselves much more than men, who usually use their group memberships to describe themselves. McGuire and McGuire (1982) conducted a study with school children (7-17 years) using an open-ended format. They reported that both boys and girls used social constructs to describe themselves, but the forms in which they expressed it was different from each other. Their findings were in line with the expanded model as the girls described themselves with close relationships much more, whereas boys’ self-descriptions centred around their group memberships. In another study that used the autobiographic method, men and women were asked to compile a set of pictures that would describe themselves (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993). They concluded that women used pictures of themselves with others, especially pictures of family members much more than men. This could also be the case as women are more likely than men to include their relationships in their descriptions of their ideal self. Gabriel and Gardner (1999) also found support for the expanded model of gender differences. Using 20 Statements by Kuhn and McPartland (1954), they asked college students to write 20 self-descriptive statements about themselves. They found that women’s description of themselves was almost two times more relational than men, whereas men expressed twice as many collective self-descriptors as women. For instance, women described themselves as, “I am Joanna’s sister”; “I am the second daughter of my parents”; “I am Pam’s best friend” and men described themselves as, “I am the captain of cricket team”; “I am a student at the State University”. Interestingly, the study reported that no significant difference was found between men and women in the independent

self-descriptors (“I am good at music”; “I am a good dancer”; “I am ambitious” etc.). thus, social-self views are important to both men and women and they may have a different area of expressing it.

Researchers have also used direct measures of relational and collective self-construal to understand this difference better (Cross, Bacon, & Morris, 2000). Across several samples of college men and women, it was found that women endorsed the relational items to a greater degree consistently and men were more prone to responding with the collective items (Cross et al., 2002; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999). Further research in the area, established relational and collective interdependence as functionally two different constructs which are linked to two more masculinity and femininity in its behavioural expression, that is, how to express the interdependence. Relational self-construal was found to be significantly positively correlated with psychological femininity but not with the measure of masculinity. On the other hand, measures of collective self-construal were significantly correlated with psychological masculinity and not femininity. Thus, this gender specific pattern was seen in the case of self-descriptions of both children and young adult.

Self-descriptions and representations differ in their content and may also differ in the degree in which they are present in an individual. Apart from this, they also differ in terms of their centrality or importance. Research has established that the self-representations which are very important to us are more likely to influence information processing and behaviour than the ones that are less important. In a study conducted by Rosenberg (1989) on adolescents, girls rated “self-values” related to aspects of interpersonal harmony and sensitivity more important than the boys who rated aspects and behaviours related to social dominance as more important.

9.4 IMPACT OF SELF CONSTRUAL ON SOCIAL COGNITION

The self has been regarded as the most powerful, intricate and complex structure possessed by the humans. Our beliefs about ourselves and the world, self-schemas help us in understanding and processing the information around us. It plays an important role in our perception of the social world. Given that individual’s with an interdependence self-construal define self in relations to others, Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued that people with interdependent self-construal pay more attention to others and their social context, which results in three primary effects on cognition – (i) they may have very elaborate cognitive representations of others, (ii) they are likely to have cognitive representations of self that incorporate the social context, and (iii) it may impact their non-social cognitive processes also, for instance, the counterfactual thinking (our tendency to create probable alternatives to life events that has already occurred) or other abstract concepts. Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued that interdependent individuals re the kind of people who would consider their role and expectations from them in the relationship between themselves and the interviewer and thus respond to abstract concepts differently than an individual with independent self-construal who is much less concerned (or none at all) with how the interviewer would construe their answers.

As relational and collective interdependence reflect the importance of relationships and groups in slightly different ways, biases in information processing when fulfilling these needs should also be visible. One of the paradigms used to assess important memory related concerns actually capitalizes on biases in the recall of

information. Gardner and colleagues (2000) gave individuals a diary containing different behaviours and asked them to form impression of the individuals described in the diary. The behaviours differ along dimensions of interest (for example, social- vs. non-social behaviour; gain- vs. loss-focussed behaviour etc.). Various filler tasks were given to them, after which in a surprise recall task the individuals were examined on the information they remembered. Here, the biases in recall would reflect different encoding and/or retrieval processes that individuals might have used. This particular paradigm has been adapted by researchers to understand gender differences that might be involved in the process. In one such study, the behaviours presented in the diary were independent, relational, and collective in nature. Results showed that women recalled the relational behaviours (night out with the friend, dinner with roommate, spending summer with friends) much more than men, who recalled collective behaviours (such as a sports match, meeting at the church etc.). The results were quite supportive of the expanded model discussed here. Interestingly, significant gender difference did not emerge for the recall of independent tasks (for instance, getting a reward, receiving a good grade in exams). Therefore, we can say that people with high relational self-construal are in a way attuned to pay more attention and organize their world in terms of relationships.

Similar findings have been reported by Arndt and colleagues (2002) in studies of terror management theory. According to the theory, when death becomes salient, important cultural values are activated to protect the self from fear. This also reinforces the belief that we are all tied to a larger system which is meaningful and stable. The researchers investigated different types of values that were activated by men and women in response to mortality salience. They found that mortality salience activated more relational constructs for women (family, marriage) and more collective ones for men (caste, nationalism). Researches in this area have implied that gender-based differences between collective and relational interdependence may result in similar differences in values and social institutions and may also have ego-protective functions (Gardner & Gabriel, 2005).

9.5 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN EMOTIONS, MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL NEEDS

Let us explore gender differences in emotions, motivations and social needs.

9.5.1 Effects on Emotions

Self-construal mediates the emotional consequences of an individual's experience. For instance, validation of one's distinctiveness from others may result in positive emotions for individuals with an independent self-construal, whereas it is the validation of one's self-defining relationships that may result in positive emotions in those with an interdependent self-construal. However, self-construal plays a much important and broader role than just interpreting the situations and behaving accordingly. It also frames one's understanding of the consequences and implications of the emotions. In this light, it would be important to remember that emotion are not just our responses to different situations. They may be a source of conveying and moderating social interactions, revealing one's thoughts and reactions; thus, may produce harmony or discord in a relationship. Now, because people with different self- construal follow varied goals in social situations, their emotional expression may also differ. Markus and Kitayama (1991) had also hypothesized, "emotional experience should vary systematically with the self-construal of the self" (pg. 235). Emotions can be distinguished as ego-focussed

emotions, such as pride, anger, and other-focused emotions, such as guilt, shame. It was hypothesized that people with independent self-construal are more likely to express and experience ego-focused emotions and those with interdependent self-construal are likely to express other-focused emotions. This does not mean that people with interdependent self-construal cannot experience or display anger, it is just that their intensity is different. Now, research has elaborated that girls and boys, women and men may know the same thing about emotion, yet this knowledge may not be reflected similarly while the knowledge is being applied in different situations. The relational and/or collective emphasis guides us in actual situations and how we apply the social rules and affective display rules that we have learnt. Culture-specific norms regarding when, how, and to whom we visibly express our emotions play a significant role here (Shields, 2000).

Baumeister and Leary (1995) had concluded that connections with others and having positive social relationships are important for both men and women and their well-being. Researches have also shown that gender has a role to play in how belonging needs are both experienced and satisfied. Gardner and colleagues (2002) attempted to understand this using the expanded model of interdependence. They conducted four studies of everyday social behaviour, coping strategies, precursors of loneliness, and predictors of subjective well-being and found that men and women differed in these experiences with relationships and groups and their satisfaction levels with their social world vis-à-vis the context. For instance, in one of the studies diaries of men and women's daily events were tracked for 2 months and it was found that women reported greater relational events than men, who reported collective events much more. Women also reported experiencing more pleasure in their relational events compared to men, who had more fun in their collective events.

Literature is replete with the findings that during stress women adopt a “tend and befriend” response (as mentioned above) which emphasizes nurturance and the relational bonds (Taylor et al., 2000; Gardner et al., 2002). Similar studies were replicated which came to a conclusion that to spend their time during stress, men turn to their social groups. These strategies- relational and collective, served as coping mechanisms for both men and women, buffering them from stress. It was found that women who would turn to their friends and relatives suffered less anxiety and depression than those who did not and similarly, men who adopted a collective coping strategy fared better in stressful times than men who reported spending less time in groups during stress. Taking it further, some researchers have also examined if different factors predict well-being for those with a more relational interdependent self-construal. They found that positive interpersonal relationships are more predictive of life satisfaction for those with a more relational interdependent self-construal. Lun, Kesebir, & Oishi (2008) concluded that women show a higher decrease in daily life satisfaction than men when they feel misunderstood in their interpersonal interactions. Women's life satisfaction was predicted by harmony in the relationship, whereas this was not the case for men (Reid, 2004).

9.5.2 Effects on Motivation and Social Needs

Self-construal of an individual also has implications on the types of goals they are motivated to pursue. According to Marks and Kitayama (1991), people with interdependent self-construal are the most intuitive ones as they are motivated by goals that are socially oriented, that is, they are keen on fulfilling their required roles within their important relationships. Here, also the social orientation of goal

differs according to the relational (for instance, giving more importance to family needs and motivations) and collective (for instance, giving importance to aspects of group, community, society at large) self-construal. Having said this, it is again important to note that it is not so that people with collective interdependent self-construal are completely devoid of the relational aspects of family and immediate relationships. It exists in them but perhaps in a lesser degree than others who have a relational self-construal primarily.

Agency or sense of control, and efficacy are two important constructs that are experienced differently depending upon the self-construal. For instance, people with both relational and collective interdependence self-construal may experience agency as an effort to be receptive to others, adjusting to the societal demands and needs and restraining their own needs or desires. This aspect is very much evident in cultures such as India and other Asian countries where more importance is given to relationality and the collectivistic orientation. On the other hand, for individuals with an independent self-construal or those belonging to individualistic cultures, agency might be an effort to express their needs, rights, desires and capacities to endure and perhaps also resist undue social pressure (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

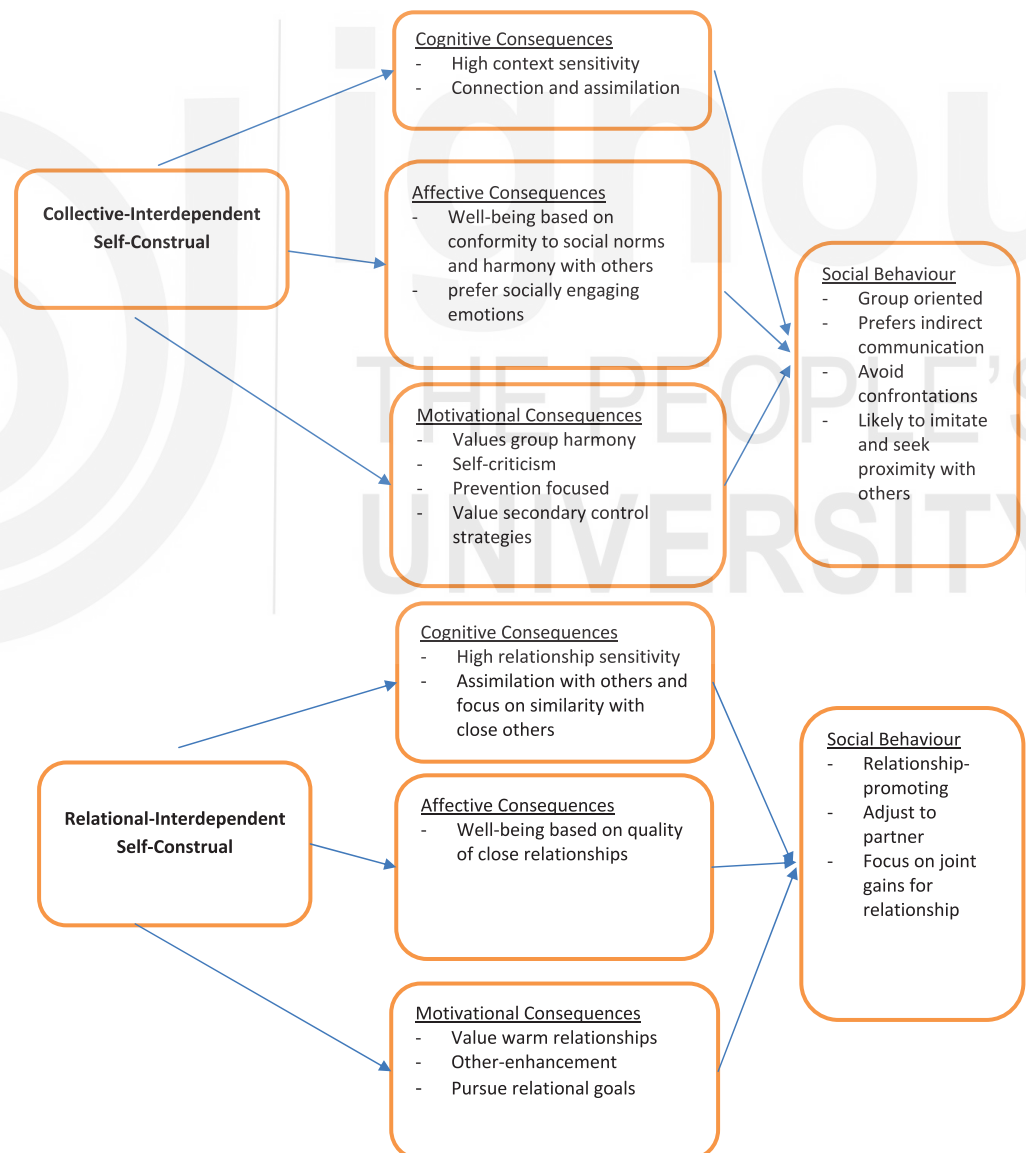


Figure 9.1 Components of interdependent self-construal and their influence on cognition, affect, motivation, and social behaviour *Source:* Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing (2011). The What, How, Why, and Where of Self-Construal. *Personality and social psychology review: An official journal of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology*. 15. 142-79

For an individual with interdependent self-construal, self-esteem is based on the ability to fit in. It could be fitting in the their collectivistic (group-based) bonds, as for men or fitting in the family or relational (dyadic) attachments. They do not try to be unique or different from the group, which could be the case in people with an independent self-construal. Interestingly due to this reason, self-serving biases (attributing positive events to our own success and blaming negative results to external factors which are not related to us) is less common amongst people with interdependent self-construal. It would be important to note here that these differences would further decide how different motives will be experienced by people with different self-construal (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011).

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Explain the terror management theory in the context of gender.
.....
.....
.....
- 2) When an individual is able to establish and validate his/her distinctiveness from others resulting in positive emotions, s/he may have an _____ self-construal.
- 3) Agency and efficacy are experienced differently depending upon the self-construal. **True or False.**
- 4) How are relational and collective self-construal linked to the constructs of masculinity and femininity?
.....
.....
.....

9.6 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SELF-EVALUATION AND REGULATION

Our self-construal and the centrality of relational and/or collective interdependence also determines how we would evaluate ourselves and regulate our behaviour in our day-to-day interactions. Gender norms also add to this as they serve as the internalized standards for behaviour. In a study conducted by Gabriel and Gardner (1999), men and women were asked to imagine themselves in different scenarios in which welfare of others (that is their close friends or some important group they are a part of) was in conflict with their own personal interest. Thus, the personal interest and the collective or relational interest were kept in contrast to each other. Several such scenarios were presented and the participants were asked to choose an option they would want to go with. They concluded that women responded by keeping their personal desires aside to help a friend (more than men), whereas men were more likely to keep their interests and wishes aside to assist their groups. Thus, they found that gender differences in relational and collective interdependence also impacted the standards of what would be understood as appropriate behaviour.

Now, let us see how gender differences would impact forms of social comparison and self-evaluation on that basis. The positive and efficient performance of the

group or relevant others can affect or self-concept in one of the two ways. (1) we can feel pride in their achievement and experience self-gratification on someone's accomplishments (as we are associated to them) or (2) compare ourselves to others and feel worse about the self (for being less accomplished). This would also depend upon how we see ourselves in comparison to others and how do we link ourselves to them. If we assimilate the other to the self it would evoke being happy in other person's happiness response. Thus, the response would be mediated by whether the comparison is assimilated to the self through relational or collective view of interdependence. Various theories have demonstrated the impact of self-enhancement motives on the process of social comparison, in both group and dyadic settings.

- Self-evaluation maintenance theory: at a dyadic level it proposes that when a close other (sibling, parents, best friend) performs well in a domain that is relevant to our self, self-esteem ends up being impacted negatively (Tesser, 1988). To protect oneself from this hurt, we end up preferring and predicting poor performance for close others in that domain.
- Frog pond effect: it discusses the social comparison and self-enhancement at a group level. It emphasizes that being a "big frog in a small pond" or success in a relatively unproductive group is preferred. This may also serve as a functional role in protecting one's self-esteem.

When placing this in the expanded model of gender and interdependence, it was found that, given women's levels of relational interdependence, comparisons with close others are less threatening as they are able to assimilate self with the close others than the group (Kimmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001). Gardner and Gabriel (2005) examined the role of relational and collective interdependence on impact of social comparisons with the ingroup. Here, the participants were asked to predict performance of their friend and a stranger on an important task. As hypothesized, they found that men showed the classic self-evaluation maintenance effect and predicted better performance for the stranger than their friend. On the other hand, women predicted better performance for their friend rather than the stranger. As the self-maintenance effect refers to close relationships, the researchers hypothesized that gender patterns of social comparison would be reversed in a group context. Interestingly, when the Frog-Pond effect paradigm was used, they found women engaging in more comparison than men. When men were told that they had performed poorly, but their group did well, they reported much more positive mood and attitude than women. Women responded positively when they were told that they personally had performed better than their group.

In another interesting line of research, certain priming tasks were used to understand self-evaluation and regulation. Men were primed with relational interdependence and it was found that in contrast to the previous researches, this time (due to priming), they had lowered their level of social comparison with a friend in a self-evaluation paradigm. Similarly, women were primed with collective interdependence in a Frog-Pond effect paradigm, which lowered their levels of social comparison (in opposition to previous research) to the level of men. To summarize the findings till now, we can comfortably say that men and women both give a lot of importance to their social bonds, although they may differ in the aspects of interdependence that they would emphasize in their social self.

Therefore, both men and women are motivated to seek and eventually maintain connections with others around them. Although these connections might be shaped by gender but they do not limit themselves to a particular sex or the

social or autonomous role. The expanded model of interdependence has allowed us to understand the way gender differences may exist without letting go of the underlying similarities in these cases, that is, social connection is important to both and distinct features of their interdependent identity may emerge. Men appear to emphasize collective or group-based bonds, whereas women seem to focus more on relational or dyadic bonds.

9.7 SUMMARY

To sum up what we have learnt in this unit, here is a quick recap:

- An independent self-construal arises from the belief in uniqueness of the individual, who is encouraged to explore what makes him/her distinct from others. An interdependent self-construal arises from the belief in embeddedness of the individual in his/her close relationships and group memberships- “fitting in”, thus, maintaining harmony with others around.
- As per the literature, women appeared to maintain an interdependent self-construal but they do not necessarily mean that men have an independent self-construal. Social ties and bonds have been considered indispensable and lack of it can have negative consequences
- The expanded model of interdependence explains that given the importance of social connection, men and women may not differ in the emphasis they lay on the social bonds, yet they may manifest it and express it in different ways from each other.
- Most of the research has demonstrated that both men and women display equivalent levels of social self-descriptions, cognition and social worldviews. They may differ in their emphasis within the aspect of interdependence.
- Various perspectives, such as the evolutionary theory and the ones demonstrating gender norms in socialization processes, are consistent with the idea that relational vs. collective interdependence develops distinctly in girls and boys.
- Relational and collective interdependence may reflect different approaches for fulfilling belonging needs in men and women, as they differ in patterns of relational and collective social contact they enjoy.

9.8 KEYWORDS

Self-construal collection of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning one’s relationship to others; how do individuals define and make meaning of self.

Independent Self-construal They view their internal attributes (traits, abilities etc.) as central to their sense of self.

Interdependent Self-construal They view close relationships, roles and group membership as central to their sense of self.

Relational Self-construal It can be classified under interdependent self-construal. They define their self in terms of their close relationships and attachment bonds.

Collective self-construal It can be classified under interdependent self-construal. They define their self in terms of their group membership.

Self-concept It is our perception of our own behaviour, abilities, and unique characteristics.

Self-esteem It is our overall opinion about our self, abilities and limitations.

9.9 REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the socialization processes that could be responsible for gendered self-construal.
- 2) What is the expanded view of interdependent self-construal, especially in the context of gender?
- 3) How has the evolutionary perspective explained the gendered forms of interdependence?
- 4) Discuss the differing ways in which men and women cope with stress.
- 5) Elaborate upon the biases visible in information processing vis-à-vis the expanded view of interdependence.
- 6) Explain the importance of positive social relationships and the need to belong in both men and women.
- 7) Discuss the implications of self-construal on well-being of an individual.
- 8) What are the effects of gender differences on social comparison and self-evaluation?

9.10 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

- Arndt, J., Greenberg, J., & Cook, A. (2002). Mortality salience and the spreading activation of worldview-relevant constructs: Exploring the cognitive architecture of terror management. *Journal of Experimental Psychology— General*, 131, 307–324.
- Bakan, D. (1966). *The Duality of Human Existence*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1986). *Public Self and Private Self*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497–529.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Sommer, K. L. (1997). What do men want?: Gender differences and two spheres of belongingness: Comment on Cross and Madson (1997). *Psychological Bulletin*, 122, 38–44.
- Belle, D. (1989). Gender differences in children's social networks and supports. In D. Belle (Ed.), *Children's social networks and social supports* [Wiley series on personality processes] (pp. 173–188). New York: Wiley.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42, 155–162.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this “we”? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 83–93.
- Broderick, P. C., & Beltz, C. M. (1996). The contributions of self-monitoring and gender to preadolescents' friendship expectations. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 24, 35–45.
- Clancy, S. M., & Dollinger, S. J. (1993). Photographic depictions of the self: Gender and age differences in social connectedness. *Sex Roles*, 29, 477–495.
- Cross, S. E., & Madson, L. (1997). Models of the self: Self-construals and gender. *Psychological Bulletin*, 122, 5–37.

