MASCULINITY, INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND SON PREFERENCE IN INDIA

A STUDY

United Nations Population Fund – India

ICRW International Center for Research on Women
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The report provides the results of a study undertaken by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) in partnership with the UNFPA India and Asia and Pacific Regional Office. The study looks at men's attitudes and practices around gender inequality, son preference and intimate partner violence. The objective is to understand predictors of masculinities and how varying forms of masculinity affect men's desire for sons and their perpetration of violence against their intimate partners.

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International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)

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Foreword

Initiatives aimed at gender equality have often considered women as the key entry points and sometimes exclusively focused on women's empowerment. With the unrelenting influence of patriarchy as a force behind many of the gender related manifestations such as son preference and violence, alternative pathways to achieve gender equality have been much debated. Among these pathways, outreach and involvement of men and boys is increasingly being acknowledged as most critical.

Recognizing the role men play in decision-making at all levels and the authority they exert owing to the gendered identity ascribed to them, their participation in achieving gender equality is not only necessary but also inevitable. The ICPD Programme of Action (International Conference on Population and Development, 1994) has elaborated on this aspect in saying that men play a key role in most societies, they exercise preponderant power in every sphere of life… to promote gender equality, it is necessary to encourage and enable men to take responsibility for their sexual and reproductive behavior and their social and family roles.

UNFPA in India is supporting diverse initiatives to enable involvement of men and boys in furthering gender equality and human rights. Efforts at imparting gender sensitive life skills education in and out of school are focused as much on boys as girls. Similarly, support to on ground programmes has enabled outreach to men operating within an institutional set-up such as the Panchayats or the health system. This has included imparting an understanding of gender norms and the manner in which they influence the ability of men as well as women in exercising their rights and even accessing services. In contributing to policy processes, another critical area of support has been evidence building and research.

This study on Masculinity, Intimate Partner Violence and Son Preference was commissioned to the International Center for Research on Women to contribute to an evolving body of work on attitudes of men and boys and how these may impede or facilitate gender equality. The present study specifically endeavors to assess men's attitudes towards son preference in exploring triggers that might enable men to be change agents in tackling gender discrimination. It also delineates the elements that contribute to the various shades of masculinity itself and how these variations affect the making of boys and men. While men are commonly seen as perpetrators of violence, the study attempts to grasp how violence is at times considered integral to the gendered definition of masculinity, and in doing so, it tries to explore alternative expressions of masculinity.

It is hoped that the study has made a valuable contribution to research and policy and programmatic interventions that will engage men and boys as co-travelers in the journey towards gender equality.

Frederika Meijer
UNFPA India Representative

List of Acronyms

CSPro	Census and Survey Processing System
GEM	Gender Equitable Men
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IRB	Institutional Review Board
MASVAW	Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women
MFI	Micro Finance Institutions
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NSS	National Sample Survey
PCPNDT	Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Technique
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
P4P	Partners for Prevention
PPS	Probability Proportional to Size
PWDV	Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act
RSH	Reproductive and Sexual Health
SRB	Sex Ratio at Birth
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

Contents

Executive Summary

The past two decades have witnessed increasing interest in engaging men and boys to ensure their role in achieving gender equality. Notably, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and later, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, marked turning points in the manner in which men and masculinities were conceived and situated within the discourse of women's empowerment and gender equality. Previously, men and boys were often seen as part of the problem and obstacles to women's struggle for equality; they were rarely identified as an essential part of the solution.

Over the years, however, in-depth research on gender, power and masculinity and various programmatic efforts to engage men made it abundantly clear that men and boys must be an integral part of efforts to promote gender equality. This is especially relevant in India, where caste, class and linguistic ethnicity have tremendous influence on how men construct their sense of masculinity and define what it means to be a "real man" or what is expected of them. Recent research suggests that men's attitudes and more broadly, masculinity, perpetuate son preference and to some extent, intimate partner violence in India.

In the present study conducted by ICRW in collaboration with UNFPA, we further adapt the IMAGES methodology to more deeply understand masculinity's intrinsic relationship with son preference and intimate partner violence in seven Indian states. Our primary objective was to assess the dimensions and determinants of men's knowledge, attitudes and behavior on issues related to gender equality, son preference and intimate partner violence.

Men and women's behavior and attitudes were explored to offer a comparative understanding and insights for gender differentiated policies and programs to address gender equity. How women internalize male dominance and control in their lives and its effect on their own attitudes towards gender inequality and son preference were important aspects of this study. The study also offers a better understanding of women's internalization of societal norms of masculinity.

For our research, we surveyed a total of 9,205 men and 3,158 women, aged 18-49 in the following seven states across India: Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana (counted as one, since they are contiguous states with cultural overlap), Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra. These states were chosen because of their large size in terms of population, diverse demographic compositions and their varying sex ratio trends – an indicator of son preference.

Key Findings

Overall, we found that economically better off, educated men who grew up in families where they saw parents making decisions jointly, were less likely to be violent and have a preference for sons.

The data that emerged from the study puts a spotlight on the high prevalence of intimate partner violence in India, with 52% of the women surveyed reporting that they had experienced some form of violence during their lifetime; and 60% of men said that they had acted violently against their wife/partner at some point in their lives. According to the study, men who did exert control through violence were diverse in age, educational status, place of residence and caste status. Educated men and women who were 35 years old or more were less likely to perpetrate or experience violence.

Regardless of age, men who experience economic stress were more likely to have perpetrated violence ever or in the past 12 months. This may be because of norms related to masculinity, which reinforce the expectation that men are primary economic providers for their households. Economic stress can therefore threaten men's belief in their own abilities and may lead them to be more controlling of and violent towards their partners.

With increasing education and wealth status, we also found that men were less likely to exercise control over their partners and more likely to respect equitable norms. Men who had graduated from higher secondary schooling or above were two and a half times more likely to hold equitable traits, and men who fell in the highest wealth tertile were twice as likely to be less rigid.

Education certainly provides a higher level of exposure to new gender norms, and educated men may be more likely to have educated spouses. Education and economic status may also create less pressure for men to conform to dominant societal expectations to behave in a rigidly masculine manner. If the spouse is educated then she may likely have more autonomy and will be more resistant to her husbands control over her.

In terms of preference for sons over daughters, an overwhelming majority of men and women considered it very important to have at least one son in their family. Of those who expressed a preference for more sons or daughters, almost four times as many desired more sons than daughters. Men and women who wanted more sons were typically older, less literate, poorer and more likely to live in a rural setting.

The research showed that economic status played a very significant role in determining men's preference for sons, as men with higher economic status were only half as likely to have a high preference compared to poorer men. Men's past experiences in childhood also had a significant impact on their adult "masculine" behavior, such as preferring sons over daughters. Men with rigid masculinity and women experiencing rigid masculine control showed a significantly greater desire for sons than those with more moderate or equitable masculinity.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study findings emphasize that in India, masculinity, i.e., men's controlling behavior and gender inequitable attitudes, strongly determines men's preference for sons over daughters as well as their proclivity for violence towards an intimate partner – both of which are manifestations of gender inequality. Masculine control in women's lives affects their own experiences of intimate partner violence and preference for sons. To ultimately eliminate son preference and intimate partner violence in India, it is critical to develop and implement national policies and programs that involve men in promoting gender equity and diminishing socio-cultural and religious practices that reinforce gender discrimination.

Within the policy framework, there is a need for new mandates to explicitly recognize gender equality as an integral part of social justice and hold men accountable for engendering social change. At the programmatic level, we must create initiatives that promote dialogue between men and women to challenge intimate partner violence as an acceptable expression of masculinity.

Efforts must also be made to engage with men to participate in peer-to-peer learning, which can help reduce the perpetration of various forms of traditional masculinity and resulting behaviors, such as violence against women. Such interventions need to create a mass base of change agents at the community level that understand the contextual realities of working with men and challenge deep-seated patriarchal attitudes and practices through a process of reflective learning, dialogue and action.

The findings underscore that childhood experiences of discrimination have a strong bearing on adult men and women's attitudes and behavior with regard to masculinity and control. Working on changing norms of gender equality during childhood is critical. Our study results illustrated that education for both men and women appears to reduce the prevalence of intimate partner violence. Therefore, enhancing access to quality education and school completion should continue to be top national priorities. And within school settings, it is imperative to carry out reflective learning programs on gender equality to reach young boys early in their lives. It is also important that school curricula incorporate knowledge on larger societal issues, including relevant laws protecting the rights of women and girls.

Creating national and state-specific public educational campaigns that focus on redefining men and women's roles in the family also should be strongly considered. Campaign messages must recast norms around what it means to be "a real man" and discourage intimate partner violence as well as attitudes that support gender inequality.

Finally, in every effort aimed at eliminating son preference and intimate partner violence, it is essential to bring men and women together in a strategic manner, across different programs and sectors to create spaces where traditional gender roles are confronted and challenged.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background

Global initiatives aimed at achieving positive reproductive health outcomes for women, reducing unintended pregnancy and improving maternal health, increasingly recognize that such outcomes are affected by gender relations, norms and roles commonly ascribed to women and men, and associated inequalities. In response, governments and international donor agencies have increasingly included men in their strategies the development of reproductive health policies and programs that support women's empowerment and gender equality. At the same time more agencies have recognized in the last decade that in order to advance this agenda rigorous data are needed on men's gender-related attitudes and behaviors.

Indeed, since the mid-90s, several studies have shown a significant association between inequitable gender norms among men and the risk of being violent towards their partners or being less likely to use a condom (Pulterwitz et al, 2010). While the mandate after the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) encouraged engaging men to improve reproductive and sexual health outcomes for women, over time, research and advocacy began to highlight the importance of engaging men to improve their own reproductive and sexual health needs. As efforts to involve men multiplied, the need to better understand their behavior emerged.

One ground breaking effort that provided credible evidence to fill this research gap on men's attitudes about gender equality and their association with violence was the 2011 International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), conducted by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Promundo. One of the most comprehensive surveys ever carried out on the attitudes and behaviors of men aged 18-49 years, IMAGES addressed issues related to gender equality, including sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, gender-based violence and men's participation in care-giving and family life (Barker et al, 2011). With studies taking place in several countries, and most recently in Vietnam and Nepal, IMAGES findings reinforced the strong relationship between masculinities and violence. These findings have also placed the evidence on men's attitudes about gender equality at the center of all policy discourses on improving health outcomes for women. What has been less explored, however, are the areas of son preference and intimate partner violence, and how each relates to men's attitudes and more broadly, to masculinities.

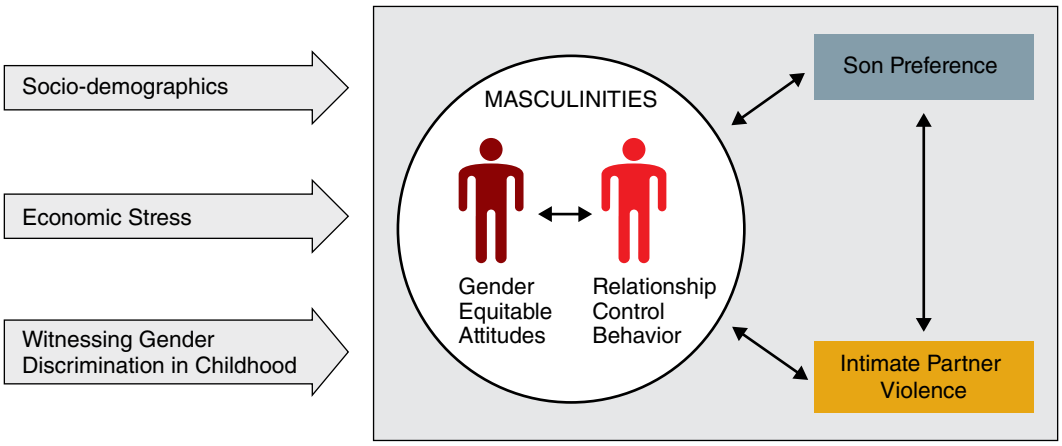
In this study on "Masculinity, Intimate Partner Violence and Son Preference in India," ICRW further adapts the IMAGES methodology to more deeply understand masculinity's intrinsic relationship with son preference among Indian men and with violence perpetrated by men against their partners or spouses in seven states of the country. Our primary objectives were to assess the dimensions and determinants of men's knowledge, behavior and attitudes on issues related to gender equality, son preference and intimate partner violence. We also explored what type of societal factors – such as childhood experiences, economic stress – might contribute to men's behavior and attitudes.

Importantly, we also assessed women's experience of violence as well as their attitudes related to son preference.

Son preference and daughter discrimination on the basis of gender are widespread in India, and they manifest in varying degrees across the socio-cultural and geographic spread of the country. It is the most powerful and fundamental manifestation of gender inequality in the Indian context. The preference for sons is deeply rooted in the Indian socio-cultural context: male children in India hold a central identity in the familial structure, for they inherit property, carry forward family lineage and perform specific family rituals. Meanwhile, daughters are seen as socio-economic burdens owing to the cost of marriage including dowry during marriage, often followed by severing of economic dependence with the natal family. This discrimination towards the girl child is demonstrated at the pre-natal stage through gender biased sex selection in order to ensure daughters are not born. At the post-natal stage, discrimination is palpable in terms of neglect of daughters and preferential treatment towards sons.

Indeed, the societal importance given to boys in India has translated into deep-rooted discriminatory practices against girls and women, with devastating effects on their status, health and development and an enormous pressure to produce sons. In the context of declining family size, restrictive policies on reproduction and limited access to unregulated health services, this pressure can have severe consequences on women's psychological and physical health. For men and boys, it has resulted in stereotypical perceptions about masculinity and socially sanctioned impunity by some to practice violent behavior. The significant male surplus in some populations resulting from the excess of male births since 1980 inevitably has had an impact on the context of both women's and men's entry into partnership or marriage. There is evidence that the lack of women available for marriage has led to increased violence against women, trafficking, abduction, forced marriages or brides being shared among brothers (Guilmoto, 2007). Thus the domains of masculinity, son preference and violence are intimately linked with each other, and at their root lie gender norms and expectations as well as deeply rooted notions of power and patriarchy. Our study brings these critical domains together in an effort to better understand masculinity as a core construct underlying son preference and intimate partner violence.

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework



1.2 The Context

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

India, like many countries, has high levels of violence against women. This has increasingly been recognized as a grave human rights violation with consequences for women's physical, mental, sexual and reproductive health (Campbell, 2002). The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) in 2005-06 found that 40% of women claimed to have

experienced some form of violence from their spouse and 55% perceived violence by spouses to be warranted in several circumstances. The study also revealed that around 62% had experienced physical or sexual violence in the first two years of marriage and 32% in the first five years. With reference to attitudes around intimate partner violence the NFHS (2005-06) survey found that 41% women considered violence a justified act in the scenario of non-confirmation of gender roles and expectations.

Indeed central to the problem of gender-based violence in India is that Indian men and women have been socialized to believe that men's dominance over women is normal and acts of violence against women are justified. The causes of intimate partner violence against women are thus rooted in India's social, cultural and economic context.

In the Indian tradition, women's duties towards housework, procreation and care-giving for family members are central to their gender roles and expectations. Men are entitled to exercise power and, if needed, be violent towards women who do not adhere to these roles and expectations. Sometimes such behavior is rationalized to protect the honor of the family and at other times to display their manhood. Women are therefore expected to endure some violence from their spouse to keep the family relations normal.

Violence against women is a demonstration of male power juxtaposed with the lower status of women. In the context of intimate relationships, violence is a similar manifestation of gender inequality, where given the unequal position of women in the relationship, men perpetrate dominance over them through physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or psychological coercion. In addition to the ideologies of male superiority, research has identified a complex framework of external factors that exacerbate the perpetration of IPV. Alcohol or substance abuse, poverty, women's power and relationship-conflict are a few certain central factors that contribute to IPV (Jewkess, 2002). This framework of factors directly affect men's performance of gender roles and this magnifies the vulnerabilities men face related to adhering to the social expectations of manhood. Gender expectations coupled with this framework of external factors, contribute to conceptions of masculinity as well as men's inability to uphold stereotypical perceptions of masculinity – all of which culminates in the perpetration of violence.

In the past decade, a range of efforts have aimed to address IPV in India. Other than the 'Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2004' several campaigns have been launched to raise awareness to change people's mindset and attitudes towards girls. The Government of India has taken action in a number of ways, with varying degrees of success, from which many lessons can be learnt.

Son Preference

Strong son preference in India is rooted in the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system that tends to place strong normative pressure on families to produce at least one son. Traditionally, sons are essential to carry on family lines and names, to perform ancestor worship and to take care of parents in their old age. Sons are more desired because having a son helps improve a woman's status within the family and a man's masculinity and reputation within the community. Men and women without any sons often experience strong pressures from the extended family and humiliation within the community.

The imbalance in the sex ratio at birth in India is seen as a demographic manifestation of gender inequality resulting from extreme discrimination against women/girls before birth. In order to meet their strong preference of sons, many couples use advanced technologies, like ultrasonography to determine the sex of the fetus (UNFPA, 2011). Despite impressive social achievements in the improvement of women's well-being during the past few decades, son preference still persists in India and hinders the country's efforts towards gender equality.

The Government of India has made several measures in addressing these manifestations of gender inequality. To curb pre-natal sex determination and eradicate son preference, the 'Pre-Conception and Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act' enacted in 1994 and amended in 2003, regulates the use of pre-natal diagnostic techniques. Additionally, measures such as direct subsidies at the time of a girl's birth, scholarship programs, gender-based school quotas or financial incentives, and pension programs for families who have only daughters have also been implemented. Still, despite the presence of a legislative framework, the problem of son preference persists in India.

Renewed and concerted efforts are underway to address deeply rooted gender discrimination against women and girls, which lies at the heart of sex selection. *'The conceptual framework for this study suggests that masculinity, which comprises of relationship control and a stratification of gender inequitable attitudes of men and women, is critical to understanding the reasons underlying the persistent preference for sons in India.'*

Masculinities, IPV and Son Preference

There is no uniform or clear definition of masculinity but broadly it relates to a range of views that men hold about manhood and the extent of control they wish to exercise to feel masculine. External factors such as education, work stress, job security and poverty also contribute to men's likelihood to hold rigid notions about masculinity, which can result in their behavior that is harmful to women. Rigid masculinity is often expressed in the form of violence against women and the practice of son preference. Our findings suggest that skewed perceptions about and expectations of masculinity have a direct relationship to the perpetuation of these practices.

Thus addressing these requires challenging patriarchal norms that constitute men's gender-related attitudes and behaviors around son preference and IPV.

Our study aimed to collect rigorous data to contribute to the growing evidence base on men by adopting the survey tools of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Vietnam and Nepal. IMAGES is one of the most comprehensive surveys ever carried out on the attitudes and behaviors of men aged 18-49 years on issues related to gender equality including sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, gender based violence and men's participation in care-giving and family life (Barker et al, 2011). Our study used a modified version of IMAGES to include a focus on son preference and intimate partner violence.

1.3 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study was to understand the dimensions, nature and determinants of Indian men's attitudes about son preference and intimate partner violence. The specific objectives of the project were to:

a. Assess men's current behavior and attitudes on a wide range of issues as they relate to gender equality

b. Assess men's knowledge and attitudes towards son preference and intimate partner violence (IPV)

c. Explore contributing factors that can be attributed to men's attitudes and behaviors related to IPV and son preference

d. Explore factors that may explain variation in men's behaviors in their family lives and intimate and sexual relationships, including childhood experiences of violence, gender norms in family of origin, stress, migration, and unemployment, among others.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Geographical Coverage

In our effort to better understand how the notion of masculinity influences son preference and intimate partner violence (IPV), we adapted the IMAGES tool to include contextual issues around IPV and son preference in India. We gathered data from men and women across the country's vast geographical spread. We chose the following states to carry out our study due to their significant size and diverse sex ratio:

1. Uttar Pradesh
2. Rajasthan
3. Punjab & Haryana
4. Odisha
5. Madhya Pradesh
6. Maharashtra

In the study Punjab and Haryana were considered as one unit while drawing the sample as they represent contiguous areas with cultural overlaps.

These are fairly large size states of the country in terms of their population and geographical spread. Trends of sex ratio at birth (SRB) in these states are diverse and most of the states have a lower ratio as compared to the national average (Table 2.1). Odisha and Madhya Pradesh were the only states which had a higher SRB as compared to the national average. While over time there has been a decline in the SRB in Odisha, Madhya Pradesh has seen a slight improvement. All other states in the study experienced an increase in SRB, but continue to be way below the national average.

Table 2.1: Sex Ratio at Birth (Number of Girls per 1000 Boys)

India and States	Sex Ratio at Birth		
	2002-04	2006-08	2008-10
India	882	904	905
Uttar Pradesh	859	877	870
Rajasthan	838	870	877
Punjab	797	836	832
Haryana	821	847	848
Odisha	944	937	938
Madhya Pradesh	916	919	921
Maharashtra	878	884	895

Source: Sample Registration System, Office of Registrar General in India

2.2 Sample Size and Sampling Design

To achieve a representative sample of men and women at each state level, the target sample size was fixed at 1,500 men and 500 women, aged 18-49 years. The rationale behind the sample size for men and women is based on the approach used in the IMAGES study. Considering a 10% non-response, the overall sample size for men and women was inflated to 1,650 men and 550 women.

A multistage cluster sampling approach was adopted for the selection of the samples in each state. States were divided into regions based on National Sample Survey (NSS) classification and the allocation of samples was done in proportion to the population size of the region. From this, Primary Sampling Units (PSU) were selected which overlap with census wards in urban areas and villages or group of villages (in case of small neighboring villages) in rural areas. Once PSUs were selected for each state, the respondents were selected from each urban and rural PSU. Samples of men and women were distributed in a 60 to 40 ratio on the basis of residence in rural and urban areas, to ensure accurate demographic representation. Women's PSUs were first selected from the master sampling frame, then removed, after which men's PSUs were selected from the remaining PSUs. In each state the women's sample was drawn from 26 PSUs (16 rural and 10 urban) and men's sample from 75 PSUs (44 rural and 31 urban). The allocation of PSU within all states is presented in Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1.

The following steps were used for the selection of PSUs:

Selection of Rural PSUs

Step 1: Each state was first classified by NSS regions; PSUs were then allocated to these NSS regions in proportion to the population size.

Step 2: Based on Census data (2001) each NSS region was classified as either of the two population strata proportionate to which PSUs were allocated:

i. Stratum 1: Village with population <1,500 (<300 households)

ii. Stratum 2: Village with population >1,501 population (>301 households)

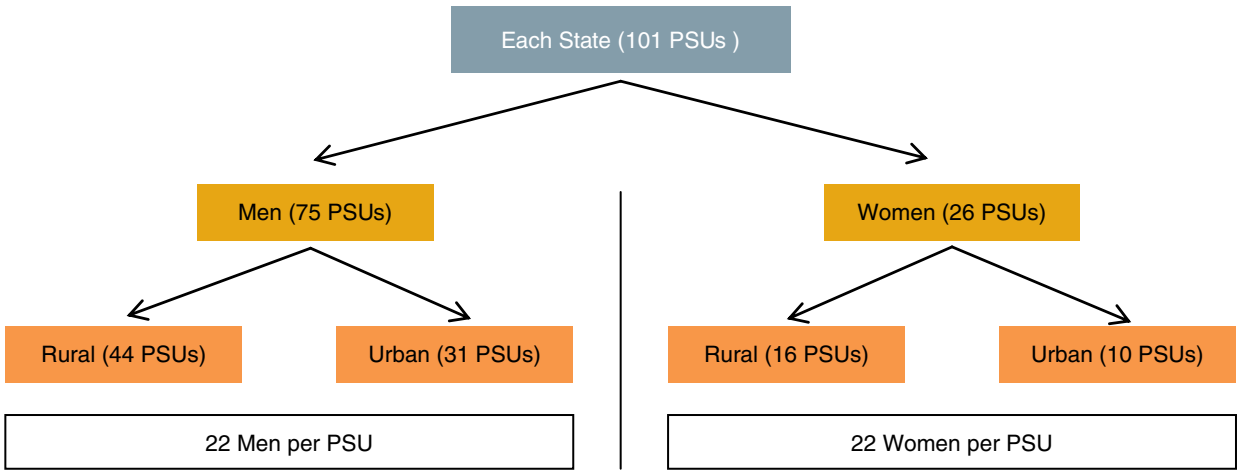
Step 3: From the population-based stratification, PSUs were first sampled for women respondents using the PPS systematic random sampling method after which the selected PSUs were removed from the sampling universe. Sampling for male respondents was done from the remaining PSUs.

Table 2.2: Distribution of PSUs in States

States	Regions as per NSS*	State-wise Coverage of PSUs					
		Men			Women		
		Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Uttar Pradesh	5	44	31	75	16	10	26
Rajasthan	5	44	31	75	16	10	26
Maharashtra	6	44	31	75	16	10	26
Madhya Pradesh	6	44	31	75	16	10	26
Odisha	3	44	31	75	16	10	26
Punjab & Haryana	4	44	31	75	16	10	26
Total	29	264	186	450	96	60	156

Note: Within the states, higher number of PSUs was allocated to bigger regions; NSS: National Sample Survey

Figure 2.1: Sampling at Glance



Step 4: Units which were above the chosen population size (1,500) were divided into segments of equal size after which two segments were selected at random. Villages which did not match the population criteria by being too small were linked with neighboring villages for the purpose of sample selection.

Through this process a total number of 44 male PSU and 16 female PSU were selected from rural areas.

Selection of Urban PSUs

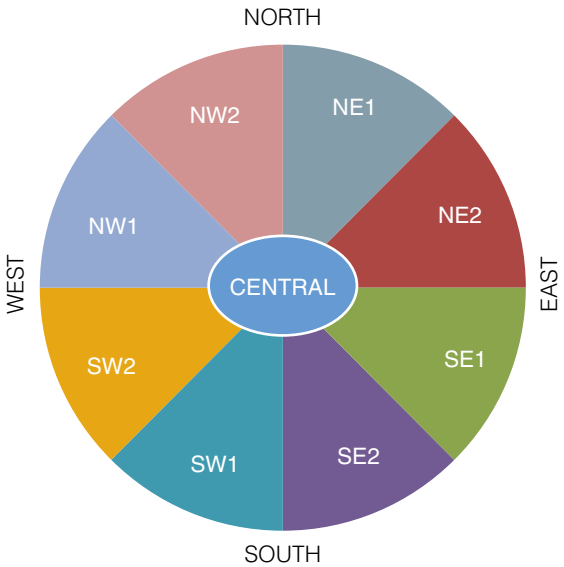
Step 1: Each state was first classified by NSS regions; based on Census data (2001) each NSS region was classified amongst three population strata proportionate to which wards/PSUs were allocated:

- Stratum I: Cities/towns with population ≤1 lakh population
- Stratum II: Cities/towns having between 1 and 5 lakh population
- Stratum III: Cities/towns with ≥5 lakh population

Step 2: Within these strata, town wards were arranged in descending order of population. The required number of sample wards were selected using systematic random sampling procedure.

Step 3: Given the large size and population coverage of wards, wards were segmented. Each selected ward was divided into nine notional geographical segments (Figure 2.2) to remove bias in selection and efficiently cover the selection of respondents.

Figure 2.2: Notional Map of Wards



Step 4: Two of these segments were selected using systematic random sampling procedure.

Step 5: Each segment was further classified into clusters consisting of 150 households. If the selected segment was a mix of slum and non-slum areas, the cluster was selected from the area (slum/non slum) that had maximum population.

Through this process a total number of 31 male PSU and 10 female PSU were selected from urban areas.

Stage 6: Selection of Respondents: Within the chosen PSUs, a listing exercise was carried out to create a list of target respondents – men and women between the ages of 18 and 49. These lists served as the sampling frame through which individual respondents were selected using systematic random sampling method.

2.3 Study Tool

The tool is adapted from the International Men Attitude and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) and Partner for Prevention (P4P) tools used in several multi-country studies on gender attitudes, violence and preference for sons. The questionnaire was translated inter-regional languages (Hindi, Marathi and Oriya), tested in the field before finalization. To maintain uniformity across the questionnaires for men and women, a uniform classification of questions was used. The questionnaire took about 45 – 60 minutes to be fully administered in the field.

The questionnaire design follows the study's focus areas i.e. men's and women's attitudes towards gender equity, son preference, reproductive health, violence (IPV and other forms), and existing policies. The following is an overview of the areas in the questionnaire:

- Socio-demographic characteristics and employment: Current age, education, marital status, dowry practices, caste/ethnicity, religion, type of family, sources of income, employment experience, unemployment and underemployment, stress and reactions associated with unemployment.
- Childhood experiences: Childhood experiences of violence, childhood trauma, witnessing of gender-based violence, gender-related attitudes perceived in family of origin.
- Attitudes about relations between men and women and son preference: Attitudes toward gender equality, masculinity, son preference and women's reproductive rights.
- Intimate relationships: Decision-making on household matters, use of violence (physical, sexual, psychological) against partner and men's use of sexual violence against non-partners.
- Reproductive history of wife/partner and fatherhood: Date of last pregnancy, practices of ultrasound and outcomes of last pregnancy.
- Preference of family size and composition: Sex preference, importance given to having son or daughter and reasons behind this preference.
- Knowledge about abortion: Knowledge about legal conditions of abortion, place for safe abortion services and previous experience of abortion if any.
- Health and well-being: Mental health issues (depression, suicidal ideation), lifestyle related questions (substance or alcohol abuse).
- Awareness and attitudes on various policies: Attitudes toward various gender equality policies in the country.
- Household assets and characteristics: Source of water, type of toilet facility, type of house, cooking fuel and varying types of assets in households for calculating wealth index.

- Other questions: Sexual experience and satisfaction with sexual life, sexual behavior, experience of any signs and symptoms of STIs and use of or victimization by violence in other contexts. This set of questions was only included in the men's questionnaire.

2.4 Survey Implementation, Data Collection, Processing and Quality Monitoring

2.4.1 Survey Implementation

For the implementation of the survey a request for proposal was circulated among the reputed field research agencies. AC Nielsen India Pvt. Ltd. was selected for the implementation of the study through a competitive bidding process.

Training of Trainers and State-Level Training of Investigators

A five-day rigorous training of trainers (ToT) conducted by ICRW was held in New Delhi where the core team members and field executives from all six study states attended. An extensive gender sensitization workshop by ICRW experts and UNFPA representatives was organized during the training in addition to sessions on gender-based violence, research ethics and field-related processes.

After the ToT, state-level training was conducted for field teams in Punjab and Haryana to prepare the teams for field challenges, to anticipate and address similar situations in other selected states. After a three day listing training, the listing exercise was launched in the field at least 10 days ahead of the main survey training, in order to have a sampling frame ready by the time the main field teams were ready for fieldwork after their training. A six day main survey training was organized for the field teams for each state separately following the launch of the first field study. The data collection happened in phases to allow for the ICRW research and quality assurance team to be present in the trainings.

The trainings comprised of classroom interactions, field practice and debriefing sessions. Steps were taken to make the classroom sessions interactive by encouraging questions, using visual aids such as black/white boards, audio-visual presentations as well as organizing mock/practice interviews. Investigators were selected based on minimum educational requirements (Bachelor's degree) and further screened for the final data collection after the training and observation of their work over the first few days of data collection.

2.4.2 Data Collection and Processing

In a selected PSU, a first step was to identify the area's boundaries by verifying the space using State Census Office maps and/or talking to knowledgeable members of the community. Listing teams were responsible for preparing a layout map of PSUs. During household listing operation the information on the number of eligible men/women in the structure, name of eligible men/women, address etc., was collected. Using this information the sampling frame was prepared. The house listing exercise was pivotal for this type of a survey as it provided the sample frame from which target respondents were to be chosen.

Towards the listing exercise for 75 male PSUs, 15 teams consisting of one lister and one mapper were deployed in each state to complete the sampling activity in one month. In the case of the 26 female PSUs, 5 teams of one lister and one mapper were deployed in states for the same length of time. For the main survey in male PSUs, 5 teams consisting of four male interviews and one supervisor were deployed to each state. For the female PSUs, 4 teams

Table 2.3: Sample Coverage by States						
States	Target					
	Men			Women		
	Actual	Inflated	Response Rate	Actual	Inflated	Response Rate
Uttar Pradesh	1500	1650	92.6	500	550	95.6
Rajasthan	1500	1650	91.8	500	550	91.2
Punjab & Haryana	1500	1650	89.9	500	550	97.8
Odisha	1500	1650	97.6	500	550	94.3
Madhya Pradesh	1500	1650	90.9	500	550	91.1
Maharashtra	1500	1650	94.8	500	550	95.5
Total	9000	9900	92.9	3000	3300	95.6

were deployed with a small team size of two female interviewers and one supervisor. The teams worked under the overall supervision of a field executive. The lead professionals from ICRW were present in the field during the initiation of field work, to ensure that the initial problems were solved and the quality of data collection was maintained. The quality assurance team member of ICRW was present in the field for the entire duration of data collection.

A total of 9,205 men and 3,158 women were covered in the study. The actual and inflated sample size and non-response rate by state and overall is presented in Table 2.3.

During the data collection and fieldwork, core team members from ICRW regularly visited the study sites to ensure interview quality and respondents' safety. In a few cases respondents refused to be a part of the survey for reasons like paucity of time or ill health.

A data-entry program with in-built consistency and range checks was prepared in Census Survey and Processing System (CSPro) and was utilized for data entry. Data was double entered to ensure that it was free from data entry errors. After the completion of data entry, data was cleaned; this process involved the identification of missing data, range and distribution checks, and internal reliability and validity checks for important variables.

2.4.3 Quality Control and Monitoring Mechanism

Quality control mechanisms were put in place in all phases of the study. The following measures were taken to ensure the quality of the data:

- Interviewer manual: The interviewer manual contained details of the survey procedures, eligibility criteria, interviewing techniques and provided clarifications on individual questions and codes. The interviewer manual set the benchmark for different activities discussed above and was the reference document for fieldwork conduct that included behavioral conduct for investigators and supervisors, professional conduct, communication and reporting, respondent selection criteria, fieldwork monitoring protocols, instructions for recording responses and coding for questions.
- Scrutiny of questionnaires: All the filled in questionnaires were carefully scrutinized by field supervisors before leaving the village/ward. The supervisor was responsible for the scrutiny with special emphasis on logical checks and interrelations between responses to various questions in different sections. The interviewers were sent back to the respondent for clarification, if required. Further, supervisors looking after the household survey made spot-checks and back-checks in 20% of the schedules completed by the interviewers in their team.
- Refusals and non-response: To ensure quality field data collection the records of all non-response, refusals and incomplete interviews were documented. Teams often had to revisit PSUs to ensure the desired sample size.

- Regular monitoring: The field executives monitored the performance of the supervisors who in-turn maintained a performance sheet for the investigators on a daily basis. The field executive also visited the survey sites to observe quality of data being gathered and work of the supervisors. Random checks on 10% of completed interviews were conducted by field executives. Regular reports were sent to the project coordinator on the progress of the fieldwork, problems faced and to seek clarifications, if any. Field executives also organized debriefing and feedback sessions whenever required.
- Involvement of researchers: The researchers were also involved during all phases of the fieldwork with regular interactions with investigators, supervisors and the field executives to have a detailed account of how the quality of data was being monitored. Regular feedback sessions with field teams were also conducted by researchers to gather insights on the actual field situation, share experiences and problems in data collection and solutions arrived at.
- Quality monitors: In addition to the above, independent quality assurance monitors, reporting directly to ICRW, were recruited for monitoring the data. The role of monitors was to accompany the teams and review the listing and selection process, accompany the interviewers in some sections and review the filled in tools. They also supported teams during the consent process and provided feedback to teams on a daily basis. These monitors kept on rotating from one team to other throughout the survey.

2.5 Sample Weights

Appropriate weights were developed taking into account the sampling design and the sample allocations made to different units at different levels of sampling. The study covered six states or state groups, and in each state both rural and urban areas with a specific sampling design described above. As the study covered male and females ages 18-49 years separately, weights were worked out separately for them at all the levels.

As an example, the steps involved in arriving at the weights for rural-male sample for a given state are presented below:

Step 1: The formula used for developing initial weights is:

$$W_{ijk1} = P_{ij} / p_{ij} * S_{ijk} / s_{ijk} * H_{ijk} / h_{ijk}$$

Where,

W_{ijk1} = The initial weight corresponding to all the HHs in 'k'th PSU

P_{ij} = Total rural population of the 'j'th stratum (2001 Census) [j=1,2] of 'i'th region [i=1,2,3,4,5]

p_{ij} = Population of the sampled PSUs of the 'j'th stratum in the 'i'th region (2001 Census)

S_{ijk} = Total number of segments of approximately equal size made in the 'k'th PSU of the 'j'th stratum of the 'i'th region

s_{ijk} = Number of segments selected in the 'k'th PSU of the 'j'th stratum in the 'i'th region

H_{ijk} = Total number of males listed in the 'k'th PSU of the 'j'th stratum in the 'i'th region

h_{ijk} = Number of achieved sample of males in the 'k'th PSU of the 'j'th stratum in the 'i'th region

Step 2: The so obtained weights were normalized as follows:

$$W_{ijk} = n_{ij} * W_{ijk1} / \sum n_{ijk} * W_{ijk1}$$

Where,

nij = Number of men with completed interviews in the 'j'th stratum of the 'i'th region

nijk = Sample achieved in the 'k'th' PSU of the 'j'th' stratum in the 'i'th region

In the same manner, the weights for urban males and rural and urban females were developed.

Development of State Level Weights

To arrive at the state level weights, first rural-urban weights were calculated to take account of the disproportionate sample distribution between rural and urban areas in any given state. Accordingly, state level weights (Ws) were calculated using the following formula:

Ws = Wr*Sr/sr

Ws = Wu*Su/su

Where,

Sr = Percentage of HHs in rural areas according to Census 2001

sr = Percentage of HHs in rural areas as per the sample allocation

Su = Percentage of HHs in urban areas according to Census 2001

su = Percentage of HHs in urban areas as per the sample allocation

Weights for the Combined Estimate (of All the Six States Put Together – Pan Level)

For the combined estimate, the weights were calculated using the following formula:

Wsi*P'i(r/u)/S'i(r/u)

Where,

P'i(r/u) = Pi/∑Pi*100 [i=1-6]

S'i(r/u) = Si/∑Si*100

Pi = Total rural/urban population of the 'i'th state

Si = Total rural/urban sample allocated to 'i'th state

2.6 Ethical Considerations

The study protocol, sampling method, study tools were approved by ICRW's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The study teams including the researchers, field executives, interviewers and supervisors were made aware of the sensitivity of the topic being explored under the study and were encouraged to minimize discomfort to study participants. The ethical guidelines on studying sensitive issues were strictly followed throughout the data collection phase and analysis. To protect the rights of the respondents, we obtained their verbal consent to participate in the interviews after providing them important information regarding the purpose of the study, nature of information required, benefits of the study, assuring them of anonymity and confidentiality. To ensure that respondents understood what they were agreeing to, the consent form was prepared in vernacular language using simple and clear statements. Further, the interviewers were encouraged to respond to questions, if any, asked by the respondents and provide necessary clarifications.

The consent form was read to the respondents and they were in turn asked to provide their verbal consent to participate in the interview. For those respondents who gave their consent for the interview, the interviewer signed and dated the consent form before the interview was started.

Furthermore, privacy during the interview process was safeguarded to the extent possible. Care was taken to ensure that individual interviews took place in isolation whether inside the respondent's house or outside to maintain some level of privacy. This process was especially challenging in urban slum areas. However, interviewers and supervisors worked with community and family members to ensure the privacy for respondents.

2.7 Challenges and Limitations

There were a range of challenges and limitations that emerged during the study. All necessary measures were taken to overcome these for the successful completion of the study. The target group of men, in the age group of 18 to 49 years, were difficult to access as they often were working long hours or working in other towns. In some cases, field teams had to conduct interviews late at night or early in the morning not to disturb the male respondent's work and responsibilities. This was challenging for field teams who were stationed in areas with no infrastructure to support visitors, for example, in villages far from commercial areas.

To maximize on the time and use of field investigators, the field team size was altered. Smaller but more teams were reconfigured to visit a larger spread of PSUs in a given time frame, allowing the teams more flexibility to access male respondents. After the initial survey experience, the presence of field monitors and supervisors was made less apparent. It was observed that respondents became uncomfortable in the presence of a third person in the room given the sensitive nature of the study and questions. Their presence also affected the confidentiality agreement made with respondents.

2.8 Analysis, Variable and Index Construction

The study's conceptual framework uses variables, whose relations, associations and impacts have been confirmed by previous research (UNFPA, 2011; Barker et al, 2011; IMAGES). This report focuses mainly on descriptive statistics and bi-variate analyses of the associations between age, educational levels, type of family, place of residence, experiencing or witnessing discrimination or harassment during childhood, gender equitable attitudes and control within relationship, son preference and so on. The Pearson chi-square test was used to measure the association and relations of variables for which $p<0.05$ was considered statistically significant at 95% and $p<0.001$ was considered as significant at 99%. In addition, multivariate logistic regression was carried out on key variables of interest in the study. Some of the key variables that were constructed for the analysis are explained below and others are explained in detail in following chapters.

Gender Equitable Attitude Scale: As a measure of men's gender-related attitudes, this study applied the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale, originally developed by the Population Council and Promundo with young men aged 15-24 years (Barker et al, 2011) and later adopted by IMAGES for samples of adult men. Men and women were assessed using attitudinal statements (numbering 27 and 26 respectively) on gender attitudes including sexuality, violence, household tasks, homophobia, male/female roles. Their responses were captured on a four-point scale of 'Strongly Agree', 'Agree', 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Disagree'. Using factor analysis and after assessing the reliability of data (Cronbach alpha 0.70 for men and 0.67 for women) a composite index of respondent's gender attitudes was constructed. The scaled results were trichomatized by their total scores and categorized as 'Low Equity', 'Moderate Equity' and High Equity'.

Economic Stress: This is a binary index created from responses to six statements related to stress or depression as a result of work or income deficiencies. Responses were categorized into 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree', and then further clubbed into two categories of 'disagree' and 'agree', based on which a composite variable for economic stress was created.

Witnessing/Experience of Discrimination/Harassment During Childhood: This index was created using 15 statements related to respondents' own experience or witnessing of discrimination/harassment during the childhood, i.e., when he/she was growing up, before age 18. The responses were captured on four-point scale. An index was created taking these statements and responses into consideration. The details of the statements and construction of the index is explained in Chapter 3.

Son Preference Attitudes: A son-preference attitude variable was created based on eight of the 12 attitudinal statements about different dimensions of son-preference after factor analysis and assessing reliability of the data (Cronbach alpha 0.68 for men and 0.74 for women). This variable was constructed using a process similar to that applied to the GEM scale. Based on their scores, respondents were then categorized into 'low', 'medium' or 'high' levels of son preference. Detail of the statements and distribution is presented in Chapter 6.

Control within Relationship: A relationship control index was created from responses to nine statements which were captured on a four-point scale similar to that of GEMs. The scores were trichomatized into 'low', 'moderate' and 'high'.

Chapter 3

Profile of Survey Respondents

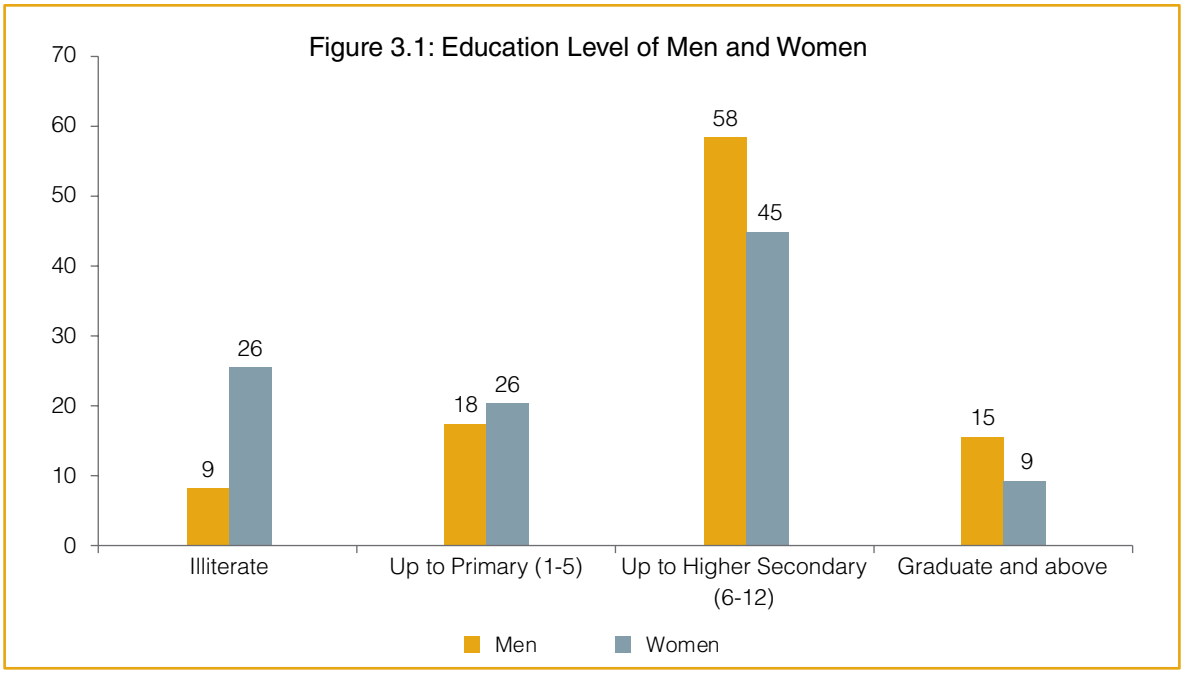
This chapter presents the profiles of the men and women who participated in the study. The first part of the chapter focuses on the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants such as their age distribution, education level, caste, religion, occupation, marital status, type of marriage, type of family they reside in, place of residence, etc. This is followed by a discussion of their partner's characteristics (for those who ever had partners) such as their age, education level, income and decision making and sharing of household chores, etc. These characteristics are analyzed and presented as they could have a differential impact on study variables. In addition to this, we have also presented some of the key determinants of masculinity, such as economic stress and experience of discrimination during childhood. The relationship of these variables with masculinity and other outcomes of violence and son preference are addressed in later chapters of the report.

3.1 Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile

At the aggregate level the mean age of male respondents of the study was 31 years old while for women it was 30 years old. The distribution shows that an equal proportion (31%) of men were in the age group 18-24 years and 25-34 years, while a slightly higher proportion of men (37%) were in the older cohort of 34-49 years. The distribution was also similar across age categories among women.

Table 3.1: Age Distribution of Men and Women

Age Category State/Aggregate		18-24 years	25-34 years	35-49 years	Mean Age	N
Aggregate	Men	31.2	31.5	37.3	30.8	9205
	Women	32.7	34.0	33.2	30.1	3158
Uttar Pradesh	Men	31.0	31.5	37.5	30.7	1529
	Women	36.7	33.7	29.7	29.3	526
Rajasthan	Men	33.9	31.6	34.5	29.8	1515
	Women	27.7	34.1	38.2	30.9	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	34.7	30.1	35.2	30.4	1484
	Women	34.9	34.6	30.5	29.4	538
Odisha	Men	27.1	31.2	41.8	31.9	1611
	Women	33.0	35.0	32.0	30.2	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	32.2	27.9	39.8	31.0	1501
	Women	30.1	33.3	36.5	30.7	501
Maharashtra	Men	29.8	33.9	36.2	30.8	1565
	Women	30.7	31.8	37.5	30.9	525



The state-wise distribution by age shows that the proportion of men in older categories was higher in Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, while in Rajasthan and Punjab and Haryana the distribution is same in all categories. Interestingly among women, only in Punjab and Haryana and Uttar Pradesh the proportion of women in the ages 35-49 years was around 30% or less.

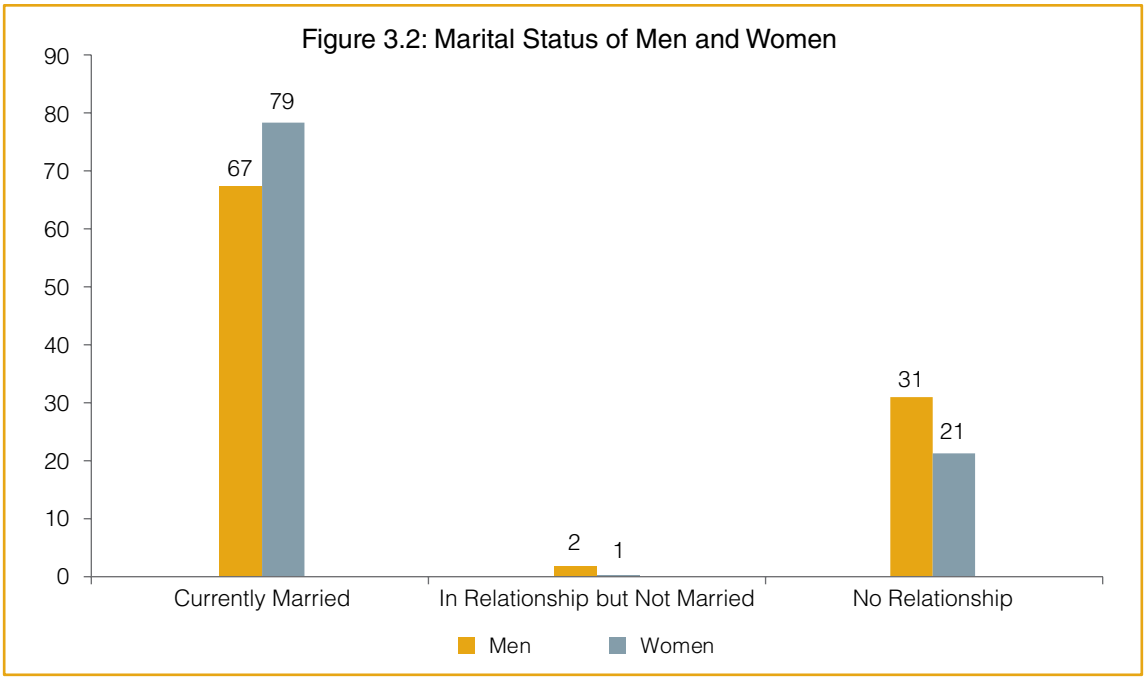
Nearly three-fourths of the surveyed men (73%) had attained education up to higher secondary or above, whereas among women it was a little more than half (54%) (Figure 3.1). One-fourth of the sampled women were illiterate and only one-fifth of them had attended school up to primary. Less than 10% of the surveyed men were illiterate (Figure 3.1) and in totality men had on an average higher literacy than women in the sample.

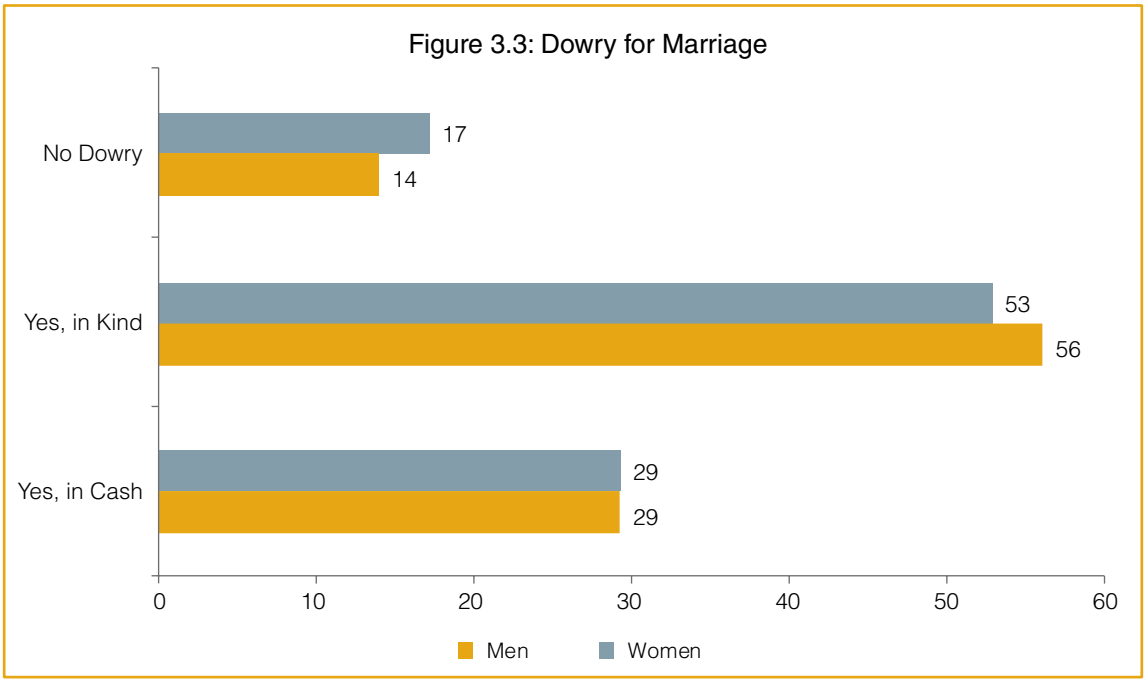
Educational attainment among men and women showed that in all states, except for Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh (where more than 10% of men in the sample were illiterate), the proportion of illiterate men was very low, with the lowest in Maharashtra. Among women nearly two-fifths in Rajasthan (41%) were illiterate followed by Uttar Pradesh (36%) and Madhya Pradesh (35%) (Annexure Table A3.1).

More than three-fourths of the women and three-fifths of the men in the sample were currently married and a very small proportion of men and women reported to be in a relationship but not married (Figure 3.2).

State-wise results reveal that little less than one-third of the men reported having no relationship; the percentage of such men was highest in Punjab and Haryana where 37% of men reported having no relationship. Among women, Uttar Pradesh is the only state where nearly one-fourth (24%) of the women reported no relationship followed by Maharashtra (22%) and Punjab and Haryana (21%). In all other states less than 20% of the women reported having no relationship (Annexure Table A3.2).

Men and women were asked about the type of marriage they had. More than three-fourths of the men (78%) and women (75%) reported that their marriage was arranged and they agreed to it willingly (Annexure Table A3.3). A majority of men (85%) and women (76%) reported that their spouse is of the same caste and religion but from a different village/town in the same state (Annexure Table A3.3). The trend was similar across the states such as Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, where 12% and 13% respectively reported that they had chosen their partners





and married with elders consent. Among women, interestingly 10% in Rajasthan reported that they had chosen their partner and married without elders consent (Annexure Table A3.3). Women in Odisha (5.4%) and Maharashtra (3.8%) reported having married outside their caste/religion while in all the other states the proportion of this is very low (Annexure Table A3.3).

Men and women were asked about getting or giving dowry in the marriage respectively. A majority of them reported getting or giving dowry in the marriage either in the form of cash or kind (Figure 3.3). Among the states it is notable that in Maharashtra more than two-fifths (46%) of the women and slightly less than one-fourth of the men (24%) reported no dowry in marriage. Following Maharashtra, little more than one-fifth of the men (22%) and women (22%) in Odisha also reported no dowry in the marriage (Annexure Table A3.4).

Table 3.2: Religion and Caste Distribution of Men and Women		
	Men	Women
Religion		
Hindu	82.2	79.1
Muslim	12.1	13.8
Sikh	2.9	2.9
Others	2.7	4.1
Caste		
Scheduled Caste	19.6	19.2
Scheduled Tribe	8.6	8.5
Other Backward Classes	41.5	44.8
General	30.3	27.6
Total N	9205	3158

A majority of men (82%) and women (79%) in the sample were Hindu and a small sample of men (12%) and women (14%) reported following Islam. Caste distribution shows that more than two-fifths of men (42%) and women (45%) belong to other backward classes (Table 3.2). The proportion of men and women who belong to a scheduled tribe is less than 10% at the aggregate level and a little more than one-fourth of the men (30%) and women (28%) reported to be from the general category. Among the states the proportion of Muslims is slightly higher in Uttar Pradesh as compared to others, in Punjab and Haryana the proportion of Sikhs is nearly one-fourth of the sample (Annexure Table A3.5). Except for Punjab and Haryana, where 37% of men and 38% of women belong to a scheduled caste, the proportion of scheduled castes in all other states of the sample is around 20% or less. In most states except for Punjab and Haryana the proportion of men and women belonging to other backward classes is higher than 30% and in Uttar Pradesh nearly half of the men (49%) and three-fifth of the women (59%) belong to this category.

The sample was distributed to have an appropriate representation of both urban and rural areas, and the sample achieved this in-line with the expected distribution. Around three-fifths of both men (59%) and women (61%) belonged to rural areas (Figure 3.4). Among men, a higher proportion (58%) reported to be living in a non-nuclear

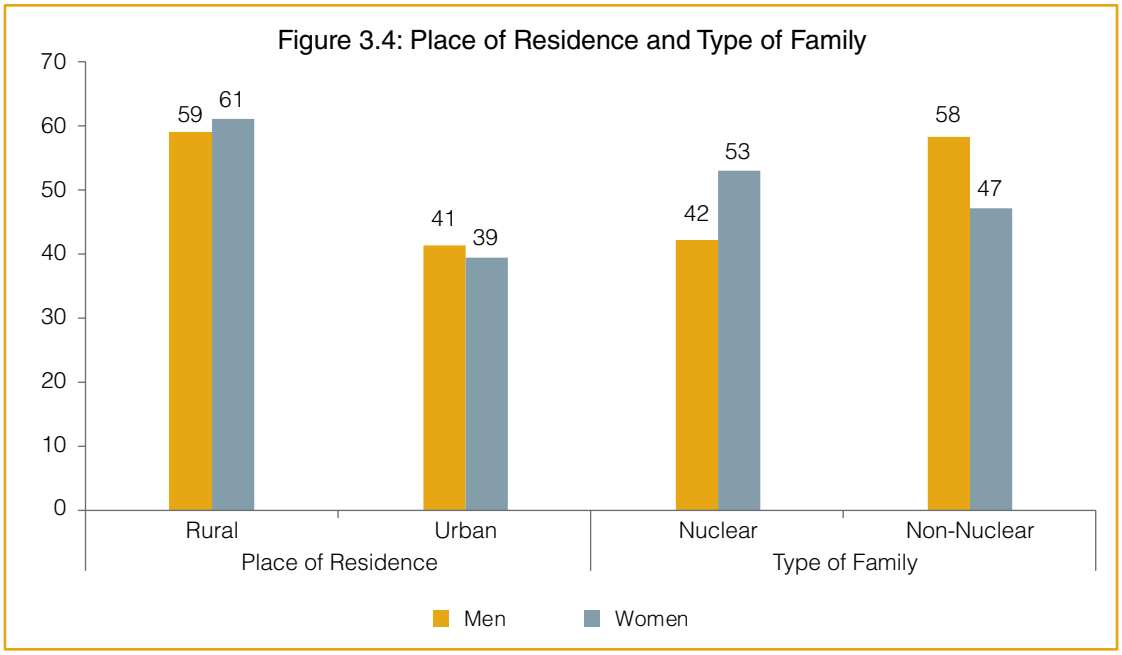


Table 3.3: Occupation of Men and Women		
Occupation	Men	Women
Service (Govt./Pvt.)	17.8	5.0
Skilled/Semi-skilled labor	14.4	6.7
Trading/Business/Petty shop	14.7	2.2
Non-agricultural labor	15.5	5.6
Farmer/Fishing	11.0	3.4
Agricultural labor	7.8	5.7
Never worked/Student	14.2	11.5
Others	4.6	2.4
House makers	NA	57.5
Total N	9205	3158

family, whereas among sample women more than half (53%) reported to be living in a nuclear family. Across the states, a little less than three-fourths of the men (71%) in Rajasthan and 68% in Maharashtra reported being in a non-nuclear family. In Odisha lowest proportion of men reported to be (35%) living in a non-nuclear family. Among women, 71% women in Odisha reported staying in a nuclear family, followed by half of the women (51%) in Uttar Pradesh (Annexure Table A3.6).