- Cross, S. E., Bacon, P. L., & Morris, M. L. (2000). The relational-interdependent self-construal and relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 191–808.
- Cross, S.E., Hardin, E.E.& Gercek-Swing, B. (2011). The What, How, Why, and Where of Self-Construal. *Personality and social psychology review: An official journal of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology*. 15. 142-79. Doi: 10.1177/1088868310373752.
- Cross, S. E., Morris, M. L., & Gore, J. S. (2002). Thinking about oneself and others: The relational interdependent self-construal and social cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 399–418.
- Deaux, K. (1998). Defining gender roles and stereotypes psychological constructions of masculinity and femininity. In D.L. Anselmi & A. L. Law (Eds.), *Questions of gender: Perspectives and paradoxes* (pp.206-215). 1std.McGraw Hill Press.
- Dhar, D., Jain, T., Jayachandran, S. (2018). “Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Attitudes: Evidence from India.”
- Etaugh, C., & Liss, M. B. (1992). Home, school, and playroom: Training grounds for adult gender roles. *Sex Roles*, 26, 129–147.
- Gabriel, S., & Gardner, W. L. (1999). Are there “his” and “hers” types of interdependence?: The implications of gender differences in collective versus relational interdependence for affect, behavior, and cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 642–655
- Gardner, W. L., Pickett, C. L., & Brewer, M. B. (2000). Social exclusion and selective memory: How the need to belong influences memory for social events. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 486–496.
- Gardner, W.L., & Gabriel, S. (2005). Gender Differences in Relational and Collective Interdependence: Implications for Self-Views, Social Behaviour, and Subjective Well-Being. In Eagly, A.H., Beall, A.E., Sternberg, R.J. (Eds). *The Psychology of Gender*. The Glford Press. New York London.
- Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural con-text: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 403-422. doi:10.1177/0022022105275959
- Kemmelmeier, M., & Oyserman, D. (2001). The ups and downs of thinking about a successful other: Self-construals and the consequences of social comparisons. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 31, 311–320.
- Kiprotich, A., Chang’orok, J. (2015). *Gender Communication Stereotypes: A Depiction of the Mass Media*. 10.9790/0837-201156977.
- Kuhn, M. H., & McPartland, T. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. *American Sociological Review*, 19, 58–76.
- Leaper, C. (2014). “Parents’ Socialization of Gender in Children”. In Martin, C., 2014. *Gender: early Socialization*, Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development, UNICEF.
- Lee, A. Y., Aaker, J., & Gardner, W. L. (2000). The pleasures and pains of distinct self-construals: The role of interdependence in regulatory focus. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 1122–1134.

- Lewis, T., & Phillipsen, L. (1998). Interactions on an elementary school playground: Variations by age, gender, race, group size, and playground area. *Child Study Journal*, 28, 309–320.
- Lun, J., Kesebir, S., & Oishi, S. (2008). On feeling understood and feeling well: The role of interdependence. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 42, 1623–1628. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2008.06.009
- Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224–253.
- McGuire, W. J., & McGuire, C. V. (1982). *Significant Others in Self Space: Sex Differences and Developmental Trends in Social Self*. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self* (Vol. 1, pp. 71–96). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Pratt, M. W., Golding, G., Hunter, W., & Sampson, R. (1988). Sex differences in adult moral orientations. *Journal of Personality*, 56, 373–391.
- Reid, A. (2004). Gender and sources of subjective well-being. *Sex Roles*, 51, 617–629. doi:10.1007/s11199-004-0714-
- Rosenberg, M. (1989). *The Self-concept: Social Product and Social Force*. In M. Rosenberg & R. H. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 593–624). New York: Basic Books.
- Sheilds, S. (2000). Thinking about gender, thinking about theory. Gender and emotion: *Social Psychological Perspectives*, 3–23.
- Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 580–591.
- Taylor, S. E., Klein, L. C., Lewis, B. P., Gruenewald, T. L., Gurung, R. A., & Updegraff, J. A. (2000). Biobehavioral responses to stress in females: Tend-and-befriend, not fight-or-flight. *Psychological Review*, 107, 411–429.
- Tesser, A. (1988). Toward a self-evaluation maintenance model of social behavior. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 21, 181–222
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Wood, W., Christensen, P. N., Hebl, M., & Rothgerber, H. (1997). Conformity to sex-typed norms, affect, and the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 523–536.

9.11 ADDITIONAL ONLINE RESOURCES

- From Independence to Interdependence: Alana Conner at TedxPacificPalisades
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NXVSrODHOU>

Answers for Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress 1

2. True
3. Markus and Kitayama

Check Your Progress 2

2. Independent self-construal
3. True

UNIT 10 PSYCHOLOGY OF GENDER

DIFFERENCES: COMPARISON IN COGNITIVE ABILITIES AND CAREER RELATED PROCESSES*

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Gender Differences in Cognitive Abilities
- 10.2 Gender Differences in Social and Emotional Development
- 10.3 Theories of Sex /Gender Related Differences
 - 10.3.1 Biological Perspective
 - 10.3.2 Social Development Perspective
 - 10.3.3 Social Constructivist Perspective
- 10.4 Sex/Gender Differences in Socialization Patterns
- 10.5 Dual Impact Model of Gender and Career Related Choices
- 10.6 Summary
- 10.7 Keywords
- 10.8 Review Questions
- 10.9 References and Further Reading
- 10.10 Additional Online Resources

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After having read this Unit, you will be able to:

- Explore the common discourse around gender differences;
- Elucidate gender differences in cognitive abilities;
- Explain gender similarities hypothesis;
- Identify gender differences in social and emotional development;
- Describe biological perspective in explaining gender differences;
- Explore social perspective in explaining gender differences;
- Appreciate social constructivism in explaining gender differences; and
- Discuss dual impact model of gender

10.0 INTRODUCTION

One look at the commercials and soap operas on the television makes us convinced that men and women are from different ‘planets’ altogether and different personalities, attributes and traits that make them categorically different from each other. Example that comes to mind are some commercial advertisement tags like “men will be men”! These everyday ads, popular literature on the bestselling book shelves like *Men are Mars: Women are from Venus* (Gray, 1992); *You just don’t understand: Women and men in conversation* (Tannen, 1991) and so many more top selling titles exacerbate the existence of differences between the genders.

* Sabeen H.Rizvi, Department of Psychology, Gargi College, University of Delhi, New Delhi.

The universal narrative all around in our culture is that gender plays a major role in how we interpret the world and how different we are from one another. In scientific literature, the debate is ongoing and we have mixed findings for various domains that we discuss in detail in the subsequent sections. Yet, what is important to acknowledge is the pervasiveness of the grand narrative around gender that is strengthened by the cultural practices and existing societal norms.

In previous units, you have been familiarized with the concept of sex and gender and how these are two different concepts. However, many a time in psychological literature, researchers (especially ‘essentialists’ who focus on biological perspective) have used it overlappingly to study differences in gender/sex. More socially oriented researchers (like the constructivists) process the two concepts differently, however for ease of integrating reviews and expanding on the evidence, we shall use it as used by the primary researchers.

10.1 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN COGNITIVE ABILITIES

Gender differences in the context of psychological attributes such as cognitive abilities have been a pivotal debate both within the scientific community as well as in popular media as mentioned above. A huge reason behind discourses of such nature can be attributed to the sense-making of why in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) related careers, men outnumber women in such magnitude? For instance, according to World Economic Forum report (WEF, 2021), that measures gender gap on four parameters: *economic participation and opportunity*, *educational attainment*, *health and survival*, and *political empowerment*; huge gender differences can be observed in certain career trajectories in India, such as in STEM and engineering related careers, wherein women are disproportionately outnumbered by men, whereas in social sciences the opposite can be observed, where women significantly outnumber men. India's position has gone down further as per WEF's (2021) global gender gap report.

Mind the gap

India has slipped 28 places in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report 2021, and is now one of the worst performers in South Asia. It is now ranked 140th among 156 nations.

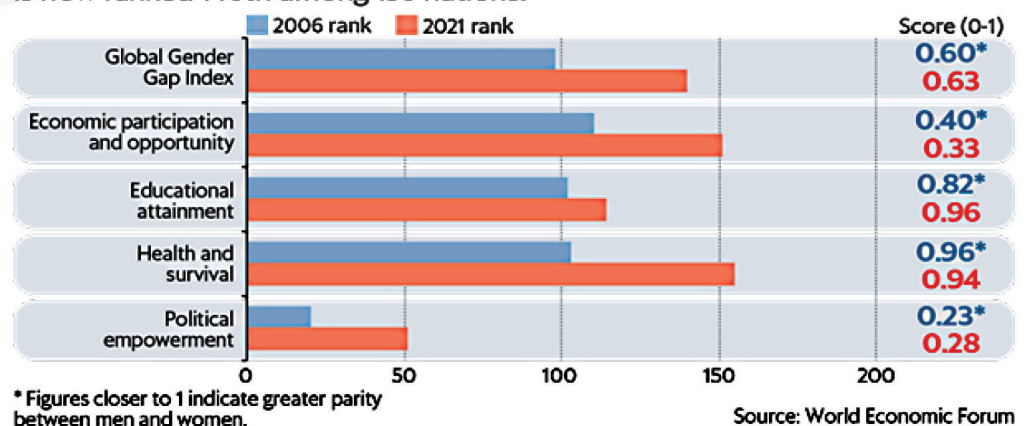


Figure 10.1 The worsening gender gap in India!

Source: <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/how-india-fared-in-global-gender-gap-report-2021-11617726598143.html>

To illustrate the implication of this gender gap, one can take the example of the skewed gender ratio of the student population at the IITs which is considered to be the premiere institute for engineering in the country with just 8% of a total

of 11,000 seats were occupied by women in 2017 (India Today, 2017). While similar statistical trends have been observed even in the West, another occurrence that people noticed is that irrespective of whether or not women ‘outnumbered’ or ‘were outnumbered in a career domain, more often than not, men went on to occupy the higher earning positions across most jobs (Gu, 2018). The instances discussed above are a part of a much larger discourse around the question of how different men and women truly are? Secondly, are these instances of gender disparity in educational institutes or workplaces truly rooted in gender differences in cognitive abilities? However, one more important question that scholars of psychology should be interested in is- amid endless speculative references to men and women being so different, how much of it is in reality based on scientific evidence?

In attempting to explain these gender differences, on several occasions, the argument of ‘inherent biological or temperamental differences’ between the sexes has been presented by some researchers (Halpern, 2000; Pinker, 2005). While arguing in favour of the role of biological differences between the sexes as a reasonable explanation for cognitive differences, Pinker (2005) in his famous debate with Elizabeth Spelke on sex differences in cognitive abilities went on to talk about empirical evidence suggesting gender differences on biological traits that widen at the tail end of the normal distribution to explain as a possible factor behind the underrepresentation of women in top positions of STEM related careers. He also discussed the role of empirically supported evidence of gender differences in cognitive abilities such as spatial and mathematical abilities, and other variables indicating gender differences in biological predisposition to different things in life such as life priorities, such as the likelihood on an average of men prioritizing status as opposed to women prioritizing family; gender differences in occupational interests, whereby women being more inclined towards people oriented jobs as opposed to men being more inclined towards inanimate object oriented jobs; to explain the differences in real life settings. It is important to note that even at the time of highlighting the role of biological factors, socialization process and gender bias as relevant factors were acknowledged all the same by Pinker. However, for the stated dispositional gender differences, there is research work today that discusses how occupational choices and achievement related choices may very well be influenced by gender socialization and contradicting the idea of there being any inherent gender differences in that respect (Eccles, 2011; Master et al., 2016). Discourses around biological differences have often been linked to stereotypical arguments over gender segregation of jobs, such as specific jobs form a natural fit for specific genders, such as women being more suitable in caregiving jobs and men being more suitable in mathematically oriented jobs (Charles & Bradley, 2009). Such biased conclusions can have a tremendous impact on the lives of women and men in different ways. STEM related careers most often occupy the higher pay bracket jobs, and by associating a certain gender to be a better fit for certain jobs can have several negative implications that impacts their family lives, relationships and opportunities in the workplace (Cameron 2007; Barnett & Rivers, 2004; White & Kowalski, 1994). This overinflation of the differences impacts children as well. The common stereotypical narrative around math is that boys are better at it than girls (Hyde et al., 1990) that is also there in media headlines (Barnett & Rivers, 2004). One major disadvantage to children is this that mathematically talented girls may be overlooked by teachers and parents as the adults may not expect to find such a talent in girls (Hyde, 2005). Parents mostly have lower expectations of their daughters (Lummis & Stevenson, 1990), despite the fact that girls show better grades in maths (Kimball, 1989).

The topic of gender differences in cognitive abilities has spanned several decades and a path breaking contribution in this field was made by Janet Shibley Hyde through her work, the gender similarities hypothesis. Her gender similarities hypothesis states that men and women are more similar than different across most domains and accentuating the differences by widening the gender gap and may put women at a disadvantaged state (Hyde, 2005). Hyde conducted a meta-analysis of 46 meta-analytic reviews and concluded that men and women are more similar than different on most psychological attributes ranging from cognitive abilities, if not all. Her findings revealed that 78% gender differences identified in major meta-analytic reviews either had effect sizes of close to zero range or in the small range. The exceptions observed were large effect sizes of gender difference in motor behaviours such as disc throwing and some sexual behaviours. She also went on to say that the idea of gender differences at the level cognitive 'abilities' are after all hugely exaggerated and not as such driven by data to substantiate these broad claims. It is worth mentioning that since this finding, several other studies have echoed the claim of gender similarities in cognitive abilities such as mathematical abilities (Hyde et al., 2008). Moreover, Hyde's meta synthetic review findings were replicated independently by other researchers as well (Zell, et al., 2015).

Another criticism of the proposition of there being gender differences stems from the criticism of the perspective that looks at gender as a binary than a spectrum (Hyde, et al., 2019). An argument especially relevant in contemporary times where the idea of gender being a fluid concept is gaining recognition (Hidalgo et al, 2013, Ehrensaft, 2016).

Hyde's and her team's work (1980;1981;1984;1985;1990; 2000; 2005) and the following research work raises important questions as to what other factors can explain the gender gap issues or the matter of gendered career choices and prioritising career over family or family over career or finding a balance there. Is it the socialization process which operates differently for different genders? Is it the biological and evolutionary make up? Is it pervasive personality variables? Is it discrimination at workplaces? Well, there is extensive evidence for and against the motion! Read up!

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) As part of growing up, did you enjoy Math and science? What role did your family members play in this association?
.....
.....
.....
- 2) Check the WEF's report in the last 5 years on gender gap. Why is India's position so low?
.....
.....
.....
- 3) How can we encourage female children to excel in STEM branches? What can you think parents and teachers can do?

10.2 GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A person's ability to be emotionally aware and suitably communicative of their feelings is a mark of their socio-emotional competence and mental health as well (Cicchetti et al., 1995; Gross, 1999; Keenan, 2000). Children are surrounded in the dynamics of their social and physical contexts and the relation between the bio-ecology shapes the contemporary theoretical perspectives in developmental science literature (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Lerner et al., 2015; Overton & Lerner, 2014).

10.3 THEORIES OF SEX/GENDER RELATED DIFFERENCES

Many psychologists differentiate sex/gender differences theories on the basis of their theoretical positioning and emphasis on dimensions; whether it is psychological or, biological or socio-structural determinants (Bussey & Bundura, 1990). However, most theorists take an integrated approach when discussing these differences. While biologically oriented theories emphasize upon the biological differences underlying gender role development, most psychologically-oriented theorists emphasize intrapsychic processes governing gender development (Freud, 1955; Kohlberg, 1966). Alternatively, sociological theories focus on sociostructurally determined factors impacting gender development (Berger et al., 1980; Eagly, 1987a; Epstein, 1988). Additionally, the contemporary bent is towards understanding the contextuality of these differences within the lived reality of the actors. We shall review biological, social and the constructivist views to understand the stated differences. However, there is an interesting meta-gender factor that you should ponder over- most essentialist or biologically oriented researchers seem to be men and most constructivist researchers seem to be women (Baden, 2020)!

10.3.1 Biological Perspective

Biological theories suggest that girls and boys exhibit innate biological differences and these differences exist prenatally or at birth, like genetic differences or unfold with maturation like hormonal differences at puberty and exhibits in gender differences in behaviour. Some researchers have reported that boys have higher levels of arousal than girls in infancy and early childhood and show lower language ability and inhibitory control as compared with girls (Brody, 1999). As per the biological perspective it is likely that these differences are due to differences in gene expression and influx of sex hormones such as testosterone in utero that may contribute to some

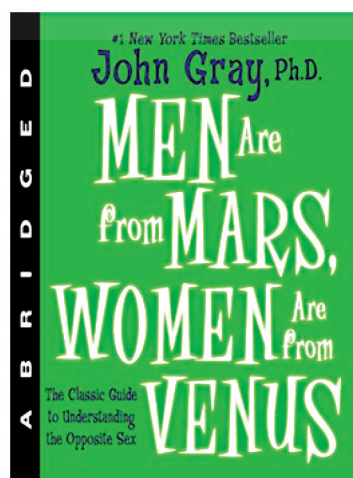


Figure 10.3 Are they really?

Source: <https://img1.od-cdn.com/ImageType-400/0293-1/956/23C/9C/%7B95623C9C-82F2-44D6-802D-AB77BC77BFFA%7DImg400.jpg>

differences in the brain and body between females and males (Zahn-Waxler et.al., 2008). This may explain that boy's lower language and inhibitory control abilities may lead them to exhibit higher levels of arousal. Results from longitudinal research shows that externalizing behaviours that develop in early childhood may sometimes be stable through into adolescence for some children (Moffitt, et.al., 1996; Campbell, 1995) and boys have been seen to be more effected by such behaviours than girls (Kaiser, et.al., 2002). Some researchers have even proposed that children who display externalizing behavioural problems at a young age are at a greater risk of developing antisocial behaviour, delinquency and other behavioural disorders in the future (Campbell, 2006). Evolutionary psychologists also hold that some specific abilities, traits and physical structures are conjectured to have had differential survival value for women and men. Over the years, genetic selection through differential levels of survival and reproduction would ultimately result in sex differentiated distributions of skills in the genetic pool, there by accounting for apparent sex differences in the present times (Geary, 2002; Gaulin, 1993).

Thus, most evolutionary psychologists believe that the indispensable attributes primarily responsible for sex differentiated social behaviour are the sex-specific psychological dispositions that were embedded in the human species through genetically facilitated to basic conditions of life and living (Buss & Kenrick, 1998). Some evolutionary psychologists characterize this perspective as an application of sociobiological principles to human behaviour, for example, Caporael (2001) labelled it "inclusive fitness evolutionary psychology" (pg. 608). Some evolutionary psychologists have proposed that sexual selection in humans originated from men's selection of long-term mates for fertility and faithfulness and women's competition with other women to entice marriage partners (Geary, 1998).

Another perspective is provided by developmental neuropsychologists who focus on the biological differences among males and females. According to these investigators different levels of exposure to testosterone and estrogen during the prenatal period impact brain development and in turn, influence sex differentiated social behaviours or cognitive skills (Collaer & Hines, 1995; Hines, 2000).

Researchers like Baron-Cohen (2013) have taken an extremist stance and suggest that male and female have evolved differently and have categorized female brain as E-brain (empathizing brain) and male brain as S-brain (systemic brain) and the idea has been sardonically rebuffed by Cameron (2007) who remarks "Perhaps men have realised that a reputation for incompetence can sometimes work to your advantage. Like the idea that they are no good at housework, the idea that men are no good at talking, serves to exempt them from doing something which many would rather leave to women anyway" (pg.11).

10.3.2 Social Development Perspective

Many social scientists refute the biological perspective and maintain that many aspects of gender roles, identities and behaviours are primarily shaped by social influences and not biological differences (Leaper & Farkas, 2014). Research has brought this to the fore that 'nurture' has a more significant role to play in the gender differences than 'nature' (Lindsey, 2016).

To understand the social perspective, it is important to understand what gender socialization is. Gender socialization is a "process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to 'do' gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks

and other social institutions” (John et.al., pg.6, 2017) Social development theories propose that children learn gender-role consistent behaviours through experience, cognitive learning and socialization (Liben & Bigler, 2002).

Another theory posits that children are reinforced either explicitly or through modelling to learn gender role consistent behaviours (Bandura, 1977). In cross-cultural research, Dhawan et. al., (1995) reported that Indian participants, while defining themselves made a larger reference to social identities and described themselves more in terms of their roles, group, class, caste affiliation and gender. Alternatively, American students had larger proportion of responses on self-identity. Indian society is hierarchically structured and women’s identity is by and large outlined by her familial relationships (Varma, 1982). Qualities such as relatedness, emotionality, care giving are instilled early in socialization process for girls as it aligns in with the central role for women in the society i.e., their reproductive role (Vindhya, 2011). In a study exploring the identities of adolescent girls, Sharma (1996) reported that adolescent girls’ identity was intertwined in the stereotypical sex role rather than being diffused as in the Eriksonian conceptualization. The gender roles defined by societies can be an important factor for gender domination over women in patriarchal societies (Millet, 2005).

Gender based socialization also occurs through observing adults as models in the household as elaborated in the socially driven perspectives. When children witness domestic violence at home, they may be conditioned to normalize violence in marital relationships (Ram et al., 2014). In India, there has been some evidence that violence is transmitted through generations, and men who witness their fathers physically abusing their mothers were more likely to condone and indulge in domestic abuse with their partners (Martina et al., 2002). In another study looking at data from 44769 adolescents in India, it was reported that as compared with their male counterparts, fewer females enjoyed the same privileges in a family set up. While both females and males indicated the prevalence of gender discriminatory practices at home, (sons being given preferences in education, lesser household chores, more freedom to roam) male youth were more proactive in identifying these practices. This is an unsettling finding as it indicates a lack of awareness among females that they are in a disadvantaged position because of their gender (Ram, et al., 2014).

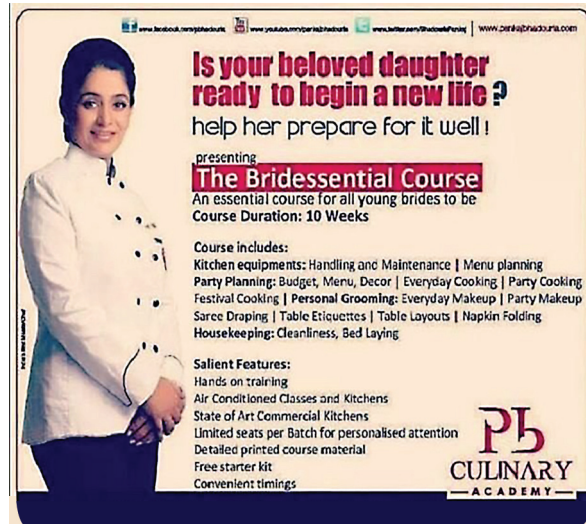


Figure 10.4 Stereotypical portrayal of women in society is detrimental to their growth

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/27/9a/c9/279ac94f0e17d741bc0c60e4e10be21f.jpg>

Sohum is 7 years old. He has recently changed school and does not feel very comfortable at his new school. Most of his classmates have pre-formed groups and he feels lonely at school! One time, he felt so distressed that he started crying. The class teacher saw him sitting alone and went to him. Sohumi saw him approaching and felt awkward but comforted that he had someone who cares. The teacher looked at him and yelled – “Are you a girl that you are sitting and crying! Go play in the fields!” Sohumi was all the more distressed! The teacher invalidated his emotions and also conveyed that “it’s not okay to cry for boy!”

Some psychologists have also studied gender differences in personality variable and how it shapes their social interactions. For instance, women have often found to be more agreeable than men, implying that on average, women tend to be more nurturing tender minded and altruistic than men (Feingold, 1994; Costa et al., 2001). However, this does imply that men are not nurturing or tender minded or altruistic. Contemporary views suggest that gender differences in terms of mean differences do not imply men and women are on opposite poles of the trait spectrum; as opposed to this view, significant differences can always exist along with a substantial overlap between the distributions of women and men (Hyde, 2005).

Most gender schema and socialization theories propose that there are marked differences in emotions and these differences should become stronger as children grow up and develop gender schemas and have socialization experiences. In terms of emotional expression, Deaux & Major (1987) gave the gender-in-context theory that states that gender differences emerge when “perceivers [others] emit expectancies, targets (selves) negotiate their own identities, and the context in which interaction occurs shapes the resultant behaviour” (pg. 369). Children may more explicitly express their emotions in front of strangers than parents as they may think that strangers expect them to express emotions as per societal norms and expectations. These differences may even be more pronounced when children are with their peers as peer contexts are segregated by gender and may be shaped by gender role expectations with boy’s peer groups encouraging rough play and girl peer groups accentuating quiet and cooperative play (Rose & Rudolph, 2006).

The social learning approaches have been criticized for their simplistic position and lack of insight on contextual factor and multitude of realities for individual.

10.3.3 Social Constructivist Perspective

The simplistic explanation put forth by social learning perspective is challenged by intersectionality studies that put forth the argument that social learnings are complicated as people have multiple identities (Risman, 2004). These identities are shaped by their location, background, history, and time in the process of gender socialization. Gender socialization thus, is also shaped by race, class, sexual identity and a lot of other social and economic factors (Hancock, 2007). The learning process for men and women differs due to this multitude or intersectionality.

Social constructivist theorists are critical of the perspective that children are passive receptors and enact on the messages delivered to them through the environment or by the biological markers. Children are active agents and develop schemata that is the foundation of their gender beliefs and behaviours and they apply these schemata for further processing (Liben & Bigler, 2002).

Social constructivist theories primarily focus on the construed expression of gender in the present moment. While they agree that certain gender role consistent behaviours are internalized in early and late childhood as proposed by biological and social developmentally oriented theorists, they additionally emphasize the role of context in the gendered expression of these internalized behaviours. They contend that that gender expression is influenced by specific contexts and the expectations that society builds up for females and males (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Shields, 2002). Kohlberg (1966) also opined that children actively assimilate environmental experience: “At any given point, the child uses...experiences of... body and...social environment to form basic sex-role concepts and values, but at any given point environmental experiences also stimulate restructuring of these

concepts and values”(pg. 85). Martin Halverson (1981), Bussey and Bandura (1999) and Bem (1981) also represent a similar theoretical orientation.

One of the other theories under the social umbrella, is gender schema theory, that emphasizes children’s role in the development of gendered behaviour. Halverson (1980) proposed that children organize and categorize information on the basis of sex, because of environmental variables and characteristics of gender. This leads to formation of two kinds of schemata. Firstly, the children’s perception of gender being a dichotomous category defines their gender based “in-group/outgroup schema” i.e., what behaviours, characteristics and objects are for females and what are specifically for males. Secondly, they also develop an “own-sex schema” and focus on activities that align well with their “own sex schema”. Boys and girls learn about their expected roles from observing their environment. As they grow up, boys develop a schema for their “own” sex and girls develop a schema for their own, thereby selecting activities and environment that provide a good fit with their schema (Martin & Halverson, 1981).

The primary difference among all the theories lies in the causal mechanism-be it biological, social or contextual. All the above theories converge that gender relates to individual differences in women and men and gender constructs social institutions within which women and men develop and function in society.

10.5 SEX/GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS

Reviewing the sex/gender related differences in patterns of socialization, one gets mixed findings that are defined by the developmental trajectories of lifespan.

Many researchers have reported in their studies that girls and boys interact with same sex peers more often than opposite sex peers (Bukowski et.al.,1993; Kovacs, et.al,1996; Martin & Fabes, 2001) and they develop different relationship styles within same sex female versus male peer groups (Leaper, 1994; Maccoby, 1998). Some studies have assessed the frequency of dyadic interaction among young children and have reported that boys interact in dyads as frequently, or sometimes even more frequently than girls (Benenson et al., 1997; Fabes et al., 2003; Martin & Fabes, 2001). Researchers have also investigated the social network strength of boys and girls and have reported that preschool boys have more integrated social networks than girls (Benenson, 1990; 1993). Another study reported similar findings in middle childhood and early adolescence summer camp (Parker & Seal, 1996). In terms of the content of peer interaction, girls are more prosocial as compared with boys.

Some observational studies of middle childhood reported that girls spend more time in social conversation as compared with boys (Ladd, 1983; Moller, et.al.,1992) and report more self-disclosure in friendships than boys (Lempers, et al., 1993; Zarbatany et.al., 2000; Rose, 2002). Studies in middle childhood reveal that girls are more likely than boys to ratify goals that involve mutual participation (Strough & Berg, 2000), friendliness (Murphy & Eisenberg, 2002), supportiveness (Rose & Asher, 2004) and one study in early adolescents reported that girls

“Football is for boys”?

Farah really likes playing football with her friends in the evening when she goes to the park. However, most of her friends make fun of her when she joins the group to play football. Most players are boys and the adults around keep dissuading her when she insists on playing- “Football is for boys, Farah”– they would tell her! Farah feels sad when she looks at other children enjoying her favourite sport. Should Farah give up on her favourite sport because it is not popular among her same sex friends?

were more likely than boys to approve intimacy and nurturance goals (Jarvinen & Nicholls, 1996). Girls in middle childhood are also more likely as compared with boys to adopt relationship management goals (Rose & Asher, 1999) and goals of resolving peer problems (Rose & Asher, 2004). Young adolescent girls exhibit more concerns about peer evaluation as compared with boys (Rudolph & Conley, 2005; Storch et al., 2003; Storch et al., 2002) and their relational focus may contribute to their worries about social validation, abandonment and their friendship status (Rose & Rudolph, 2016), whereas boys tend to adopt goals promoting their self-interest (Rose & Asher, 1999), showcasing themselves in a positive light (Rose & Asher, 2004), preserving their privacy (Rose & Asher, 2004), having control over social situations (Chung & Asher, 1996) and sometimes even seeking revenge (Rose & Asher, 1999).

Girls show more sensitivity and empathy to distress in others than boys (Tucker et al., 1999; Van Tilburg, et al., 2002). Girls more often report sadness, hurt, sympathy in response to the experienced distress of a story protagonist (Holmgren et al., 1998) also for an actual peer (Menesini et al., 1997). Research of middle childhood and adolescence consistently indicate that girls and boys report similar levels of conflict in their relationships (Bukowski et al., 1994; Rose & Asher, 1999; 2004).

Though this is far from an exhaustive review of the extant literature, these findings have reported some of the differences in the patterns of socialization for young boys and girls that may be shaped by the intersectionality of their identities and roles. It is important however to factor in the role of context when we talk about the existence of these differences.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Are there any actual gender differences that you noticed while growing up?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) What is the gender similarities hypothesis?

.....

.....

.....

- 3) What is the influence of biology on gender differences?

.....

.....

.....

- 4) Elucidating with an example from your own life, expand on the social constructivist theory when explaining gender differences.

.....

.....

.....

10.5 DUAL IMPACT MODEL OF GENDER AND CAREER RELATED PROCESSES

Gender impacts the career trajectory of the individual in multiple ways. While women's workforce participation has considerably improved over the years due to increase in education and awareness, women's occupational success in terms of money and power hierarchical positions is still lower as compared with men, even in the Western progressive world (Eby et al., 2005). Women's high qualification are insufficiently reflected in their occupational outcomes (Abele & Spurk, 2011).

Men and women across society have different expectations and goals and these lead to different career choices. Career development theorists provide different explanations to making career. Abele and Spurk (2011) differentiate between three different theoretical approaches; process accounts and structural approaches. Process accounts (like that of Super, 1957) endorses that career development is characterized by myriad career patterns and these continuous patterns more often than not lead to more career success than discontinuous ones. Women end up being less successful in their professional occupations as their career patterns are often discontinuous. On the other hand, structural approaches make a distinction between different sources of impact on career decisions and outcomes (Lent et al., 1994). For instance, women's occupational success, irrespective of their qualifications, is still lower than their male counterparts when it's translated to monetary benefits and hierarchical positions (Eby et al., 2005; Abele, 2000; Watts & Eccles, 2008).

Gender based approaches talk about the complex dynamics that are influenced by being a male or a female on development. Most scholars make pertinent distinction between "sex" and "gender" when theorizing about crucial aspects of life span development. Sex primarily refers to the biological attributes that an individual is born with and gender is related with the experience of feeling 'femaleness' or 'maleness' and the psychological and social aspects of this gender construction.

Abele's dual-impact model on gender and career-related processes considers the distinction between sex and gender and differentiates between an inside and an outside perspective of gender (Abele, 2000; 2003). The inside perspective pays cognizance to how an individual sees herself/himself as a woman or man, that is, their gender related self-concept (Bem, 1993). It is constructed with both stereotypical masculine and feminine traits. The stereotypical masculine traits are called agency (such as "active", "decisive") and stereotypical feminine traits are called communion (such as "warm", "empathetic"). While communion has an impact on social functioning (Kasen et al, 2006; Uchrowski, 2008), agency is especially important in foreseeing career-related behavior (Abele, 2003; Corrigan & Konrad, 2007; Kirchmeyer, 1998). The outside perspective on the other hand, stresses upon the difference in evaluation due to differences in expectations. The outside perspective refers to gender as a social category and to the social and society expectations directed at people belonging to the category of "woman" or "man". By and large, both men and women are influenced by these expectations when they make important career and family related decisions. Behaviours in sync with these social expectations are positively endorsed than behaviours against these expectations (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eby et al., 1999). In comparison to men, women make more occupational sacrifices and prefer work centred life style at lower wages (Diekmann et al., 2015; Wang et al., 2015; Wang and Degol, 2017). This gender-based difference start emerging in late adolescence and young

adulthood since women and men begin to consider their future more closely and critically (Weisgram et al., 2010). Abele (2003) reported that while quite a few women wanted to reduce their workload after the birth of their child, the percentage of those who actually did came out to be much higher. Alternatively, while few men reported wanting to reduce their workload post the birth of a child, the percentage of those who actually did was negligible (Abele, 2003).

These differences are more pronounced in patriarchal societies like ours where mothers largely bear the burden of motherhood in most households and career has to take a backseat to dispense filial responsibilities. Indra K. Nooyi, the CEO of PepsiCo is the face of the progressive successful women in our country; in a very candid interview with a news channel said about her mother's reaction to her becoming the President of the company-



Figure 10.5 Indra K. Nooyi- PepsiCo CEO

Source: https://www.womensweb.in/wp-content/volume_blr1_01/uploads/2014/07/a-million-indra-nooyi.jpg

“I got home about 10, got into the garage, and my mother was waiting at the top of the stairs. And I said, “Mom, I’ve got great news for you.” She said, “let the news wait. Can you go out and get some milk?” This reflects the realities of the multitude of roles and responsibilities one has to shoulder irrespective of how successful one is in their career. Lack of egalitarian practices on the domestic front make it difficult for women to pursue their aspirations despite the qualifications and skills required to excel in the domain.

All in all, as budding researchers interested in studying this debate and evaluating the evidence for or against the claims put forth by researchers, it is imperative that one cautiously evaluates the existing theoretical models and the quality of evidence base around it to come to an evolving understanding around this debate! Be skeptical!

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) How does one make career choices if life, is it influenced by gender?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Explain briefly the dual impact model of gender and career related processes.

.....

.....

.....

- 3) In India, are these gender differences for real or influenced by the socio-economic and political paradigm? Explain with a relevant case example.

10.6 SUMMARY

To sum up what we have learnt in this unit, here is a quick recap:

- Populist media and literature exacerbates the differences between men and women.
- Various theoretical positions have tried explaining these differences using their lens; biological, social, constructivist etc.
- Reviewing the differences in cognitive abilities bring it to the fore that women and men are more similar than different as proclaimed by the gender similarities hypothesis. Over inflating the differences may put women at a steep state of disadvantage in multiple ways.
- The career choices of women are impacted by the intersectionality of their position in familial, societal and professional domains.

10.7 KEYWORDS

Constructivism The idea that sex and gender are essentially different concepts, with sex defining inherited characteristics and gender referring to roles that are socialised or learned.

Dual Impact Model of Gender and Career Gender is a dynamic construct and is intersectional in nature and this impacts occupational roles and career choices for women.

Gender The social and cultural aspect of 'sex', that may not necessarily be the same as the biological sex.

Gender Socialization The process of learning gender roles and expectations from societal and cultural influences and models.

Gender Similarities Hypothesis The hypothesis holds that males and females are similar on most but not all psychological variables.

Gender Gap A state of relative disparity between individuals resulting from their membership of a specific gender. This gap is reflected in social, political, intellectual, cultural and professional domains of an individual's life.

Sex-Binary Categorization into male and female based on the biological attributes related with one's reproductive ability.

10.8 REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Reflecting upon your experiences of growing up, how gender has challenged or facilitated your path?
- 2) Are there any differences in sex/gender that are pervasive? Build your essay with the help of the evidence provided in the unit.
- 3) What theoretical position makes more sense to you when trying to understand the gender differences?
- 4) Do you think popular media and stereotypes help in understanding these differences? Support or refute the claim within an evidence-based paradigm.

10.9 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

- Abele, A. E. (2000). *A Dual Impact Model of Gender on Career Related Processes—and the Reciprocal Impact of Career on Gender*. In T. Eckes & H.-M. Trautner (Eds.), *The developmental social psychology of gender* (pp. 361–388). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Abele, A. E. (2003). The dynamics of masculine-agentive and feminine communal traits: Findings from a prospective study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 768–776.
- Abele, A. E. (2005). Work–Life-Balance [Goals, gender-related self-concept, and work–life balance in longterm life pursuit: Findings from the Erlangen longitudinal study BELA-E], 49, 176–186.
- Abele, A. E., & Spurk, D. (2011). The dual impact of gender and the influence of timing of parenthood on men's and women's career development: Longitudinal findings. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 35(3), 225–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025411398181>
- Baden, E. (2020). *Gender and Communication. Communicating in the 21st Century*. 4th Ed. Wiley.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Barnett, R., & Rivers, C. (2004). *Same Difference: How Gender Myths are Hurting our Relationships, our Children, and our Jobs*. New York: Basic Books.
- Baron-Cohen, S. (2003). *The Essential Difference: Man, Woman and the Extreme Male Brain*. Allen Lane/Penguin, London.
- Bem, S. (1993). *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Benenson, J.F. (1990). Gender differences in social networks. *Journal of Early Adolescence*. 10:472–495.
- Benenson, J.F. (1993). Greater preference among females than males for dyadic interaction in early childhood. *Child Development*. 64:544–555. [PubMed: 8477633]
- Benenson, J.F., Apostoleris, N.H., Parnass, J. (1997) Age and sex differences in dyadic and group interaction. *Developmental Psychology*. 33:538–543. [PubMed: 9149932]
- Berger, J., Rosenholtz, S. J., & Zelditch, M. (1980). Status organizing processes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 6, 479–508.
- Brody, L. R. (1999). *Gender, Emotion, and the Family*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). *The Bioecological Model of Human Development*. In R. M. Lerner & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (pp. 793–828). John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Bukowski, W.M., Gauze, C., Hoza, B., & Newcomb, A.F. (1993) Differences and consistency between same-sex and other-sex peer relationships during early adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*. 29:255–263.
- Buss, D. M., & Kenrick, D. T. (1998). *Evolutionary Social Psychology*. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 2, pp. 982–1026). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

- Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106, 676-713.
- Cameron, D. (2007). *The Myth of Mars and Venus*, Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, S. B. (1995). Behavior problems in preschool children: A review of recent research. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 36, 113-149.
- Campbell, S. B. (2006). *Behavior problems in preschool children*, second edition: Clinical and developmental issues. New York, NY: Guilford Publications.
- Caporael, L. R. (2001). Evolutionary psychology: Toward a unifying theory and a hybrid science. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 607-628.
- Charles, M., and Bradley, K. (2009). Indulging our gendered selves? Sex segregation by field of study in 44 countries. *Am. J. Sociol.* 114, 924-976. doi: 10.1086/595942
- Chung, T., & Asher, S.R. (1996). Children's goals and strategies in peer conflict situations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*. 42:125-147
- Cicchetti, D., Ackerman, B.P., & Izard, C.E. (1995) Emotions and emotion regulation in developmental psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology*, 7:1-10.
- Collaer, M. L., & Hines, M. (1995). Human behavioral sex differences: A role for gonadal hormones during early development? *Psychological Bulletin*, 118, 55-107.
- Corrigan, E. A., & Konrad, A. M. (2007). Gender role attitudes and careers: A longitudinal study. *Sex Roles*, 56, 847-855.
- Costa, P. T. Jr., Terracciano, A., & McCrae, R. R. (2001). Gender differences in personality traits across cultures: robust and surprising findings. *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.* 81, 322-331.
- Deaux, K., & Major, B. (1987). Putting gender into context: An interactive model of gender-related behavior. *Psychological Review*, 94, 369-389.
- Diekmann, A. B., Weisgram, E. S., and Belanger, A. L. (2015). New routes to recruiting and retaining women in STEM: policy implications of a communal goal congruity perspective. *Soc. Issues Policy Rev.* 9, 52-88. doi: 10.1111/sipr.12010
- Eagly, A. H. (1987b). Reporting sex differences. *American Psychologist*, 42, 755-756.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109, 573-598.
- Eby, L. T., Allen, T. D., & Douthitt, S. S. (1999). The role of nonperformance factors on job-related relocation opportunities: A field study and laboratory experiment. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 79, 29-55.
- Eby, L. T., Casper, W., Lockwood, A., Bordeaux, C., & Brinley, A. (2005). Work and family research in IO/OB: Content analysis and review of the literature (1980-2002). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66, 124-197
- Eccles, J. (2011). Gendered educational and occupational choices: Applying the Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 35(3), 195-201.
- Ehrensaft, D. (2016). The gender creative child: Pathways for nurturing and supporting children who live outside gender boxes. *The Experiment*.