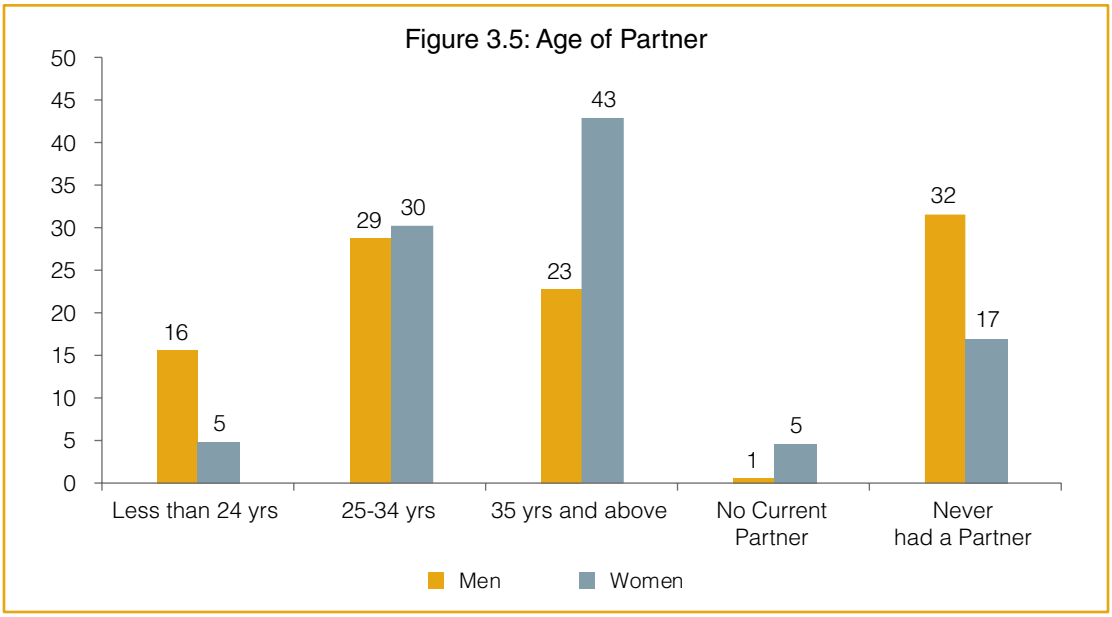
At the aggregate level men's occupation is uniformly distributed across different work associated categories. About 18% of the men reported to be in service, 16% in non-agricultural labor followed by 15% who were in trading or ran a small business or petty shop. Around 14% of men in the sample were students and only 8% were involved in agricultural labor (Table 3.3). Across states, occupational distribution among men showed that in Punjab and Haryana more than one-fourth of the men reported to be in service compared to 20% in all other states. The men in non-agricultural labor are highest in the Madhya Pradesh and men running businesses or petty shops are highest in Uttar Pradesh (Annexure Table A3.7). Among women more than half (58%) reported to be house makers followed by 12% who have never worked or are students. Only 5% of the women reported to be in service, except in Odisha and Madhya Pradesh, where slightly more than 10% of women reported to be working in non-agricultural work. In all other category of occupation the proportion of women across all states is less than 10%.

3.2 Partner Characteristics

A little more than one-fourth of the men (32%) reported that they have never had a partner. Among men who had partners, more than two-fifths had partners who were less than 35 years of age and among the sample only 1% of them reported not having a partner currently (Figure 3.5). In Madhya Pradesh, 35% men reported not having a partner at the time of the study followed by Uttar Pradesh where 26% did not have current partner.

Among women, more than two-fifths (43%) reported currently having partners of age 35 years or above. Less than one-fifth of the women (17%) reported that they had never partnered and 5% did not currently have a partner. Among women, the proportion of those who did not have any partner currently was as high as 33% in Maharashtra (Annexure Table A3.8).

Across the states, 21% of men in Rajasthan and a similar proportion of women in Uttar Pradesh reported having a partner who was less than 24 years of age.



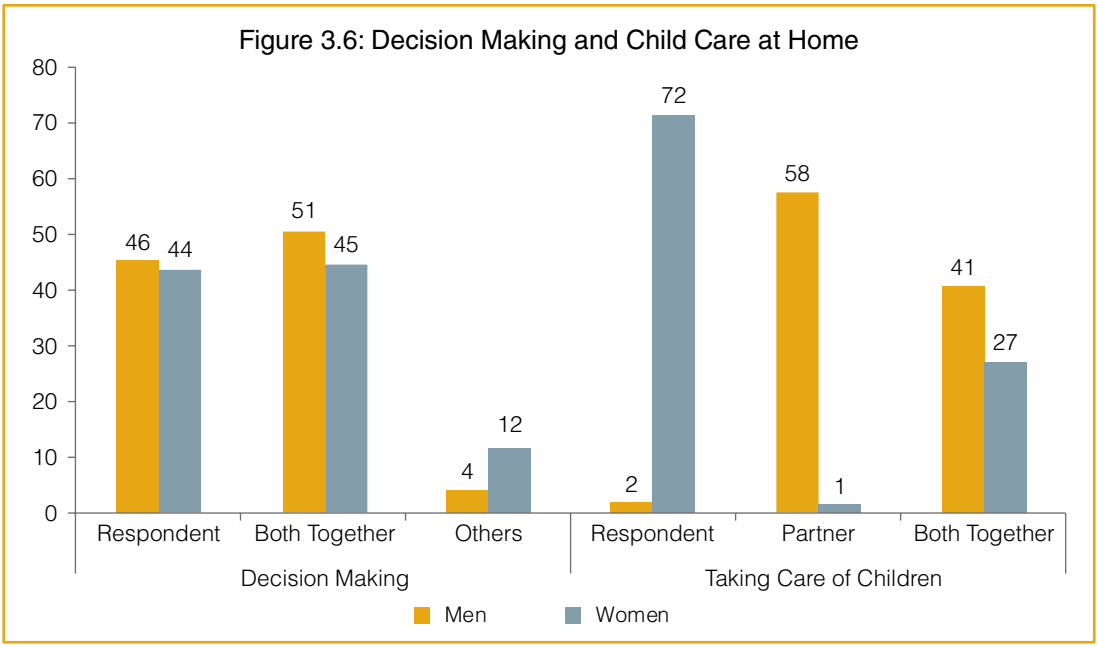
We asked both men and women who have partners about the difference in their and their partner's education and income. More than three-fifths of the men (64%) reported that they earned more than their partner, while more than half of the women (53%) reported that they did not have any income, which aligns with the reporting on their occupation. Only 3% of men reported that they and their partner earn equally, while among women this proportion was slightly higher at 6%. The difference in education was also clearly visible among men and women as compared to their partners. Just over two-fifths of the men (41%) reported to be more educated as compared to their partners, while only 10% of men reported that their partners are more educated than them. Among women, half reported that their partners are more educated and one-fifth (20%) reported that they and their partner have the same level of education (Table 3.4).

Across the states our study has revealed that around one-fourth of the women in Rajasthan (27%) and Maharashtra (25%) reported the same level of income as compared to their partner while in all other states the proportion was less than 20% (Annexure Table A3.9).

Men and women who have partners were asked a series of questions about their decision making around household expenditure on clothing and food and their participation in childcare. Responses have indicated that more men in comparison to women reported equitable decision making. More than half (51%) of the men reported that they and

Table 3.4: Difference in Income and Education between Men, Women and their Partners

	Men	Women
Income Difference		
Same	3.4	5.8
Man earns more	64.7	29.6
No income	1.2	52.9
Education Difference		
Same	17.2	20.2
Respondent more educated	41.4	12.9
Spouse/Partner more educated	9.8	50.2
Total N	6159	2627



their partner together made decisions while little less than half (45%) of the women reported that they and their partner do so together (Figure 3.6). Among the states more than three-fifths of the men in Odisha (66%) and Punjab and Haryana (62%) reported making decisions together with their partner. Whereas among women, except for the states of Madhya Pradesh and Odisha where 61% and 50% agreed to actively making decisions with their partners in all other states it was less than 45% (Annexure Table A3.10). Again, there is some discordance between men and women's report around the parameters of decision making.

On the question of child care, two-fifths (41%) of the men reported that they shared the responsibility with their partner, while a little less than one-fourth (27%) of the women reported that they and their partner take care of the children together. More than half (58%) of the men reported that their partners take care of the children and a little less than three-fourths (72%) of the women reported that they take care of the children (Figure 3.6). Similar to the case of decision making there was high dissonance between men and women's reports on some parameters of gender roles and responsibilities. Rajasthan is the only state where more than three-fourth of the men reported that they along with their partner take care of the children, whereas in all the other states the proportion of men who reported sharing the responsibility with their partner was less than 40% (Annexure Table A3.10). Except for the state of Madhya Pradesh, where 5% of men reported that they take care of the children, in all the other states the proportion of only men involved in child care was less than 2% (Annexure Table A3.10).

3.3 Key Indexes

Economic Stress

To explore characteristics that may affect men's attitudes and behavior, we also asked men specific questions about their work-related stress or depression. Given the prevailing social expectation to perform the role of a breadwinner in the family, economic stress is identified as an indicator of men's life experiences and a contributing factor to their attitude towards gender equality and violent behavior.

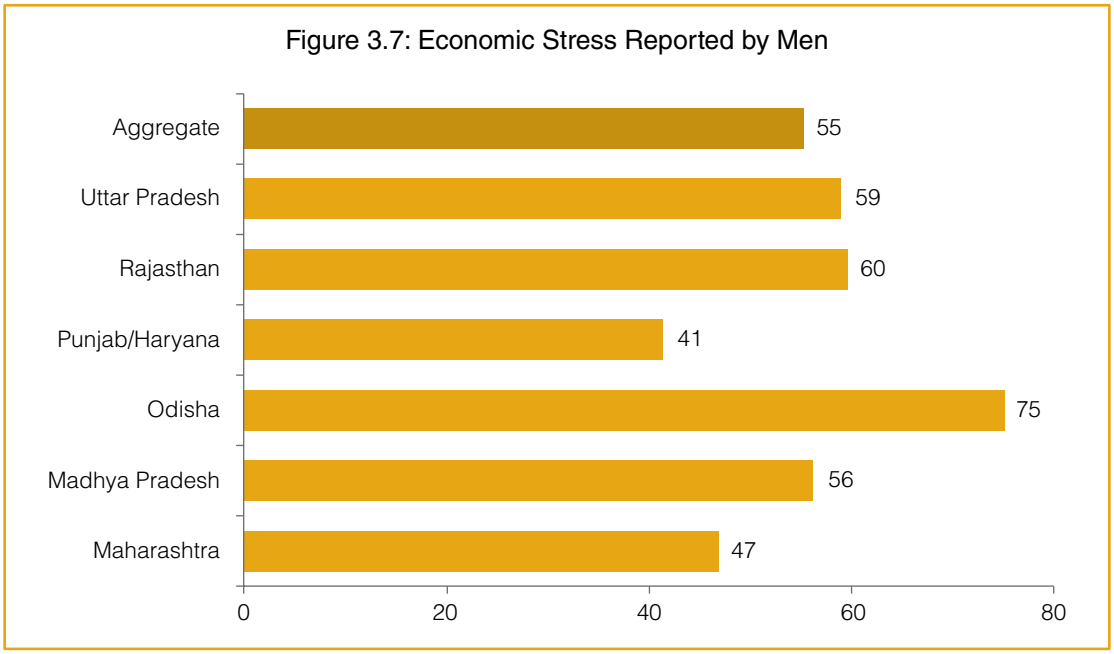
Economic stress is an index created using six attitudinal statements on the status of employment. The statements and responses are presented in Table 3.5. The first two statements were asked to those who are currently working

Table 3.5: Statements of Economic Stress	
Statements	Percentage
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work	43.9
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough income	51.1
I sometimes feel ashamed to face my family because I am out of work	43.7
I spend most of the time out of work or looking for work	35.5
I have considered leaving my family because I was out of work	9.8
I sometime drink or stay away from home when I can't find work	8.2

and the latter four were asked to those who are not currently working. More than half of the men reported that they frequently feel stressed when they don't earn enough and a little less than half reported that they were stressed due to not having work. Around 10% of the men who are not working said that they left their family because they were out of work. Little more than one-third of the men also reported that they spent most of the time looking for work (Table 3.5). More than three-fourths (77%) of the men in Odisha reported being stressed due to not having enough income followed by men in Rajasthan where three-fifth (60%) reported the same. In Madhya Pradesh, 13% of the men reported that they drink sometimes or stay away from home when they can't find work. The lowest proportion of men who did not engage in such behavior was in Rajasthan (Annexure Table A3.11).

The index is presented in the Figure 3.7. At the aggregate level more than half of the men (55%) reported having economic stress. Among the states three-fourth (75%) of the men reported economic stress in Odisha followed by men in Rajasthan (60%) and Uttar Pradesh (59%). In Punjab and Haryana this was the lowest where only two-fifths (41%) of the men reported they had economic stress.

Figure 3.7: Economic Stress Reported by Men



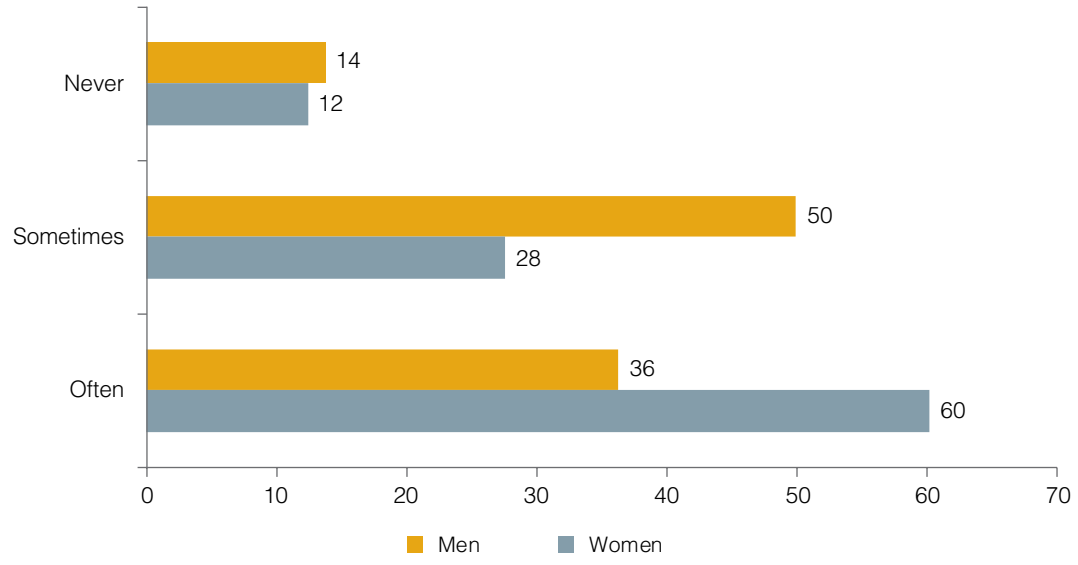
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment During Childhood

Many studies have identified early childhood experiences of gender inequality to be central in shaping people's views and behaviors in their later life. In the current study we identified a set of 15 statements that related to respondents own experiences or the witnessing of discrimination/harassment during the childhood, i.e., when he/she was growing up, before the age of 18 years. The responses were captured on a four-point scale. The index was created taking these statements and responses into consideration. The detailed statements for both men and women are presented in the Annexure Table A3.12.

Men and women who responded 'Never' to all statements were categorized into never category and those who have experienced/witnessed any kind discrimination/harassment and have responded to little less than half of the statement were situated in the 'sometimes' category and those who have reported often or sometime to most of the statements were placed in the 'Often' category. The responses particularly on the statements like *'I saw my sisters/female cousins getting less freedom than myself and my brothers', indicate that nearly half of the men (46%) and little less than two-fifth of the women (37%) reported to have witnessed or observed it sometime or often. Similarly on statements like 'I saw the hardship my parents/relatives went through to pay dowry/bear marriage expenses'* 46% of men and nearly half (48%) of women reported witnessing or experiencing it sometime or often (Annexure Table A3.12).

This index of witnessing/experiencing childhood discrimination/harassment shows that three-fifth (60%) of the women have often witnessed or experienced any form of discrimination or harassment in their childhood and 36% men reported witnessing or experiencing it sometime. A small proportion of men (14%) and women (12%) reported that they have never witnessed or experienced any form of discrimination or harassment in their childhood (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/ Harassment During Childhood



Chapter 4

Masculinity and Gender Equality

The past two decades have witnessed increasing interest in engaging men and boys to ensure their role in achieving gender equality. Notably, this interest gained greater momentum since the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Both these conferences signified turning points, after which the area of men and masculinities got situated and conceptualized within the discourse of women's empowerment and gender equality.

In the 1990s, men and boys were often seen as part of the problem and as obstacles to women's struggle for equality and were rarely identified as an essential part of the solution (Connell, 2005). Over the years, in-depth research on gender, power and masculinity and various programmatic efforts to engage men have made it evident that, moving beyond symbolism, men and boys must be seen as integral to any transformational efforts to promote gender equality. Research has also revealed that masculinity is not a monolithic concept; all men are not the same. Various ideas of masculinity are constructed under differing social, economic and cultural contexts – and the construct is evolving, multifaceted and dynamic (Hearn, 2010; Connell, 2000). This learning is completely relevant in India, where caste, class and linguistic ethnicity have tremendous influence on how men construct their masculinities and define what is a 'real man' or what is expected of them (Verma et al, 2006, Verma et al, 2008; IMAGES, 2012). To achieve gender equality, it is important therefore to identify various diverse expressions of masculinities and power due to the social expectations and pressures that men experience – and the implications of this for women and girls.

This chapter examines these issues in depth with the aim to answer the following questions:

- What are the various expressions of masculinities, and how are they manifested or expressed by men?
- How do women experience various forms of relationship controls in their lives? What are their own attitudes to these controls and gender equality and why?
- Why do men express control? Who are the men that are equitable and supportive?
- What can programs to promote gender equality and women's empowerment learn from men?

4.1 How are Masculinities Expressed by Men and Experienced by Women

Masculinity is a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles generally associated with boys and men. Masculinity is socially constructed, but made up of both socially defined and biologically created factors. This makes it distinct from the definition of the biological sex as both men and women can exhibit masculine traits and behaviors. Masculinity varies depending on location and context, and is influenced by a variety of social and cultural factors. In this study, two dimensions have been used to define masculinity, namely 'relationship control' as a behavioral dimension and 'attitude towards gender norms' as an underlying value.

4.1.1 Relationship Control

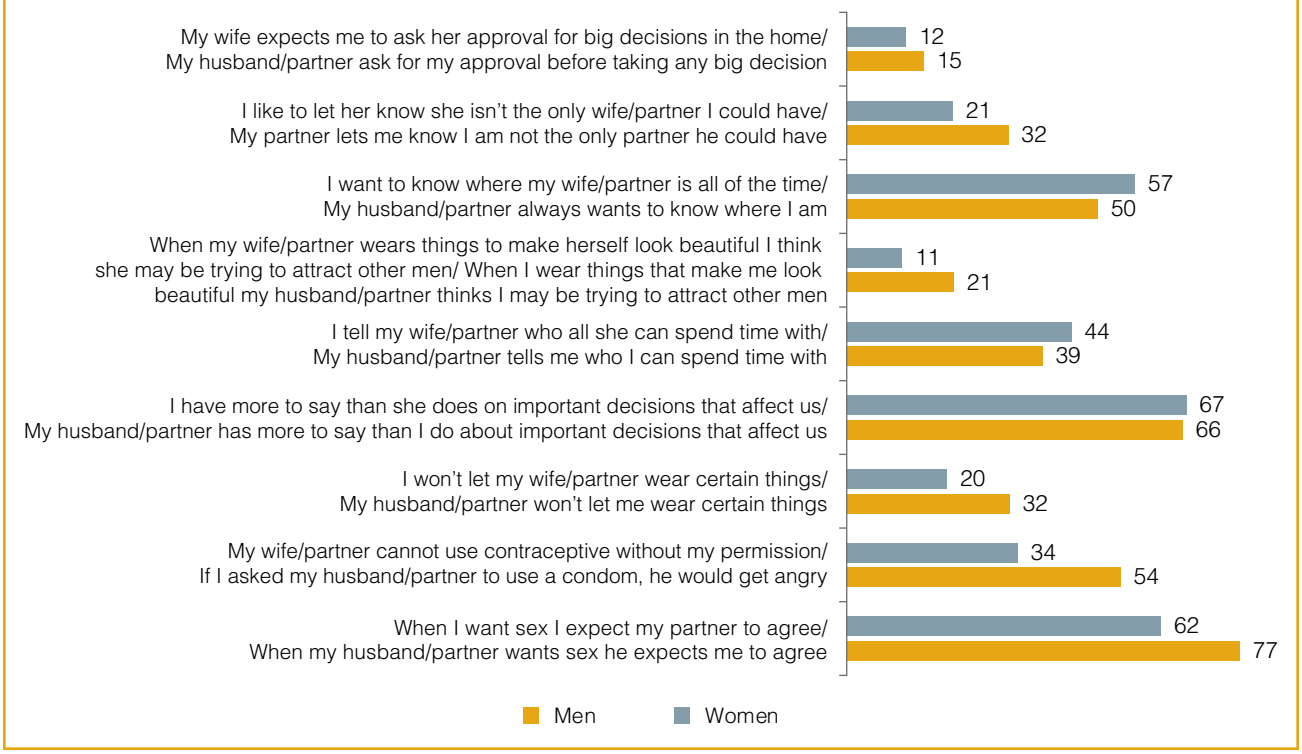
Men most commonly express power over their partners by controlling various aspects of their partners' life and their behaviors. This may include controlling anything from what the partner wears, what she does in her leisure time, who she spends time with, to something as intimate as who should have a say about when to have sex. Figure 4.1 presents various aspects of intimate relationships over which men have expressed their control and corresponding percentages from women experiencing those relationship controls.

On norms related to sexual rights within marriage or relationships, over two-thirds of the men expected their 'partners to agree if they wanted to have sex' and over half of the men 'didn't expect their partners to use contraceptives without their permission'. Men's control over women's bodies and sexuality also extends to other subtle aspects of decision making in their daily life: One in three men didn't allow their wife/partner to wear 'certain' dresses and in fact one in five men agreed with the statement that 'when my wife/partner wears things to make herself look beautiful I think she may be trying to attract other men'. About 39% determined 'whom their wife should meet with or talk to' and one among two men wanted 'to know all the time where his wife/partner was.'

Overall, on the issue of key decisions relevant to a couple, a substantial number of men (66%) agreed with the statement that 'I have more to say than she does on important decisions that affect us' and only 15% said that 'my wife expects me to ask her approval for big decisions in the home'.

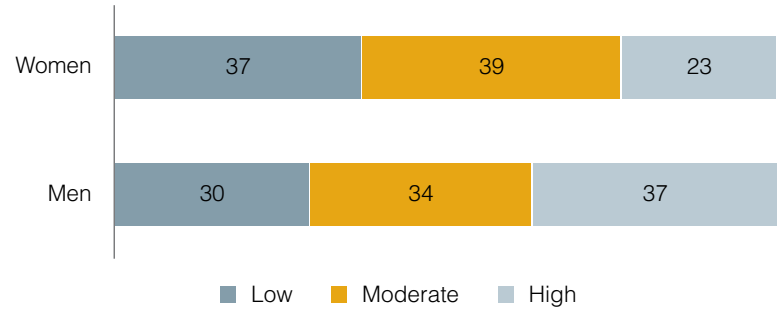
Women respondents endorsed the excessive control expressed by men in their relationships, albeit with some interesting variations. A large proportion of women (62%) also agreed that men 'expect wife/partner to agree when they (men) want to have sex' and that the 'husbands/partners don't approve wife/partner suggesting the use of condoms'. A higher proportion of women than men (44% women versus 39% men) said that their 'husbands/partners tell them who all she can spend time with' and 'want to know where the wife/partner is all of the time' (57% women

Figure 4.1: Women's Experiences and Men's Expressions of Relationship Control



versus 50% men). Women's attitudes were fairly similar to men's about the control men have in their lives. Some of the areas where a higher proportion of women than men agreed with relationship control was in sexual autonomy where 77% women said that 'when my partner wants sex he expects me to agree' and 54% who said yes to 'if I asked my partner to use a condom he would be angry.'

Figure 4.2: Index of Relationship Control



The summarized score over the nine items provides an average estimate of what proportion of men are extremely controlling versus the rest. In our sample, 36.8 % of men expressed excessive control over their partner/wife, whereas 63.2% were less or moderately controlling (shown in Figure 4.2). Among women little more than one-fifth (23.3%) reported experience high control by their partner whereas three-fourth had less or moderately controlling partners.

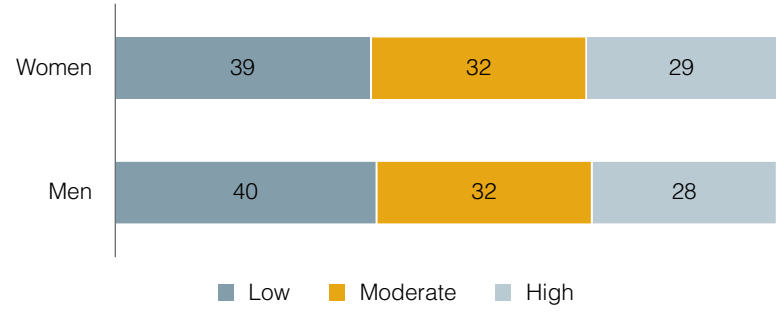
4.1.2 Attitudes Towards Gender Norms

We used 27 attitudinal items listed in Table 4.1 to assess perceptions and attitudes on some key gender norms. It is evident from the distribution of men's responses on several attitudinal items that they are quite similar with women's attitude. However, there are certain domains on which men hold equitable attitudes compared with women. For example, one-fifth of men believed that 'It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant,' a statement with which 31% of women agreed. This is interesting, as more men disagreed with this statement and thus endorsed men's role and responsibility in contraceptive use than women. On the issue of deciding who and when to marry, 52% to 59% of men believed that 'daughters/sisters can select the person whom they want to marry' and 'when they want to marry.' An overwhelming 82% of men agreed with the idea that 'daughters/sisters can ask for a share in the natal property.' On the other hand, 77% of the women respondents agreed with the idea that 'daughters/sisters should ask for share in the property.' These attitudes on the part of women are in part reflections of a deeply ingrained sense of insecurity and lack of social support.

About 93% of men agreed with the statement that 'to be a man, you need to be tough' compared to a slightly lower 85% women who agreed with this. Validating the observation on relationship control particularly in the context of sexual rights, more than half of the men said that 'a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband.'

A similar proportion of women and men (28% women compared to 25% men) believed that 'when a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation.' Fewer women than men, however, agreed with the idea of permitting daughters/sisters to marry whom they want (33%) or when they want (23%).

Figure 4.3: Index of Gender Equitable Attitudes



The fact that social expectations are translated into internalized values for women, is reflected in their attitudes related to son preference. A higher

Table 4.1: Men and Women's Attitudes towards Gender Equitable Norms				
Attitudinal Statements	Men (N=9205)		Women (N=3158)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Women's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family	86.2	13.8	74.0	26.0
Men need sex more than women do	58.8	41.2	70.5	29.5
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	65.1	34.9	64.9	35.1
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	20.5	79.5	30.7	69.3
A woman should tolerate domestic violence in order to keep her family together	51.1	48.9	57.3	42.7
I would be outraged if my wife/partner asked me to use a condom	32.7	67.3	-	-
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	87.7	12.3	78.6	21.4
To be a man, you need to be tough	93.0	7.0	84.9	15.1
A woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family	27.9	72.1	35.3	64.7
A man with only daughters is unfortunate	7.8	92.2	6.8	93.2
Not having a son reflects bad karma	10.0	90.0	6.5	93.5
It is acceptable for a parent to receive financial assistance from his daughters	50.9	49.1	42.6	57.4
Living in a joint family increases pressure on a couple to produce sons	41.7	58.3	66.1	33.9
People should be treated the same whether they are male or female	93.7	6.3	96.4	3.6
A woman should obey her husband	93.6	6.4	91.1	8.9
I think that a man should have the final say in all family matters	76.5	23.5	69.6	30.4
Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	72.4	27.6	71.5	28.5
Once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family	81.9	18.1	77.2	22.8
A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband	57.5	42.5	48.8	51.2
If a wife/partner does something wrong her husband has right to punish her	76.9	23.1	78.7	21.3
When a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation	24.7	75.3	28.2	71.8
If a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape	74.6	25.4	65.1	34.9
It would be shameful to have a homosexual son	81.8	18.2	63.6	36.4
If daughter's/sister's marriage breaks up she can come back to father's/brother's house	91.8	8.2	92.0	8.0
Daughters/sisters can select the person whom they want to marry	51.6	48.4	66.6	33.4
Daughters/sisters can decide when they want to marry	58.8	41.2	67.2	32.8
Daughters/sisters can ask for share in the natal property	82.4	17.6	77.4	22.6

proportion of women compared to men (28% men versus 35% women) believed that a 'woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family,' or the fact that more women agree that 'living in a joint family increases pressure on a couple to produce sons' (66% women versus 41% men).

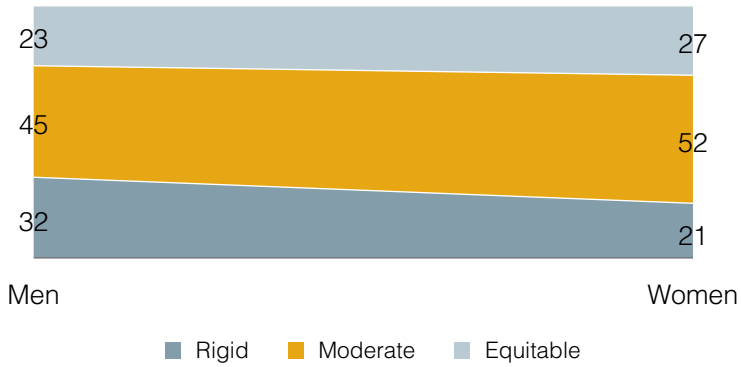
Summed scores over the 27 items (shown in Figure 4.3) on the aggregate, 28% men and 29% women held positive and equitable attitudes towards gender equality and others were either moderately or highly negative.

4.1.3 Types of Masculinities

We combined the scores of 'relationship control' with that of 'attitudes to gender equal norms' to obtain three categories of men. Most rigid are the men who not only exercised excessive control in their intimate relationships but also believed that women and men are unequal and held negative attitudes about gender equal norms. These men constituted 32% of our total sample. Thus 'rigid masculinity' was manifest and enacted by a third of the men in the study. On the other hand, there were men who were less controlling in their intimate relations and believed in gender equality. These most equitable men constituted 23% of the total male population surveyed. In between were the men who were moderate in their attitudes and behavior, which constituted 45% of the population (Figure 4.4).

For women, it was about the type of relationship that they were living in and their own attitudes on gender norms. In our sample, 21% of women were living in a relationship dominated by 'rigid' men and had gender unequal norms, whereas 27% were part of a highly equitable relationship with their husbands/partners and had equitable attitudes. Meanwhile, 52% of the women in our sample lived in a relationship, which was neither very rigid nor very equitable, in other words moderate in terms of relationship control and attitudes (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Continuum of Masculinity – Rigid to Equitable



4.2 Determinants of Gender Equitable Attitudes and Behaviors among Men

From a program perspective, it is important to learn in greater detail about the gender inequitable and rigid men and what can we learn from their different characteristics. For this purpose, we conducted an in-depth analysis of equitable men and present our findings in Table 4.2.

4.2.1 Social and Economic Factors

Table 4.2 demonstrates the relationship of various socio-demographic, economic factors and other key factors – such as type of residence, age, education and wealth level, childhood experiences, knowledge/awareness of laws – as determinants of equitable attitudes among men. Overall, we found that age and type of residence do not make much difference to men's controlling behavior and equitability. Men across all ages and across urban and rural areas can be equitable and rigid with respect to their attitudes and behaviors. There may be different exposures in these locations, yet they do create similar distribution of masculinities.

Men who have education at the level of graduation or above are 2.5 times more likely than men with less than the primary education to be equitable and less rigid. As the level of education increases, so does the likelihood of being more equitable and less rigid. Indeed, education provides a higher level of exposure to new gender norms, and highly educated men may be more likely to have educated spouses. In such a social milieu, where men are more

Table 4.2: Odds Ratio for Determinants of Equitable Men			
Determinants		Odds for Men	Confidence Interval
Type of residence	Rural *(Reference)*		
	Urban	0.948	0.821 - 1.095
Current age	18-24 years *(Reference)*		
	25-34 years	0.989	0.784 - 1.247
	35-49 years	0.850	0.675 - 1.071
Level of education	Up to primary (0-5 class) *(Reference)*		
	Up to higher secondary (6-12 class)	1.762**	1.494 - 2.078
	Graduate and above	2.627**	2.101 - 3.284
Type of family	Nuclear *(Reference)*		
	Non-nuclear	1.102	0.969 - 1.254
Wealth index	Low *(Reference)*		
	Middle	1.380**	1.162 - 1.640
	High	2.155**	1.766 - 2.629
Economic stress	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	1.445**	1.267 - 1.649
Decision making in family	Father *(Reference)*		
	Mother/Both equally	1.386**	1.217 - 1.579
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	0.478**	0.421 - 0.542
Mother's presence at home during childhood	No Presence *(Reference)*		
	Rarely	1.45	0.69 - 3.05
	Often	1.71	0.92 - 3.17
Father's presence at home during childhood	No presence *(Reference)*		
	Rarely	1.023	0.63 - 1.66
	Often	0.74	0.46 - 1.18
Witnessed male participation in household chores	Never *(Reference)*		
	Sometimes	1.63*	1.38 - 1.92
	Often	2.76*	2.34 - 3.27
Witnessed/Experienced discrimination/harassment during childhood	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	2.74**	2.32 - 3.25
Awareness of law for divorce or separation	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	0.93*	0.61 – 1.13
Awareness of law of custody of children	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	0.72**	0.61 - 0.85
Awareness of law against forced sex by spouse	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	1.27*	1.09 - 1.48

Note: *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

educated, and women are educated there is likelihood that women are working outside the home. This might lead to new family and social arrangements that are different than the traditional and gender stereotypical roles and expectations for women and men. Educated men may read and be exposed to new roles and ways of thinking about women and are more likely to provide greater autonomy to their partners and conversely women too will be more resistant to their husbands exerting control over them.

Similarly, men belonging to the highest socio-economic strata are almost two times more likely than those from the lowest strata, to be equitable and less rigid. Education and economic status may provide men more positive exposure, and there may be less pressure to conform to societal expectations and behave in a certain way. At higher socio-economic strata, we may be picking up men who have higher education and professional work. Men in these strata are likely to be more equitable. This possibly occurs because education and exposure to work environments with other women, does provide exposure to new ways of thinking and also possibly new and equitable roles for women.

Most striking, however, is the finding that families in which mothers or both father and mother make decisions jointly are more likely to produce men and boys who become equitable when they grow up. Our analysis shows that men who were raised in families where parents shared decision making, were 1.4 times more likely to be less rigid and more equitable than men who grew up in families where the male predominantly made family decisions. Aligned with this finding and confirming previous observations, we also found that men who grew up in families where their father did not participate in household chores were half times less likely to be equitable and less rigid. These results strongly demonstrate that boys who witness their parents sharing household responsibilities – from making decisions to cleaning dishes – have gender equitable attitudes and behavior when they become men. Men's observation of less gender stratified roles in a household in their childhood has a direct bearing on the creation of positive masculinity for men. In the same vein, men who did not witness/experience discrimination/harassment during their childhood were nearly three times more likely than the others to be equitable and less controlling.

In the same model, controlling for the background factors we also tested the hypothesis that masculine ideas are situation specific and are likely to be triggered by context and time specific factors. We found that men who were under no economic stress were 1.5 times more likely to have equitable attitudes and behaviors than those who were either underemployed or unemployed. Men who were more likely to be aware of laws and policies that support women were also more likely to be equitable compared to men who were unaware of these laws.

4.3 Determinants of Women with Equitable Gender Attitudes

We also examined why certain women are more equitable than others. Equitable women face low relationship control and have gender equitable attitudes. Like in the case of men, education seems to have the most profound impact on women experiencing less controlling behavior from their partners and having more equitable gender attitudes themselves. Women with higher education, graduation and above, were four times more likely than their less educated counterparts – less than primary – to be equitable. Women with an education tend to be more empowered, have the ability to negotiate conflict and are less likely to tolerate inequity in their intimate relationships. We found similar results for women belonging to higher strata of wealth (1.6 times more chances than those from low wealth strata) and those who grew up in families where parents made decisions jointly (Table 4.3). Families that model gender equitable behavior have been shown to influence the behaviors/attitudes of their children. We see a profound effect of this on both men and women in terms of their own equitable attitudes and behavior. In the case of women that had such exposure in their childhood, they may have both positive gender equitable attitudes and also the confidence to negotiate and resist control as for them masculine control may not have been a norm growing up.

Table 4.3: Odds Ratio for Determinants of Equitable Women			
Select Background Characteristics		Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval
Type of residence	Rural *(Reference)*		
	Urban	1.085	0.886 - 1.329
Current age	18-24 years *(Reference)*		
	25-34 years	1.204	0.936 - 1.548
	35-49 years	0.972	0.742 - 1.273
Level of education	Up to primary (0-5 class) *(Reference)*		
	Up to higher secondary (6-12 class)	1.403*	1.125 - 1.751
	Graduate and above (13+ class)	4.343**	2.976 - 6.338
Type of family	Nuclear *(Reference)*		
	Non-nuclear	1.226	1.009 - 1.491
Wealth index	Low *(Reference)*		
	Middle	1.429*	1.109 - 1.841
	High	1.645*	1.232 - 2.196
Decision making in family	Father *(Reference)*		
	Mother/Both equally	1.796**	1.490 - 2.164
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Yes *(Reference)*		
	No	0.706*	0.577 - 0.864

Note: *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

Significantly, women from joint families experienced much less control from their husbands than their counterparts from nuclear families. This is interesting and seems to suggest that presence of other members of the family acts as a buffer and maybe helps ease economic or other stress that causes men to exert control. Overall, the effect of economic status and education may be due to a combination of factors, primarily the fact that women will have higher confidence, communication and decision-making skills to negotiate and resist control from their partners/ husbands. Educated women also are more likely to be economically independent, which is also a determinant of higher negotiation power in a relationship.

The state-specific distribution of men who expressed controlling behavior and gender attitudes and the women who experienced them, are presented in Table 4.4.

A high proportion of men from Uttar Pradesh, 54% expressed rigid masculinity, defined in part by controlling behavior and highly negative gender attitudes. This was followed by men from Madhya Pradesh, Punjab/Haryana and Odisha. Overall, 23% of men held highly equitable attitudes and behavior, but this proportion varied across states. Uttar Pradesh had the least number of men (6.8%) in the equitable category. Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and Punjab/Haryana had 36%, 34% and 32% highly equitable men, respectively.

In Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab/Haryana – in that order – women experienced higher control from their partners and they themselves held gender inequitable attitudes. In contrast, nearly two-fifth of the women in Rajasthan had gender equitable attitudes and experienced less control from their partners followed by 30% of the women in Maharashtra.

Findings from our multivariate analysis reveal that there is a great variation in highly equitable attitudes and low controlling behavior among men and women by states, socio-economic levels and cultural settings. Table 4.5 shows that men from urban areas were more likely to be gender equitable (odds ratio 1.6 in MP) compared to men residing

Table 4.4: Masculinity Index (Gender Equitable Attitudes and Relationship Control) by States for Men and Women				
States	Equitable	Moderate	Rigid	N
Men				
Punjab/Haryana	31.6	36.2	32.1	948
Rajasthan	35.9	47.4	16.7	1034
Uttar Pradesh	6.8	39.5	53.8	1066
Odisha	21.5	55.1	23.5	1041
Madhya Pradesh	23.5	41.9	34.6	1003
Maharashtra	33.9	52.5	13.6	989
All	**23.0**	**45.0**	**32.0**	**6081**
Women				
Punjab/Haryana	20.0	52.6	27.4	420
Rajasthan	39.2	50.1	10.8	424
Uttar Pradesh	28.4	39.7	31.8	396
Odisha	15.1	75.2	9.7	448
Madhya Pradesh	20.4	52.5	27.1	413
Maharashtra	30.2	57.7	12.1	401
All	**26.8**	**51.8**	**21.4**	**2502**

Table 4.5: Odds of Equitable Men by States							
Determinants		PJ/HR	RJ	UP	OD	MP	MH
Type of residence	Rural *(Reference)*						
	Urban	0.98	1.14	1.23	1.44	1.56*	0.54**
Current age	18-24 years *(Reference)*						
	25-34 years	1.03	1.05	0.57*	1.38	0.91	0.99
	35-49 years	1.34	0.85	0.41**	1.06	0.73	0.79
Level of education	Up to primary (0-5 class) *(Reference)*						
	Up to higher secondary (6-12 class)	1.68	1.26	2.66**	1.48	2.85**	1.33*
	Graduate and above	3.48*	2.50*	3.31**	4.38**	6.57**	2.25**
Type of family	Nuclear *(Reference)*						
	Non-nuclear	1.29	1.36	0.92	1.58	0.83	0.75
Wealth index	Low *(Reference)*						
	Middle	0.75	1.13	1.59*	1.16	0.99	1.24
	High	1.10	1.52	2.51*	1.28	1.49	2.31**
Economic stress	Yes *(Reference)*						
	No	1.01	1.75*	0.82	1.89	5.30**	0.89
Decision making in family	Father *(Reference)*						
	Mother/Both Equally	1.55	0.73	0.69	1.58	1.05	1.84**
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Yes *(Reference)*						
	No	1.51	0.58**	1.09	0.46*	0.27**	0.44**
Number of married men		583	708	1951	507	840	1610

Note: PJ/HR - Punjab/Haryana, RJ - Rajasthan, UP - Uttar Pradesh, OD – Odisha, MP - Madhya Pradesh, MH - Maharashtra
*Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

in rural areas in most states except in Maharashtra where urban men were less likely to be equitable. The results on whether older men are more inequitable is inconclusive as it is significant only in Uttar Pradesh. Level of education and socio-economic strata are the only indicators that were positive and significant with masculinity, i.e., equitable attitude and behaviors.

Men with secondary and higher levels of education were two to six times more likely to be equitable across different states. Men from joint families were more likely to have equitable masculinity in Rajasthan and Odisha but less likely to be equitable in Maharashtra, compared to their counterparts from nuclear families. Men who were under no economic stress were five times more likely to be equitable in Madhya Pradesh followed by one to two times more likely to be equitable in Rajasthan and Odisha than those who faced economic stress (were underemployed or unemployed).

Finally, our analysis showed that men raised in families where both father and mother made joint decisions were more likely to have equitable masculinity; this was particularly true in Punjab/Haryana, Odisha, Maharashtra (odds ratio > 1.5 times). In Rajasthan, surprisingly, the results were to the contrary. Furthermore, men who grew up in families where their father did not participate in household chores were less likely to be equitable and less rigid – this was true in all the states except Punjab/Haryana where it was not significant.

Corresponding to the findings from men, Table 4.6 presents the notions and experience of masculinity (control from spouse and their own gender equitable attitudes) among women. Where women lived was not an influential factor, except in Maharashtra where women in urban areas were more likely to have less controlling partners/husbands and hold equitable attitudes. Across all states, we found that women with higher education, at higher socio-economic strata and those grew up in families where both parents made joint decisions were significantly more likely to experience equitable masculinity and have gender equitable attitudes. Living in a nuclear or joint family did not have

Table 4.6: Odds of Equitable Women by States

Determinants		PJ/HR	RJ	UP	OD	MP	MH
Type of residence	Rural *(Reference)*						
	Urban	1.24	0.62	0.84	0.41	1.09	1.69*
Current age	18-24 years *(Reference)*						
	25-34 years	0.90	0.78	0.79	1.89	1.82	2.29**
	35-49 years	0.81	0.74	0.69	1.33	1.70	1.61
Level of education	Up to primary (0-5 class) *(Reference)*						
	Up to higher secondary (6-12 class)	1.51	0.67	2.03*	0.98	3.88**	1.22
	Graduate and above	3.21*	1.40	5.98**	4.56*	27.6**	3.89*
Type of family	Nuclear *(Reference)*						
	Non-nuclear	1.31	0.99	1.00	0.37*	1.68	1.33
Wealth index	Low *(Reference)*						
	Middle	0.58	2.04	1.32	3.70	2.55	1.08
	High	0.94	3.78*	1.26	18.15*	2.52	1.29
Decision making in family	Father *(Reference)*						
	Mother/Both equally	1.17	1.78	2.06*	0.86	1.31	2.32**
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Yes *(Reference)*						
	No	0.44	0.373**	0.86	0.36	0.48	2.40*
Number of married women		302	292	734	228	335	613

Note: PJ/HR - Punjab/Haryana, RJ - Rajasthan, UP - Uttar Pradesh, OD – Odisha, MP - Madhya Pradesh, MH - Maharashtra
*Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

an influence, unlike the case with men, except in Odisha where women in joint families experienced significantly less equitable attitudes and high control than those in nuclear families. Furthermore, women who grew up in families where men did not participate in household chores were less likely to experience equitable attitudes and more likely to have a controlling partner. This was true in all states with the exception of Maharashtra (Table 4.6).

4.4 Conclusion

Two dimensions, 'relationship control' as a behavioral dimension and 'attitude towards gender norms' as a value dimension have been used to characterize masculinity. Over one-third of the men in our study expressed excessive relationship control over their partners/wives, whereas nearly two-thirds were less or moderately controlling. In terms of gender equitable attitudes, 28% of men and 29% of women held positive and equitable attitudes. Others were either moderately or highly negative.

The combined scores of 'relationship control' and 'attitudes to gender norms' divided into three categories reveal that one-third of men were most rigid. They not only exercised excessive control in their intimate relationships but also believed that women and men are unequal and held negative views about gender equal norms. On the other hand, there were men who were less controlling in their intimate relations and believed in gender equality. These most equitable men constituted 23% of the total male population surveyed. For women, it was about the type of relationship that they are living in and their own attitudes on gender norms. Over one-fifth of women were living in a relationship dominated by 'rigid' men and had gender unequal norms, whereas 27% lived in a highly equitable relationship with their husbands/partners.

Socio-demographic factors like age, education and wealth status are significantly associated with men and women's gender attitudes and their expression or experiences of controlling behavior respectively. Among the other key factors men and women who grew up in families where they have witnessed male participation in household chores and equality in decision making are more equitable. The findings also reveal that there is a significant variation across the states irrespective of social and economic factors.

Overall there are various ideas of masculinity that exist and not all men are homogenous or manifest similar types masculinity. Masculinity itself is constructed under differing social, economic and cultural contexts – and is evolving, multifaceted and dynamic. The formation of masculinity starts in early years of childhood through the gendered messages that society transmits reinforced by a gender unequal environment within one's family. Men's observation of less gender stratified roles in a household in their childhood has a direct bearing on the creation of positive masculinity for men. Masculinity is manifest differently for men and women but has a direct relationship through the act of control within men and women's intimate relationships. To what extent masculinity is a core determinant of other social and gender inequities such as intimate partner violence and son preference is examined in the subsequent analysis in this report.

Chapter 5

Intimate Partner Violence and Masculinity

Across the world, women through their lifetime experience the highest violence from a spouse or intimate male partner. Intimate partner violence (IPV), now well recognized as a human rights violation globally, includes acts of physical aggression, psychological abuse, forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion, and various controlling behaviors such as isolating a person from family and friends or restricting access to information and assistance. Violence against women is one of the extreme manifestations of gender power inequalities and is used by men to exert control and dominance over women. Such violence is largely perpetrated and reinforced by socially prescribed gender norms. Gender norms often create rules so that the distribution of power between men and women is unequal and in favor of men. Intimate partner violence is often used as a means of sustaining this imbalance in power and maintaining dominance of men.

The gender norms that drive violence against women include those around masculinity, where male power is linked with authority while femininity is linked to submissiveness. Thus violence against women is intricately linked to a real or perceived fulfillment of what it means to be a man or the notion of masculinity. Men are more likely to use violence against women since men's expression of masculinity is closely linked to such behaviors which ensure that women fulfill roles and responsibilities expected of them. Women who do not fulfill the socially ascribed roles or who challenge men may be construed as challenging a man's masculinity. This may provoke violent reactions against them. Men, who may feel incompetent in terms of not being perceived as a 'real' man, may also exert violence against women as one way for them to realize their power and dominance.

Much of the literature around masculinity and violence has come from global research and is not India-specific. The aim of this study is to assess men's reported perpetration of different forms of violence against their intimate partners and women's reported experiences of this violence by their intimate partners in relation to manifestations of masculinities in India. In the course of this chapter we will discuss trends of intimate partner violence reported by men and experienced by women and describe the characteristics of men and women who are more susceptible to perpetuate and experience IPV. Lastly, we looked at the relationship of masculinity and IPV more closely to understand some of the other triggers for intimate partner violence for men and women.

5.1 Extent of IPV in Men and Women's Lives

In the study, both men and women who have or ever had a spouse/partner were asked a series of questions to assess the prevalence of intimate partner violence. The questions covered acts of emotional violence (five questions), economic violence (three questions), physical violence (five questions) and sexual violence (four questions). The specific questions are shown in Figure 5.1. Men were asked "have you ever…." and women were asked "has a current or previous husband or partner ever…." in their own contexts. The sample of men and women were independent and not related to each other. For the analysis, responses to each item were combined to create

a composite index for each type of violence. The results for perpetration of violence by men and experience by women ever in their life are presented in Figure 5.2.

At the aggregate level, more than half of the women (52%) reported experiencing any form of violence during their lifetime and every three in five men (60%) reported perpetrating any form of intimate partner violence against their wife/partner ever. Among the various forms of violence, emotional violence was most prevalent, with 41% of men reporting using it and 35% women reporting experiencing it. Following emotional violence was physical violence, with 38% of the women reporting experiencing it and 33% men reporting perpetrating such violence.

A higher proportion of women reported experiencing physical violence (38%) followed by emotional violence (35%) as compared to other forms like sexual violence (17%) and economic (16%). Interestingly, among men and women, except for physical and economic violence, men's reported perpetration of all other kinds of violence was higher than women's reported experience of violence. This may be due to stigma associated with the experience of sexual violence for women, which may be the reason that their reported experience is lower than men's experience of perpetrating it. The reason emotional violence is lower may be due to the 'normalization' of such acts by women as it is expected and thus internalized that men will exert some control in their lives. Spousal violence reported by women in a nationally representative survey carried out in the National Family Health Survey (NFHS 2005-06) was 35% physical, 10% sexual and 16% emotional and any form of violence was 37% (which includes-physical, sexual and emotional). The results from our study show much higher prevalence of intimate partner violence, which may be a result of increase over time or higher reporting or a combination of both.

Across survey states, the prevalence of perpetration of any form of violence ever by men and experiences of women reveal that men and women in Odisha have the highest prevalence closely followed by Uttar Pradesh (Table 5.1). Three-fourth (75%) of men in Odisha and Uttar Pradesh reported perpetrating any form of violence while 84% of women in Odisha and 63% in Uttar Pradesh reported ever experiencing any form of violence. Reported experience of

Figure 5.1: Domain Specific Questions for IPV

Emotional violence

1. Insulted a wife/partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself
2. Belittled or humiliated a wife/partner in front of other people
3. Did things to scare or intimidate a wife/partner on purpose, for example, by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things
4. Threatened to hurt a wife/partner
5. Hurt people your wife/partner cares about as way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her

Economic abuse

1. Prohibited a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money
2. Took a wife/partner's earnings against her will
3. Threw a wife/partner out of the house

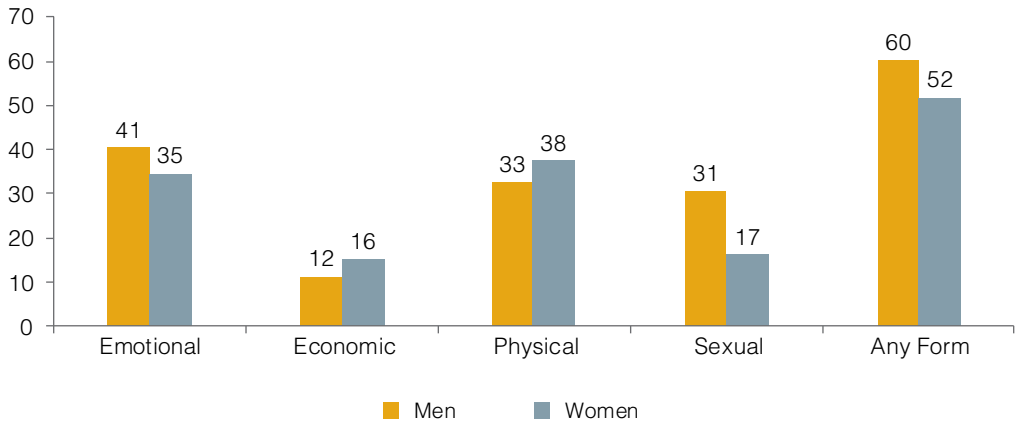
Physical violence

1. Slapped a wife/partner or threw something at her that could hurt her
2. Pushed or shoved a wife/partner in anger
3. Hit a wife/partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her
4. Kicked, dragged, beaten, choked, or burned a wife/partner
5. Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife, or other weapon against a wife/partner

Sexual violence

1. Forced wife/partner to have sex with you when she did not want to
2. Had sex with your wife or girlfriend when you knew she didn't want it but you believed she should agree because she was your wife/partner or girlfriend
3. Forced your wife/partner to watch pornography when she didn't want to
4. Forced wife/partner to do something sexual that she did not want to

Figure 5.2: Perpetration by Men and Experiences by Women of IPV (Ever)



any form of violence by women is lowest in Madhya Pradesh (34%) followed by Maharashtra (37%). In Punjab and Haryana about 43% men reported perpetration of violence. However, women's experience of any form of intimate partner violence ever is higher where more than half (55%) of the women reported experiencing any form of violence in the state. Punjab and Haryana and Odisha were the only states where prevalence of any form of violence is reported to be higher by women than men. Among all the other states women's reports were less than men's reports of any form of violence.

More than half of men (52% in Odisha and 51% in Uttar Pradesh) and women (55% in Odisha and 56% in Uttar Pradesh) reported prevalence of physical violence in Odisha and Uttar Pradesh. In both states women's reported experience of physical violence is more than men's reported perpetration. The other states were at much lower levels that range from 12-31% as reported by men and 18-39% for women. Notable here is that in Punjab and Haryana 39% women reported ever experiencing physical violence, compared to 22% men who reported ever perpetrating it. Among the different forms of violence, prevalence of emotional violence was highest for both men and women in Odisha, where 58% of men reported perpetrating such violence and 70% women reported experiencing it ever in their lifetime (Table 5.1). This is much higher than the other states possibly because of higher rationalization of

Table 5.1: Perpetration by Men and Experiences by Women of IPV (Ever) by States

States (M/W)		Form of Violence (Ever)					
		Emotional	Economic	Physical	Sexual	Any Form	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	46.7	10.5	50.8	49.1	72.8	1118
	Women	30.2	20.8	56.0	16.6	62.5	424
Rajasthan	Men	32.1	14.3	31.0	26.8	66.1	1050
	Women	38.2	15.2	18.2	25.5	50.1	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	28.6	5.9	22.1	14.8	43.0	972
	Women	37.0	10.3	39.1	11.8	55.4	427
Odisha	Men	58.1	12.7	51.6	31.7	74.7	1114
	Women	69.8	24.8	54.8	38.6	83.9	466
Madhya Pradesh	Men	40.3	10.6	32.6	33.0	61.9	1058
	Women	24.9	11.7	17.8	4.2	33.5	433
Maharashtra	Men	35.4	15.3	12.5	17.1	46.2	1050
	Women	30.7	11.9	27.1	12.6	37.2	443

emotional violence among women in other states which tends to lead to its under reporting. In addition in Odisha, in Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana, women's reports of experiencing emotional violence is higher than men's reports of perpetrating intimate partner emotional violence. The overall prevalence of economic violence was not very high in any of the states, although it was highest for women in Odisha, where one-fourth (25%) of women reported experiencing it ever. The proportion of men reporting perpetration of economic violence ranged from 6% to15.3% and is highest in the state of Maharashtra, where 15.3% men reported perpetration of emotional violence. Interestingly, Maharashtra is the only state where men reported higher economic violence than women. It is difficult to discern why some of the state-level variations exist but it is evident that the states with highest prevalence of violence are also states where women are not in the labor markets and largely do not work outside the homes in a visible way.

Men and women were also asked about perpetration and experiences of violence, respectively, in the past 12 months. The aggregate level results are presented in Figure 5.3.