- Epstein, C. F. (1988). *Deceptive distinctions: Sex, Gender, and the Social Order*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fabes, R.A., Martin, C.L., Hanish, L.D. (2003). Young children's play qualities in same-, other-, and mixed-sex peer groups. *Child Development*. 74:921–932. [PubMed: 12795398]
- Feingold, A. (1994). Gender differences in personality: a meta-analysis. *Psychol. Bull.* 116, 429–456
- Freud, S. (1955). *A Difficulty in the Path of Psycho-Analysis*. In the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, (1917-1919): "An Infantile Neurosis" and Other Works (Vol. XVII, pp. 135-144). London: The Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis.
- Gabay-Egozi, L., Nitsche, N., & Grieger, L. (2022). In Their Footsteps or Shadow? Gender Differences in Choosing a STEM Major as a Function of Sibling Configuration and Older Sibling's Gender and Math Ability. *Sex Roles*, 86(1), 106-126.
- Gaulin, S. J. C. (1993). *How and why Sex Differences Evolve, with Spatial Ability as a Paradigm Example*. In M. Haug, R. E. Whalen, C. Aron, & K. L. Olsen (Eds.), *The development of sex differences and similarities in behavior* (pp. 111-130). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Geary, D. C. (2002). Sexual selection and sex differences in social cognition. In A. Mc Gillicuddy-De Lisi & R. De Lisi (Eds.), *Biology, society, and behavior*. 23-53. Westport, CT: Ablex
- Gray, J. (1992). *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus : A Practical Guide for Improving Communication and Getting what you want in your Relationships*. New York, NY :HarperCollins.
- Gross, J.J. (1999). Emotion regulation: Past, present and future. *Cognition and Emotion*. 13:551–573.
- Gu, J. (2018). *Women Lose Out to Men Even Before They Graduate From College*. Bloomberg. <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2018-women-professional-inequality-college/>
- Halpern, D. F. (2000). *Sex Differences in Cognitive Abilities*. Psychology press.
- Hancock, A.M. (2007) Intersectionality as a normative and empirical paradigm. *Polit Gend* 3(02):248–254
- Hidalgo, M. A., Ehrensaft, D., Tishelman, A. C., Clark, L. F., Garofalo, R., Rosenthal, S. M., ... & Olson, J. (2013). The Gender Affirmative Model. *Human Development*, 56(5), 285-290.
- Hines, M. (2000). *Gonadal Hormones and Sexual Differentiation of Human Behavior: Effects on Psychosexual and Cognitive Development*. In A. Matsumoto (Ed.), *Sexual differentiation of the brain* (pp. 257-278). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Holmgren, R.A., Eisenberg, N., & Fabes, R.A. (1998). The relations of children's situational empathy-related emotions to dispositional prosocial behaviour. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*. 22:169–193.
- Hyde, J. S. (1981). How large are cognitive gender differences? A meta-analysis using w2 and d. *American Psychologist*, 36, 892–901.

- Hyde, J. S. (1984). How large are gender differences in aggression? A developmental meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, 20, 722–736.
- Hyde, J. S. (1985). *Half the Human Experience: The Psychology of Women* (3rd ed.). Lexington, MA: Heath.
- Hyde, J. S. (1986). *Gender Differences in Aggression*. In J. S. Hyde & M. C. Linn (Eds.), *The psychology of gender: Advances through meta-analysis* (pp. 51–66). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hyde, J. S. (2005). The gender similarities hypothesis. *Am. Psychol.* 60, 581–592.
- Hyde, J. S., & Frost, L. A. (1993). *Meta-Analysis in the Psychology of Women*. In F. L. Denmark & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Psychology of women: A handbook of issues and theories* (pp. 67–103). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Hyde, J. S., & Linn, M. C. (1988). Gender differences in verbal ability: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 104, 53–69.
- Hyde, J. S., & Plant, E. A. (1995). Magnitude of psychological gender differences: Another side to the story. *American Psychologist*, 50, 159–161.
- Hyde, J. S., Bigler, R. S., Joel, D., Tate, C. C., & van Anders, S. M. (2019). The future of sex and gender in psychology: Five challenges to the gender binary. *American Psychologist*, 74(2), 171
- Hyde, J. S., Fennema, E., & Lamon, S. (1990). Gender differences in mathematics performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107, 139–155.
- Hyde, J. S., Fennema, E., Ryan, M., Frost, L. A., & Hopp, C. (1990). Gender comparisons of mathematics attitudes and affect: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14, 299–324.
- Hyde, J. S., Lindberg, S. M., Linn, M. C., Ellis, A. B., & Williams, C. C. (2008). Gender similarities characterize math performance. *Science*, 321(5888), 494–495.
- India Today (2017). 5 questions about the IIT gender ratio problem and measures to increase female aspirants.
- India Today Web desk, (2018) <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/featurephilia/story/iit-gender-ratio-problem-and-measures-to-increase-female-aspirants-1356401-2018-10-05>
- Jarvinen, D.W., & Nicholls, J.G. (1996). Adolescents' social goals, beliefs about the causes of social success, and satisfaction in peer relations. *Developmental Psychology*. 32:435–441.
- John, A.N., Stoebe, K., Ritter, S., Edmeades, J., & Balvin, N. (2017) Gender socialization during adolescence in low and middle-income countries: conceptualization, influences and outcomes. UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti. https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/IDP_2017_01.pdf
- Kaiser, A. P., Cai, X., & Hancock, T. B. (2002). Teacher-reported behaviour problems and language delays in boys and girls enrolled in head start. *Behavioral Disorders*, 28, 23–39.
- Kasen, S., Chen, H., Sneed, J., Crawford, T., & Cohen, P. (2006). Social role and birth cohort influences on gender-linked personality traits in women: A 20-year longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 944–958.
- Keenan, K. (2000). Emotion dysregulation as a risk factor for child psychopathology. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*. 7:418–434.

- Kirchmeyer, C. (1998). Determinants of managerial career success: Evidence and explanation of male/female differences. *Journal of Management*, 24, 673–692.
- Kohlberg, L. A. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex role concepts and attitudes. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 82-173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kovacs, D.M., Parker, J.G., & Hoffman, L.W. (1996). Behavioral, affective, and social correlates of involvement incross-sex friendship in elementary school. *Child Development*. 67:2269–2286. [PubMed:9022241]
- Ladd, G.W. (1983). Social networks of popular, average, and rejected children in school settings. *Merrill Palmer Quarterly*. 29:283–307.
- Leaper, C, Farkas, T. (2014). The socialization of gender during childhood and adolescence. In: Grusec JE, Hastings PD (eds) *Handbook of socialization. Theory and research*, 2nd edn. Guilford Publications, New York, pp 541–566.
- Leaper, C. (1994). Exploring the consequences of gender segregation on social relationships. *New Directions for Child Development*. 65:67–86.
- Lempers, J.D., & Clark-Lempers, D.S. (1993). A functional comparison of same-sex and opposite-sex friendships during adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. 8:89–108.
- Lerner, R. M., Lerner, J. V., P Bowers, E., & John Geldhof, G. (2015). *Positive Youth Development and Relational–Developmental–Systems*. In R.M. Lerner (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (7th ed.), Volume 1 (pp. 607-651). John Wiley & Sons, Inc
- Liben, L. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2002). The developmental course of gender differentiation: Conceptualizing, measuring, and evaluating constructs and pathways. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 67(2), 1–147. doi:10.1111/1540-5834.t01-1- 00187
- Lindsey, L. (2016). *Gender roles, a sociological perspective*, 6th edn. Routledge, London.
- Lummis, M., & Stevenson, H. W. (1990). Gender differences in beliefs and achievement: A cross-cultural study. *Developmental Psychology*, 26, 254 –263.
- Maccoby, E.E. (1998). *The Two Sexes: Growing up Apart, Coming Together*. Cambridge: Belknap.
- Maguire, L.K., Niens, U., McCann, M., & Connolly, P. (2016) Emotional development among early school-age children: gender differences in the role of problem behaviours, *Educational Psychology*, 36:8, 1408-1428, DOI: 10.1080/01443410.2015.1034090
- Martin, C.L., & Fabes, R.A. (2001). The stability and consequences of young children's same-sex peer interactions. *Developmental Psychology*. 37:431–446. [PubMed: 11370917]
- Martina, S. L., Moracco, K. E., & Garro, J. et al., (2002) Domestic violence across generations: findings from northern India, *International Journal of Epidemiology*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 560–572.
- Master, A., Cheryan, S., & Meltzoff, A. N. (2016). Computing whether she belongs: Stereotypes undermine girls' interest and sense of belonging in computer science. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 108(3), 424.

- Menesini, E., Eslea, M., Smith, P.K., Genta, M.L., Giannetti, E., Fonzi, A., & Costabile, A. (1997). Cross-national comparison of children's attitudes towards bully/victim problems in schools. *Aggressive Behavior*. 23:245–257
- Millett, K. (2005). *Theory of Sexual Politics*. In: Cudd AE, Andreasen RO (eds) Feminist theory: a philosophical anthology. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp 37–59. ISBN 1-4051-1661-7.
- Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Dickson, N., Silva, P., & Stanton, W. (1996). Childhood-onset versus adolescent-onset antisocial conduct problems in males: Natural history from ages 3 to 18 years. *Development and Psychopathology*, 8, 399–424.
- Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Rutter, M., & Silva, P. A. (2001). *Sex Differences in Antisocial Behaviour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moller, L.C., Hymel, S., & Rubin, K.H. (1992) Sex typing in play and popularity in middle childhood. *Sex Roles*. 26:331–353.
- Murphy, B.C., & Eisenberg, N. (2002). An integrative examination of peer conflict: Children's reported goals, emotions, and behaviors. *Social Development*. 11:534–557.
- Overton, W. F., & Lerner, R. M. (2014). Fundamental concepts and methods in developmental science: A relational perspective. *Research in Human Development*, 11(1), 63–73. doi:10.1080/15427609.2014.881086
- Parker, J.G., & Seal, J. (1996). Forming, losing, renewing, and replacing friendships: Applying temporal parameters to the assessment of children's friendship experiences. *Child Development*. 67:2248–2268.
- Ram, U., Strohschein, L., & Gaur, K. (2014) Gender Socialization: Differences between Male and Female Youth in India and Associations with Mental Health, *International Journal of Population Research*, ID 357145, 11. <https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.1155/2014/357145>
- Risman, B. (2004). Gender as a social structure: theory wrestling with activism. *Gend Soc* 18(4):429–450
- Rose, A. J. (2002). Co-rumination in the friendships of girls and boys. *Child Development*. 73:1830–1843. [PubMed: 12487497]
- Rose, A. J., & Rudolph, K. D. (2006). A review of sex differences in peer relationship processes: potential trade-offs for the emotional and behavioral development of girls and boys. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(1), 98–131. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.1.98>
- Rose, A.J., & Asher, S.R. (1999) Children's goals and strategies in response to conflicts within a friendship. *Developmental Psychology*. 35:69–79. [PubMed: 9923465]
- Rose, A.J., & Asher, S.R. (2004). Children's strategies and goals in response to help-giving and help-seeking tasks within a friendship. *Child Development*. 75:749–763. [PubMed: 15144484]
- Rudolph, K.D., & Conley, C.S. (2005) Socioemotional costs and benefits of social-evaluative concerns: Do girls care too much? *Journal of Personality*. 73:115–137. [PubMed: 15660675]
- Sharma, N. (1996). Identity of adolescent girl. New Delhi: Discovery.

- Storch, E.A., Brassard, M.R., Masia-Warner, C.L. (2003). The relationship of peer victimization to social anxiety and loneliness in adolescence. *Child Study Journal.* 33:1–18
- Storch, E.A., Zelman, E., Sweeney, M., Danner, G., & Dove, S. (2002). Overt and relational victimization and psychosocial adjustment in minority preadolescents. *Child Study Journal.*32:73–80.
- Strough, J., & Berg, C.A. (2000). Goals as a mediator of gender differences in high-affiliation dyadic conversations. *Developmental Psychology.* 36:117–125. [PubMed: 10645749]
- Tannen, D. (1991). *You Just don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation.* New York: Ballantine Books.
- Tucker, C.J., Updegraff, K.A., McHale, S.M., Crouter, A.C. (1999). Older siblings as socializers of younger siblings' empathy. *Journal of Early Adolescence.* 19:176–198.
- Uchrowski, M. (2008). Agency and communion in spontaneous self-descriptions: Occurrence and situational malleability. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 38, 1093–1102
- Van Tilburg, M.A.L., Unterberg, M.L., & Vingerhoets, A.J.J.M. (2002). Crying during adolescence: The role of gender, menarche, and empathy. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology.* 20:77–87.
- Varma,V.K. (1982). Present state of psychotherapy in India. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry,*24,209-26.
- Vidhya,U. (2011). *Issues of Gender in Psychology.* In G.Misra (Ed), *Psychology in India: Theoretical and Methodological Developments* (pp.173-225). New Delhi: Pearson.
- Wang, M., Degol, J., and Ye, F. (2015). Math achievement is important, but task values are critical, too: examining the intellectual and motivational factors leading to gender disparities in STEM careers. *Front. Psychol.* 6:36. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00036
- Wang, M.-T., and Degol, J. (2013). *Motivational Pathways to STEM Career Choices: Using Expectancy–Value Perspective to Understand Individual and Gender Differences in STEM Fields.* *Dev. Rev.* 33, 304–340. doi: 10.1016/j.dr.2013. 08.001
- Wang, M.-T., and Degol, J. L. (2017). Gender gap in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM): current knowledge, implications for practice, policy, and future directions. *Educ. Psychol. Rev.* 29, 119–140. doi: 10.1007/s10648-015-9355-x
- Watts, H., & Eccles, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Gender and occupational outcomes.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- WEF (2021). The Global Gender Gap Report. WEF. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf
- Weisgram, E. S., &Diekman, A. B. (2017). Making STEM “family friendly”: the impact of perceiving science careers as family-compatible. *Soc. Sci.* 6:61. doi: 10.3390/socsci6020061
- White, J. W., & Kowalski, R. M. (1994). Deconstructing the myth of the nonaggressive woman: A feminist analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* 18, 487–508.

Zahn-Waxler C, Park J, Usher B, Belouad F, Cole P, Gruber R. Young children's representations of conflict and distress: A longitudinal study of boys and girls with disruptive behavior problems. *Development and Psychopathology*. 2008; 20:99–119. [PubMed: 18211730]

Zarbatany, L., McDougal, P., & Hymel, S. (2000). Gender-differentiated experience in the peer culture: Links to intimacy in preadolescence. *Social Development*. 9:62–79

Zell, E., Krizan, Z., & Teeter, S. R. (2015). Evaluating gender similarities and differences using meta-synthesis. *American Psychologist*, 70(1), 10.

10.10 ADDITIONAL ONLINE RESOURCES

- On gender differences and similarities
Steven Pinker & Elizabeth Spelke debate - The Science of Gender & Science - YouTube
- Gender Similarities Hypothesis
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKz39NJYBqc>
- Disney and Gender Stereotyping
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueOqYebVhtc>
- Gender gap
WEF's gender gap index: India slips 28 places, ranks 140 among 156 countries - The Hindu
- Women in STEM
Women In STEM: A Scientist Recounts The Discrimination She Faced At Workplace | Feminism In India

UNIT 11 GENDER AND WORK LIFE*

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Theories related to Gender
 - 11.1.1 The Marxist Theory of Gender
 - 11.1.2 Queer Theory
 - 11.1.3 Gender Pluralism
 - 11.1.4 Feminism
 - 11.1.5 Ecofeminism
- 11.2 Gender Identity
- 11.3 Culture and Gender
- 11.4 Some Significantly Related Concepts
- 11.5 Workplace and Gender Issues
 - 11.5.1 Government sector
 - 11.5.2 Corporate sector
 - 11.5.3 Military
 - 11.5.4 Politics
- 11.6 Summary
- 11.7 Keywords
- 11.8 Review questions
- 11.9 References and Further Reading
- 11.10 Additional Online Resources

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After having read this Unit, you will be able to:

- Differentiate between gender equality and gender equity;
- Explain important concepts related to gender inequality;
- Summarize theoretical perspectives related to gender at the workplace, like, Marxist theory, Queer theory, Gender Pluralism, Feminism and Ecofeminism;
- Identify gender issues at the workplace; and
- Discuss relationship between culture and gender.

11.0 INTRODUCTION

“Gender is now one of the busiest and most restless terms in the English language, a word that crops up everywhere, yet whose uses seem to be forever changing, always on the move, producing new and often surprising inflections of meaning. We talk about gender roles, worry about gender gap, question whether our ideas are not gender-biased or gender-specific, and we might look for additional information on these and related topics in the rapidly expanding gender studies section of our local bookstore. This rich linguistic profusion is confusing enough, but all too frequently it is made worse by the discovery that many of these neologisms appear to be pointing in sharply opposed direction”(Grover & Kaplan, 2013).

* Ishita Chatterjee, Department of Applied Psychology, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

Gender is often defined in versatile perspectives, in contrast to the term ‘sex’. Though sex and gender are interconnected, both convey two different meanings. Even though some form of our gender differentiations between men and women have existed and continue to exist in every human society. But such gender differences are so embedded in the social structure, it is very difficult to see and question their naturalness and inevitability of existence. Thus, Woodward has raised the right question – What is meant by the term gender and how is it used?

Gender is used to describe those characteristics of women and men, which are socially constructed, while sex refers to those which are biologically determined. People are born female or male but learn to be girls or boys who grow into women or men. This learned behaviour makes up gender identity and determines gender roles.

Sex was classically thought to be binary with male and female differences. But gender refers to the social and cultural differences with reference to biological ones. Gender refers to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed. They might refer to norms, behaviours and roles that are related to being a woman, girl, boy and man. Thus, gender is not about two sexes, that is male and female, but more on how they should behave and the role either sex should be performing socially. Society prescribes to women and men different roles in different social contexts. There are also differences in the opportunities and resources available to women and men, and in their ability to make decisions and exercise, moreover; gender roles and unequal gender relations interact with other social and economic variables resulting in different and sometimes inequitable patterns of exposure.

The sex-gender debate is ever continuing; the differences between these two terms can clear the cloud a bit. Gender is socio-cultural while sex is biological. Sex is determined much before the child’s birth. Gender is dynamic as it is based on the environment, society and culture of an individual. Sex determines the ‘maleness’ and ‘femaleness’ based on the physical determinants of an individual. Whereas, gender determines ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ on the basis of cultural differences and is not universal in nature. To sum up, sex is a biological phenomenon whereas, gender is a socio-cultural construct. Sex is universal, gender is dynamic and changes with the cultural and societal backdrop.

Gender analysis identifies, analyses and informs action to address inequalities that arise from the different roles of women and men, or the unequal power relationships between them, and the consequences of these inequalities on their lives. The way power is distributed, in most societies, disadvantages women as they are provided less access to and control over resources to protect themselves and are less likely to be involved in decision making.

11.1 THEORIES RELATED TO GENDER

In the field of gender studies, a rethinking and reinterpretation has emerged as the need of the hour. The theoretical developments that have occurred in the field of gender are working towards what should and could be. “Gender theory is a more comprehensive feminism; one that includes man, woman and child. Gender theory investigates the social organization of sexual differences, constructed and inherent. Bringing to bear the male condition thus leads to the linkage of gender and feminism” (Channa; 2006). Gender is usually structured on the concept of sex, a biological division extending towards social construction, shaping, informing and limiting ways of being, both feminine and masculine.

11.1.1 The Marxist Theory of Gender

This concept has different allies, but it focuses on the fundamental hypothesis that is very clear and coherent: gender is not an isolated piece of reality. According to this theory, the ideas of masculinity and femininity are neither normative nor do they exist as categorical imperatives. The roles of male and female cannot be considered as functional. They exist as aspects of a social and economic system. In the opinion of Marxists, human beings make their own lives and they do this through two material processes which are always interlinked. These are production and reproduction. Production consists of all those activities done by members of a society for meeting their basic physiological needs. On the other hand, reproduction comprises a specific activity which brings the next generation and raises them to face the society. Both production and reproduction are interwoven. Marxists believe that every society organizes production in particular ways. The mode of production is always dynamic, not static. Channels of reproduction are both cultural and biological. Women give birth to offspring who shift and capture their predetermined roles in the production system.

Marxists argued that this cycle of production and reproduction brings about change and generates new norms. This happens when the relationship of production reaches a point of depletion. Therefore, actions of both men and women make reality and that reality compels them to act in certain ways.

11.1.2 Queer Theory

Queer theory is a way of thinking that questions traditional thoughts about gender and sexual identities. The field evolved from sexuality studies and women's studies. Queer theorists analyse gender and sexuality as a socio-cultural construct concept. The goal of queer theory is to challenge traditional thoughts and approaches and fight against social inequality. Traditionally, the term queer has been used as a controversial term against members of the LGBT community. However, from 1960s onwards, in the wake of the LGBT rights movement, people in the community sought to reclaim the word queer as an umbrella term for all non-heterosexual, non-cisgender identities.

This theory is one of the most significant among all the theories of gender. It was popularized by a section of social thinkers those who associated the study of the intersections between lesbians and gay in the areas of cultural studies and literature. Queer theorists claimed sexuality as a degressive social construction, fluid, plural, and continually negotiated rather than a natural, fixed, core identity. “Much of the most exciting work in this new moment of Queer studies refuses to see sexuality as a singular mode of inquiry and instead makes it a central category of analysis in the study of racialism, transnationalism and globalization” (Habib; 1997). R. Dunphy (2000) has mentioned, “It also invites us to investigate the possibilities of a plurality of masculinities and femininities, of a range of ways of living our lives. In so far as this tends towards an implosion of gender as a useful category of analysis, disentangling sex, gender and desire, queer theory also encourages us to focus on the utopia of a gender free world”.

These theories explore the possibilities of masculinities and femininities, and also of gender and sexual diversity. Queer studies play a vital role in understanding gender as well as sexual pluralism in our society. Therefore, queer theory is most important for better understanding of gender issues.