The results of reported perpetration of violence by men and experiences by women in past 12 months are consistent with results observed in case of ever-perpetrated and experienced violence by men and women respectively. More than one-third of the men (34%) reported perpetrating any form of violence in past 12 months and a slightly lower proportion of women (31%) reported experiencing any form of violence in past 12 months. Among the different forms of violence reported by men, emotional violence is the highest (21%) followed by physical (16%) and sexual violence (16%). Women reported the highest experience of physical violence (21%) followed by emotional (18%). Among the different forms of violence, men report higher emotional and sexual violence than women similar to the trend observed in reporting lifetime perpetration or experience (Figure 5.3).

Across the study states, prevalence of perpetration and experiences of violence in the past 12 months by men and women respectively are presented in Table 5.2. Results show that men in Uttar Pradesh reported the highest levels (49%) of perpetrating any form of violence in past 12 months followed by men in Odisha (46%). Similarly, amongst women, the highest prevalence of any form of violence in past 12 months is in Odisha (59%) followed by women in Uttar Pradesh (45%).

Figure 5.3: Perpetration by Men and Experiences by Women of IPV (in past 12 months)

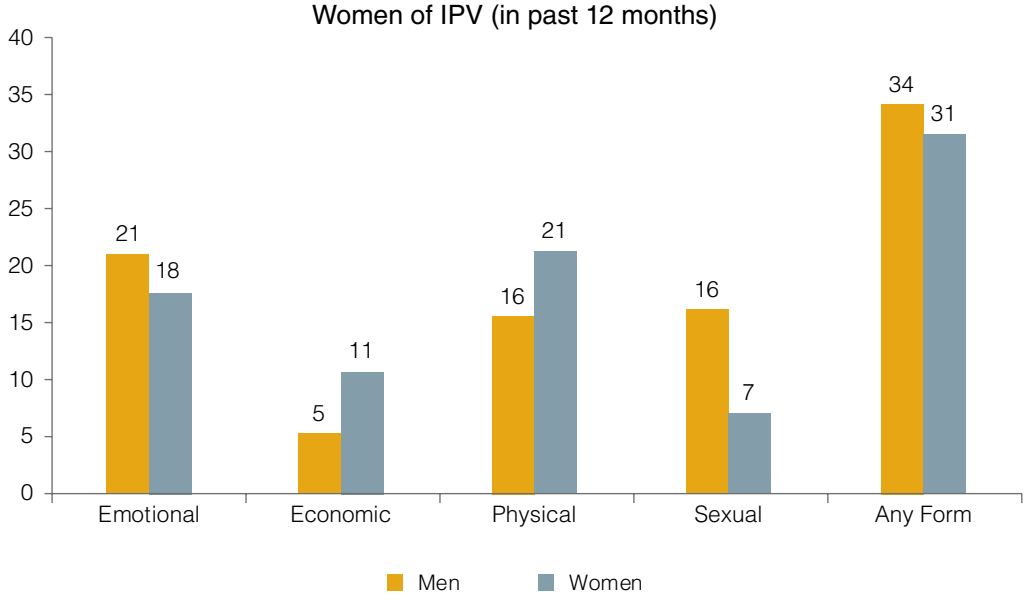


Table 5.2: Perpetration by Men and Experiences by Women of IPV (in past 12 months) by States							
States (M/W)		Form of Violence (in past 12 months)					
		Emotional	Economic	Physical	Sexual	Any Form	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	26.1	4.1	27.4	29.6	49.0	1118
	Women	14.1	18.8	39.3	7.5	44.6	424
Rajasthan	Men	4.6	6.8	9.7	10.0	23.3	1050
	Women	14.7	7.1	7.6	11.7	21.8	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	15.6	3.6	11.2	7.5	22.3	972
	Women	15.9	3.7	20.0	4.1	28.3	427
Odisha	Men	28.0	4.8	23.8	14.9	46.2	1114
	Women	49.4	17.0	30.0	22.2	59.1	466
Madhya Pradesh	Men	18.8	3.9	10.0	14.1	30.8	1058
	Women	21.1	9.2	11.7	3.5	25.4	433
Maharashtra	Men	17.8	7.1	5.4	8.8	23.8	1050
	Women	10.3	6.5	7.6	2.5	14.2	443

The prevalence of emotional violence in past 12 months as reported by women is highest in Odisha (49%) while in other states it's around or less than 20%. Barring the states of Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, in all other states women's experience of emotional violence was less than that reported by men. Economic violence was reported by less than 10% of men and women in most of the states with only exceptions in Uttar Pradesh, where 19%, and Odisha, where 17% women reported experience of economic violence in past 12 months.

Experience of physical violence in past 12 months was highest in Uttar Pradesh, where 39% of women reported experiencing physical violence in past 12 months and among men, 27% reported perpetrating violence. Followed by Uttar Pradesh in Odisha, one-third (30%) of women reported experiencing physical violence while among men only 24% of them reported perpetrating physical violence in past 12 months. Amongst the other states, only in Rajasthan a higher proportion of men reported perpetrating physical violence in past 12 months, whereas in all other states women's reported experience was higher than men's. Sexual violence was highest in Uttar Pradesh where 30% men reported perpetrating sexual violence in past 12 months compared to men's reports of sexual violence ranging from 7-15% in other states. Interestingly, only 8% women in Uttar Pradesh reported experiencing sexual violence compared to 30% reported by men (Table 5.2). Among women, the highest reports of sexual violence in past 12 months were in Odisha at 22%, while reporting by men was 15%.

5.2 Determinants of IPV

Intimate partner violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women in the past 12 months is considered as one of the main outcomes of masculinity in this analysis. Key findings of the main determinants of IPV include socio-economic characteristics, economic stress, and men's own experience of inequities in childhood and masculinity. Some of the broad patterns are described prior to the presentation of the multivariate analysis that characterizes the men who perpetrate violence and assesses the predictive power of each of these key determinants. Detailed tables for analysis of study states for men and women are presented in the Annexure Tables A5.1, A5.2, A5.3 and A5.4.

5.2.1 Men's Socio-economic Characteristics

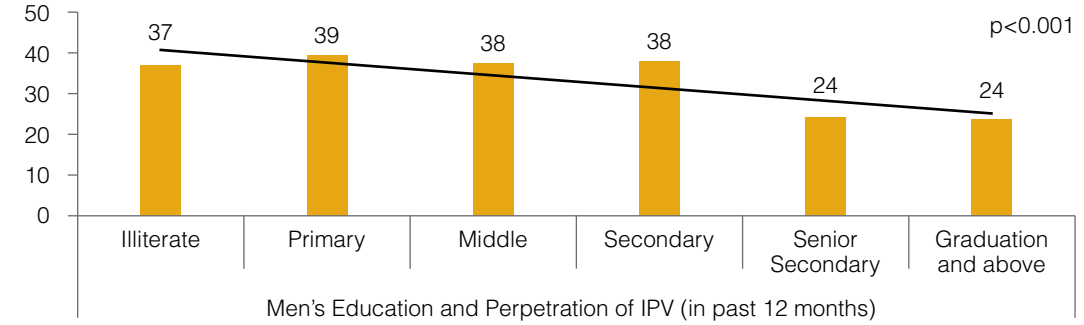
Men who are more educated are less likely to perpetrate violence and the difference is particularly stark with the completion of schooling. Among men, the effect of education is significant where their perpetration of any form of violence in past 12 months decreases as their education increases beyond secondary schooling (Figure 5.4). Moreover, older men are also less likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence although the difference is not as high as with men who are educated. Men who are over 34 years of age, are less likely to perpetrate violence than younger men.

There is a significant difference among men in the age group 18-24, 37% perpetrated violence compared to men in the older age group of 35-49 where 31% report perpetrated violence (Annexure Table A5.1).

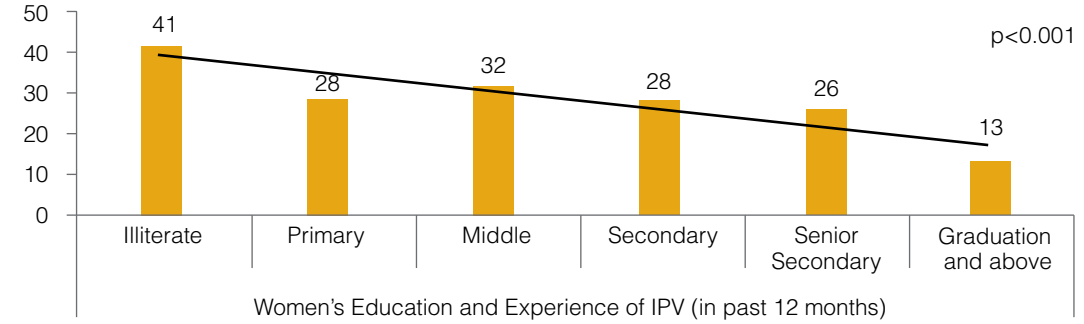
Prevalence of any form of violence reported by men of different caste and religion shows a significant association. Nearly two-fifths (40%) of men belonging to scheduled castes and 35% of scheduled castes and other backward classes men reported perpetrating any form of violence in past 12 months compared to 28% amongst men from the general caste. Among Hindu men, 35% reported perpetration of any form of violence in the past 12 months was similar across the two major religions and lower for the others. Men living in rural areas reported higher prevalence of violence in past 12 months in comparison to men living in urban areas (Table 5.3). The relationship between place of residence and prevalence of violence reported by men followed the same trend as at aggregate level in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The exception was the state of Uttar Pradesh, where the relationship was significant but a higher proportion of men (53%) living in urban area reported perpetration of IPV as compared to men (46%) living in rural areas (Annexure Table A5.2).

The socio-economic status of men reveals that men belonging to the poorer wealth strata are more likely to report perpetrating violence than those men in higher strata. More than two-fifths of men (42%) belonging to poorest wealth class reported perpetrating violence in the past 12 months, whereas only a fourth of men amongst a higher strata of wealth reported doing so (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.4: Education and IPV (in past 12 months)



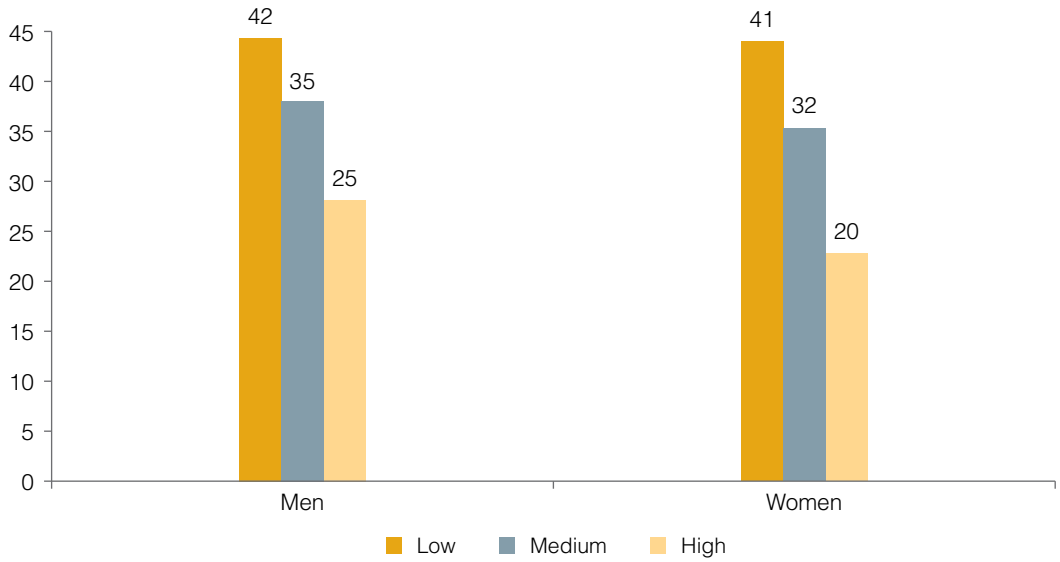
Men's Education and Perpetration of IPV (in past 12 months)



Women's Education and Experience of IPV (in past 12 months)

Table 5.3: Determinants of IPV (in past 12 months) for Men and Women				
Determinants	Men's Perpetration		Women's Experience	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Type of Residence				
Rural	36.2	3846	36.4	1664
Urban	31.2	2516	23.3	963
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Caste				
Scheduled Caste	39.9	1325	31.0	531
Scheduled Tribe	35.1	663	39.1	266
Other Backward Classes	35.5	2626	35.9	1129
None of the above	28.1	1748	21.8	701
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Religion				
Hindu	34.3	5360	31.6	2125
Muslim	37.9	562	33.4	313
Others	24.9	440	25.6	189
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	

Figure 5.5: Socio-economic Status and IPV (in past 12 months)



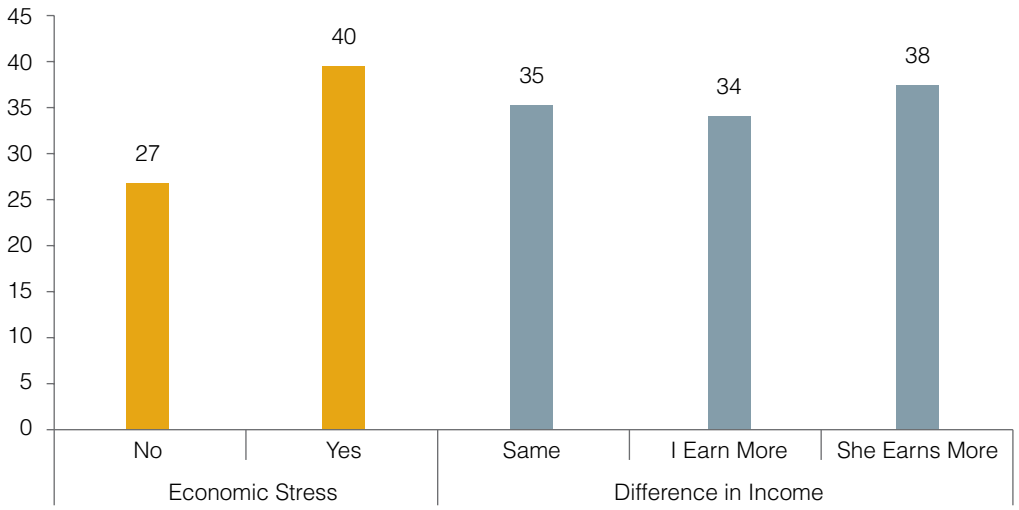
Across the states a similar trend is observed for men. As the socio-economic status improves the perpetration of any form of violence reported by men in past 12 months decreases. This may be because economic stress is a trigger for perpetration of violence (section below) and therefore men at higher income levels may be less likely to enact intimate partner violence. The relationship is significant among men in most of the states except for the states of Punjab and Haryana and Odisha where there is no significant difference (Annexure Table A5.2).

5.2.2 Economic Stress

Economic stress, joblessness and insecurity are often seen as causal factors in men's perpetuation of IPV. This is closely linked with norms of masculinity and the expectation that men are economic providers for their households, even in situations where women work. Figure 5.6 presents the relationship between IPV and economic stress, which was assessed by questions related to men who have stress due to lack of work or not having work or enough income, and whether they are more likely to perpetrate violence. Nearly two-fifths (40%) of men who had economic stress reported perpetrating any form of violence in the past 12 months compared to 27% amongst men who did not have any economic stress.

In addition, if the man's spouse or partner had a higher income, we found that a higher proportion of those men perpetrated violence. The results presented in Figure 5.6 show a slightly significant difference between the 38% IPV amongst men whose partners or spouse earn more than them, compared to 34% IPV amongst men who earn more than their partners.

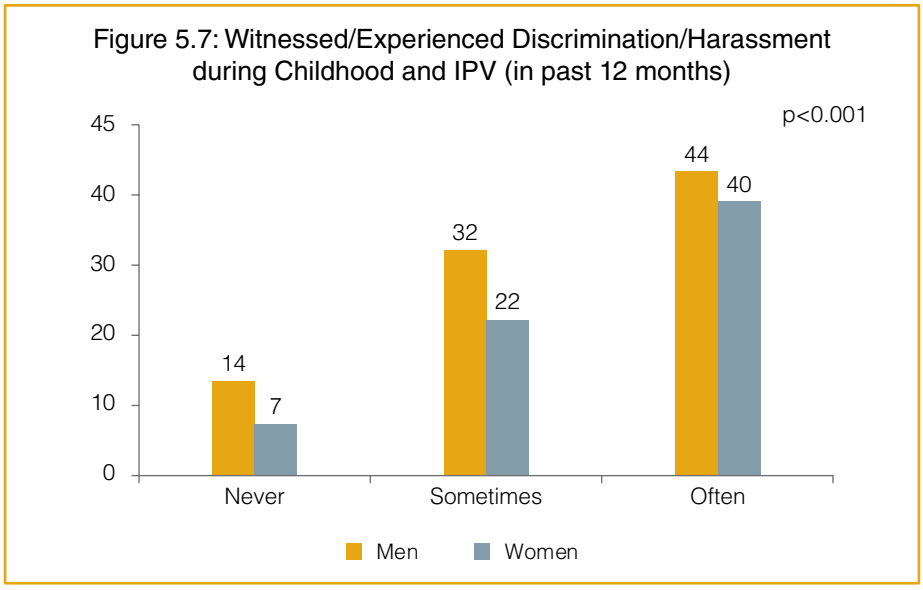
Figure 5.6: Economic Stress, Partner Income Difference and IPV (in past 12 months)



State-wise results on the relation between economic stress and perpetration of any form of violence by men in past 12 months was significant in Uttar Pradesh where more than half of the men (55%) among those who have experienced economic stress reported perpetrating violence. In Odisha and Madhya Pradesh, 49% and 39% of men among those who have experienced economic stress reported perpetrating any form of violence in past 12 months, respectively (Annexure Table A5.2).

5.2.3 Childhood Experiences

The relationship between men's experience of discrimination/harassment during their childhood and prevalence of intimate partner violence has been documented in previous masculinity studies (Pulerwitz et al, 2010). For this study, we considered both men and women's experience or witnessing of any discrimination or harassment as a child. Violence and discrimination may be construed as normal if a child observes or experiences this during his or her formative years. Boys internalize this as an acceptable behavior to express dissatisfaction, stress or disapproval. In this study, among men who have experienced discrimination/harassment often during their childhood, 44% reported



perpetrating violence in past 12 months, compared to 14% amongst men who did not experience any discrimination (Figure 5.7). The questions to assess discrimination addressed a range of issues from beating, sexual abuse and bullying to observing violence between their parents (father being violent to their mothers).

The state-wise results show a similar trend for both men and women. More than 55% men in Uttar Pradesh and 51% men in Odisha, who experienced discrimination/harassment during childhood, reported perpetrating violence in the past 12 months. In contrast, the perpetration of IPV in last 12 months amongst men who did not experience any discrimination when they were young was 30% in Uttar Pradesh and less than 10% in Odisha. The patterns were similar though with a lower prevalence in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana and Rajasthan. Maharashtra is the only state where there was no significant association between the experience of discrimination/harassment during childhood and men's perpetration of violence (Annexure Table A5.2).

5.3 Perpetration of Violence by Men and Masculinity: A Multivariate Model

The multivariate regression analysis assesses the independent effect of each determinant like economic stress, childhood discrimination on IPV, controlling for the effects of other key determinants and socio-economic characteristics. We found that men's age is a strong and negative influence on their propensity to be violent. Younger men may have more stress to establish themselves financially as well as their positions within the family. Wealth is also a protective factor where men in the highest wealth tertile are less likely to perpetrate violence against their partners than poorer men. Compared to scheduled caste groups, other categories of caste (STs and OBCs) are also less likely to perpetrate violence. All these effects are significant. Interestingly, living in a joint family also is protective and significant as men living with partners in a nuclear setting are more likely to be violent than those who do not (Table 5.4).

In terms of the key determinants, economic stress and experience of childhood discrimination are both positive and strongly significant in terms of their influence on IPV. A man who experiences discrimination frequently is almost four times more likely to perpetrate violence than a man who never experienced childhood discrimination. Masculinity in its most rigid form is a strong predictor of IPV; men who are rigidly masculine are 1.35 times more likely to perpetrate IPV than men who are equitable (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Odds Ratio for Men's Perpetration and Women's Experience of Any Form of IPV (in past 12 months)				
Determinants	Odds for Men		Odds for Women	
	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval
Age				
18-24 years *(Reference)*				
25-34 years	1.07	0.89 – 1.28	0.91	0.72 – 1.16
35-49 years	0.72**	0.60 – 0.86	0.77*	0.60 – 0.99
Education				
Illiterate *(Reference)*				
Primary (1-5 std.)	1.24*	1.02 – 1.52	0.80	0.63 – 1.02
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	1.19	0.99 – 1.45	0.84	0.65 – 1.07
Graduation and above	0.93	0.72 – 1.21	0.47**	0.28 – 0.78
Type of Residence				
Rural *(Reference)*				
Urban	1.06	0.93 – 1.21	0.77*	0.63 – 0.95
Wealth Index				
Low *(Reference)*				
Middle	0.90	0.78 – 1.03	0.90	0.72 – 1.12
High	0.76**	0.63 – 0.91	0.67**	0.51 – 0.89
Caste				
General *(Reference)*				
Scheduled Caste	1.47**	1.25 – 1.74	1.42*	1.07 – 1.89
Scheduled Tribe	0.97	0.78 – 1.21	1.52*	1.07 – 2.17
Other Backward Classes	1.15*	1.01 – 1.33	1.51**	1.20 – 1.90
Religion				
Hindu *(Reference)*				
Muslim	1.21*	1.02 – 1.44	1.16	0.88 – 1.52
Others	0.76*	0.58 – 0.99	1.05	0.72 – 1.53
Type of Family				
Nuclear *(Reference)*				
Non-nuclear	0.78**	0.70 – 0.87	0.97	0.81 – 1.17
Economic Stress				
No *(Reference)*				
Yes	1.23**	1.09 – 1.38		
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood				
Never *(Reference)*				
Sometimes	2.68**	2.15 – 3.35	3.10**	1.91 – 5.05
Often	3.95**	3.14 – 4.97	6.08**	3.81 – 9.69
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitudes and Relationship Control)				
Equitable *(Reference)*				
Moderate	1.09	0.94 – 1.26	1.05	0.84 – 1.32
Rigid	1.35**	1.15 – 1.57	1.35*	1.04 – 17.6
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court				
Yes *(Reference)*				
No	1.36**	1.06 – 1.74	0.54*	0.32 – 0.89
Not aware of law	1.51**	1.31 – 1.73	0.75*	0.59 – 0.94
Knowledge about Law on Violence against Women				
Yes *(Reference)*				
No	0.91	0.76 – 1.07	1.45**	1.12 – 1.87
Not aware of law	0.88	0.76 – 1.01	1.38**	1.11 – 1.73

Note: *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

5.4 Characteristics of Women More Likely to Experience IPV

Younger and less educated women are more likely to be vulnerable to intimate partner violence due to their lack of agency and ability to negotiate conflict or stress with their spouse/partners. While a higher proportion (35%) of younger women (18-24 years) reported experiencing violence in past 12 months than older women (35-49 years), the difference was not statistically significant (Annexure Table A5.1). Education and reported intimate partner violence in the past 12 months were also significantly associated. The findings show that with increasing levels of education, women's experiences of IPV or any form of violence in the past 12 months decreases (Annexure Table A5.1). Among women, 41% of illiterate women reported experiencing any form of violence in the past 12 months compared to 13% of women who had at least a graduation.

Among women, 39% belonging to scheduled tribes reported experiencing any form of violence in the past 12 months, compared to 12% of women in the general caste (Table 5.3). We found no significant relationship between religion and any form of violence in the past 12 months among women (Annexure Table A5.1).

Our study showed that women living in rural areas were more likely to be vulnerable to IPV and this was significant in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab and Haryana. In all the three sites (Punjab and Haryana are counted as one site), a higher proportion of women living in rural areas reported experiencing violence as compared to women in urban areas (Annexure Table A5.3).

Socio-economic status data of men and women reveal that men and women belonging to the poorer wealth strata were more likely to report violence than those men and women in higher strata. More than two-fifths of the men (42%) belonging to the poorest wealth class reported perpetrating violence in the past 12 months, whereas among men who were wealthy, only one-fourth (25%) reported perpetrating any form of violence (see Figure 5.5).

Similar to men, 41% of the women who belonged to poorest wealth strata reported experiencing any form of violence in the past 12 months. In contrast, only one-fifth (20%) of the women who were in a higher wealth strata reported experiencing violence in the past 12 months. For the sample of women the relationship holds true in all states except for Madhya Pradesh (Annexure Table A5.3).

Among women who reported experiencing any kind of discrimination/harassment during their childhood, two-fifths (40%) of them reported experiencing any form of violence in the past 12 months, whereas among those who had never experienced any form of discrimination/harassment, less than 10% reported experiencing of any form of violence in the past 12 months. Women who observed or experienced violence during their childhood may later legitimize it as adults. For women, like for men, the relationship is highly significant.

Among states, results show that age and education were significantly associated with experiencing any form of violence in the past 12 months, as reported by men and women. Among men, except for the states of Punjab and Haryana and Maharashtra, the relationship between IPV and age was significant and followed the same trend as observed at the aggregate level (Annexure Table A5.2). The association of age and any form of IPV for women was significant only in Rajasthan (Annexure Table A5.3). The level of education and any form of IPV in the past 12 months was significant among men in all the states. In the case of women, it was significant in all states except Madhya Pradesh. The association of caste and religion by any form of violence in past 12 months for women shows that caste and any form of violence were significantly related in Rajasthan, Odisha and Maharashtra, whereas religion and any form of violence in past 12 months did not show any significant relationship among women in any of the states (Annexure Table A5.3).

Women who faced discrimination/harassment during childhood were significantly more likely to experience of any form of violence in past 12 months across all the states. In Odisha, amongst women who experienced discrimination/ harassment during childhood, nearly two-thirds reported experiencing violence, while among those women who had never experienced discrimination/harassment; only 14% reported experiencing any form of violence in past 12 months. Following Odisha is Uttar Pradesh where 56% of women among those who often experienced childhood discrimination/harassment reported experiencing violence in past 12 months, while among those who had never experienced discrimination/harassment, only 14% reported experiencing any form of violence in past 12 months.

5.4.1 Determining Factors of IPV for Women

Similar to the men's analysis, women in our study who are older (above 35 years of age) and have higher education (above and beyond graduation) were less likely to experience intimate partner violence. Women in urban areas, women who have a higher wealth status and who are in the general caste group were also less likely to experience IPV. Experiencing discrimination in their childhood makes women three to six times more likely to experience IPV than those who did not experience any discrimination growing up. This is highly significant. Women who experienced and observed discrimination and violence growing up are more likely to justify it and may therefore not resist circumstances that trigger intimate partner violence for them. Women who are greatly controlled by their partners and who have low gender equitable attitudes (the construction of the masculinity indicator for women) were also 1.35 times more likely to experience IPV (Table 5.4). Interestingly, knowledge about the law on domestic violence (PWDC (Act), 2005) too is protective for women. However those women who think that the law is not appropriate or who are not aware of the law are 1.3 to 1.5 times more likely to experience IPV. A similar pattern was observed in all states and results are significant across all the states (Annexure Table A5.5).

5.5 Conclusion

The findings from the study draw attention to a high prevalence of intimate partner violence in India. At the aggregate level, more than half of the women (52%) surveyed reported experiencing any form of violence during their lifetime, and three in every five men (60%) reported ever perpetrating any form of intimate partner violence against their wife/partner. The prevalence of different forms of violence varies and also differed between that reported by men and women. Emotional violence was more prevalent, followed by physical violence for men. A higher proportion of women reported experiencing physical violence (38%) followed by emotional violence (35%) as compared to their reporting on other forms, such as sexual violence (17%) and economic (16%).

Interestingly, among men and women, except for physical and economic violence, men's reported perpetration of all other kinds of violence was higher than women's reported experience of violence. Some of these differences may arise due to shame and stigma associated with the experience of certain forms of violence such as sexual violence for women. Women may also underreport emotional violence due to the 'normalization' of such acts by women as well as many women's acceptance that men will exert some control in their lives.

Across survey states, the prevalence of perpetration of any form of violence ever by men and experiences of violence by women was highest in Odisha, closely followed by Uttar Pradesh (Table 5.1). Three-fourths of men in Odisha and Uttar Pradesh reported perpetrating any form of violence while four-fifths of women in Odisha and two-third in Uttar Pradesh reported experiencing any form of violence (ever). Reported experience of any form of violence by women was lowest in Madhya Pradesh followed by Maharashtra (one in three). More than half of the women reported experiencing any form of violence in Punjab and Haryana compared to two-fifth of the men in those states who said they had perpetrated IPV. One conjecture why these differences exist across states is that the states

with the highest prevalence of violence are also where women do not earn cash for their work, or largely do not work outside the homes in a visible way.The results of reported perpetration of violence by men and experiences by women in past 12 months were consistent with results observed in case of ever-perpetrated and experienced violence by men and women respectively.

The experience or perpetration of IPV varies by age, education status, place of residence and caste groups. We found that being older (35 years or more) and having an education beyond secondary schooling to be protective factors for both men and women in terms of perpetration and experience of IPV; older men and women who are educated were less likely to perpetrate or experience violence. This is because younger men may be under more stress to establish themselves financially as well as their positions within the family, which can increase their chances of being violent with a partner or spouse. Meanwhile, younger, less educated women are more likely to be vulnerable to intimate partner violence due to their lack of agency and ability to negotiate conflict or stress from their spouse/ partners. A higher proportion (35%) of younger women (18-24 years) reported experiencing violence in the past 12 months than older women (35-49 years), but the difference was not statistically significant. Education and reported intimate partner violence in past 12 months are also significantly associated.