11.1.3 Gender Pluralism and Gender Pluralist Theory

Pluralism is an interpretation of social diversity. It can be rendered as a cultural, political, or philosophical stance. In any of these versions, pluralism offers an account of social interaction understood as an interplay of conflicting and competing positions that cannot be seamlessly reduced to one another, ranked in one single order permanently, or reduced to a single institutional arrangement (Yumatle; 2015).

Gender pluralism is a recent sociological theory that seeks to identify and understand all gender identities or expressions in addition to the binary male and female. Emerging in 2005, this theory aids in identifying different gender and sex identities. Information gathered by use of this theory helps society address the needs of marginalized gender identities.

“Expanding the gender binary categories involves theorizing femininities and masculinities as diverse, including people who have bodies or social roles that are different to those traditionally associated with women and men. The expansion of binary categories is conceptually concerned with masculinity studies. Therefore, the understanding of masculinities as plural is most useful and helpful to theorize gender and sexual diversity. There are limitations to the expanded gender binary model which can be illustrated by looking at the nation of female masculinities” (Allen B.; 1996).

11.1.4 Feminism

Oxford English Dictionary defines feminism as a state of being feminine or womanly. The Webster’s Dictionary defines feminism as the principle that women should have political rights equal to those of men and the movement to win such rights for women. Toril Moi says, the word ‘feminism’ or ‘feminist’ are political labels indicating support for the aim of the new women’s movement which emerged in the late 1960s (Moi; 1986).

Feminism is the belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes. Although largely originating in the West, feminism is manifested worldwide and is represented by various institutions committed to activity on behalf of women’s rights and interests. Throughout most of Western history, women were confined to the domestic sphere, while public life was reserved for men. In medieval Europe, women were denied the right to own property, to study, or to participate in public life. At the end of the 19th century in France, they were still compelled to cover their heads in public, and, in parts of Germany, a husband still had the right to sell his wife. Even as late as the early 20th century, women could neither vote nor hold elective office in Europe and in most of the United States (where several territories and states granted women’s right to vote long before the federal government did so). Women were prevented from conducting business without a male representative, be it father, brother, husband, legal agent, or even son. Married women could not exercise control over their own children without the permission of their husbands. Moreover, women had little or no access to education and were barred from most professions. In some parts of the world, such restrictions on women continue today (Brunell, 2021).

A feminist is one who recognizes the existence of sexism, male dominance and patriarchy, and takes active actions against it. Therefore, the feminist theories portray a new kind of knowledge which is constructed by rendering visible the past invisible factors of gender produced by the humanities and social sciences. This particular concept tries to analyze and display the material conditions through

which gender has been constructed within a specific body of literature. It is a movement that raises its voice against the misuse of power and claims equality and justice and its goal is to change the thoughts we have about men and women. Feminism has also stepped towards improving the condition of women. Thus, it can be considered as a political, socio-economic movement which is based on two objectives; firstly, women are disadvantaged in the society and secondly, this disadvantage should be rooted out from our society.

11.1.5 Ecofeminism

The term 'Ecofeminism' was coined by a famous French feminist, Françoise d'Eaubonne (1920-2005) in 1970 in Paris. Ecofeminism is a philosophy and movement as a result of the union of feminism and ecological thinking. It believes that the trend of the domination and oppression of women is directly connected to the trend of abuse of the natural environment. In gender discourse, a discussion regarding ecofeminism today is of utmost relevance. It brings together eco-anarchism and bio-regional democracy with a strong ideal of feminism (Saikia, 2017).

This particular concept focuses on the connection between women and nature which has been described in the history of oppression by a male dominated society. Feminist environmentalists study women's and men's differed interests in natural resources and processes caused by their gender roles. It is a socio-political movement which acknowledges the connection between women and nature or the environment as a whole. Ecofeminism uses the basic feminist tenets of equality between genders, a revaluing of non-patriarchal or nonlinear structures, and a view of the world that respects organic processes, holistic connections, and the merits of intuition and collaboration. To these notions ecofeminism adds both a commitment to the environment and an awareness of the associations made between women and nature (Miles, 2013).

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Define pluralism. What is the basic premise of gender pluralist theory?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Differentiate between feminism and ecofeminism theories.

.....

.....

.....

11.2 GENDER IDENTITY

Gender identity is defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). This concept is intimately related to the concept of gender role, which is defined as the outward manifestations of personality that reflect gender identity (Ghosh, 2020). Gender identity refers to an individual's sense of having a particular gender. It has a profound relationship with a person's determined sex or can differ from it. Gender expression significantly reveals a person's gender identity, but may deviate from it.

Gender identity is self-determined, as a result of a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic or environmental factors; gender role, on the other hand, is inculcated from within the society by observable factors such as behaviour and appearance. For example, if a person considers himself a male and is comfortable referring to his personal gender in masculine terms, then his gender identity is male. However, his gender role is male only if he demonstrates typically male characteristics in behaviour, dress, and/or mannerisms.

External or extrinsic appearance of one's gender identity, usually expressed through behaviour, clothing, haircut or voice, or other external characteristics which may or may not conform to socially defined behaviours and characteristics typically associated with being either masculine or feminine. A related term to the concept of gender identity is 'transgender', an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or expression is different from socio-cultural norms based on the sex they were assigned at birth. Being transgender does not imply any specific sexual orientation. Therefore, transgender people may identify as straight, gay, lesbian, bisexual, etc.

As a whole it can be said that, a person's gender identity is not always the same as their biological sex, nor their assumed gender based on their assigned sex. It depends on how they identify as a person, and this can change over time. People can identify as more masculine, more feminine, a combination of both, or neither. How a person expresses or describes their gender is personal to them (Kuehnle, 2020).

11.3 CULTURE AND GENDER

"Culture is communication, and communication is culture" (Hall, 1984). Culture refers to the ideas, norms and social behaviours of a definite society. It is an umbrella term which includes social norms, existing in human societies, knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, customs and habits of individuals in this group – to sum up as a whole, it can be said that, it includes the entire life of an individual.

Culture influences thinking, language and human cognitive behaviour. Cultural dimensions reflect differences in gender roles and also acknowledges ethics of sexual differences. Cultural determinism influences attitudes, thoughts and perceptions of individuals. Cultural dominance differs with ethnicity, religion, social class, age and all other social constructs.

Cultural determinism is a reality developed by many theories explaining default assimilation of socio-cultural values of individuals and their behaviours. The levels of culture are multiple and each level has influence to some extent. In general, what comes from the national culture is considered to have the strongest influence, but there are cultural dominants with origin in ethnicity, religion, social class, age, gender, education, training etc.(Neculăesei, 2015).

The World Health Organization (WHO) notes that gender is a social construction that people typically describe in terms of femininity and masculinity. In Western cultures, people associate femininity with women and masculinity with men, but this social thought varies across cultures. Western studies distinguish between gender and sex. The terms are not similar to each other, they show anatomical and cultural differences: sex is a biological concept, gender is a social construct. Gender is influenced by genetics and biology. Gender is produced and reproduced by society. Sex is rather permanent but gender varies over time and across culture. Sex is an individual ownership; gender is a social and relational quality (Neculăesei, 2015).

Cultures differ in nature and intensity of differentiation between the sexes, gender, gender roles, gender-role ideologies and gender stereotypes. Differences in sex roles is predominant throughout the world; Georgas et al. (2006) study on 27 countries found that women did most of housework. Fathers are mainly concerned with finances, expressive issues, childcare in all countries. Mothers are concerned with childcare only in lower socio-economic countries.

Williams and Best (1982) studied 30 countries and found high pan-cultural agreement on the adjectives used to describe males and females. In all countries, adjectives associated with men were rated as being stronger and more active. Participants from Japan and South African rated male characteristics as more favourable; Italy and Peru rated female characteristics more favourable. Follow up studies by Williams and colleagues show gender stereotypes around the world to be stable. Men are viewed as active, strong, critical, conscientious, extraverted, and open. Women are viewed as passive, weak, nurturing, adaptive, agreeable, and neurotic (Williams & Best, 1982).

Gibbons and colleagues (1990) studied adolescents and found that adolescents from wealthier and more individualistic countries were less traditional. Gender ideologies may be evolving as societies change.

Later studies, however, found considerable gender-related cultural differences. These findings suggest that gender stereotype differentiation tended to be higher in countries that were orthodox and hierarchical with low levels of socioeconomic development.

Organizations create gender meanings, pass through organizational cultures and practices. Social prescriptions embedded in personal identity, make individuals become of a certain type (Anghel, 2010; Onea, 2014). Culture can often be restricted to certain social groups with woman and girls in particular, facing complicated obstacles to participate in the cultural life of their communities. Unequal opportunities for woman to display their creativity and ability at large creates within a cold glass ceiling for woman to reach management and leadership positions or to participate in decision making processes. Persistence of dominant views on gender and negative stereotypes delimit freedom of expression and hinders accessibility to technical entrepreneurial training, as well as, financial resources.

UNESCO works closely with government, civil societies and communities to ensure that women's and men's roles in cultural life are equally encouraged, valued and visible. The equal participation, access and contribution to cultural life of women and men are human rights as well as cultural rights, and an important dimension for guaranteeing freedom of expression for all. A growing body of evidence from UNESCO programmes points to how gender relations come into play in the transmission of knowledge on heritage and the fostering of creativity. Indeed, ensuring that the spiritual, intellectual and creative expressions and interests of all members of the community are reflected has proven to be an important enabler of inclusive development and socio-economic empowerment. Yet, access to culture can often be restricted to certain social groups, with women and girls in particular facing complex barriers to participate in the cultural life of their communities.

11.4 SOME SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED CONCEPTS

Gender is a range of characteristics used to distinguish between males and females, particularly in the cases of men and women and the masculine and

feminine attributes assigned to them. Depending on the context, the discriminating characteristics vary from sex to social role to gender identity (Mehrotra, 2013).

Typical gender roles sources from the learnings an individual receives from childhood. The present-day psychology believes that by the age of three, children are aware of their gender. Both the genders are encouraged to prefer the games, clothing, hobbies, and partial way of speech, and other sides of culture attached with their sex. The bondage of the traditional family thus has been to mould the girls to be tender and submissive while boys are shaped as dominating and decision-makers. Thus, it is the societal norms which sow the seed of specific future roles and ensures that both the boys and girls will play their stereotyped gender roles in future.

Social identity refers to the generic identification with a collective or social category which creates a common culture among the participants concerned. Separating males and females into social roles generates a binary in which individuals feel they have to be at one end of a linear continuum and must acknowledge themselves as man or woman. Universally, communities interpret the physical differences between men and women to create a set of social norms that limits the behaviours that are 'perfect' for both and determines women's and men's different access to rights, resources, power in society and even health behaviours. The 'set' activities assigned to girls and boys do not end with the selection of toys for each. They even influence the selection of subjects in school and college. Later on, the value attached to the work of males and females also differs (Mehrotra, 2013).

Gender equality is the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in opportunities, in the allocation of resources and benefits or access of services.

Gender equity refers to fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men. The concept recognizes that women and men have different needs and power and that these differences should be identified and addressed in a manner that rectifies the imbalance between the sexes. When these conditions are not met, it results in gender inequality.

Women remained subordinated and marginalized in decision-making processes, had lesser access to the resources and limited participation in social engagements in many societies over the years. Their secondary status has been further reinforced by certain governmental policies which fail to acknowledge women's rights and access to services and opportunities as compared to men (UNIFEM, 2005). This gender inequality is deemed as one of the leading factors of violence against women (UNFPA-AFPPD, 2003). Most women work much more than their male counterparts, yet their efforts remain unrecognized. The household chores and childcare are not considered as 'work'.

Gender inequality exists in almost all the aspects of our daily life:

Mortality inequality: Women mortality rates are comparatively higher than men all over the world.

Natality inequality: Many male dominated societies destroy female foetuses while identified.

Basic facility inequality: Females are denied the basic livelihood facilities throughout the world, like education.

Professional inequality: In workplaces, women are often deprived of promotion and other advantages.

Household inequality: There are basic inequalities in gender that are reflected in sharing of housework and child care.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Explain the relationship between culture and gender.

.....

.....

.....

- 2) State the difference between gender equality and equity.

.....

.....

.....

11.5 WORKPLACE AND GENDER ISSUES

“Men are dominant, women are subservient;” “Men are aggressive, women are passive;” “Men are agentic, women are communal;” “Men are power-centric, women are person-centric;” “Men are single-focused, women are multi-focused;” “Men are bread-winners, women are home-makers.” The list of differences identified by researchers is seamless. Questions gain higher significance when we attempt to understand and analyze them in the context of organizations. The battle often in organizations is not on what are the differences or similarities between men and women but on how to retain women employees despite differences/no differences.

Gender inequality in organizations is a complex phenomenon that can be seen in organizational structures, processes, and practices. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2020, it will take another 100 years to achieve gender equality based on the current rate of progress. This prediction has been widely used as a shock therapy to push governments, NGOs, associations, investors and companies into action. For women, some of the most harmful gender inequalities are enacted within human resources (HR) practices. This is because HR practices (i.e., policies, decision-making, and their enactment) affect the hiring, training, pay, and promotion of women (Stamarski & Hing, 2015).

Violence against women (VAW) is defined as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” Thus, VAW refers to violent acts that are “primarily or exclusively committed against women” (United Nations 1993).

The workplace has sometimes been referred to as an inhospitable place for women due to the multiple forms of gender inequalities present (Abrams, 1991). Some examples of how workplace discrimination negatively affects women’s earnings and opportunities are the gender wage gap (Peterson and Morgan, 1995), the dearth of women in leadership (Eagly and Carli, 2007), and the longer time required for women (vs. men) to advance in their careers (Blau and DeVaro, 2007). Both the objective disadvantages of lower pay, status, and opportunities at work, and the subjective experiences of being stigmatized, affect women’s psychological

and physical stress, mental and physical health (Goldenhar et al., 1998; Adler et al., 2000; Schmader et al., 2008; Borrel et al., 2010), job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Hicks-Clarke and Iles, 2000), and ultimately, their performance (Cohen-Charash and Spector, 2001).

‘Right to life means life with dignity’ – this must be the primary concern for all the working environments. To ensure such safety and dignity in the working conditions – both private and public workplaces should take legal and supportive measures. Female employees not only go through the afore said issues but also faces other problems like misunderstanding, sexual harassment, inappropriate promise of rewards, bullying and actual sexual abuse and sexual assault. To mainstream gender into its activities, the organization concerned must review its mode of operation to acknowledge that its services to citizens, customers and users are provided on the same terms, i.e., that they should satisfy the demands and criteria of women and men, both. It is not just about dutifully formulating statements of objectives, but about analysing very specifically how the needs and conditions of women and men are affected by the organization’s daily responses and behaviours. All public operations that directly address citizens need to be analysed from a gender equality perspective and this job must be done in a systematic manner. Otherwise, we may well fail to see that women and men are being treated differently, on the basis of different criteria.

Differentiation leads to inequality provided by stereotypes. Gender stereotypes devalue a woman who is claimed as inferior to a man. They associate her with passivity, renunciation, structural weakness/fragility or lack of virtues, as opposed to masculine traits seen as positive ones (Melchiorre, 2004). While the man says and does “meaningful” things, the woman is “fluid, ambiguous and open” (Pârvu, 2005) The reflection of these thoughts and discriminating behaviours are very prominent in the traditional work areas, both government and private sector organizations have treated employees of these two genders separately.

Sexual harassment at the workplace or workplace harassment is being practiced as masculine social norm in every sector where women work. Due to this practice among the masses, most of the incidents of violence against women remain underreported (Andersson et al, 2010) especially workplace harassment incidents. According to Sigal (2006) sexual harassment at workplace is “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual’s employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual’s work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.” Let us now explore gender issues in various workplace sectors.

11.5.1 Government

Equal representation of women in the Government sector represents a vital indicator of progress towards the construction of a more diverse and inclusive workforce. The public sector is expected to lead the way and set standards in implementing gender equality and promoting diversity in the public sector. In turn, encouraging a greater diversity of staff in public employment can contribute to organizational productivity and regulate policies and services that better reflect citizens’ demands. In OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries on average, women are over-represented in the Government sector workforce (59.6%), though there are broad variations. In 2017, only one-quarter of positions in the Turkish public sector were filled by

women, whereas the corresponding figure for the Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark) was between 69% and 71.3%. Some countries, such as Mexico (51.5%) and Greece (48%) approached parity between the sexes in the public sector workforce. The trend across OECD countries points to an increasing rate of participation of women in the public sector workforce from 2011 to 2017. Japan, for example, increased the share of women working in the public sector by almost three percent between 2011 and 2017. The share of women working in public sector workforces (60.1%) has usually been higher than in total employment in OECD countries (45.9%). One reason for explaining the relatively higher women participation in the public sector workforce is that some key public sector occupations, such as teachers and nurses, are traditionally considered “women’s jobs”. Discouraging such gender stereotyping and ensuring that women have access to varied public sector occupations is a key goal across OECD countries. Ensuring that women can access and compete on an equal footing for leadership and decision-making positions (traditionally dominated by men), is part of the move toward more diverse, inclusive – and effective – public sector workforces, (Government at a glance; 2019).

11.5.2 Corporate

Women, who constitute half of humanity, since the beginning of the era of patriarchy have faced discrimination, in social as well as economic and political aspects, and since then appeared barriers to their career development. This problem is present even today, in almost all countries of the world. This kind of inequality comes as a result of various factors: religious, social and cultural. In subsequent periods, especially during the last decade, women’s participation in everyday life has begun to improve in all sectors of life, however it is still far from the desirable one. The private sector organizations are also practicing this behaviour for a long time throughout the world.

The gender inequality in the allocation of senior positions has also a theoretical explanation. According to the social dominance theory, there are institutional-level contributors that help in gender inequality. These contributors influence to further strengthen and maintain the existing inequality of groups. However, the theory explains that these contributors are so deeply rooted in the structures of society that they are no longer seen by society. In sectors and institutions that are dominated by men, the latter compile vacancy announcements in order to attract the attention of the men only – that eventually helps to preserve gender inequality, keeping women outside areas which are led by men (the dominant group) (Gaucher, Friesen, and Kay, 2011, pg. 111).

Throughout their lives, men and women are pressured to behave as required by the gender differences of social nature. Therefore, men are encouraged to be more active, decision-makers, leaders, whereas girls are asked to be more submissive, laconic and to serve others. These stereotyped thoughts are cultured in the organizations. Though in the past few decades, some improvements are occurring in terms of women safety, legalization of matters and better HR policies to take care of women employee rights and their concerns.

11.5.3 Military

Times have evolved and today the English language has a dictionary term recorded, ‘service women’, which signifies the women who serve in the three basic services of any NATO military: the Land Forces, the Air Force and the Navy. Women are playing an increasingly diversified role in UN peace support

operations than they did in the past. This role covers the police, military and civilian levels.

Another arena which has been devoid of the presence of women for decades is the military and paramilitary forces. The consideration of gender equality in this particular field required a lot of challenges. In the present conditions women are being actively employed in diversified roles in the armed forces throughout the world which has resulted into a better relationship with the civilians. Though the recruitment and participation of women in military services varies from one country to the other, access to diversified positions has started almost contemporarily.

The importance of a gender perspective in peace operations and military affairs has long been established by feminist activists and researchers, and recognized in a number of UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) on women, peace, and security. Indeed, UNSCR 1325, as well as the subsequent resolutions within the area of women, peace, and security (most notably 1820, 1888, 1889, and 1960), has created an international framework for the implementation of a gender perspective in the pursuit of international security and the conduct of peace operations. Whether military organizations are seen as hurdles or supporters in the pursuit of peace and security, they are impossible to overlook as key components in any strategy to promote women's rights or a gender perspective in security affairs (Egnell, 2016).

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council acknowledged the particular effect conflict had on women and also the need to involve them as active participants in conflict prevention and resolution. From that moment on, women have officially been acknowledged as active agents in peace and security processes. Therefore, on October 31st, 2000, the Security Council passed Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (SCR 1325), which emphasizes the need to:

- Incorporate gender sensitivity and include women in approaches on security and peace-building especially those affected by the conflict;
- Sensitize peacekeepers, the police and judiciary on gender issues in conflict and adopt measures to ensure the protection and adherence to the human rights of women and girls;
- Ensure that the special needs of women and girls in conflicts are attended to;
- Support an increased role for women as military observers, civilian police, humanitarian and human rights observers;
- Have women represented from communities who have experienced armed conflict to have their voices heard in conflict resolution processes and be a part of all decision-making levels as an equal partner for conflict resolution, prevention and sustainable peace (Kraft & Negrila, 2018).

India has been ranked the fourth most powerful military power in the world after China, United States, and Russia (The Ultimate Military Strength Index, 2021) and no doubt has an unstoppable and highly capable military power. But gender equality has always been a challenge in the armed forces. The Supreme Court of India has recently given the verdict that women could serve as army commanders, brushing aside the government's stance that male soldiers were not ready to accept orders from female officers as "disturbing". In a country like India, which aspires to be an emerging superpower in the future, discrimination on the basis of gender in the armed forces would certainly be a drawback for

the country. Women should be considered equal to men in almost every aspect. Institutional and administrative policies such as transfers and maternity leave must be protected and given attention from time to time. There has to be a restructuring of India's attitude towards women, which would help in the overall economic growth, women empowerment and also showcase India in a positive light in the global arena (Amaresh, 2020)

Feminist viewpoints and traditional military ethics and norms are indeed often seen as confronting one another in a zero-sum game. Within this game, implementing a gender perspective or including women in combat units simultaneously means lowering military effectiveness and fighting power (Egnell, 2016). At the same time, efforts to increase military effectiveness are generally viewed as a step back for women's rights by supporting the existing patriarchal system in which the logic of war and violence prevails. This zero-sum view is both inaccurate and unhelpful for everyone seeking to improve international security and stability. The two viewpoints have much to learn from each other, and there are plenty of synergies to be explored (Egnell, 2016).

11.5.4 Politics

Over the last two decades specially in the last ten years, research into sex, gender and politics has been established. Women are increasingly visible in politics at both senior and junior level. Research on gender and politics has evolved significantly over the years. In the first stage, the approach to gender and politics was critical of the biases of mainstream political science and women were virtually excluded from the category of political actor. In the second stage, studies sought to add women and fast-track the systematic analysis of under-representation of women in politics. In the third and current stage, feminist political scientists raise more fundamental questions about the approaches, methods and conceptualization of politics, gender and nature of political institutions. Contemporary research on gender and politics is extensive, diverse and rich.

The literature on politics and addressing gender inequality in political acts is diverse. It includes voting, campaigning and rigging as well as gender differences as political knowledge, socialization and attitudes and women's place in political theory.

The term 'political participation' has a diverse meaning. It not only refers to voting rights, but also relates to decision-making, political activism, political consciousness etc. Indian women participate in voting, are employed in public sector offices and are also part of political parties at a lower rate than men. Political activism and voting are the strongest areas of women's political participation. To reduce gender inequality in politics, the Indian Government has constructed reservations for seats in local governments.

Knowledge of women in politics is still expanding, indeed literature on women in politics is exploding. Although women have the legal right to vote and contest elections in almost every country of the world, cultural barriers to women's use of their political rights, including family resistance and illiteracy, remain (Pintor & Gratschew, 2002; Moghadam, 2003). Gender issues based on social and gender equity are interdisciplinary and cross-national in nature. India is the world's largest democratic country, where participation in politics of both the genders is a positive effort. In India, the political system of women is being able to make their decisions at the social level. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) report 2020, the number of women in the total parliamentary seats globally is only 24.5 percent, which is very low according to the female

population. And women hold only 10.5 percent of the total parliamentary (both houses) seats in India (Election Commission of India, 2021). A present study shows women turnout during India's parliamentary general elections was 65.63 percent, compared to 67.09 percent turnout for men. India ranks 146th in terms of representation of women in Parliament. Indian voters have elected women to numerous state legislative assemblies and national parliament for many decades. The levels and structures of women's participation in politics is largely shaped by the socio-cultural barriers in the facet of violence, discrimination and illiteracy.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Identify gender issues in military and paramilitary forces.

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Compare the status of women representation in government sector in developed and developing countries.

.....

.....

.....

- 3) List some of the HR policies in organisations that can empower women at the workplace.

.....

.....

.....

11.6 SUMMARY

To sum up what we have learnt in this unit, here is a quick recap:

- Gender is often defined in versatile perspectives, in contrast to the term 'sex'. Though sex and gender are interconnected, both convey two different meanings. Even though some form of our gender differentiations between men and women have existed and continue to exist in every human society.
- Gender identity refers to an individual's sense of having a particular gender. It has a profound relationship with a person's determined sex or can differ from it. Gender expression significantly reveals a person's gender identity, but may deviate from it.
- Culture influences thinking, language and human cognitive behaviour. Cultural dimensions reflect differences in gender roles and also acknowledges ethics of sexual differences. Cultural determinism influences attitudes, thoughts and perceptions of individuals.
- Gender inequality in organizations is a complex phenomenon that can be seen in organizational structures, processes, and practices.
- Women do face a number of issues like violence, discrimination, hassles and hazards in workplaces regularly irrespective of Government and private

sectors. Military and armed forces have also kept their doors closed for a long period to women. The current changing scenario is somewhat, women are been accommodated in several posts of armed forces. And lastly, politics is another field where women have always been a part of, though in the modern era, they have gained equal rights to their male counterparts.

11.7 KEYWORDS

Gender Described as those characteristics of women and men, which are socially constructed.

Sex Refers to those which are physically or biologically determined.

Gender Identity Defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). This concept is intimately related to the concept of gender role, which is defined as the outward manifestations of personality that reflect gender identity.

Gender Equality It is the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in opportunities, in the allocation of resources and benefits or access of services.

Gender Equity Refers to fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men.

Culture and Gender Culture influences thinking, language and human behaviour. Cultural dimensions reflect differences in gender roles and also highlights, ethics of sexual differences. The socio – cultural aspects are one of the vital factors which determines an individual's gender identity and concepts about it.

Military and Gender This particular field (armed forces) was devoid of females for a long period throughout the world. In this modern era the armed forces are opening job opportunities for women in different ranks, even the highest ones.

Politics and Gender The literature on politics and gender addressing gender inequality in political acts as diverse as voting, campaigning and rigging as well as gender differences as political knowledge, socialization and attitudes and women's place in political theory.

Workplace and Gender The gender inequality and gender discrimination are practiced in the workplaces both private and Government for a century. Female employees are sexually harassed, underestimated and even are kept devoid of their basic rights. The new age HR policies are involving women safety measures and also advancements in both the sectors regarding this issue, have been made.

11.8 REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Define gender. Differentiate between sex and gender.
- 2) Discuss any two theories related to gender.
- 3) Discuss the role of culture in development of gender identity.
- 4) Discuss with illustration, gender discrimination in workplace.
- 5) Write short note on “Research in gender and politics”.
- 6) What are the barriers for women representation in politics?
- 7) State the exact percentage of women's representation in the Indian Parliament.
- 8) Briefly write on gender representation in military services.
- 9) What are the hindrances for woman's career advancement in armed forces?

- 10) Write short notes on the following: Gender equality, Gender and culture, Gender identity, Queer theory, Harassment in Workplace.

11.9 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

Benton, H. (1963). *Encyclopedia Britannica (Vol. 15)*. W. Benton (Ed.). University of Chicago Press.

Egnell, R. (2016). Gender perspectives and military effectiveness: Implementing UNSCR 1325 and the national action plan on women, peace, and security. *Prism*, 6(1), 72-89.

Kosumi, A. (2017). Discrimination of women in the private sector. *ILIRIA International Review*, 7(1), 108-118.

Kumar, D. (2020). Gender issues in Indian Politics *ISOR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol 22, Issue 12, po 77-88

Mahmood, Q. K., & Ahmad, I. (2011). Perception of sexual harassment at workplace, knowledge and attitude of working women towards Workplace Harassment Act 2010. *Social Sciences Review of Pakistan*, 22.

Mahrotra, M. (2013). *Gender Inequality in India*. Prabhat Prakashan.

Neculaesei, A. N. (2015). Culture and gender role differences. *Cross-Cultural Management Journal*, 17(01), 31-35.

Pavlic, B., Ruprecht, L., & Sam-Vargas, S. (2000). Gender Equality and Equity: A Summary Review of UNESCO's Accomplishments since the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995).

Riccucci, N. M. (2021). *Managing Diversity in Public Sector Workforces*. Routledge, USA

Saikia, J. P. (2017). *Gender: Themes and Issues*. Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Limited.

Stamarski, C. S., & Son Hing, L. S. (2015). Gender inequalities in the workplace: the effects of organizational structures, processes, practices, and decision makers' sexism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 1400.

Woodford-Berger, P. (2007). 10| Gender mainstreaming: what is it (about). *Feminisms in Development: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges*, 122.

Yumate, C. (2015). Pluralism. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, First Edition. Edited by Michael T. Gibbons, Published.

<https://www.hrc.org/resources/sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-terminology-and-definitions>

<https://emedicine.medscape.com/article/917990-overview>

<https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/67649>

<https://guides.libraries.indiana.edu/c.php?g=995240&p=8361766>

<https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/types-of-gender-identity>

<https://diplomatist.com/2020/05/11/regendering-equality-women-in-the-indian-armed-forces/>

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324438137_GENDER_POLICIES_IN_THE_21ST_CENTURY_ARMED_FORCES

11.10 ADDITIONAL ONLINE RESOURCES

- <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/diversity-and-inclusion/women-in-the-workplace>
- <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/gender-equality>
- <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>
- <https://theconversation.com/achieving-gender-equality-in-india-what-works-and-what-doesnt-67189>
- <https://genderatwork.org/>

Men's Community for the 21st Century - ManKind Project



UNIT 12 LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER: PSYCHOSOCIAL AND LEGAL STATUS*

Structure

- 12.0. Introduction
- 12.1 The Construct of Sex, Gender and Sexual Orientation
- 12.2 LGBT Community: Psychosocial Status
 - 12.2.1 Evolution of Gender Diagnosis in DSM and ICD
 - 12.2.2 Psychosocial Issues
 - 12.2.2.1 Prevalence of Mental Health Conditions
 - 12.2.2.2 Role of Stigma
- 12.3 LGBT Community: Legal Status and its Impact
 - 12.3.1 Legal Recognition of Gender and Sexual Identity
- 12.4 Summary
- 12.5 Key words
- 12.6 Review Questions
- 12.7 References and Further Reading
- 12.8 Additional Online Resources

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After having read this Unit, you will be able to:

- Gain insight into the constructs of sex, gender and sexual orientation;
- Elucidate the important typology within sex, gender and sexual orientation;
- Identify the psychosocial concerns of people from the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community (LGBT); and
- Trace the legal status of LGBT individuals from the colonial times to the present.

12.0 INTRODUCTION

The terms lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender represent the spectrum of multiple identities in the context of gender and sexuality. In the previous units, you have come across terms like gender, gender role, gender identity, gender stereotypes, gender prejudices, sexism and many such terms. Individuals who identify themselves as homosexual (gay, lesbians), bisexual or transgender are also known as 'Queer' and it also includes people who do not identify with this nomenclature like Intersex, Asexual and others as well. There is a historical and political connotation attached to this term 'queer' and perhaps, that is the rationale for the way it is mentioned as 'LGBTQIA+' (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning, intersex, asexual, and the '+' sign denotes that the constructs are continuously evolving). The word 'queer' was initially used as a slur or a slang for individuals who are odd and did not appear or behave 'normal'. In this context, 'normal' of course, refers to 'heteronormativity', the assumption that sexual and

* Sunayana Swain, School of Gender Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Hyderabad, and
Deepanita Misra, Foundation for Ecological Security, Hyderabad Campus.

romantic relationships can exist between opposite sexes only i.e., man and woman. Heteronormative ideal also dictates the kind of sexual desires that are acceptable (again between man and woman) and the structure of family that should exist i.e., husband and wife. However, the word 'queer' has now been adopted by the very same community of people on whom the slur was applied to, to stand out and assert their existence in the society in a socio-political context. Hence, the word 'queer' can be described as a noun, as an adjective and as a verb as well (Hall, 2003) referring to identity, characteristics as well as doing gender.

The scope of the present unit begins with a discussion on the definitions of gender, sex and sexuality and moves forward by going back into the history of the existence of multiple sexualities and its status in the past. The Unit also engages with the typology of various sexualities and gender identities under the umbrella term of Queer. This understanding foregrounds the psychosocial concerns of the members of Queer community and throws light on the legal status of such individuals as citizens from a historical perspective to the present times.

12.1 THE CONSTRUCTS OF SEX, GENDER, AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

In the contemporary times, we frequently come across these terms gender, and sex and about sexuality too. People often common commit error of using these terms interchangeably. In the previous Units, you must have learnt that gender and sex are not the same. Furthermore, sexuality is also not as simple as it was thought to be. Now let us consider the following images, and follow it with a discussion on its relevance.

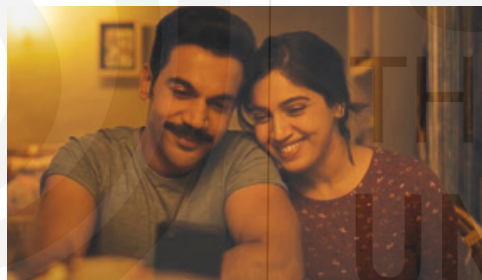


Image 1: **Source:** Hindustan Times, Feb 11, 2022



Image 2: **Source:** India Today Web Desk, March 27, 2019

The Image 1¹ is from a Bollywood movie *Badhai Do*, released online in February 2022. The protagonists in the film are Shardul (Rajkumar Rao) and a woman Suman (Bhumi Pednekar). Shardul is in love with another man while Suman is in love with a woman. The Image 2², is from a Tamil movie, *Super Deluxe*, released online in 2019, showcases stories of four different characters and the connection between them. The image presented is of one of the characters named Shilpa, played by actor Vijay Sethupathi. Shilpa is a transwoman who has come back home to her family after seven years. The three characters of Shardul, Suman and Shilpa represent different gender and sexualities. Shardul is gay and Suman is lesbian, and both are homosexuals while Shilpa is a transwoman or a transgender person who identifies as a woman. Now let us understand what do these terms signify. The gay and lesbian characters in the film *Badhai Do* are in the context of sexuality/ sexual orientation and not gender whereas in the second film, the identity of Shilpa as a transwoman is linked to her gender.

¹ Image 1. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/entertainment/bollywood/badhaai-do-review-rajkummar-rao-bhumi-pednekar-s-family-entertainer-is-bold-but-could-have-been-braver-101644544415271.html>

² Image 2. <https://www.indiatoday.in/movies/regional-cinema/story/friday-release-super-deluxe-all-you-need-to-know-about-the-new-vijay-sethupathi-film-1487843-2019-03-27>

Sex, as discussed earlier throughout in the course, refers to the biological construct determined by chromosomes, reproductive organs and genitalia. Gender has more to do with one's expression of identity and association with a particular orientation. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender as "characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed... [including] norms, behaviours and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as relationships with each other." (World Health Organization n.d.) American Psychological Association defines gender as "socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for boys and men or girls and women" (APA, n.d.). In psychology, the differentiation between sex and gender as we understand them today appears to have been almost negligible before the late 1950s and 1960s. It begins only with John Money et al. (1955) research on 'hermaphrodites' (who may be termed intersexed today). Money and colleagues made the distinction between gender roles and the anatomical features of an individual. Later, Rhoda Unger's research on the distinction between sex and gender in the 1970s was key to marking the shift from usage of the term 'sex' to 'gender' in the vocabulary of psychological practice and diagnosis. In the 1970s, Gayle Rubin contributed majorly to early theoretical distinctions between sex and gender and delineated that gender refers to the "social pressure to conform to expected divisions of labour" (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2011).

Sex and gender are closely intertwined, yet distinct and perhaps that is the source of confusion when it comes to using the right term appropriate to the situation. Sex and gender are defined in binaries. Conventionally, the categorization that we describe an individual's sex, it is done so in binary terms. The classification is based on the presence of certain features of the genitalia and chromosomes (refer to Unit 5 under the biological approach to gender). When a baby is born, the doctors usually announce it is a boy or a girl. If the baby has male genitalia, it is identified as a boy and if it has female genitalia, the baby is labelled as girl. So, the baby is immediately categorized into a binary of either a male or a female. It can be then said that our understanding of sex is based on genitalia and also the reproductive organs, i.e., testicles in case of male and ovaries in females. As you have already learnt earlier, a baby labelled as a male is born with the 23rd pair of chromosomes as XY and a female baby has the 23rd pair of chromosomes as XX. However, there are possibilities of babies being born with different variations like Klinefelter's syndrome with the 23rd chromosome having an extra one like XXY, or Jacob's syndrome with XYY arrangement of chromosomes and also XXX (triple X or trisomy X). Such variations are categorized as differences of sex development (DSD) which refers to the differences in the chromosomal make up other than XX and XY or presence of both male and female genitalia in an individual (known as intersex). DSD also covers people who have varying hormonal levels that do not match with male or female sex. Such variations also offer the existence of sex that is not just binary. Hence, it can be said that sex is more than just genitalia and includes reproductive organs, chromosomal constitution, hormones, and secondary sex traits that one starts to develop at puberty.

Similar to sex, gender is not binary. Though we have always been led to believe they are the same. In fact, one's gender is decided by their sex as soon as they are born and thereby the gender is determined. Culturally male sex is aligned with masculine traits, attitudes, feelings and behaviour while female sex is all about femininity. As we have learnt in earlier units, socialization has a huge impact on

males adopting masculinity and females, their femininity. We are expected to behave in gender-appropriate manner as we start growing up which is influenced to a great extent by the gender stereotypes like girls like pink, and blue is for boys! As soon as a pregnancy is announced, the excitement around the sex of the foetus is often confused with gender. Gender stereotypes are almost immediately imposed on the baby even before it is born. Parents are excited to imagine that if the sex of the foetus is male, the child will grow up to be a footballer and if it is a girl, she will become a classical dancer. One can imagine how powerful the stereotypes are and the extent of their influence. In today's age, it is a fashionable trend to organize gender reveal parties (not in India though because of the Pre-conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostics Techniques Act, 1984 that criminalizes the act of sex determination before the baby is born). Colour themed balloons are released or cakes are cut to reveal the gender – pink for girls, and blue for boys! In fact, colour-coded paraphernalia of all sorts (socks, hats, clothes, blankets, spoon, bowls, toys, etc.) are sold in the name of this binary. As babies grow up, gender stereotypes strengthen with the age-appropriate gender roles, as per the gender norms and behaviours.

The discussion on sex and gender needs to include the fundamental characteristics that create variations within that realm. Let us recap the important terminologies that we have covered throughout the course.

- **Sex:** It is a biological construct that encompasses genetic sex (chromosomal and hormonal), sexual characteristics as well as genitalia and reproductive organs. Usually assigned at birth, there can be three types of sex – female, male and intersex.
- **Gender:** It is socio-cultural construct that includes an internal sense of identity that an individual can experience as a man or a woman or both or any other gender on the spectrum. It includes gender identity, gender expression and presentation and manifest as gender norms, attitudes and roles, etc. Gender of an individual may or may not align with sex assigned at birth.
- **Sexual orientation:** It is the way people experience sexual attraction to persons of the opposite sex or gender, same sex or gender, or to both sexes or gender (Wikipedia under Creative Commons Share Alike Licence).

The Genderbread Person

by www.ItsPronouncedMetrosexual.com

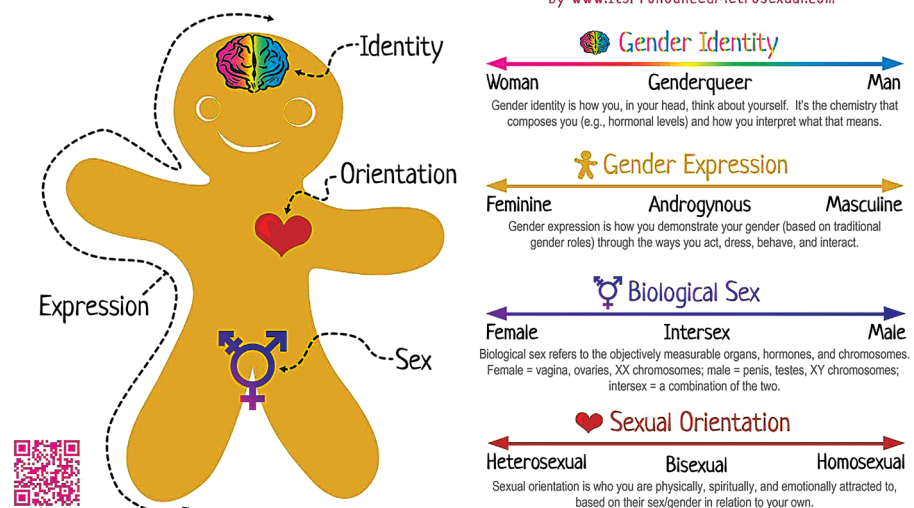


Figure 12.1 Depicts the organization of these terminologies across the human body

Source: <https://www.geneseo.edu/lgbtq/gender-identity>

The prominent feature that emerges from Figure 12.1 is the spectrum on which the constructs of gender identity, gender expression, sex and sexual orientation lie and they are definitely not binary. So, what does it signify?

Gender identity can be categorized into woman, man and gender queer that includes anyone who does not identify either as a woman or a man or both or anywhere on the spectrum. It also refers to someone's sense of their own gender—their own masculinity, femininity, a combination of the two, or something that is beyond the gender binary of man and woman. Since, it is internal, one can draw different meanings to it.

Gender expression is how one presents oneself externally through clothing, behaviour, etc. Sexual orientation can again be of different types like *heterosexual* (sexual attraction towards the opposite gender), *homosexual* (sexual attraction towards the same gender), *asexual* (individuals who do not experience any sexual attraction towards anyone), *pansexual* (sexual attraction towards any gender) or *bisexual* (individuals who are sexually attracted towards both genders).