In terms of place of residence, men in rural areas reported a higher prevalence of violence in the past 12 months as compared to their counterparts in urban areas. Urban women were less likely to experience violence than those who lived in rural areas. Economic status and caste were also protective factors for both men and women: general caste men in the highest wealth tertile were less likely to perpetrate IPV than poorer men, and wealthier women in the general caste were less likely to be vulnerable to violence. Compared to scheduled caste groups, other categories of caste (scheduled tribes and other backward classes) were also less likely to perpetrate violence. Finally, men living with partners in a nuclear setting are more likely to be violent than those who do not, which suggests that family can act as a buffer against stress and aggression for men. All of these effects are significant influences on men's proclivity to be violent towards a partner.

In terms of the key determinants of IPV, we found that economic stress and experiencing childhood discrimination were significant influences: men who experience economic stress were more likely to have perpetrated violence ever or in the past 12 months. This may be because norms of masculinity reinforce the expectation that men are the economic providers for their households. Economic stress can therefore threaten men's belief in their own abilities and may lead them to be more controlling and violent towards their partners. Also, a man who experiences discrimination frequently as a child was almost four times more likely to perpetrate violence, than a man who never experienced childhood discrimination.

Meanwhile, women who experienced discrimination in their childhood were three to six times more likely to experience IPV – a highly significant finding from our study. Women who experienced and observed discrimination and violence growing up are more likely to justify it and may therefore not resist circumstances that trigger intimate partner violence for them. Women who are greatly controlled by their partners and who have low gender equitable attitudes (the construction of the masculinity indicator for women) were also 1.35 times more likely to experience IPV.

These results reinforce the importance of understanding the links between IPV and masculinity and men's behavior. Men act in a certain manner that is fairly predetermined by their gendered roles and expectations, socio-economic characteristics and their childhood experiences. Masculinity, which is a combination of men's attitudes towards gender equality and the control they exert in their relationships, also defines their aggression and proclivity to violence with their intimate partners. Economic stress is certainly a trigger for violent behavior by men due to the expectation that they must be providers for their families. Women, too, are shaped by the same factors in their predictability around experiencing violence, with their childhood experiences and gender attitudes acting

as strong determinants. Changing men's attitudes around gender equality earlier in their lives, while their own personal experiences of childhood are shaping them, is a critical way to improve their relationships and their ability to counteract social expectations later as adults. School-based and community-based programs to engage young boys and girls from early ages through reflective learning and dialogue are one of the most critical ways to begin to change gender normative attitudes around masculinity, male control and acceptance of violence. Additionally, programs that reach out to adult men and women through a range of approaches including workshops, peer to peer learning, campaigns, couple dialogues are all important mechanisms to start challenging gender stereotypes around men's dominance and women's acceptance of control in their lives. Media too has an important role to play in positioning more constructive vocabulary and discourse around positive masculinity and gender equality rather than reinforcing patriarchal values.

Chapter 6

Son Preference and Masculinity

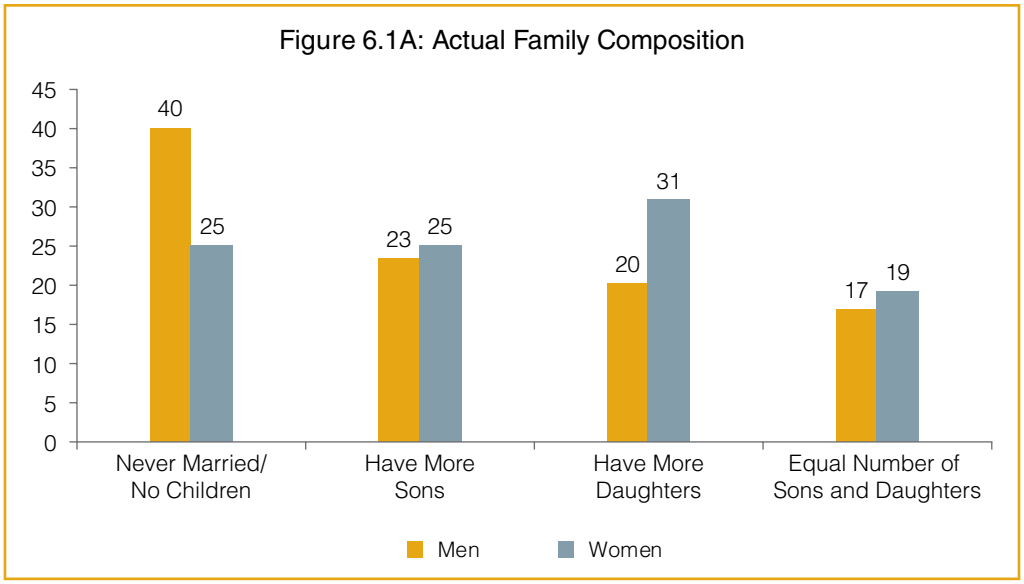
As in several Asian countries, son preference has been pervasive for centuries in India. The practice is deeply rooted in patriarchal, cultural and religious beliefs that uphold the essential value of having a son in a family, all of which are also powerfully driven by kinship and inheritance systems. The belief that sons are critical to a family's social survival by carrying on its lineage, sustains the ideology of son preference. Sons are perceived as important to ensure a family's economic security over time, as providers of income and resources to parents in their old age, while girls usually move away from their families. Women experience intense societal and familial pressure to produce a son and failure to do so often carries the threat and consequences of violence or abandonment in their marriage (Das Gupta M, 2006).

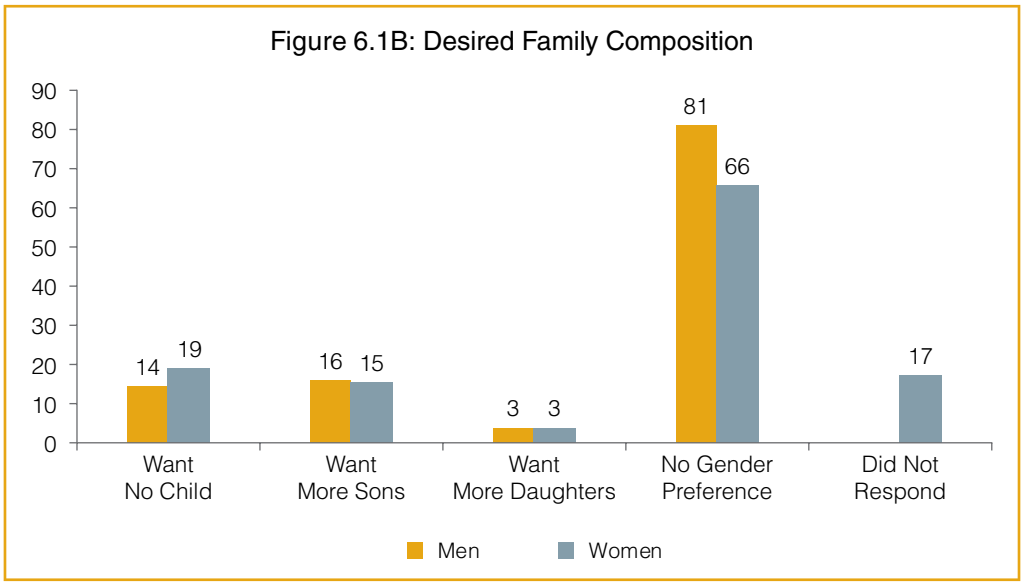
For centuries, India has also manifested some of the strongest discrimination against girls in the world. Despite economic growth and improvements in other realms of gender equality, such as a narrowing gender gap in education, the situation for women and girls continues to worsen. Women in India still face severe constraints in the realization of their reproductive rights and tremendous pressure to produce sons rather than daughters. Recent demographic trends in India show falling fertility levels and increasingly skewed sex ratios. This suggests that while the desired number of children is reducing, a preference for sons remains. These patterns may be different across states and could be shaped by different factors in each state.

Numerous studies have examined the causes and consequences of son preference in India but few have linked it with the attitudes of men and women towards sons and daughters or tried to assess what factors determine these attitudes. In an effort to fill this gap in knowledge, our study examined the characteristics of men and women who have a high desire for sons over daughters. A high desire for sons is measured as an inclination towards having more boys than girls in terms of sex composition of children in a family. We also examined the extent of son preference in India, which is conceptualized as the magnitude of one's attitudes towards the importance of sons. Attitudes that are discriminatory towards the value of having a daughter were measured as daughter discrimination. Men and women have different reasons for valuing sons or daughters, and we looked at the factors that impinge on these perceptions. Finally, the role of men's gender equal attitudes and men's controlling behaviour in intimate partnerships, conceptualized as masculinity, is hypothesized to have an influence on their preference for sons.

6.1 Actual and Desired Family Composition

For our study, we looked at the desire for sons in terms of ideal sex composition of children in a family. We asked men to go back to a time when they did not have any children and choose exactly the number of boys and girls they wanted to have in their life. Men who wanted more sons than daughters were categorized as having a high desire for sons. Those who wanted equal number of sons and daughters or more daughters than sons were categorized (with at least one son incorporated in this) as having a low desire for sons and no desire for sons (zero sons and one or more daughters).





This section looks at the desire for sons or daughters in relation to the existing sex composition of children in a family (where men and women already have children).

Actual family size

A high proportion of men (almost 40%) were unmarried or had no children, while a far lower proportion of women (one-fourth) were not married or had no children (Figure 6.1A). Around one-fourth of both men and women had more sons than daughters. While almost one-third of the women (31%) had more daughters than sons, a smaller proportion of men (one-fifth) fell into this category.

In terms of ideal sex composition, which is a proxy measure for a desire for more sons, a high proportion of men and women were gender equal in their preference. A majority of the men (67%) in the sample professed an equal desire to have a male or a female child and almost half of the women (47%) expressed the same desire. Notably, this neutrality does incorporate the desire for at least one son. Of those who expressed any gender preference for future children, almost four times as many desired more sons than daughters. For men, the relative proportions were 16%

Table 6.1: Actual Family Size and High Desire for Sons				
Actual Family Size*	Men		Women	
	High Desire for Sons	(N)	High Desire for Sons	(N)
No children/never married	9.9	3757	3.6	778
Have more sons	29.4	2169	13.7	765
Have more daughters	16.2	1734	28.4	1003
Have equal number of children of either gender	9.9	1545	10.0	612
Total	15.7	9205	15.0	3158

*Significant at 99%

for sons versus 3% for daughters, and for women it was 15% for sons versus 3% for daughters. Unmarried women (17%) were not asked this question while even single men were asked this question and responded (Figure 6.1B).

The actual presence of more sons in the family did not affect men's desire for more sons. Almost a third (29%) of the men who already had more sons than daughters expressed a desire for additional sons (Table 6.1). This is compared with the 16% of men who had more daughters and stated a desire for more sons. This is to contrary to what we would expect as those with more daughters should exhibit a higher desire for sons, given the persistence of son preference. This may be because a higher desire for sons is expressed by men who have already achieved their actual preference and had very rigid preferences to begin with.

Meanwhile, the desire for sons was stronger among the women who already had more daughters (29%) as opposed to those who had more sons and desired higher numbers of sons (13.7%) (Table 6.1). Around half of the women (51-47%) with more sons than daughters or vice-versa, expressed a desire for equal numbers of sons and daughters. This preference does include a desire to have at least one son.

The state-wise composition of actual family size and desire for sons is presented in the Annexure Table A6.1. In all states, leaving aside the men with neutral preferences (around 50%), a higher proportion desired more sons compared to those who wanted more daughters (Annexure Table A6.1). This gap is especially apparent in Uttar Pradesh, where 27% of the men wanted more sons and only 5% desired more daughters. This was also evident is Madhya Pradesh, where 13% men expressed a desire for more sons and only 2% for more daughters. Overall, very few men wanted more daughters than sons, ranging from 5% in Uttar Pradesh to 2% in Odisha and Madhya Pradesh. Similarly women in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana too wanted more sons than daughters (in UP 21% wanted more sons compared to 4% who wanted more daughters and in Punjab and Haryana 20% wanted more sons compared to 2% who wanted more daughters) (Annexure Table A6.1).

Men who already have more sons than daughters did not demonstrate a diminished desire for additional sons. Men in this situation wanted more sons, and in fact they were the largest group across all states that expressed that desire (Annexure Table A6.3). This is especially true among men in Uttar Pradesh in our study, where almost half (43%) of those who already had sons wanted more, and in Maharashtra, where a third of the men who had more sons than daughters desired the same. The desire for sons was strongest amongst women who had more daughters than sons. This was particularly true in Punjab and Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, where 41% and 39%, respectively, of the women with more daughters wanted more sons (Annexure Table A6.3).

6.2 Characteristics of Men and Women Who Desire More Sons

The findings from the study show that men and women who desire more sons are typically older, less literate, poorer and more likely to be rural-based (Table 6.2). The desire for sons is positively related to age, with almost one-fifth

of the men in the highest age bracket of 35-49, expressing a desire for more sons (compared to only 11% in the 18-24 age group). An even larger proportion of women in the oldest age group (23%) expressed a desire for more sons, versus only 5.3% in the youngest age group (Table 6.2). The reported desire to have more sons is surprisingly lower at earlier ages when women and men are still having children or actively planning for their families. This may be because older age men and women have more entrenched desires as they get layered with societal expectations as well.

Table 6.2: Profile of Men and Women who have High Desire for Sons

Profile Variables		Men		Women	
		High Desire for Sons (%)	(N)	High Desire for Sons (%)	(N)
Current age**	18-24 years	11.1	2937	5.3	1008
	25-34 years	16.0	2854	16.7	1050
	35-49 years	19.4	3414	23.0	1100
Level of education**	Illiterate	23.0	702	28.0	839
	Up to primary (1-5 class)	19.6	1680	19.1	641
	Up to higher secondary (6-12 class)	15.5	5386	8.0	1375
	Graduate and above	8.3	1437	3.5	303
Type of family**	Nuclear	17.2	3924	16.6	1629
	Non-nuclear	14.7	5281	13.2	1529
Caste**	Scheduled Caste	16.3	1862	17.1	631
	Scheduled Tribe	15.1	904	17.1	317
	Other Backward Classes	17.8	3783	16.8	1353
	General	12.7	2656	10.1	857
Religion**	Hindu	15.6	7700	15.9	2535
	Muslim	18.5	847	12.9	390
	Others	11.6	658	8.9	233
Type of residence**	Rural	17.2	5414	17.8	1951
	Urban	13.6	3791	10.7	1207
Wealth index**	Low	20.0	3068	20.7	1052
	Middle	17.1	3069	15.8	1054
	High	10.1	3068	8.5	1052
Witnessed/Experienced discrimination/harassment during childhood**	Never	5.7	1476	9.7	303
	Sometimes	15.8	4386	11.1	950
	Often	19.5	3343	17.8	1905
Decision making in family NS	Both equally	12.0	3265	15.3	1871
	Father	17.8	5940	14.6	1287
Witnessed male participation in household chores **	Never	15.3	3157	17.2	1344
	Sometimes	17.1	3379	14.8	793
	Often	14.5	2669	11.9	1021
Total		15.7	9205	15.0	3158
Masculinity index# (gender attitude and relationship control)**	Rigid	26.4	1797	27.5	513
	Moderate	16.5	2734	17.7	1377
	Equitable	12.5	1550	12.1	612
Total		18.8	6081	18.3	2502

**Significant at 99%; NS - Not Significant; # - Only for currently married

Literacy and education have a highly significant effect, too, as 23% of illiterate men and 28% of illiterate women stated a desire for more sons, compared to only 8% of men and 4% of women who were graduates. Unsurprisingly, a larger proportion of rural-based, poorer men and women wanted more sons. The value of sons may be greater in agricultural rural-based economies due to the potential to inherit land and/or continue the family's work (Table 6.2).

In terms of how masculine attitudes affect the desire for more sons, there were few surprises. Men with rigid masculinity and women who face rigid masculine control showed a significantly higher desire for sons than those with more moderate or equitable attitudes. More than one-fourth (26%) of the men with rigid masculinity – that is, men who have low gender-equitable attitudes and high controlling behaviours – showed a higher desire for sons. Similarly 27% of the women who face rigid masculine control have a desire for more sons in their life. While among those men and women who are equitable, i.e., high in equitable attitude and low control, only 12% desire more sons (Table 6.2).

Childhood experiences of discrimination were characterized by a series of questions around the neglect men and women faced/observed in their early years, any experiences of violence from their parents as well as observations of unequal treatment of their mothers and sisters. One-fifth (20%) of the men and 18% of women who said they had often witnessed or experienced gender discrimination or harassment as children expressed a higher desire for more sons in comparison to 5.7% men and 9.7% women who desired more sons and who had never experienced/ observed discrimination as a child. This further validates earlier research that men's past experiences in childhood have a significant impact on their masculine behaviour as adults (ICRW, 2012).

Childhood experience of discrimination has played a significant role in men's desire for more sons in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana, where men who had often experienced or witnessed such discrimination had a higher desire for sons. Rigidly masculine attitudes contributed to a desire for more sons among the men in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In Uttar Pradesh (to a lesser extent in Odisha), surprisingly, almost half the men who held more gender equitable attitudes and behaviour also wanted more sons.

Across all the states the desire for sons was significantly and positively related to age; a larger proportion of older men in almost all the states expressed a desire for more sons than did younger men (Annexure Table A6.4A). Education was another significant socio-demographic factor that is inversely related to the desire for sons. Typically, the desire for sons was highest among men who were either illiterate or only had primary-level education. Once again, the extent of this desire proved highest in Uttar Pradesh where almost 30% of the men who were either illiterate, or had been educated up to the primary or secondary levels, wanted more sons. However, the proportion of men across all the other states who desired more sons was less than 20% for those at lower levels of education, and even as low as 2.6% in Rajasthan and 2.8% in Odisha (Annexure Table A6.4A).

Among women, too, age was significantly and positively related to a desire for more sons (Annexure Table A6.4B). This is starkly evident in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana where almost one-third of the women in the oldest age group of 35-49 wanted more sons. In these two states, the desire for sons was high even in the age group of 24-35, where almost one-fourth of the women said they wanted more sons. The effect was the same in the other states although the proportion was lower. In Maharashtra, the desire for sons among the women appeared to be much lower across all ages compared to other states (Annexure Table A6.4B).

The desire for sons was also significantly related to the level of education among women; women who were illiterate and barely educated (up to primary level) desired more sons especially in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana. The proportions were lower in Madhya Pradesh. More women from nuclear families wanted more sons than women from non-nuclear families especially in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana. Women who do not have gender-equitable attitudes and who experience control from a partner/husband showed a greater desire for sons across all states except Rajasthan (Annexure Table A6.4B).

6.3 Son Preference and Daughter Discrimination

In this study, the second key outcome variable, attitudes towards sons, was measured by a range of attitudinal statements shown in Figure 6.2. We assessed the attitudes of men and women towards sons in society through attitudinal statements such as 'Fathering a male child shows you are a real man' and 'It is important to have a son to take care of you in the old age' (details given in Figure 6.2). The proportion of men and women agreeing to these statements at aggregate level as well as state level are presented in the Annexure Table A6.5. The responses on these statements were captured on a four point scale (strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree). After assessing the reliability test (Cronbach alpha 0.68 for men and 0.74 for women) a composite variable was created. The scale results were then trichomatized by their total scores and categorized as low, medium and high preference for sons. The index at aggregate level is presented in the Figure 6.3. This index of attitudes towards preference for sons is conceptualized as a measure of son preference in our study.

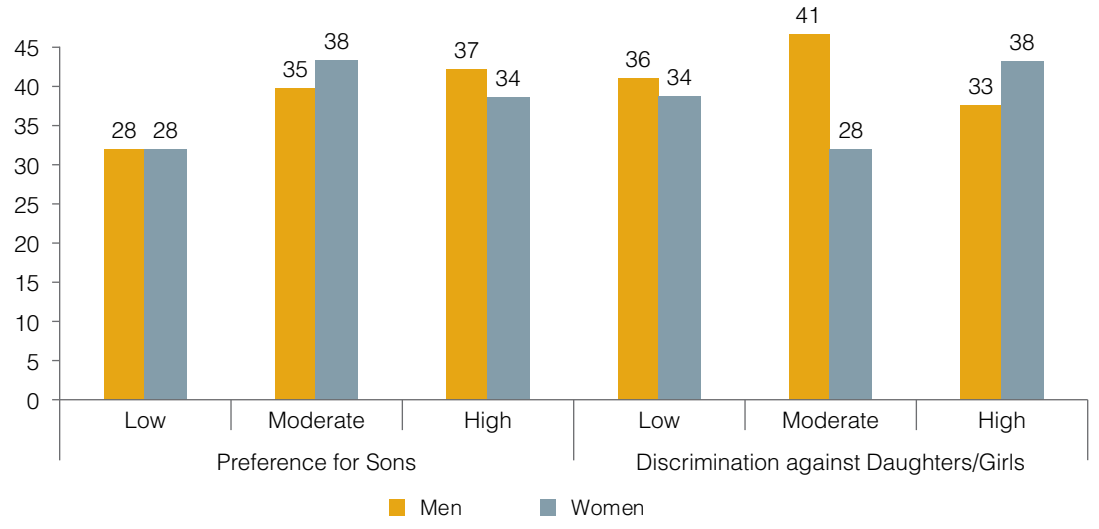
Figure 6.2: Attitudinal Statements to Measure Preference for Sons

1. Fathering a male child shows you are a real man
2. A couple who has only a female child is unfortunate
3. It is important to have a son to take care of you in your old age
4. It is important to have a son to carry on the lineage or family name
5. Having a daughter is a financial burden/loss
6. If a wife does not have a son, her husband has good reason to leave her or divorce her
7. If a wife does not have a son, a family has good reason to pressurize her husband to leave her
8. A couple have good reason to abort a pregnancy if they learn it is a girl child

We also assessed the attitudes of men and women towards daughters through their responses to some of the selected attitudinal statements such as, 'A man with only daughter is unfortunate', and 'A couple has good reason to put their female child for adoption.' All the statements are presented in the Figure 6.4.

The responses to these statements were captured on a four point scale and after testing the reliability a composite variable was created. The scale results were then trichomatized into high, moderate and low discriminatory attitudes towards daughters, as in the case of index of attitudes for preference for sons.

Figure 6.3: Attitudes towards Preference for Sons and Discrimination against Daughters/Girls



The index on attitude towards preference for sons ('son-preferring attitudes' from here on) and discrimination against daughters is presented below in the Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: Attitudinal Statements to Measure Discrimination against Daughters/Girls

1. A man with only a daughter is unfortunate
2. Not having sons reflects bad karma
3. It is acceptable for parents to receive financial assistance from their daughters
4. Once a woman gets married she belongs to her husband's family
5. A woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family
6. If a daughter's or sister's marriage breaks up she can come back to father's or brother's house
7. Daughters and sisters can choose the person they want to marry
8. Daughters and sisters can decide when they want to marry
9. Daughters and sisters can ask for a share of the natal property
10. A couple has good reason to place their female child for adoption

On the aggregate, over a third of men and women had high son-preferring attitudes and high daughter discrimination. A similar proportion (35% men and 38% women) had moderately high son preference and daughter discrimination but the proportion of men with moderately high daughter discrimination was 41% compared to 28% women. This suggests that daughter discrimination is higher amongst men than women even though a preference for sons was similar. A similar proportion of men and women had low son preference (28%).

Among the states, Uttar Pradesh had the largest proportion of men and women (almost half) that had strong son preferring attitudes (Annexure Figure A6.1). Maharashtra with 40% of men and 47% of women was next followed by Madhya Pradesh with 32% of men and 42% of women who showed high son preferring attitudes. Punjab and Haryana and Odisha had one in three men and women (one in four women in Odisha) who expressed a high son preference. Rajasthan showed the lowest proportion of men and women with high son-preferring attitudes among all states (Annexure Figure A6.1).

Our analysis of son-preferring attitudes is complemented by measuring the discriminatory attitudes against girls and daughters, which was particularly strong in Odisha and Uttar Pradesh (Annexure Figure A6.2). In Odisha, more than two-thirds of the women (67%) and almost half the men (46%) had highly discriminatory attitudes against daughters/girls; in Uttar Pradesh it was almost half the men (48%) and little more than two-fifth of the women (42%). Rajasthan is as low as 15% men who showed discriminatory attitudes against girls or daughters. Interestingly, across all the states except for Uttar Pradesh, a higher proportion of women had highly discriminatory attitudes against daughters/girls than observed in men (Annexure Figure A6.2).

We found a significant and positive association between men who have high son-preferring attitudes and a high desire for sons in the sample ($p<0.001$). Both men and women's desire for sons was directly related to their son-preferring attitudes and to their discriminatory attitude against daughters (Table 6.3). More than one-fifth of the men who displayed high son-preferring attitudes and discriminatory attitudes against daughters, desired more sons as opposed to less than a tenth of men who had low son-preferring or daughter discriminatory attitudes (Table 6.3). Other studies validate this finding that daughter discrimination seems to be a powerful determinant on its own and not only as a corollary of attitudes towards a preference for sons.

The correlation between men's desire for sons and their discriminatory attitude against their daughters revealed an interesting picture. About 22% of men with highly discriminatory attitudes against girls desired more sons, compared to 5.9% of the men who desired more daughters (Annexure Table A6.6). It was similar difference for women as well.

A high proportion of men across all three levels of the son-preferring attitudes index (73-86%) expressed no preference regarding the gender of their future children. Like the men, the majority of the women (around two-thirds

Table 6.3: Desire for Sons and Attitudes towards Preference for Sons and Discrimination against Daughters/Girls				
Attitudinal Measures	Men		Women	
	High Desire for Sons (%)	(N)	High Desire for Sons (%)	(N)
Preference for Sons*				
High	21.7	3207	17.5	1050
Moderate	12.6	3085	18.8	1177
Low	11.8	2913	6.7	931
Discrimination against Daughters/Girls*				
High	22.2	2956	20.6	1252
Moderate	14.7	3680	13.0	810
Low	8.9	2569	10.3	1096

*Significant at 99%

64-67%) stated an equal preference for a child of either sex (Annexure Table A6.6). This might suggest that while attitudes may be highly son-preferring, men and women expressed a desire for the sex composition of their children to include at least one son and not necessarily for more sons than daughters.

Uttar Pradesh had the highest proportion of people desiring more sons among those who had high son-preferring attitudes and those who had discriminatory attitudes towards girls (Annexure Table 6.7). In fact, the high desire for sons among the men in Uttar Pradesh was there irrespective of the extent of preference for sons; 30% of the men with high son preferring attitudes desired more sons but so did 21% of those with a moderate preference and 27% of men with a low preference. The proportion of men displaying a desire for sons is lower in the other states and decreases with the strength of the son preferring attitudes.

Amongst women, the desire for sons appeared highest in Punjab and Haryana; almost one-third of women with high son preferring attitudes wanted more sons compared with 10% with low son-preferring attitudes. In Uttar Pradesh, 19% women who had high son-preferring attitudes had a high desire for sons compared with 23% women with a moderate preference and 12% with low son-preferring attitudes. About 26% of the women with a highly discriminatory attitude towards daughters expressed a desire for more sons in Uttar Pradesh followed by 24% in Punjab and Haryana and 20% in Rajasthan (Annexure Table 6.7). For women, the desire for sons broadly increases with the increasing strength of the son-preferring and daughter discriminatory attitudes.

6.4 Knowledge and Perception of Laws Protecting Women and Girls

Across the study states, we assessed men and women's knowledge and awareness of India's laws aimed at protecting daughters'/girls' rights and whether such initiatives influenced their desire for more sons (Table 6.4).

Only half of the men and women were aware that daughters were entitled to a share of the family inheritance. Amongst the vast majority of those who were aware of the latter, 42% of both men and women felt it was fair for daughters, and a moderate proportion (37% men and 44% women in the entire sample) felt it was fair for all children to inherit a share of family property. Only over a tenth of the men and women in the study felt the law was unfair for sons (15% men and 12% women).

Almost half the people in the sample (45% of the men and 47% of the women) did not know of the law preventing sex determination (PCPNDT (Act), 2003). And almost all the men and women who were aware of this law

Table 6.4: Men and Women's Knowledge and Perceptions on Women/Girls Focused Laws and Policies					
Laws and Policies		Men		Women	
		Percentage	(N)	Percentage	(N)
Know about inheritance rights for daughters	Yes	52.4	5180	49.1	1570
	No	47.6	4025	50.9	1588
Perception about law on inheritance rights to daughters (Yes)	Unfair for sons	15.3	1708	11.7	405
	Fair only for unmarried/ deserted daughters	33.7	3476	29.1	1014
	Fair for daughters	42.0	4100	42.0	1332
	Fair for all children	37.0	3619	43.8	1388
	Unaware of the law	47.6	4025	50.9	1588
Aware of law that prevents sex determination	Yes	55.8	4937	52.9	1700
	No	45.2	4268	47.1	1458
Perception about PCPNDT law (Agree)	Law is important to ensure sufficient girls in marriage market	55.2	4872	50.9	1657
	Law goes against women's abortion rights and their rights to choice	44.1	3938	41.7	1325
	Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being	42.7	3903	37.5	1244
	Law should allow sex selection for couples with no sons	32.6	2856	31.0	943
	Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable	51.0	4608	48.0	1548
	Unaware of this law	45.2	4268	47.1	1458
Perception about law which provides couples incentive for having girl child (Yes)	It can motivate couples to have girls child	87.9	7936	76.7	2479
	It will help parents to give better life to their children	86.3	7856	73.1	2326
	It will reduce the sex selective abortion in community	85.9	7841	71.1	2290

(55% of the men and 52% of the women) felt the law was important to ensure there were sufficient women for men to marry. Around one-third of the total sample for both men and women believed the law should allow sex selection for couples with no sons. An almost equal proportion of men and women believed that the law would be more acceptable if social security schemes existed for couples that had only daughters. Amongst those who are aware of the law, the dominant attitude that prevails is that a primary reason to have daughters is that there are enough women for men to marry.