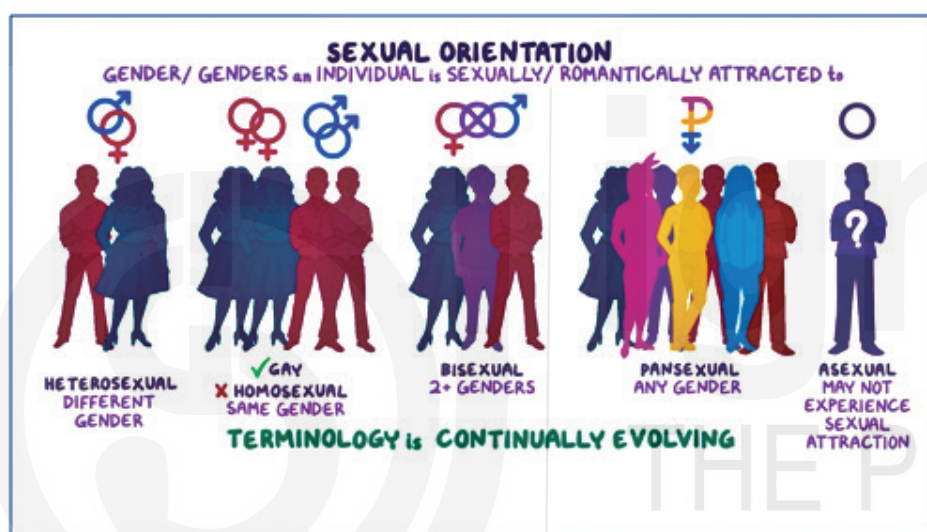


Figure 12.2 Sexual Orientation

Source: https://www.osmosis.org/learn/Sexual_orientation_and_gender_identity

In the context of gender, we can have multiple gender identities like:

- Cis-gender (individuals whose gender aligns with their birth-assigned sex; can be cis-gender male, cis-gender female).
- Transgender (individuals whose gender does not align with their birth-assigned sex; can be trans-woman – birth-assigned sex is male but identifies with female gender; can be trans-man – birth assigned sex is female but identifies with male gender; includes trans man, trans woman, trans person, genderqueer people, crossdressers, drag queens/kings, and others).
- Agender (individuals who does not identify with any gender; may appear androgynous; identify neither as a man or a woman).
- Genderfluid (individuals who gender identity is in a fluid state; flexible with one's gender expression; may identify as male one day and female the next).
- Genderqueer (individuals who may identify as a male or female, or both or as a mix of both; go beyond the gender-binary; sexual orientation is also fluid).
- Intersex (explained earlier; individuals are usually unaware of the medical condition; may grow up with the birth-assigned sex that is more likely to be imposed as they are born).

- Gender nonconforming (individuals who by choice do not conform to gender-based ideals of society; may identify with the opposite sex like in the case of transgender individuals).

The transgenders in India are known by various names. *Hijra* is the most commonly known name for transgenders. A hijra is not the same as eunuchs because in the former, the person rejects the gender identity that aligns with the birth-sex whereas eunuchs are individuals who are born males but are emasculated or castrated (removal of testicles). Transgender (transwoman) are also known as *Kinnar* (label for Hijras used in Delhi/ the North and other parts of India such as Maharashtra), *Aravani* (label for Hijras used in Tamil Nadu; identify themselves as women but possess male bodies) and few prefer the term *Thirunangi* to refer to Aravanis. An individual who is biologically male but shows degree of feminine characteristics or are effeminate, are labelled as *Kothis*. A hijra can be a kothi but not all kothis are hijras. In some parts of Andhra Pradesh, there are communities of transgenders known as *Shiv-Shakthis* (are males who have feminine gender expression and believe to be possessed by Gods or married to Shiva, the Hindu God). They participate in religious festivals and processions, dressed as women. Yet another label for transgenders is *Jogtas/Jogappas*, persons who devote themselves as servant of Goddess Renukha Devi (Yellamma) temples in Maharashtra and Karnataka.

Interestingly, different combinations of gender and sexual orientation can exist. For instance, an individual identifying as cis-gender male can be a gay or straight (as a heterosexual). A transman can be heterosexual and be sexually attracted towards women or can be homosexual and experience sexual attraction towards a man.

Many transgenders chose to opt for *sex reassignment surgery* where their sexual organs (in some case reproductive organs) are surgically aligned to their preferred gender. This process is usually a long-drawn process, that is expensive and involves surgeries as well as hormone replacement therapy for the individual to completely align their biological sex with their gender identity. These kinds of surgeries, can often help people.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What are the differences among sex, gender and sexual orientation?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) What the different categories of gender identities and sexual orientation?

.....

.....

.....

12.2 LGBT COMMUNITY: PSYCHOSOCIAL STATUS

Any deviation from the heterosexuality (i.e., sexual attraction towards the opposite sex) signifies going against the norm. Historically, it any such deviations were viewed as mental illnesses. The role of institutions like American Psychiatric Association is prominent in understanding the illness label attached to homosexuality.

12.2.1 Evolution of Gender Diagnoses in DSM and ICD

Homosexuality came to be seen as a mental health disorder largely in conjunction with the disapproval for same-sex desire. For the same, there exist numerous theories delineating the root causes of the ‘issue’. The study of childhood desires and gender variance in children has been of particular interest to Psychiatry as it was assumed that the origin of a particular sexuality and gender identity in an adult was to be discovered by observing the child. Exploring childhood incongruence between the sex assigned at birth and the child’s gender identity, early theories and research have expressed concern while tracing the cause of adult homosexuality.

Jack Drescher’s scholarship on same-sex desire argues that there have been three broad categories of theories in this regard: “theories of normal variation”, which looked at homosexuality as a natural phenomenon present from birth in an individual and originated the ‘born gay’ theory as a later version of itself; “theories of pathology”, which considered homosexuality to be a disease and an atypical behaviour which deviates from the norms; and “theories of immaturity”, which saw homosexuality as a passing phase in children and considered adult homosexuality to be a sign of stunted growth and inadequate development (Drescher, 2010).

The process of debunking homosexuality as a mental illness diagnosis is more recent and can be traced back to the 1950s. It is linked with gay activism and increasing assertiveness of the LGBT community, which spilled over into the 1960s and 70s. It led to the origins of Queer theory and other gay and lesbian scholarship on gender and sexualities in the 1980s. Where Psychiatry and Psychology are concerned, as far back as 1957, American psychologist Evelyn Hooker demonstrated that “the psychological profile of gay men not in psychiatric treatment was indistinguishable from that of a comparable group of heterosexual men” (Kunzel, 2017). Thereafter in the 1970s, gay activists engaged with the American Psychological Association (APA) to take up the cause further. They strongly argued that gender variance cannot be labeled as a mental illness in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), which was considered the standard for psychiatric and psychological diagnoses. Though the first edition of the DSM was published in 1956, it was not until 1973 that homosexuality was dropped from it as a mental health disorder diagnosis.

The third edition of DSM (DSM III), published in 1980, withdrew the diagnosis of homosexuality as a mental health disorder. Instead, it came up with a new diagnosis called Gender Identity Disorder (GID). The DSM-IV-TR’s classification of the disorder in children and adults used the term “disturbance” and looked at gender non-conformity as a mental disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Since then, both diagnoses of GID in Adolescents and Adulthood and GID of Childhood (GIDC) have been met with strong opposition. On one hand, a GID diagnosis labeling gender variance as a mental disorder was seen as a cause of stigmatization for transgender individuals, on the other hand, certain members of the trans community also expressed concern that deletion of GID altogether from the DSM would lead to further marginalization and alienation of trans individuals from accessible healthcare (Drescher, 2014).

The growing contention with gender diagnoses was parallelly applied to the World Health Organization’s (WHO) International Classification of Diseases (ICD) too. ICD-9 (1975) was the first to include the sub-category of ‘gender variance’ in children under a broader category of sexual deviances and disorders, terming it “behavior occurring in preadolescents of immature psychosexuality

which is similar to that shown in sexual deviations described under transvestism.” (Medicode, 1996). Since the 1990s, the discourse in academic circles and scientific literature increasingly took to contesting the rationale for gender diagnoses. For instance, queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick was skeptical of the GIDC diagnosis and considered it to be merely a roundabout way of reinstating the older ‘homosexuality as a mental disorder’ diagnosis. Similarly, Bartlett and colleagues suggested that the GIDC should be removed from DSM. In 2009, the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare removed it from Sweden’s version of ICD-10 (Drescher et al. 2016). Consequently, ICD-11 revised the previous version’s diagnostic categories of GIDC and “transsexualism”. The former was replaced with “gender in congruence of childhood” and the latter with “gender incongruence of adolescence and adulthood”. ‘Gender incongruence’ itself was moved from the “Mental and behavioral disorders” chapter to the “Conditions related to sexual health” chapter in a bid to make the ICD more gender-affirming (World Health Organization, n.d.).

In the history of evolving psychiatric diagnoses, homosexuality was often conflated with transsexualism. In other words, there was hardly any differentiation made between individuals wanting partners of the same sex and those wishing to live as the other sex. In the early 20th century, Hirschfield emerged as the first practitioner to make a distinction but the categories were not considered to be different till the late 20th century, with the likes of Benjamin, Stoller, Money and Green taking the distinctions into account (Drescher et al., 2012). In the first edition of the DSM published in the 1950s, homosexuality was listed as a ‘sexual deviation’, which was further listed under ‘sociopathic personality disturbances’. (Friedman et al., 1976). Transsexualism was first defined as a diagnostic category in DSM-III (1980) and diagnoses for trans individuals have further evolved since. The shift from labeling transsexualism as a mental disorder to using the term ‘gender incongruence’ is considered to be a major shift towards progressive measures taken to reduce stigma for trans individuals. However, it has also raised questions regarding the role of mental health professionals in contributing to transgender care.

In DSM-5, the diagnosis for trans persons has undergone a massive change from being termed as Gender Identity Disorder (GID) to Gender Dysphoria (GD). The Workgroup on Sexual and Gender Identity Disorders, set up to make revisions for the fifth edition of DSM, was staunch and reinstated that “the DSM has consistently assumed that psychological gender that does not match the sex assigned at birth, or the physical sex, signals a psychiatric disorder” (Davy, 2015). Therefore, one also finds DSM-5 to be more flexible in its diagnostic categories than the previous editions. In this regard, a specifier was added in the fifth edition which asks for inclusion of individuals who have undergone at least one somatic intervention confirming their experienced gender, allowing the ‘gender dysphoria’ diagnosis to be overturned if required (Titia et al., 2015).

12.2.2 Psychosocial Issues

Despite the removal of the mental disorder label and a growing acceptance of LGBT individuals, homosexuality is still viewed as a deviance. As such, there is an environment of rejection and hostility that the members of the LGBT community face. Research has shown that there is a high prevalence of mental health problems that includes substance use disorders, affective disorders, and suicide (Cochran, 2001; Gilman et al., 2001; Herrell et al., 1999; Sandfort, de Graaf, Bijl, & Schnabel, 2001) among the gay men and lesbians than their heterosexual counterparts. The differential prevalence is largely related to

exposure to stressors such as prejudice, discrimination and violence (Cochran, Mays, & Sullivan 2003; Meyer, 2003; Sandfort et al., 2001). The stressors are associated with their minority status in the society, making them vulnerable to various kinds of psychiatric morbidity. In other words, their minority status leads them to live in an environment that is prejudiced, discriminatory and violent, leaving them vulnerable to mental health issues (Friedman, 1999).

12.2.2.1 Prevalence of Mental Health Conditions

Researchers have described violence and discrimination as core stressors affecting gay and lesbian populations (Garnets et al., 1990; Herek & Berrill, 1992; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; Kertzner, 1999). Homosexual men have faced institutionalized forms of these stressors in the form of anti-sodomy laws that are punishable by imprisonment, castration, torture, and death (Adam, 1987). As a community, LGBT individuals are likely to be more targeted for violence and discrimination (Badgett, 1995; Herek & Berrill, 1992; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Safe Schools Coalition of Washington, 1999). LGBT people are particularly vulnerable because of violation of their human rights, torture, and ill treatment, loss of dignity, assault and even murder (Amnesty International, 2001) that are carried out in the name of sanctions by formal and informal mechanisms. They are twice as likely to get fired from jobs (Mays & Cochran, 2001). LGBT youth face more antigay prejudice, rejection, discrimination and violence. Various studies have reported that LGBT high school students often experience verbal harassment, sexual harassment, and physical assault along with threats, and homophobic slurs (GLSEN, 1999). These situations leave them vulnerable to physiological symptoms like sleep disturbances, nightmares, etc. (Garnets et al., 1990, pg. 367).

In the Indian context, the lack of systematic data on LGBTQIA+ individuals is a major obstacle in studying about their psychosocial status. There is an estimated 3.8% LGBTQIA+ individuals in India, that is almost 45.4 million people as per the 2011 census and the population includes individuals from all gender and sexual minority group, other than cis-gender heterosexuals. 58.84% of MSM (men who have sex with men) (Soohinda, Jaggi, Samoath, & Dutta, 2018) undergo psychiatric morbidity while sexual minority women face isolation, anxiety, high substance use, and suicidal thoughts (Bowling et al., 2016). Depression and suicide rates are higher among the LGBTQIA+ individuals when compared to the non-LGBTQIA+ population estimates (Badgett, 2014). Among transgenders (transwomen and transmen) it has been found that 62.5% suffer from alcohol abuse, 31.2% from alcohol dependence, 46.8% abuse drugs, 37.55% have experienced generalized anxiety disorder (GAD), 31.2% suffer from depression, 41.2% are at suicidal risk, 31.2% have attempted suicide in the past, 18.7% have been diagnosed with dysthymia, 6.2% live with panic disorder, 9.4% have agoraphobia, 25% develop social phobia, and 9.4% suffer from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Hebbar & Singh, 2017). In a study on 300 transwomen in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Delhi, it was reported that 42.7% had moderate to severe depression, and 37.3% used alcohol frequently (Chakrapani et al., 2017). From a study on a sample of lesbian and gay individuals from Imphal, it was found that 25% had been diagnosed with current depression, 18.7% had past history of depression, 6.2% dysthymia, 6.2% to 9.4% were at low to high suicidal risk, 15.6% had made suicidal attempts in the past, 9.3% hypomanic had episode, 18.7% were suffering from anxiety disorders, 62.5% abused alcohol and 31.25% suffered dependence, and 46.8% were into drug abuse (Hebbar, Majumder, & Singh, 2018). A study from Maharashtra reported that among gay and bisexual men, 59.1% and 50.9% were suffering from depression respectively (Ekstrand et al., 2017).

Importantly, most of the research that have been done on the LGBTQIA+ population has been done in the context of HIV as a public health issue. The psychological vulnerabilities often place the transgender and MSM individuals are a greater sexual risk (Chakrapani et al., 2017 a). For example, major depression is reported to be strong predictor of such individuals engaging in unsafe sexual practices (Mimiaga et al., 2013). Higher risk of depression was also associated with factors such as unsafe sex work, prostitution, unprotected sexual practices, diagnosis of sexually transmitted infections, the HIV status, lack of privacy about HIV status, sexual assault, rapes or other forms of intimate partner violence (Patel, Prabhakar, & Saggurti, 2015; Tomori et al., 2016; Chakrapani et al., 2017 a; Safren et al., 2009)

It must be noted that the data is from a number of individual studies and in the absence of any national database, the prevalence of mental health conditions can be much higher than what is reported. More research is required to understand the reasons behind such high rates of mental health conditions among the LGBTQIA+ population and also develop appropriate interventions to provide psychosocial support to the them.

12.2.2.2 The Role of Stigma

A prominent characteristic of LGBTQIA+ experiences are marked by stigma which is understood as a negative attitude, views, beliefs about a particular individual, group or community for their identity, or actions that does not match the heteronormative expectations. Studies have reported that LGBTQIA+ individual's stigma, along with violence from the family, peers and partners, absence of family acceptance, imposed marriages, institutional violence (like termination from job, harassment, threats, etc.), discrimination at workplaces, difficulty in getting jobs, housing and the biggest of all, is challenges in access to healthcare services (Tomori et al., 2016; Ganju & Saggurti, 2017; CREA, 2012; Mal, 2018). These kinds of stigma often prevent the LGBTQIA+ individuals from revealing their identity and are forced to keep it a secret (Mimiaga et al., 2105) which further adds to their vulnerabilities. The stigma attached to sexual and gender identity also varies. For instance, bisexual individuals experience bi-negativity (Bowling et al., 2016; Bowling et al., 2019), transgender individuals face trans-negativity (Ganju & Saggurti, 2017), as do gay men (Tomori et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2012). Prevalence of sexual transmitted disease like HIV also heightens the stigma faced by LGBTQIA+ individuals (Logie et al., 2012), and additionally, stigma also stems from the kind of work that they engage in like sex work (Mal, 2018). This is further compounded by the prevalence of mental health conditions that itself becomes a cause of stigma against the LBGTQIA+ individuals (Bowling et al., 2016).

The presence and impact of stigma on the lives of LGBTQIA+ has been explained by Meyer (2003) by minority stress proposition that states that stigma in its various forms (feelings of shame, expecting discrimination, rejection, being discriminated by others) contributes to the higher levels of stress experienced by such individuals makes them more susceptible to various kinds of mental health conditions (Brooks, 1981; Meyer, 1995). The minority stress model “describes stress processes, including the experience of prejudice events, expectations of rejection, hiding and concealing, internalized homophobia, and ameliorative coping processes” (Meyer, 2003, pg. 2). Studies suggest that experiences of stigma, violence and discrimination in LGBTQIA+ individuals can lead to lower levels of self-esteem, prevalence of depression, suicidal ideation, low self-efficacy to challenge abuse, and higher vulnerability to HIV among them (Ganju

& Saggurti, 2017; Mal, 2018; Mimiaga et al., 2105; Srivastava & Singh, 2015; Chakrapani et al., 2017 b; Chakrapani et al., 2019)

Transgenders (around 4,87,803 lakhs in India, 2011 census) with a literacy rate of 56.07% face lot of challenges that creates vulnerabilities for them. Because of their minority status, they face from socio-economic challenges like lack of employment opportunities (most of them engage in sex work, beggary, etc.) (Loh, 2011). They are also excluded from their own families, disowned and thrown out of family homes. Transgenders also face discrimination in the healthcare settings, wherein the healthcare providers are not fully aware of sexual and gender diversities neither about the specific health issues that the group faces. The sexual diversities and they do not have adequate knowledge about the health issues of sexual minorities. They find it difficult to access HIV testing services, antiretroviral treatment and sexual health services. They face discrimination in the healthcare settings itself like deliberate use of male pronouns (He/Him) in addressing a transwoman; registering them as 'males' and admitting them in male wards, humiliation faced in having to stand in the male queue; verbal harassment by the hospital staff and patients; and lack of healthcare providers who are sensitive to and trained on providing treatment/care to transgender people and even denial of medical services. Discrimination could be due to transgender status, sex work status or HIV status or a combination of these (UNDP. 2010) (Delliswararao & Hangsing, 2018, pg.13). Lack of access to health insurance forces them to avail public healthcare facilities despite the challenges they face.

It is important to mention here the few and far schemes created to support the transgenders, especially the transwomen. For instance, Life Insurance Corporation of India offered jobs of agents to transwomen. Social welfare departments provide a variety of social welfare schemes for socially and economically disadvantaged groups. Tamil Nadu created a provision for the transgender individuals to acquire land. Recently, the Minority Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh created provisions to consider 'Hijras' (transgenders) as a minority and develop welfare schemes for them. However, the bureaucratic procedures that need proofs of address, identity, income, etc. and discourages people from availing the benefits from these schemes. Tamil Nadu has also established a Aravanis/ Transgender Women Welfare Board to address the social welfare issues of the transwomen in the state.

The mitigating factors like social support (support of family, peers, significant others), higher self-esteem can lower the risk of anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation (Sivasubramanian et al., 2011) while resilience can contribute to coping and social support can be protective factors (Tomori et al., 2016). More research is required to understand the lives of sexual minorities around the world, especially in India, to understand their realities and how it intersects with religion, caste, class, age, etc. (Wandrekar & Nigudkar, 2020).

Check Your Progress 2

1) How did homosexuality come to be seen as a mental disorder?

.....

.....

.....

2) What the major psychosocial issues faced by the LGBT individuals?

-
-
-
- 3) How stigma impacts the prevalence of mental health conditions among LGBT individuals?
-
-
-

12.3 LGBT COMMUNITY: THE LEGAL STATUS AND ITS IMPACT

The global queer movement is recognised to have gained momentum in the 20th century but if one were to look at academic writings and scholarship, the history of the movement can be traced back to as far as the 1870s (Ghosh & Ghosh, 2020). Even prior to the 1969 riots at Stonewall Inn, Greenwich, the precedent had already been set with the kind of narratives embedded in the mainstream. Colonial laws on ‘debauchery’, ‘buggery’, ‘gross indecency’ and so on had been central to defining the perspectives around queer individuals and continue to do so in many Commonwealth countries in South Asia. The Buggery Act (1533) of England classified same-sex activities as ‘sinful’ and it was not until 1861 that homosexuality ceased to be a capital offence in Britain. In France, anti-sodomy laws were repealed after the 1789 revolution. In other countries, the narratives shifted in the 20th century specifically as the feminist and queer movements gained momentum.

From the 1960s onwards, there were major upheavals as the push to promote queer rights gained prominence worldwide. Magnus Hirschfeld’s effort began the “homosexual emancipation movement” and the World League for Sexual Reform came into existence in 1928 in Germany. In fact, Hirschfeld started a movement which began in the late 19th century and lasted for as long as the Nazi regime emerged in the early 1930s. In Britain, the Wolfenden Committee was set up in 1957 to look into the decriminalization of homosexual activities between consenting adults aged above 21. Groups like the Mattachine Society in Britain, founded by Harry Hay, contributed to increasing mass solidarity for homosexuality in the 1950s. Subsequently in 1973, as discussed above, the American Psychiatric Association (APA) declassified homosexuality as a mental illness (ibid).

With the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York, the queer movement received global attention. A month after the violent riots targeting people in a gay bar, the first openly gay march took place in New York. It was also in the aftermath of these riots that Marsha P. Johnson, who identified as ‘gay’ and ‘transvestite’, emerged as a key leader and spokesperson for the transgender movement in the United States. Marsha demanded rights for gay and trans people and with fellow activist Sylvia Rivera, founded the group Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) to support homeless gay and trans individuals (BBC, 2020). Further in the 1970s, feminist debates on pornography, contraception and family planning, and the right to abortion gained public interest. Apart from the women’s liberation movement, the queer liberation movement and unification of transgender and gender-non-conforming (TGNC) persons also saw significant developments in

rapid succession in the 1960s and 70s (Ellis, 2020).

In India, the achievements of the queer movement in combatting moral sanctions, increasing public awareness and successfully leading to the Supreme Court reading down the colonial Section 377 which criminalized homosexuality, are all couched within a larger narrative of dispelling stereotypes regarding HIV/AIDS and propagating safe sex. These victories are preceded by dialogue along similar lines between diverse groups. For instance, Meena Gopal (2019) traces some of these back to the debates and discussions sparked between queer and Dalit groups by Maharashtra state government's decision to ban women performing in dance bars in 2005. Subsequently, in 2006, when a national conference of autonomous women's groups was organized, there were a large number of Dalit, Muslim, lesbian and bisexual, and transgender women participating in the event. Many of the discussions brought forth by the collective could be seen as a precursor to the Delhi High Court judgment of 2009 which upheld that consensual sexual act between adults in private cannot be criminalized as one's privacy, autonomy and dignity cannot be restricted by using morality (Gopal, 2019). Further, the landmark 2014 Supreme Court judgment in the National Legal Services Authority (NALSA) case recognised the constitutional rights of transgender persons and upheld preference for a 'psychological test' over a 'biological test' for gender determination. Eventually, this paved the way for the 2018 Supreme Court judgment which would turn out to be a major achievement for the queer movement in India.

12.3.1 Legal Recognition of Gender and Sexual Identity

Though the Stonewall Riots of 1969 are attributed to have kickstarted the gay liberation movement, decades later, homosexuality still remains a criminal offence in several countries across the world. It is even punishable by death in some cases. In India, in the landmark judgment for Navtej Singh Johar vs Union of India (2018), the Supreme Court overturned a colonial, 19th century law stated in Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and decriminalized homosexuality. Over the decades, cultural attitudes and the general outlook towards homosexuality have witnessed massive global shifts. Several countries now seem more accepting of same-sex relations than they were previously (Poushter & Kent 2020). The legalization of gay marriages can be seen as a major step in this direction. However, it is still a far cry from total acceptance and widespread legal recognition in the manner in which the gay liberation movement and LGBT activists envisaged it.

Under the global human rights discourse, the persecution of LGBT individuals is now recognised as a large-scale phenomenon. The preservation of their rights and basic needs is sought in equal measure by holding bodies such as the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC), and instruments such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Geneva Conventions, the Declaration of Montreal, and Yogyakarta Principles accountable. LGBT human rights are also advocated as a propelling force to reduce the treatment gap and improve accessibility to quality mental health services for queer individuals. Though global medical practices continue to be dominated by Western scientific models, there is now a growing understanding of what diverse gender identities comprise, along with greater efforts being made to modify diagnostic approaches so as to prevent discrimination and violation of LGBT rights in healthcare.

The 3rd edition of the Trans Legal Mapping Report (2019) by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), an organisation

accredited with consultative status by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN, ECOSOC), covers global laws and legal policies aimed at the trans community. It finds that not many countries presently criminalize trans identity and behaviour explicitly. But the ground reality is starkly different. The de facto criminalization of gender variance and non-conforming practices, and the legal recognition of gender identity can take up different forms in different states. For example, within Africa itself there is a diversity of laws and policies—while Botswana, Kenya and South Africa’s judicial landscape appears conducive for transgender and gender non-conforming (TGNC) individuals, the same cannot be said for states like Gambia and Nigeria, which directly criminalize them.

In India, the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019, was challenged in the Supreme Court in 2020. Though it attempted to be more progressive than previous colonial legislations, it was contested on the grounds of discriminatory provisions such as the mandate that for a trans individual to receive an identification card confirming their gender identity, they would have to go to the District Magistrate and undergo a physical examination by a medical officer there (Gichki, 2020). Thus, for the transgender community, their legal status, existing social stigma and barriers to healthcare combine to create a non-conducive environment for subsistence and accessibility of basic mental healthcare.

Existing scholarship on the correlation between having a transgender status and prevalence of mental disorders in the community point to the problem of the transgender identity being labelled as a mental disorder in traditional psychiatric understanding. This has been used against trans individuals in an unjustified manner in many countries, wherein they have been denied legal documents, custodial rights for their children, the right to self-determination, and so on (Flaskerud & Lesser, 2017). Sans legal protection, most LGBT individuals are deprived of access to quality healthcare. This is coupled with the fact that traditionally, they have also been identified as ‘freaks’, subjected to criminal laws banning cross-dressing and indecency in several countries, targeted for their ‘unnatural’ sexual practices and non-heteronormative romantic relations, and dehumanized for their general appearance. It creates an environment of hostility and human rights violation wherein seeking medical help for mental illnesses is fraught with multiple barriers and structural discrimination and violence.

As human beings, all are entitled to the rights enshrined in our Constitution. The kind of prejudice, discrimination and violence that the queer individuals experience is violation of those constitutional rights and goes against the principles of humanity. Although awareness and acceptance are both increasing in our society, we still have a long way to go before these variations are normalized.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) What is the legal status of Transgenders in India?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Why was the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019 challenged in the Supreme Court of India?

.....

.....

-
- 3) How stigma impacts the prevalence of mental health conditions among LGBT individuals?
-
-
-

12.4 SUMMARY

To sum up what we have learnt in this unit, here is a quick recap:

- The constructs of sex, gender and sexual orientation are deeply connected with each and various combinations of the three exist. The gender binary is not sufficient to describe the varied experiences of gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation. Together they are known as queer.
- The LGBT individuals face massive prejudice, discrimination and violence because of the gender minority status, the consequence of which is seen in the high prevalence of multiple types of mental health conditions like depression, agoraphobia, anxiety, mood disorders, drug and alcohol abuse, high suicidal risks, to name a few.
- The minority stress model explains that the vulnerabilities arising out of their gender minority status makes the LGBT individuals more susceptible to mental illnesses and leaves them less likely to challenge the stigma and discrimination faced by them. Stigma associated with the gender or sexual identity that is different from the heteronormative ideals. The LGBT individuals often lack psychosocial support, face violence from the family, and society, often are unemployed. Transgenders are forced into begging and sex work where they face high risk of sexual violence, and sexual health risks.
- The LGBT individuals were labelled as criminals by the colonial laws and it took a long time to gain that legal recognition. In the present time, the transgenders are legally recognized as third gender, apart from male and female; homosexuality is decriminalized; and same-sex marriage is not legally valid in the country.

12.5 KEYWORDS

Sex Biological construct that uses labels of male and female.

Gender Social and cultural construct that is understood as feminine and masculine.

Sexual Orientation A pattern of sexual and/or romantic attraction towards persons of varied sex or gender.

Heteronormativity The idea of heterosexuality being the norm and the sexual and/or romantic attraction between male and female being natural.

Gender Expression It is how one presents oneself externally through clothing, behaviour, etc.

Minority Stress Model States that stigma in its various forms (internalized, felt and actual) contributes to the higher levels of stress experienced by such individuals makes them more susceptible to various kinds of mental health conditions.

12.6 REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Identify the differences between different types of gender, and sexual orientation.
- 2) Trace the status of homosexuality from the colonial times.
- 3) How does psychiatry explain homosexuality?
- 4) How does the minority stress model explain the prevalence of mental health conditions among the LGBT population?
- 5) Discuss about the landmark court judgements pertaining to transgender individuals and homosexuals in India.

12.7 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

American Psychiatric Association. (2000). Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-IV-TR.

Amnesty International (2001). *Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence. Torture and Ill-treatment based on Sexual Identity*. London: Author

Anasuya, S.I. (May 5, 2016). "Over Two Years After Landmark Judgment, Transgender People Are Still Struggling", The Wire. Accessed February 17, 2022 from <https://thewire.in/35978/over-two-years-after-landmark-judgment-transgender-people-are-still-struggling/>

Badgett, M.V.L. (1995). The wage effects of sexual orientation discrimination. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 48 (4), 726–739.

Badgett, M.V.L. (2014) *The economic cost of stigma and the exclusion of LGBT people: a case study of India* [World Bank Group]. Accessed February 10, 2022 from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/21515>

BBC. Pride Month: Who was Marsha P. Johnson and why were they so important? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/52981395>

Bandyopadhyay, M., & Pandey, J.M. (2017). *A Gift of Goddess Lakshmi: A Candid Biography of India's First Transgender Principal*. India: Penguin Books.

Bowling J., Mennicke, A., Blekfeld-Sztraky, D., Simmons, M., Dodge, B., Sundarraman, V., Lakshmi, B., Dharuman, S.T., & Herbenick, D. (2019). The influences of stigma on sexuality among sexual and gender minoritized individuals in urban India. *International Journal of Sexual Health*, 31(3), 269-262 doi: 10.1080/19317611.2019.1625994.

Bowling, J., Dodge, B., Banik, S., Rodriguez, I., Mengele, S. R., Herbenick, D., Guerra-Reyes, L., Sanders, S., Dange, A., & Anand, V. (2016). Perceived health concerns among sexual minority women in Mumbai, India: an exploratory qualitative study. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 18(7), 826–840. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1134812>

Chakrapani, V., Kaur, M., Newman, P. A., Mittal, S., & Kumar, R. (2019). Syndemics and HIV-related sexual risk among men who have sex with men in India: influences of stigma and resilience. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 21(4), 416–431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2018.1486458>

Chakrapani, V., Newman, P. A., Shunmugam, M., Logie, C. H., & Samuel, M. (2017 a). Syndemics of depression, alcohol use, and victimisation, and their association with HIV-related sexual risk among men who have sex with men and

transgender women in India. *Global Public Health*, 12(2), 250–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2015.1091024>

Chakrapani, V., Vijin, P. P., Logie, C. H., Newman, P. A., Shunmugam, M., Sivasubramanian, M., & Samuel, M. (2017 b). Understanding How Sexual and Gender Minority Stigmas Influence Depression Among Trans Women and Men Who Have Sex with Men in India. *LGBT Health*, 4(3), 217–226. <https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2016.0082>

Cochran, S.D. (2001). Emerging issues in research on lesbians' and gay men's mental health: Does sexual orientation really matter? *American Psychologist*, 56, 931–947.

Cochran, S. D., Mays, V. M., & Sullivan, J. G. (2003). Prevalence of mental disorders, psychological distress, and mental health services use among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(1), 53–61. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-006x.71.1.53>

Count me In! Research Report on Violence against disabled, lesbian, and sex-working women in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal. Delhi: CREA. doi: 10.1016/S0968-8080(12)40651-6. Published 2012. Accessed March 14, 2022.

Davy, Z. (2015). The DSM-5 and the politics of diagnosing transpeople. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 44(5), 1165–1176.

Delliswararao, K., & Hangsing, C. (2018). Socio-cultural exclusion and inclusion of transgenders in India. *International Journal of Social Science and Management*, 5(1), 10–17. doi: 10.3126/ijssm.v5i1.18147

Drescher, J. (2010). Queer diagnoses Parallels and contrasts in the history of homosexuality, gender variance, and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39(2), 427–460

Drescher, J., Cohen-Kettenis, P., & Winter, S. (2012). Minding the body: Situating gender identity diagnoses in the ICD-11. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 24(6), 568–577.

Drescher, J.; Cohen-Kettenis, P. T. & Reed, G. M. (2016). Gender incongruence of childhood in the ICD-11: controversies, proposal, and rationale. *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 3(3), 297–304. doi:10.1016/s2215-0366(15)00586-6

Ekstrand, M. L., Rawat, S., Patankar, P., Heylen, E., Banu, A., Rosser, B., & Wilkerson, J. M. (2017). Sexual identity and behavior in an online sample of Indian men who have sex with men. *AIDS Care*, 29(7), 905–913. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540121.2016.1271103>

Ellis, N. (2020). Power and Community: The Queer Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate *Journal of History, Series II*, 25(1), 8.

Flaskerud, J. H. & Lesser, Janna (2017). The Current Socio-Political Climate and Psychological Distress Among Transgender People. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 1–4. doi:10.1080/01612840.2017.1368751

Friedman, R. C., Green, R., & Spitzer, R. L. (1976). Reassessment of homosexuality and transsexualism. *Annual Review of Medicine*, 27(1), 57–62.

Friedman, R.C. (1999). Homosexuality, psychopathology, and suicidality. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 56, 887–888

- Ganju, D., & Saggurti, N. (2017). Stigma, violence and HIV vulnerability among transgender persons in sex work in Maharashtra, India. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 19(8), 903–917. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2016.1271141>
- Garnets, L.D., Herek, G.M., & Levy, B. (1990). Violence and victimization of lesbians and gay men: Mental health consequences. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 5, 366–383.
- Ghosh, B., & Ghosh, B. (2020). *Queer Movements*. In Biswajit Ghosh (Ed.), *Social Movements: Concepts, Experiences and Concerns*. Sage.
- Gichki, M. (2020). Deconstructing Transgender Identities in Pakistan, India, and Iran in Colonial and Post-colonial Context. *Development*, 63, 31–37. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41301-020-00243-3>
- Gopal, M. (2019). Towards Greater Civility: Public Morality and Transversal Queer/Feminist Politics in India. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1–12. doi:10.1080/00856401.2019.1583815
- Hall, D. (2003). *Transitions Queer Theories*. Palgrave Macmillan, NY.
- Hebbbar, Y.R., & Singh, B. (2017). Psychiatric morbidity in a selective sample of transgenders in Imphal, Manipur: a descriptive study. *Annals of Indian Psychiatry*, 1(2), 114–117. DOI: 10.4103/aip.aip_24_17
- Hebbbar, Y.R.N., Majumder, U., & Singh, R.L. (2018). A study on homosexuals and their psychiatric morbidities in a northeastern state of India, Manipur. *Indian Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 34(3), 245–248. Doi: 10.4103/ijsp.ijsp_111_17
- Herek, G.M., & Berrill, K.T. (1992). *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence against Lesbians and Gay men*. Sage.
- Herek, G.M., Gillis, J.R., & Cogan, J.C. (1999). Psychological sequelae of hate-crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67, 945–951.
- Herrell, R., Goldberg, J., True, W.R., Ramakrishnam, V., Lyons M., Eisen, S., & Tsuang, M.T. (1999). Sexual orientation and suicidality: A co-twin control study in adult men. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 56, 867–874
- Human Rights Watch. *Hatred in the hallways: Violence and Discrimination against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Students in U.S. Schools*. New York: Author; 2001.
- ILGA World: Zhan Chiam, Sandra Duffy, Matilda González Gil, Lara Goodwin, and Nigel Timothy Mpemba Patel. (2020). *Trans Legal Mapping Report 2019: Recognition before the Law*. Geneva: ILGA World.
- Kertzner, R. M., Meyer, I. H., Frost, D. M., & Stirratt, M. J. (2009). Social and psychological well-being in lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals: the effects of race, gender, age, and sexual identity. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 79(4), 500–510. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016848>
- Kertzner, R.M. (1999). Self-appraisal of life experience and psychological adjustment in midlife gay men. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, 11, 43–64.
- Kunzel, R. (2017). Queer history, mad history, and the politics of health. *American Quarterly*, 69(2), 315–319.
- Logie, C. H., Newman, P. A., Chakrapani, V., & Shunmugam, M. (2012). Adapting the minority stress model: associations between gender non-conformity stigma,

HIV-related stigma and depression among men who have sex with men in South India. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 74(8), 1261–1268. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.01.008>

Loh, J. (2011). Borrowing Religious Identifications: A Study of Religious Practices among the Hijras of India the SOAS. *Journal of Graduate Research*, 3

Mal, S. (2018). The hijras of India: A marginal community with paradox sexual identity. *Indian Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 34 (1), 79-85. doi: 0.4103/ijsp.ijsp_21_17

Mays, V.M., & Cochran, S.D. (2001). Mental health correlates of perceived discrimination among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91, 1869–1876

Medicode. (1996). ICD-9-CM: International classification of diseases, 9th revision, clinical modification. Salt Lake City, Utah: Medicode

Meyer, I.H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36, 38–56.

Meyer, I.H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129 (5), 674–697.

Michelraj, M. (2015). Historical Evolution of Transgender Community in India. *Asian Review of Social Sciences*, 4(1), 17-19.

Mimiaga, M. J., Biello, K. B., Sivasubramanian, M., Mayer, K. H., Anand, V. R., & Safren, S. A. (2013). Psychosocial risk factors for HIV sexual risk among Indian men who have sex with men. *AIDS Care*, 25(9), 1109–1113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540121.2012.749340>

Mimiaga, M. J., Closson, E. F., Thomas, B., Mayer, K. H., Betancourt, T., Menon, S., & Safren, S. A. (2015). Garnering an in-depth understanding of men who have sex with men in Chennai, India: a qualitative analysis of sexual minority status and psychological distress. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 44(7), 2077–2086. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-014-0369-0>

Money, J., Hampson, J.G., & Hampson, J.L. (1955) An examination of some basic sexual concepts: The evidence of human hermaphroditism. *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, 97(4), 301–319

Muehlenhard, C.L. & Peterson, Z.D. (2011). Distinguishing Between Sex and Gender: History, Current Conceptualizations, and Implications. *Sex Roles*, 64, 791–803. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-9932-5>

Patel, S.K., Prabhakar, P., & Saggurti, N. (2015). Factors associated with mental depression among men who have sex with men in Southern India. *Health*, 7 (9), 1114-1123. doi: 10.4236/health.2015.79127.

Poushter, J & Kent, N. (2020). The Global Divide on Homosexuality Persists. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/06/25/global-divide-on-homosexuality-persists/>

Revathi, A. (2010). *The Truth about Me: A Hijra Life Story*. Translated by V. Geetha, New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Safe Schools Coalition of Washington (1999). Eighty-three thousand youth: Selected findings of eight population-based studies as they pertain to anti-gay harassment and the safety and well-being of sexual minority students. Seattle, WA: Author

- Safren, S.A., Thomas, B.E., Mimiaga, M.J., Chandrasekaran, V., Menon, S., Swaminathan, S., & Mayer, K.H. (2009). Depressive symptoms and human immunodeficiency virus risk behavior among men who have sex with men in Chennai, India. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 14(6), 705-715. doi: 10.1080/13548500903334754
- Sandfort, T.G., de Graaf, R., Bijl, R.V., & Schnabel, P. (2001). Same-sex sexual behavior and psychiatric disorders: Findings from the Netherlands Mental Health Survey and Incidence Study (NEMESIS). *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 58, 85-91.
- Sivasubramanian, M., Mimiaga, M.J., Mayer K. H., Anande, V.R., Johnson, C.V., Prabhugate, P., & Safren, S.A. (2011). Suicidality, clinical depression, and anxiety disorders are highly prevalent in men who have sex with men in Mumbai, India: findings from a community-recruited sample. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 16(4), 450-462. doi: 10.1080/13548506.2011.554645.
- Soohinda, G.S., Jaggi, P.S., Sampath, H., & Dutta, S. (2108). Depression and its correlates in men who have sex with men (MSM) in India. *Indian Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 34 (3), 239-244. DOI: 10.4103/ijsp.ijsp_6_18
- Srivastava, S., & Singh, P. (2015). Psychosocial roots of stigma of homosexuality and its impact on the lives of sexual minorities in India. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 3(8), 128-136. doi: 10.4236/jss.2015.38015.
- Thomas, B., Mimiaga, M. J., Mayer, K. H., Perry, N. S., Swaminathan, S., & Safren, S. A. (2012). The influence of stigma on HIV risk behavior among men who have sex with men in Chennai, India. *AIDS Care*, 24(11), 1401-1406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540121.2012.672717>
- Titia, F. B., Cohen-Kettenis, P. T., & Kreukels, B. P.C. (2015). Gender incongruence/ gender dysphoria and its classification history. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 1-8. doi:10.3109/09540261.2015.1091293
- Tomori, C., McFall, A. M., Srikrishnan, A. K., Mehta, S. H., Solomon, S. S., Anand, S., Vasudevan, C. K., Solomon, S., & Celentano, D. D. (2016). Diverse Rates of Depression Among Men Who Have Sex with Men (MSM) Across India: Insights from a Multi-site Mixed Method Study. *AIDS and Behavior*, 20(2), 304-316. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10461-015-1201-0>
- Tripathi, Laxmi Narayan (2015). *Me Hijra, Me Laxmi*. Translated by R. Raj Rao and P. G. Joshi, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP V (2010) *Hijras / Transgender Women in India: HIV, Human Rights and Social Exclusion*. UNDP, India 1-15.
- Vidya, Living Smile (2007). *I am Vidya. A Transgender's Journey*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications, New Delhi
- Wandrekar, J.R., & Nigudkar, A.S. (2020). What do we know about LGBTQIA+ mental health in India? A review of research from 2009 to 2019. *Journal of Psychosexual Health*, 2(1), 26-36. doi:10.1177/2631831820918129
- World Health Organization. (n.d.) *Gender and Health*. <https://www.who.int/health-topics/gender>
- World Health Organization. (n.d.). WHO/Europe brief — transgender health in the context of ICD-11. WHO/Europe brief – transgender health in the context of ICD-11

12.8 ADDITIONAL ONLINE RESOURCES

- Naz Foundation (nazindia.org)
- Ch_IV_04.pdf (un.org)
- LGBT Human Rights: Declaration of Montreal
- Yogyakartaprinciples.org – The Application of International Human Rights Law in relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Legal_Services_Authority_v._Union_of_India
- <https://www.healthline.com/health/different-genders#a-d>
- https://www.indianlgbthealth.info/Home/Sexual_Behavior.html