More than half of the men across all the states except for Odisha (32%) agreed that PCPNDT (Act) 2003 is important else there will be insufficient girls in the marriage market (Annexure Table A6.8A). Surprisingly, in the state of Rajasthan 23% women and Maharashtra 30% women reported that they are aware of PCPNDT (Act) 2003, while in all the other states more than half of the women reported that they are aware of this law (Annexure Table A6.8B).

At the level of the states, three-fifth of the men in Punjab and Haryana were in favour that the law on inheritance rights to daughters and claimed that it is fair only for unmarried and deserted daughters. While in Madhya Pradesh only 19% men agreed the law was fair. Across the states, majority of women were unaware of the law around inheritance (as high as 63% in UP). Among those who were aware of the law on inheritance rights for girls, less than 20% of women agreed to the statement that it is unfair for sons. A higher proportion agreed that it was fair for unmarried and deserted daughters – almost half the women in Odisha (51%) followed by Maharashtra (38%). Only in Uttar Pradesh the proportion was low (14%). Both men's and women's attitudes around this very important law suggest that there is ambivalence about legislating sex determination for a third of the people (allow for families with only sons to sex select).These attitudes underscore the need for the PCPNDT (Act), 2003 to work in tandem with other laws and policies that support women and girls' value in the country.

6.5 Perceptions on the Importance of Sons vs. Daughters

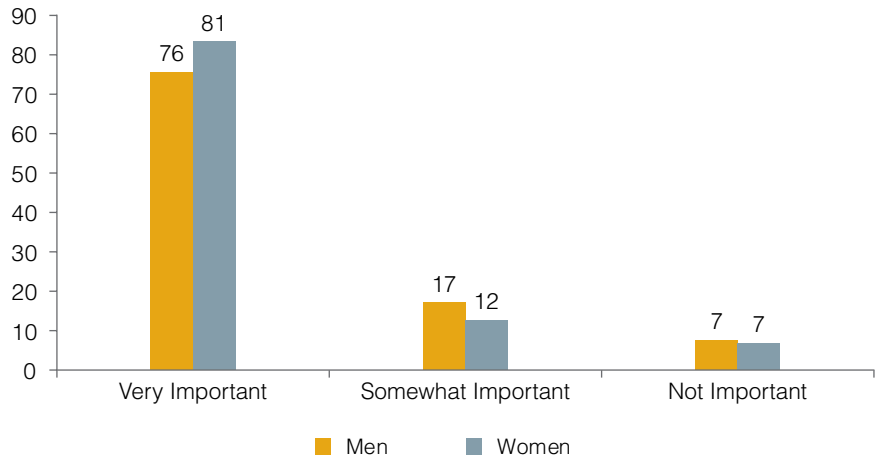
Men and women in Indian society value daughters and sons for different reasons and we looked at the main reasons men and women felt it important to have a daughter or a son. Overall, both men's and women's views about the importance of sons and daughters are highly influenced by traditional customs and gender roles that dictate that only boys can carry forth their father's name and continue the family lineage while girls provide emotional support and are expected to be dutiful and hardworking. Clearly, the patriarchal nature of Indian society combined with strong socio-economic and religious traditions creates a strong desire for a male child in the family.

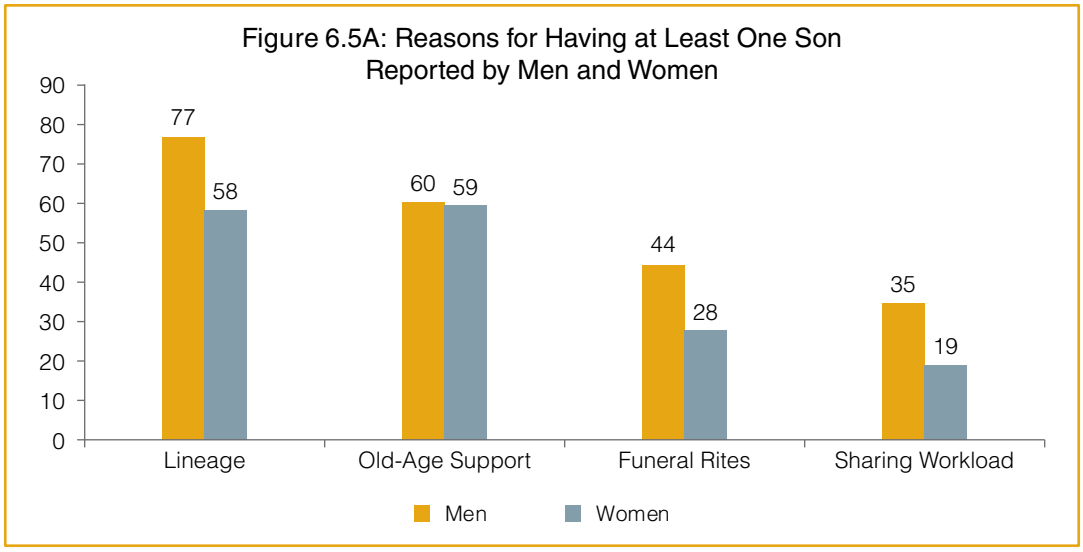
6.5.1 Importance of Having at Least One Son

Figure 6.5 shows that the overwhelming majority of both men and women considered it very important to have at least one son in their family and only 7% did not feel it was important to have a son. In fact, more women (81%) than men (76%) felt it was very important to have a son.

Men and women ranked their reasons for wanting a son in the same manner. For example, both groups agreed that the two most important reasons for having a son were the need to carry on the family name and for providing support in their old age, although the proportion of men citing lineage as a reason was far higher than women (Annexure Table A6.9 and Figure 6.5A). The third most important reason to have sons was for their role in the performance of funeral rites (44% of the men and 28% of the women). More than a third of the men also valued sons to help them

Figure 6.5: Importance of Having at Least One Son



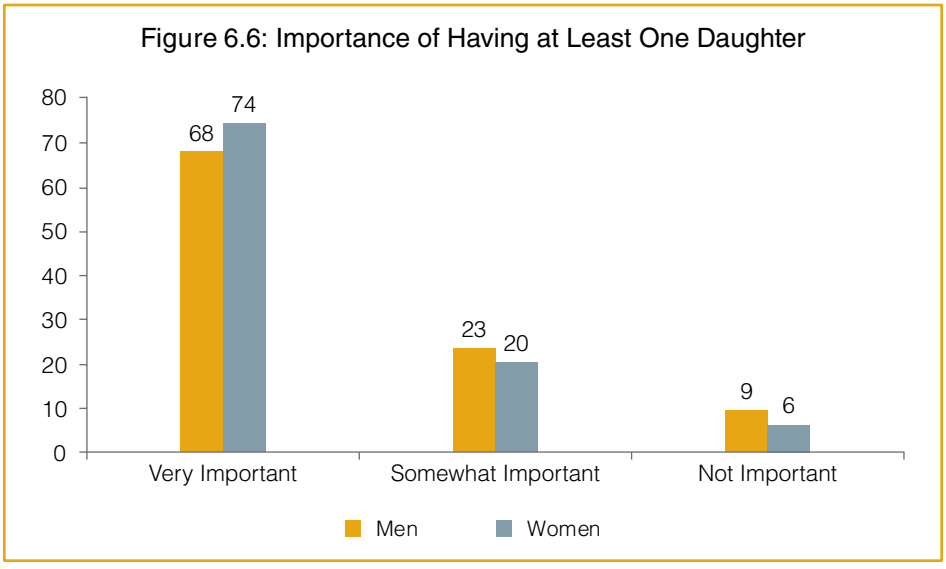


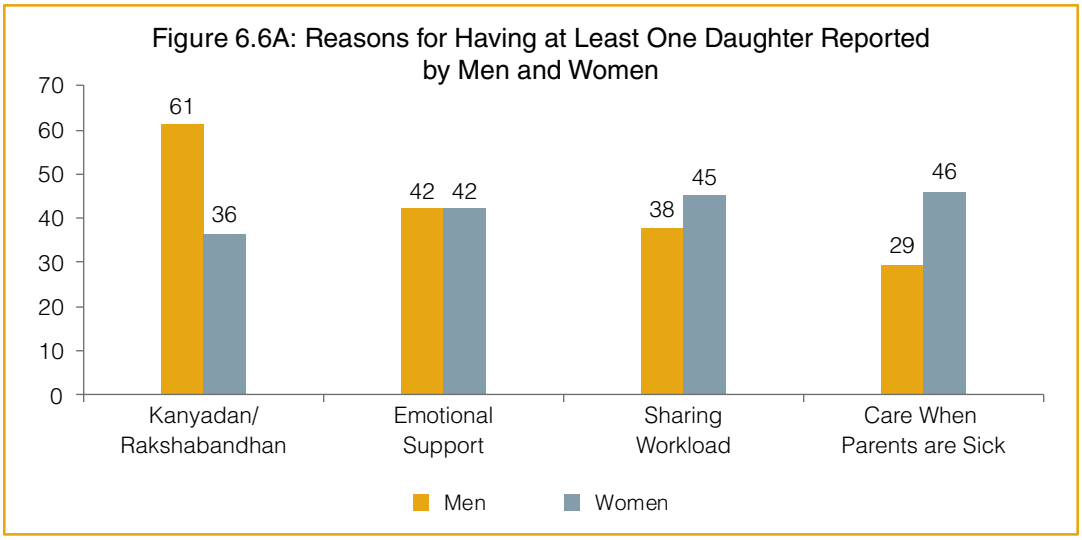
in their work burden while for women this proportion was only 19%. Over one-fifth of men felt sons were important to provide care when parents were sick and or for emotional support while for women this proportion was lower at 14%. Only one-tenth of the men and 7% women said they derived social status from having at least one son (Annexure Table A6.9).

6.5.2 Importance of Having at Least One Daughter

A large majority of those surveyed felt it was important to have at least one daughter, with a larger proportion women (74%) than men (68%) expressing this view (Figure 6.6). These ratios are lower than the proportion of men and women who said it was important to have at least one son. A little more than one-fifth of the men (23%) and one-fifth of the women (20%) reported that it is somewhat important to have at least one girl and less than 10% of men and women said it not at all important.

Women's reasons for having at least one daughter diverged from men's (Annexure Table A6.10 and Figure 6.6A). The most common reason men gave for wanting a daughter was to perform rituals (kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika) (61%),





for emotional support (42%) and prosperity (41%). A higher proportion of women, on the other hand, wanted a daughter because they believed daughters would look after them if they were sick (46%) would help share the workload (45%) and were important for emotional support (42%). Interestingly, 38% men and 45% women desired daughters to help them in the workload. In contrast, and not surprisingly, only 19% of women stated they wanted a son because he would share their workload with them. Considering the study sample was predominantly rural, the fact that nearly two-fifths of men felt daughters were important to share workload may suggest that expectations of work roles for daughters/women may be changing to work outside the home. Very few valued daughters for support in their old age (16% of men and 9% of women) reflecting the norm that daughters are not expected to support their natal homes after marriage.

Across the states the most important attitudes around having a son for both men and women were linked with lineage and as insurance in the old age (Annexure Table A6.11A). A third important reason was linked with the idea of masculinity – where having a son shows you are a real man. This was highest in Uttar Pradesh (60% for men and 50% for women) followed by Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab and Haryana (43% to 53% for men and 27% to 38% for women respectively). The fact that a high proportion of women felt daughters are important to look after parents when they are sick and for workload, suggests that expectations of the roles of sons and daughters may be changing. Earlier in a predominantly agrarian economy sons were highly valued for their labour and support, girls may not be desired for these reasons.

6.6 Determinants of High Son-Preferring Attitudes

An important objective of this study was to explore the factors that contribute to strong attitudes towards preference for sons. We examined the effect of the respondents' socio-demographic and other background characteristics on their son preferring attitudes.

Education is a strong and significant predictor of son-preferring attitudes where 46% of men with no education have high preference for sons compared with 38% men with secondary school education and 27% men with graduation or higher education (Table 6.6). For women, across all education levels the effect was even stronger, with almost half the uneducated women (45%) with a high preference for sons versus 18% of the graduates with the same (Table 6.5).

Most rural men (40%) had a high preference for sons but 34% of urban men too had high son preferring attitudes. However, for women there was more of a contrast among rural and urban women where the son preferring attitudes

Table 6.5: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women								
Socio-Demographic Factors	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	29.6	34.7	35.7	2937	31.3	36.1	32.6	1008
25-34 years	28.1	34.7	37.2	2854	28.5	36.9	34.5	1050
35-49 years	26.1	36.1	37.8	3414	23.3	41.8	34.9	1100
p-value		0.036		9205		0.001		3158
Education								
Illiterate	23.0	31.5	45.5	702	15.8	38.9	45.3	839
Primary (1-5 std.)	20.4	41.0	38.6	1680	19.7	38.4	41.9	641
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	27.7	34.5	37.8	5386	32.9	39.8	27.3	1375
Graduation and above	39.5	33.2	27.3	1437	53.5	28.8	17.7	303
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Type of Residence								
Rural	25.6	34.7	39.7	5414	22.9	39.2	38.0	1951
Urban	31.1	35.9	33.0	3791	35.1	37.0	27.9	1207
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Wealth Index								
Low	22.3	34.2	43.5	3068	15.8	37.4	46.8	1052
Middle	23.6	36.3	40.1	3069	26.7	41.5	31.8	1054
High	37.6	35.0	27.4	3068	40.5	35.7	23.8	1052
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	27.0	35.3	37.8	1862	28.1	43.0	28.9	631
Scheduled Tribe	19.7	36.4	43.9	904	14.9	33.1	49.0	317
Other Backward Classes	28.0	35.8	36.3	3783	25.0	39.2	35.8	1353
General	30.4	34.1	35.5	2656	35.5	35.3	29.2	857
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158

were higher for rural women (39% vs. 28%). Interestingly, a high proportion of men and women in both rural and urban areas have a 'moderate' preference for sons (Table 6.5).

Among men who are poor, more than two-fifths (44%) have high son preferring attitudes, compared with 38% men in the higher wealth tertile. Similarly, among women, the proportion of those who have a high preference for son in poorest tertile was almost twice the proportion of women with high son preferring attitudes in the highest wealth tertile.

Masculinity in this study is defined by men's gender equitable attitudes and the relationship control they exert. The findings suggest that masculinity is a critical determinant of son preference and it needs to be understood in its complexities, of men's experiences of childhood discrimination and the gender expectations that are triggered by their economic role as providers (Table 6.6).

Men who have rigid masculinity, i.e., are highly inequitable in their attitudes and behaviour, are more likely to have high preference for sons (62%) compared to men who are highly gender equitable (12%). In fact, more than half

Table 6.6: Determinants of Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	24.6	39.3	36.0	3157	20.7	40.0	39.3	1344
Sometimes	28.8	34.3	37.0	3379	32.1	37.5	30.4	793
Often	30.1	31.8	38.1	2669	34.5	36.5	29.0	1021
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	53.9	34.1	11.9	1638	53.2	36.7	10.1	641
Moderate	22.4	43.3	34.2	2850	19.4	45.1	35.5	1448
Rigid	12.4	25.9	61.7	1874	5.8	26.9	67.3	538
p-value		<0.001		6362		<0.001		2627
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons	22.6	30.3	47.1	1708	25.6	35.2	39.2	405
Fair only for unmarried/ deserted daughters	29.4	37.0	33.6	3476	26.5	42.5	31.1	1014
Fair for daughters	30.2	38.0	31.8	4100	35.0	38.8	26.1	1332
Fair for all children	32.5	36.9	30.6	3619	34.4	38.0	27.6	1388
Unaware of the law	24.9	33.9	41.2	4025	21.3	38.5	40.2	1588
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important to ensure sufficient girls in the marriage market	28.7	34.7	36.6	4872	34.4	39.1	26.6	1657
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice	23.5	35.6	41.0	1188	30.7	40.2	29.1	1325
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being	23.9	36.2	39.8	3903	28.8	39.7	31.4	1244
Law should allow sex-selection for couples with no sons	19.6	33.6	46.8	2856	27.0	40.7	32.3	943
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable	26.2	35.4	38.4	4608	34.7	38.6	26.7	1548
Unaware of the law	26.8	36.1	37.1	4268	18.9	38.1	43.1	1458
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158
Perception about Law Which Provides Couples Incentives for Having a Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have a girl child	27.6	35.2	37.1	7936	31.3	40.5	28.2	2479
It will help parents give their children a better life	28.2	36.2	35.7	7856	33.2	39.3	27.5	2326
It will reduce sex-selective abortions in the community	28.1	36.4	35.5	7841	33.6	38.4	28.1	2290
p-value		<0.001		9205		<0.001		3158

the men and women who are equitable (54% and 53%) had a low preference for sons; and conversely, only around one-tenth of these men and women had a high preference for sons.

The preference for sons was high among all men, irrespective of whether they witnessed male participation in household chores, and in fact was highest (39%) among men who had often witnessed men doing chores. It is interesting that men's exposure to more gender equitable roles at home amongst their parents does not influence their positive attitudes around son preference unlike the influence of this factor on men's masculinity. Perhaps son preferring attitudes are filtered through many layers of attitudes and expectations around value of sons while the link with masculinity is more direct. Men's preference for sons though is closely aligned to their masculinity, though not to their observations of men's participation in household chores.

The pattern among women followed more predictable lines, in that more than 39% of the women who had never experienced male participation in chores had a high preference for sons compared to 29% who had often experienced men taking part in household chores. Unsurprisingly, relatively fewer women (21%) who had not seen men taking part in chores had a low preference for sons compared to 35% who often witnessed men's participation in household chores (Table 6.6).

Awareness of laws formulated to protect women and girls appears to have no influence on the preference for sons both among men and women. Almost half the men and women surveyed were unaware of the law granting inheritance rights to daughters. Almost two-fifths of those men and women who were unaware of the law (40%) also expressed a high preference for sons.

A predictably large proportion of those who knew of the law and thought it was unfair for sons had high son preferring attitudes (47% of the men and 40% of the women) (Table 6.6). While awareness of laws did not bear influence on son preference, the attitudes towards the inheritance act did have a relationship with son preferring attitudes. Attitudes towards the laws are closely associated with the same underlying value system around attitudes towards the value of sons.

Around half the men and women were also unaware of the law banning Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT(Act), 2003). Of these, a very high proportion of women (43%) and men (37%) had a high preference for sons. More than 90% of the men who were aware of the law thought it was important to ensure sufficient girls in the marriage market; a sentiment echoed by almost all the women who were aware of the law.

Most of the men and women who felt that sex-selection should be allowed for couples with no sons revealed a high preference for sons (47% men and 41% women). While a fairly large proportion of men who felt that social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable (38%) had high son preferring attitudes, there was no association for women (Table 6.6). Majority of the men and women agreed that couples should be given incentives to have daughters. Those who desired that such a law be there agreed that it could motivate couples to have a girl child, help parents give their children a better life and reduce sex-selection in the community.

6.7 Determinants of High Son-Preferring Attitudes: A Multivariate Model

It is important to discern the factors that make men or women more likely to have high preference for sons. For men, economic status plays a very significant role determining the preference for sons, as economically better off men were only half as likely to have a high preference compared to poorer men. Women from higher wealth tertile were also less likely than poorer women to have high son preference. Caste also significantly influenced the preference

for sons but differently for men and women: men from the scheduled castes and other backward classes were two-thirds less likely than the general group to have a high preference for sons, but tribal women were almost 2.5 times more likely to have a high son preference relative to the general caste groups. For men, rural residence was not a significant determining factor while for women it was and rural women were 1.14 times more likely to have high son-preferring attitudes.

All the measures of masculinity and childhood experiences of discrimination had a very significant impact on the preference for sons. Men with very rigidly masculine attitudes and behaviour towards their partners were eighteen times as likely to have a high preference for sons, and even those with moderately controlling attitudes were five and a half times more likely to have a high preference for son. Among women, the odds were even higher, women experiencing controlling behaviour and masculine attitudes were twenty eight times more likely to have high son preferring attitudes than women who were equitable and faced low control by partners; even those experiencing moderately controlling behaviour and had moderate attitudes were six times more likely to have a high preference for sons (Table 6.7).

Frequent experiences of childhood discrimination significantly doubled the chances of men having a high preference for sons, and even occasional experiences of this kind of discrimination raised the likelihood for men to have higher son preferring attitudes. Controlling for other factors, men who had grown up with a more equitable distribution of household chores or decision making were significantly less likely to have a high son preference. This is not what we found in the bivariate analysis; however, the multivariate analysis is more confirmatory of the causal impact of this factor. These experiences had a significant effect on women's preferences but the significance was weaker (Table 6.7).

Knowing that sex selection was legally banned did not prevent men from having a significantly higher son preference, although men who knew that daughters' had inheritance rights were less likely to have a high son preference than those who were unaware of this law. On the other hand, women who knew about the PCPNDT (Act), 2003 were significantly less likely to have high son preference.

Table 6.7: Odds Ratio for Determinants of Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women

Preference for Sons (Low vs High)	Men		Women	
	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval
Age				
18-24 years *(Reference)*				
25-34 years	1.01	0.79 – 1.28	0.96	0.68 – 1.34
35-49 years	1.02	0.80 – 1.28	1.01	0.74 – 1.39
Education				
Illiterate *(Reference)*				
Primary (1-5 std.)	1.07	0.82 – 1.41	1.06	0.76 – 1.52
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	1.03	0.80 – 1.35	0.64**	0.46 – 0.87
Graduation and above	0.91	0.65 – 1.27	0.55*	0.31 – 0.97
Type of Residence				
Urban *(Reference)*				
Rural	1.05	0.90 – 1.24	1.14**	1.09 – 1.83

Contd...

Preference for Sons (Low vs High)	Men		Women	
	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval	Odds Ratio	Confidence Interval
Wealth Index				
Low *(Reference)*				
Middle	0.96	0.79 – 1.15	0.83	0.62 – 1.13
High	0.50**	0.40 – 0.63	0.67*	0.46 – 0.96
Caste				
General *(Reference)*				
Scheduled Caste	0.60**	0.49 – 0.74	1.07	0.76 – 1.52
Scheduled Tribe	0.85	0.65 – 1.13	2.34**	1.47 – 3.74
Other Backward Classes	0.67**	0.56 – 0.80	1.33*	1.00 – 1.76
Religion				
Hindu *(Reference)*				
Muslim	1.18	0.91 – 1.54	2.34**	1.46 – 3.74
Others	0.95	0.71 – 1.27	0.37**	0.29 – 0.59
Type of Family				
Non-nuclear *(Reference)*				
Nuclear	1.02	0.88 – 1.17	0.88	0.69 – 1.12
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood				
Never *(Reference)*				
Sometimes	1.33*	1.07 – 1.67	1.03	0.67 – 1.60
Often	1.89**	1.50 – 2.39	1.56*	1.04 – 2.36
Decision Making				
Father *(Reference)*				
Mother/Both equally	0.83**	0.71 – 0.96	0.93	0.74 – 1.78
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores				
Never *(Reference)*				
Sometimes	0.86	0.72 - 1.03	0.91	0.69 – 1.18
Often	0.78**	0.67 – 0.93	0.73*	0.55 – 0.97
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)				
Equitable *(Reference)*				
Moderate	5.45**	4.50 – 6.59	6.17**	4.53 – 8.43
Rigid	17.92**	14.39 – 22.31	27.7**	18.34 – 42.06
Knowledge about Law That Prevents Sex Selection				
No *(Reference)*				
Yes	1.32**	1.12 – 1.56	0.62**	0.47 – 0.81
Knowledge about Law That Gives Inheritance Rights to Daughters				
No *(Reference)*				
Yes	0.64**	0.55 – 0.75	1.05	0.80 – 1.37

Note: *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

6.8 Conclusion

We explored two broad themes in this chapter: The first examined the desire for more sons or daughters by men and women, their underlying socio-demographic characteristics that influence these desires, and other determinants. These include attitudes towards laws protecting daughters' rights, childhood experiences of discrimination and men's roles in the domestic sphere. An important aspect of the desire for sons or daughters is the importance ascribed by men and women to a boy or a girl.

The second part of the chapter explored the extent of son preference among men and women, and how preferences are affected by socio-demographic characteristics, childhood experiences of male dominance, masculinity, and awareness and views on laws and policies protecting women and girls. Respondents were ranked according to their attitudes towards sons and (discriminatory) attitudes towards daughters/girls to create an index of son preference and daughter discrimination. The analysis also examined whether the preferences for sons were associated with the extent of desire for more sons or daughters, and how men and women differ in this regard.

What follows is a highlight of the most significant data that emerged from our analysis:

- The majority of the men (67%) and women (47%) in the sample professed an equal desire to have a male or a female child. Of those who expressed a preference for more sons or daughters, almost four times as many desired more sons than daughters.
- Almost a third (29%) of the men who already had more sons than daughters expressed a desire for additional sons. This is contrary to what we would expect as men with more daughters should exhibit a higher desire for sons, given the persistence of son preference.
- Men and women who desire more sons are typically older, less literate, poorer and more likely to be rural-based.

We examined the ideal sex composition as a proxy measure for desire for more sons. The majority of the men (67%) and women (47%) in the sample professed an equal desire to have a male or a female child. However, these equal preferences already take into account the desire to have at least one son.

The desire for sons was stronger among the women who already had more daughters (29%) as opposed to those who had more sons (13%) as is expected. However, amongst men, we found that the actual presence of more sons than daughters did not diminish their idealized desire for more sons than daughters.

Men who already had more sons wanted more, and in fact they were the largest group across all states who wanted more sons. This may suggest that men's preferences are fairly rigid and they achieve their preferences in terms of their actual family composition. On the contrary, the desire for sons was strongest among women who had more daughters.

The findings from the study show that men and women who desire more sons are typically older, less literate, poorer and more likely to be rural-based. The desire for sons is positively related to age. Men's past experiences in childhood have a significant impact on their masculine behaviour as adults. Men with rigid masculinity and women with rigid masculine control showed a significantly greater desire for sons than those with more moderate or equitable attitudes. Childhood experiences of discrimination were characterized by a series of questions around neglect that men and women faced in their homes, any experiences of violence from their parents as well as observation of unequal treatment of their mothers and sisters.

In terms of son-preferring attitudes, on the aggregate over a third of men and women have high son-preferring attitudes and also high daughter discrimination. A similar proportion (35% men and 38% women) had moderately high

son preference and daughter discrimination. The proportion of men with moderately high daughter discrimination is 41% compared to 28% women. Perhaps daughter discrimination is higher among men than women even though a preference for sons is similar.

Only half of the men and women were aware that daughters were entitled to a share of the family inheritance. Almost half the people in the sample (45% of the men and 47% of the women) did not know of the law preventing sex determination (PCPNDT Act). And a high proportion of the men and women who were aware of this law (55% of the men and 52% of the women) felt the law was important to ensure there were sufficient women for men to marry. Around one-third of the total sample for both men and women believed the law should allow sex selection for couples with no sons. Both men's and women's attitudes around this very important law suggest that there is ambivalence about legislating sex determination for a third of the people (allow for families with only sons to sex select). It also suggests that the dominant attitude is that the law is important to ensure that there are enough women for men to marry. Men and women's attitudes towards laws, also suggest that there is support for complementary legislations such as social security for families with only daughters. This also underscores the need for the PCPNDT Act to work in tandem with other laws and policies that support women and girls' status in the country.

An overwhelming majority of both men and women considered it very important to have at least one son in their family. In fact, more women (81%) than men (76%) felt it was very important to have a son. A large majority of those surveyed felt it was important to have at least one daughter although these proportions were lower than the proportion of men and women who said it was important to have at least one son. For women, daughters are considered important for emotional support and sharing of workloads, while sons are valued because of their old age support as well as carrying out the family lineage and funeral rites. For men, sons are valued for the same reasons as women except a high proportion of men want sons to share workload unlike women. Interestingly, almost as high a proportion of men want daughters to share workload as sons.

It is important to discern the factors that make men or women more likely to have a high preference for sons. For men, economic status plays a very significant role in determining their preference for sons, as better off men were only half as likely to have a high preference compared to poorer men. Women from higher wealth tertile were also less likely than poorer women to have high son preference. Men from the scheduled castes and other backward classes were two-thirds less likely than the general group to have a high preference for sons, but tribal women were almost 2.5 times more likely to have a high son preference relative to general caste groups. Finding of high son preference among tribal women speaks of a latent demand, wherein researchers have pointed to a more adverse desired sex ratios than actual sex ratios.

For men, urban versus rural residence was not a significant determining factor while for women it was; rural women were 1.14 times more likely to have high son-preferring attitudes. Finally, we do know that sex ratio at birth is low even amongst those who are relatively well off financially and this may be because it is not socio-economic status alone that determines son-preferring attitudes. Our study demonstrates that masculinity, child discriminatory experiences and economic stress have a large influence on both the attitudes of men and women and perhaps their subsequent decisions to act on their preferences for sons over daughters.

Overall, we find that masculinity and its correlates have a high influence on both desire for sons and high son preferring attitudes. Moreover both attitudes and desires are important to unpack to better understand the complexities around son preference. Even where attitudes were highly son-preferring, men and women expressed a high desire for sons that includes at least one son and not necessarily for more sons than daughters. With declining fertility and expectations and desires for smaller families, sometimes even through the policy-driven two child norms, the desire is expressed for equal sons and daughters as long as there is at least one son. Son preference is also distinct from daughter discrimination as each operates in its own manner and differently for men and women.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

Our study findings underscore that in India, men's sense of masculinity strongly determines their preference of sons over daughters as well as their tendency to exert violence against an intimate partner. The IMAGES survey was adapted to understand the relationships between masculinity and son preference and contextualized to normative specificities of gender inequality, son preference and IPV in India.

To create a composite measure of masculinity, we assessed the level of control men practice in their intimate relationships as well as their attitudes related to gender equality. Three types of masculinity emerged from our assessment: rigid, moderate and equitable. Overall, we found that about two-fifths of the men in our sample to be rigid, who reinforced traditional norms of masculinity both in their attitude and behavior with consequences of both violence towards their partners and son preference. A quarter of the men were equitable – denoting that they viewed men and women as inherently equal and did not exercise control in their relationships; and the rest fell somewhere in between. We also examined women's attitudes and experiences related to son preference and IPV, and found that even women internalize norms of masculinity. By this we mean that a fair proportion of women justify and rationalize male dominance in their lives. Women also vary in their attitudes towards gender equality. As a result they too have different experiences of masculinity. About 21% women in the study experience rigid masculinity and 52% experience moderate and equitable forms of masculinity.

Our study also confirmed that notions of masculinity influence various manifestations of gender inequality, which include intimate partner violence and son preference in India. Masculinity is a complex concept, one that is fostered in part by men's childhood experiences of discrimination, the positive roles that their fathers play in their lives, and the gender expectations that require Indian men to be the economic providers in their families, among other factors. Masculinity is not only about men's attitudes, but also about how they behave to ensure their place of power in their families. Gender relations that exist in their social and familial context shape the notions of masculinity held by men.

Adding to the complexities are men who exhibit controlling behavior towards their wives/partners, but are moderate in terms of having more gender equitable attitudes. They do not fully manifest rigid masculinities. These types of men in India must have a greater space in the program discourse around men and masculinities, where they may encounter positive role models in other men who are considered strong and masculine (such as men in sports) and yet are gender equitable in word and deed. With these men we need to encourage more positive behavior. The more challenging task is to work with rigidly masculine men, as they do not espouse any values of equality. They have been exposed to norms and standards that are inequitable since childhood and their experiences have reinforced that pattern. With rigidly masculine men, we need to create and promote alternative masculine norms around gender equality, and focus on men's roles that are more caring, sharing, non-aggressive and respectful.

Intimate Partner Violence

One of the key manifestations of rigid forms of masculinity is violence in intimate partnerships, a common occurrence in India: For instance, our study found that such intimate partner violence (IPV) once in a lifetime is as high as 73% in Uttar Pradesh and 75% in Odisha. Given the significant prevalence of IPV in a lifetime and during the last 12 months, on the aggregate and across most states, it is important to identify how the findings from this study can improve the policy and programmatic response towards gender-based violence.

In the Indian context, the focus at the policy level has primarily been on legislative reforms for punishing sex crimes. Policy makers often fail to address the contextual issues facilitating IPV; these are largely left to small grassroots or civil society pilot initiatives. There is an urgent need to design holistic, effective intervention programs that simultaneously recognize and address men's role in perpetuating IPV as well as in being a part of the solution to this national problem. Engaging them and entire communities in efforts to promote healthy and meaningful dialogues between men and women, with a focus on the impact of IPV in peoples' lives, is a critical foundational step in increasing men's awareness of and sensitivity to the issue of IPV.

Also contributing to this notion of masculinity is Indian women's own attitudes, which are also gender inequitable and in some cases more so than men's. It is likely that women's attitudes perpetuate notions of masculinity and, in turn, gendered expectations. Women tend to believe that the experience of violence at the hands of their partner/husband is a norm and justify it. Women's own perception of their limited options may leave them thinking that they have few alternatives to experiencing violence (Jejeebhoy & Cook, 1997). The experience and passive acceptance of violence is a deterrent to any efforts to empower them to change course.

Son Preference

The greater value given to sons also gives them more opportunities, power and control over resources, particularly land and property as well as over the women of the family (Murphy, 2003; Das Gupta et al., 2004;). It also socializes boys in the stereotypical perceptions of masculinity and reinforces their role as custodians of patriarchal values, one among which is the higher value given to sons. Given these strong perceptions of men's roles, and how these get internalized by men and women in reinforcing gender inequitable norms, the study provides insights on how to work with men in order to address the problem of son preference and sex selection.

Men with rigid masculinity and women with rigid masculine control showed a significantly greater desire for sons than those with more moderate or equitable attitudes. Son preferring attitudes like intimate partner violence is influenced by not only notions of masculinities but also a range of factors that include childhood discrimination, economic stress and socio-economic status. Men and women prefer to have sons for slightly different reasons and there is a difference between preference for sons and discrimination against daughters. The specific attitudes related to son preference and discrimination against daughters/girls needs to be used in developing more insightful campaigns and media outreach to bring about change in this area.

Moving Forward

To curb intimate partner violence and the practice of sex selection in India, it is imperative that we start early by utilizing various platforms to reach young boys. The survey results also show that those men who reported having experienced any kind of gender inequality during childhood are more likely to commit violence against partners and have son-preferring attitudes and adverse attitudes towards daughters. This affirms the importance of developing programs that involve parents, especially fathers, in interacting with their children to promote gender

equality within their families. For example, fathers who participate frequently in housework and childcare can serve as good examples for the next generation, in terms of it being acceptable for women and men to share household responsibilities.

Along with boys, it is critical that we also engage men within the diverse institutions where they work or congregate – particularly those that uphold traditional norms of masculinity, such as workplaces, schools, panchayats or religious and social communities. Each state must tailor its efforts to best reach its population and that may require states undertaking in-depth programmatic research to inform context-specific and relevant programs for men. Each socio-cultural context will inspire its own ways in which masculinity is associated with power, especially given the social hierarchies, caste dynamics and triggers for economic stress in those settings.

National policies and programs aimed at involving men, promoting gender equity and diminishing socio-cultural and religious practices that manifest gender discrimination, should be implemented and promoted. In developing more focused programs and policies on masculinity and gender equality, we must highlight programs that build men's confidence to behave differently. These efforts must also teach men different ways to empower themselves, which can help to reduce the perpetuation of various forms of traditional masculinity and resulting behaviors, such as violence against women.

Fortunately, there is some promising discourse around this issue of masculinity and IPV and our findings illustrate that education – for both men and women – appears to reduce the prevalence of IPV. This is perhaps because being educated likely enhances the economic status of a household and increases communication and understanding between couples. Education is also empowering for women as it arms them with the ability to gather and assimilate information, negotiate circumstances and thus protect themselves from multiple forms of violence (Kishor, 2000; Kishor & Johnson, 2004; Malhotra & Mather, 1997).

Implement comprehensive reflective learning programs on gender equality in school settings: Our findings also suggest the importance of consistent efforts in developing comprehensive communication programs on gender equality in school settings, especially in secondary education, in order to promote better awareness of and internalization of more equitable gender norms at early ages. This can be done through revision of education curricula and materials and textbooks in order to eliminate gender stereotypes, which contribute to gender-based violence and sex selection practices.

Continue to keep literacy and improving access to quality education top priorities in national policies and programs: The study findings illustrate that education, for both men and women, appears to reduce the prevalence of IPV. Men with a higher level of education were found to have low son preference attitudes, high gender equitable attitudes and a high level of awareness on laws related to reproductive health and women's rights. Therefore, enhancing access to quality education and school completion should continue to be top priority in national policies and programs.

Create programs that promote healthy and meaningful dialogues between men and women: Policy makers often fail to address the contextual issues facilitating IPV; these are largely left to small grassroots or civil society pilot initiatives. Engaging men and entire communities in efforts to promote healthy and meaningful dialogues between men and women, with a focus on the impact of IPV in peoples' lives, is a critical foundational step to increasing men's awareness of and sensitivity to IPV.

Creating a mass base of men as change agents: Through community level efforts that understand the contextual realities of working with men there is a need to engage men to become agents of change both for themselves and for other men. The process of peer learning is important because evidence now suggests that – men learn from other men – men in positions of authority, men in family, men as friends – they also need to unlearn from men and therefore

the need for change agents and positive role models. There are interventions like Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (MASVAW) and Parivartan (ICRW) in India that have begun the process of engaging with men to change social norms. Building on learning from these and based on the findings of this study, we need to create many more mini movements of social change that are iterative and grow in their own contextual realities (Das and Singh, 2014).

Design national and state specific public educational campaigns that focus on redefining gender roles: Developing public educational campaigns that focus on redefining men and women's role in the family need to be encouraged. Any public awareness and advocacy intervention should focus on creating a more supportive environment for women and girls. Again, it is critical that these messages redefine norms of masculinity and men's role in the family to discourage IPV as well as attitudes towards gender inequality. These particularly need to be calibrated to address caste-specific and socio-religious practices that reinforce son preference in India.

Strategically merge women's empowerment with men's engagement programs: It is critical to bring men and women together in a strategic manner across different types of programs and sectors to create platforms and avenues where traditional gender roles are confronted and challenged. For example, micro-finance institutions (MFI) and self-help group programs that are largely and often exclusively targeting women should find ways to engage men to create synergistic and mutually reinforcing platforms within the gender framework. On the other hand, agriculture and/or producers cooperatives or sports programs that are often male-dominated with little role for and engagement with women and girls need to infuse women's empowerment frameworks within their scope.

Inclusion of men as a category in policies: 'Men' as a category is absent in most policy documents assuming policies need to be women focused and gender-neutral. Gender is often routinely replaced by 'women's empowerment' undermining the understanding that men need to be held accountable for creating spaces for women's empowerment and gender equality. Such 'gender-neutral' policy statements tend to perpetuate gender stereotypes, as they do not recognize the role of masculine ideology that underlies many of the social, economic and gender inequities. Policy documents must explicitly recognize gender injustice as an integral part of social injustice and hold men – both within programs and also outside – responsible and accountable for engendering social change.

Implement more operations research to identify innovative models: At the programmatic level, working with men and boys is an immense challenge. We need operational research approaches to identify and model innovative and culture-specific ways to engage men and boys in gender equality promotion programs. Use of social media, sports programs, creative campaigns and men's networks are some of the ways that have been tried but need greater attention, research and resources. Qualitative and longitudinal research is also required to understand the process of change as it unfolds and the perceptions, motivations and triggers behind the change. It will also allow assessing the environmental and circumstantial nuances that contribute to actual manifestations of rigid or unequal attitudes into unequal behaviors. As this study revealed, even rigid attitudes were often modulated by socio-economic conditions not always resulting in inequitable behaviors.

Annexures

Table A3.1: Educational Attainment of Men and Women by States						
Education Level/State		Illiterate	Up to Primary (1-5)	Up to Higher Secondary (1-6)	Graduation and Above	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	15.3	18.8	52.3	13.6	1529
	Women	35.5	16.9	38.7	8.9	526
Rajasthan	Men	4.2	18.5	56.9	20.4	1515
	Women	41.0	18.9	28.9	11.2	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	7.6	11.7	67.3	13.3	1484
	Women	18.6	27.0	46.3	8.2	538
Odisha	Men	3.9	25.4	55.1	15.6	1611
	Women	23.5	17.1	49.6	9.7	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	12.1	19.8	59.2	9.0	1501
	Women	35.1	19.5	39.2	6.2	501
Maharashtra	Men	2.4	13.7	64.2	19.7	1565
	Women	5.1	23.8	58.5	12.6	525

Table A3.2: Marital Status of Men and Women by States					
Marital Status/State		Currently Married	In Relationship but Not Married	Not in a Relationship	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	69.3	0.9	29.8	1529
	Women	75.5	0.4	24.1	526
Rajasthan	Men	68.4	0.6	31.0	1515
	Women	84.7	0.2	15.1	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	62.5	0.3	37.3	1484
	Women	79.2	0.0	20.8	538
Odisha	Men	63.7	2.8	33.6	1611
	Women	79.5	0.5	20.0	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	68.2	1.9	29.8	1501
	Women	81.2	0.0	18.8	501
Maharashtra	Men	66.2	2.8	31.0	1565
	Women	76.8	1.3	21.8	525

Table A3.3: Type and Kind of Marriage Arrangement of Men and Women by States						
Type of Marriage/State		We Chose and Elders Consented	We Chose and Got Married Without Elders Consent	Arranged by Elders and We Agreed Willingly	Arranged by Elders and We Had to Agree	N
Aggregate	Men	8.6	3.1	78.0	10.2	6151
	Women	3.7	4.8	75.4	16.0	2621
Uttar Pradesh	Men	11.5	3.1	82.5	3.0	1087
	Women	2.4	6.4	65.6	25.6	422
Rajasthan	Men	0.4	1.6	97.3	0.7	1040
	Women	1.4	9.7	80.5	8.5	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	5.9	1.5	64.5	28.1	959
	Women	30.0	1.6	78.7	16.7	427
Odisha	Men	7.8	4.5	55.8	31.8	1049
	Women	6.7	6.1	83.8	3.5	463
Madhya Pradesh	Men	5.6	3.7	64.9	25.7	1025
	Women	6.6	1.9	71.7	19.9	433
Maharashtra	Men	13.4	4.2	80.4	1.9	991
	Women	4.5	3.6	80.9	11.0	442
Kind of Marriage/State		Same Caste and Religion and Same Village/Town	Same Caste and Religion Different Village/Town	Same Caste and Religion Different State	Inter Caste/ Religion	N
Aggregate	Men	11.1	84.5	3.6	0.7	6151
	Women	15.5	76.4	5.5	2.6	2621
Uttar Pradesh	Men	17.9	77.3	4.4	0.4	1087
	Women	9.9	85.2	3.8	1.2	422
Rajasthan	Men	1.4	97.8	0.8	0.0	1040
	Women	34.0	60.7	3.0	2.3	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	7.4	85.3	6.8	0.5	959
	Women	1.6	75.0	21.1	2.3	427
Odisha	Men	19.1	76.4	2.3	2.3	1049
	Women	11.5	81.5	1.5	5.4	463
Madhya Pradesh	Men	8.4	88.9	2.1	0.6	1025
	Women	16.6	78.2	3.5	1.6	433
Maharashtra	Men	7.2	87.4	4.1	1.3	991
	Women	19.1	74.2	2.9	3.8	442

Table A3.4: Dowry in Marriage Reported by Men and Women by States						
Dowry in Marriage/State		Dowry in Cash	Dowry in Kind	No Dowry	Bride Price	N
Aggregate	Men	29.1	56.1	14.0	0.8	6151
	Women	29.3	53.0	17.2	0.5	2621
Uttar Pradesh	Men	44.0	51.9	3.9	0.3	1087
	Women	48.8	49.8	0.0	1.4	422
Rajasthan	Men	29.9	53.6	15.7	0.9	1040
	Women	24.0	73.3	2.3	0.5	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	16.1	77.6	60.0	0.3	959
	Women	6.9	88.7	3.0	1.4	427
Odisha	Men	33.8	42.9	22.0	1.3	1049
	Women	47.3	29.7	22.1	0.9	463
Madhya Pradesh	Men	17.6	68.8	13.1	0.6	1025
	Women	11.2	75.2	13.3	0.2	433
Maharashtra	Men	21.3	52.7	24.1	1.9	991
	Women	26.0	27.8	45.7	0.4	442

Table A3.5: Religion and Caste of Men and Women by States						
Religion/State		Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Others	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	73.7	26.2	0.1	0.0	1529
	Women	75.6	23.6	0.2	0.6	526
Rajasthan	Men	88.8	9.5	1.5	0.0	1515
	Women	80.3	16.3	2.6	0.8	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	71.4	2.4	25.9	0.3	1484
	Women	70.4	5.0	23.8	0.8	538
Odisha	Men	95.4	2.2	0.1	2.3	1611
	Women	94.0	2.1	0.0	3.9	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	95.1	3.3	0.3	1.3	1501
	Women	82.0	17.4	0.0	0.6	501
Maharashtra	Men	82.1	8.9	0.4	8.6	1565
	Women	81.0	7.6	0.0	11.5	525
Caste/State		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Other Backward Classes	General	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	20.9	3.5	48.7	27.0	1529
	Women	15.7	1.5	59.4	23.3	526
Rajasthan	Men	18.8	11.1	35.2	35.4	1515
	Women	18.3	11.1	35.2	35.4	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	36.8	0.7	23.4	39.1	1484
	Women	37.6	5.0	27.7	29.6	538
Odisha	Men	19.8	12.3	42.8	25.2	1611
	Women	14.1	19.4	49.0	17.5	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	15.5	19.0	41.8	23.8	1501
	Women	10.6	18.0	47.2	24.2	501
Maharashtra	Men	15.1	10.7	35.7	38.5	1565
	Women	19.5	8.2	39.0	33.3	525

Table A3.6: Place of Residence and Type of Family for Men and Women by States						
State		Place of Residence		Family Type		
		Rural	Urban	Nuclear	Non-Nuclear	N
Uttar Pradesh	Men	58.9	41.1	45.2	54.2	1529
	Women	60.8	39.2	51.1	48.9	526
Rajasthan	Men	59.2	40.8	28.3	71.7	1515
	Women	61.6	38.4	48.2	51.8	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	58.6	41.4	34.8	65.2	1484
	Women	61.3	38.7	44.1	55.9	538
Odisha	Men	58.7	41.3	64.8	35.2	1611
	Women	61.7	38.3	70.7	29.3	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	58.6	41.4	55.2	44.8	1501
	Women	63.5	36.5	48.5	51.5	501
Maharashtra	Men	59.0	41.0	31.3	68.7	1565
	Women	61.9	38.1	55.6	44.4	525

Table A3.7: Occupation of Men and Women by States						
State	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/ Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Occupation – Men						
Service (Govt./Pvt.)	16.7	17.5	28.5	23.1	11.8	16.2
Skilled/Semi-skilled labor	15.6	22.6	20.6	9.7	12.2	9.8
Business/Petty shop	19.3	13.0	11.4	16.8	10.1	13.7
Non-agricultural labor	17.3	12.8	6.1	14.8	23.4	13.2
Farmer/Fishing	8.4	4.2	9.4	8.4	21.2	14.4
Agricultural labor	8.1	8.2	3.6	9.7	3.9	10.0
Never worked/Student	12.0	17.7	18.0	11.7	14.7	14.0
Others	2.5	4.0	2.4	5.8	2.7	8.7
Total N	1529	1515	1484	1611	1501	1565
Occupation – Women						
Service (Govt./Pvt.)	4.0	4.6	5.9	7.4	5.6	4.9
Skilled/Semi-skilled labor	7.2	10.7	6.9	5.0	10.4	3.0
Business/Petty shop	2.5	1.6	2.0	1.9	2.6	2.7
Non-agricultural labor	5.5	1.7	2.4	12.0	11.2	3.2
Farmer/Fishing	3.8	5.0	0.6	4.2	2.6	3.2
Agricultural labor	1.3	5.6	1.3	10.8	5.4	13.3
Never worked/Student	14.8	9.6	12.4	6.7	10.8	10.7
Others	2.1	0.2	0.7	0.3	49.8	4.6
House makers	58.8	61.0	67.8	51.7	1.6	54.4
Total N	526	502	538	566	501	525

Table A3.8: Age of Current Partner of Men and Women by States							
Partners Age/State		Less Than 24 Years	25-34 Years	35 and Above	No Current Partner	Never Partnered	N
Aggregate	Men	15.7	28.9	23.0	0.8	31.6	9205
	Women	5.0	30.3	42.9	4.7	17.1	3158
Uttar Pradesh	Men	18.8	17.1	16.8	26.4	14.8	1529
	Women	21.3	17.0	14.6	22.5	18.6	526
Rajasthan	Men	20.7	16.5	15.2	5.6	15.6	1515
	Women	17.7	16.6	17.0	9.2	12.8	502
Punjab/Haryana	Men	12.4	15.8	16.0	19.4	18.1	1484
	Women	27.4	18.0	14.9	10.0	19.1	538
Odisha	Men	15.2	17.6	16.8	11.1	19.1	1611
	Women	14.6	15.4	20.0	9.2	12.8	566
Madhya Pradesh	Men	17.5	14.9	18.6	34.7	15.0	1501
	Women	11.0	16.8	16.5	16.7	13.5	501
Maharashtra	Men	15.4	18.1	16.6	2.8	17.4	1565
	Women	7.9	16.2	17.0	32.5	15.8	525

Table A3.9: Income and Educational Difference between Men, Women and their Partners by States								
State		Income Difference			Educational Difference			N
		Same	Man Earns More	No Income	Same	Respondent More Educated	Spouse More Educated	
Aggregate	Men	3.4	63.7	1.2	17.2	41.4	9.8	6159
	Women	5.8	29.6	52.9	20.2	12.9	50.2	2627
Uttar Pradesh	Men	18.0	17.3	26.2	19.5	17.0	16.2	1091
	Women	10.9	13.0	18.3	17.1	10.6	17.3	424
Rajasthan	Men	13.0	16.9	26.2	14.2	20.1	8.0	1042
	Women	26.9	20.7	13.3	17.1	7.5	18.7	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	18.6	15.1	7.8	20.0	13.1	15.7	959
	Women	10.3	8.4	21.2	19.9	17.3	14.8	427
Odisha	Men	18.6	16.8	8.7	14.4	16.1	23.4	1050
	Women	12.6	19.3	17.3	18.6	24.3	15.4	466
Madhya Pradesh	Men	16.5	16.9	21.4	16.2	18.0	13.7	1026
	Women	14.9	21.4	13.8	16.6	16.4	15.9	433
Maharashtra	Men	15.2	17.0	9.7	15.7	15.8	23.1	991
	Women	24.6	17.1	16.0	10.6	23.9	17.8	443

Table A3.10: Decision Making and Taking Care of Children at Home by Men and Women by States								
State		Decision Making			Taking Care of Children			N
		Respon-dent	Both Together	Other	Respon-dent	Partner	Both Together	
Aggregate	Men	45.6	50.5	4.0	1.6	57.8	40.6	6159
	Women	43.6	44.7	11.7	71.6	1.4	27.0	2627
Uttar Pradesh	Men	52.4	43.4	4.2	1.8	66.0	32.3	1091
	Women	40.5	45.4	14.1	71.5	2.0	26.6	424
Rajasthan	Men	35.2	56.0	8.7	0.9	22.3	76.8	1042
	Women	48.0	43.9	8.0	52.0	2.6	45.4	434
Punjab/Haryana	Men	31.8	61.5	6.7	1.8	69.5	28.6	959
	Women	44.4	40.2	15.4	75.8	1.2	23.0	427
Odisha	Men	34.0	65.5	0.5	0.5	61.5	38.0	1050
	Women	41.8	49.6	8.6	79.2	0.5	20.3	466
Madhya Pradesh	Men	56.1	40.6	3.3	5.0	54.9	40.1	1026
	Women	30.8	60.8	8.5	64.7	0.5	34.8	433
Maharashtra	Men	46.9	51.7	1.3	0.3	56.1	43.6	991
	Women	51.6	35.4	13.0	77.8	1.2	21.0	443

Annexure Table A3.11: Statements of Economic Stress by States						
Statements	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/ Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work	42.7	55.6	30.1	65.2	41.1	41.0
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough income	51.9	59.5	29.3	77.7	51.3	44.6
I sometimes feel ashamed to face my family because I am out of work	55.4	40.6	29.5	46.1	51.9	27.4
I spend most of the time out of work or looking for work	37.7	30.2	36.3	46.5	39.0	27.8
I have considered leaving my family because I was out of work	9.3	8.9	7.5	13.6	12.6	7.5
I sometimes drink or stay away from home when I can't find work	10.2	2.8	4.4	7.0	13.3	6.2

Table A3.12: Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment During Childhood			
Statements	Responses	Men	Women
Before I reached 18 I did not have enough to eat	Never	72.9	76.2
	Sometimes	21.5	18.7
	Often	5.6	5.2
Before I reached 18 I lived in different households at different times	Never	80.0	81.5
	Sometimes	16.5	14.6
	Often	3.5	3.9
Before I reached 18 I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or her boyfriend	Never	77.0	79.6
	Sometimes	20.0	17.1
	Often	3.0	3.3
Before I reached 18 I was told I was lazy or stupid or weak by someone in my family	Never	56.3	89.0
	Sometimes	35.9	9.1
	Often	7.7	2.0
Before I reached 18 someone touched my buttocks or genitals or made me touch them when I did not want to	Never	84.0	91.9
	Sometimes	13.3	3.7
	Often	2.8	4.5
Before I reached 18 I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people	Never	69.2	85.9
	Sometimes	26.1	12.5
	Often	4.7	1.5
Before I reached 18 I was beaten at home with a belt or stick or whip or something else which was hard	Never	64.8	78.1
	Sometimes	29.5	16.8
	Often	5.7	5.1
Before I reached 18 I had sex with a man who was more than 5 years older than me	Never	NA	82.4
	Sometimes	NA	2.8
	Often	NA	14.8
Before I reached 18 one or both of my parents were too drunk to take care of me	Never	89.0	91.6
	Sometimes	9.0	6.3
	Often	1.9	2.1
Before I reached 18 I was beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise	Never	82.4	92.5
	Sometimes	15.9	6.1
	Often	1.8	1.4
Before I reached 18 I had sex with someone because I was threatened or frightened or forced	Never	95.7	96.7
	Sometimes	3.8	2.9
	Often	0.5	0.4
Before I reached 18 I saw my sisters/female cousins getting less freedom than myself and my brothers	Never	53.2	63.0
	Sometimes	34.7	22.8
	Often	12.1	14.2
Before I reached 18 I was told that daughters were a liability to the family	Never	71.1	67.9
	Sometimes	21.7	16.4
	Often	7.3	15.7
Before I reached 18 I saw the hardship my parents/relatives went through to pay dowry/bear marriage expenses	Never	53.6	52.0
	Sometimes	34.3	31.7
	Often	12.1	16.3
Before I reached 18 I saw my parents/family demanding dowry on my brother's/cousin's/uncle's marriage	Never	74.9	71.6
	Sometimes	19.7	22.5
	Often	5.5	5.9
Before I reached 18 I saw my sister/female cousin being ill-treated or abandoned on being unable to produce a son	Never	90.8	NA
	Sometimes	7.5	NA
	Often	1.6	NA

Table A5.1: Determinants of IPV (in past 12 months) for Men and Women				
Determinants	Men's Perpetration		Women's Experience	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Age				
18-24 years	36.8	684	34.9	519
25-34 years	37.9	2318	31.6	1015
35-49 years	31.0	3360	29.5	1093
p-value	<0.001		0.086	
Education				
Illiterate	37.2	612	41.4	815
Primary (1-5 std.)	39.7	1406	31.1	587
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	34.0	3532	27.4	1045
Graduation and above	23.5	812	13.1	180
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Marital Status				
Currently married	35.2	6086	33.0	2505
Currently not married	12.1	276	6.5	122
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Type of Residence				
Rural	36.2	3846	36.4	1664
Urban	31.2	2516	23.3	963
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Wealth Index				
Low	41.5	2275	41.2	921
Middle	35.3	2072	32.3	875
High	25.1	2015	19.7	831
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Caste				
Scheduled Caste	39.9	1325	31.0	531
Scheduled Tribe	35.1	663	39.1	266
Other Backward Classes	35.5	2626	35.9	1129
General	28.1	1748	21.8	701
p-value	<0.001		<0.001	
Religion				
Hindu	34.3	5360	31.6	2125
Muslim	37.9	562	33.4	313
Others	24.9	440	25.6	189
p-value	<0.001		0.157	
Type of Family				
Nuclear	37.1	2918	32.7	1344
Non-nuclear	31.7	3444	30.0	1283
p-value	<0.001		0.07	
Economic Stress				
No	26.9	2638		
Yes	39.6	3724		
p-value	<0.001			

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Determinants		Men's Perpetration		Women's Experience	
		Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood					
Never		13.6	903	7.2	226
Sometimes		32.0	3052	22.3	740
Often		44.1	2407	39.5	1661
p-value		<0.001		<0.001	
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)					
Equitable		26.3	1638	24.3	538
Moderate		33.5	2850	31.6	1448
Rigid		41.0	1874	39.9	641
p-value		<0.001		<0.001	
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court					
Yes		26.0	1938	27.5	739
No		33.6	297	24.5	124
Not aware of this law		38.2	4127	33.6	1764
p-value		<0.001		0.002	
Perception on Law about Violence Against Women					
The law makes it easy for woman to bring violence charge against man	Agree	31.4	3552	26.2	1366
	Disagree	34.4	170	19.9	107
Law is too harsh	Agree	32.4	2702	26.6	824
	Disagree	29.4	1020	24.1	649
Law does not provide enough protection for the victim of violence	Agree	30.0	2392	24.9	993
	Disagree	34.2	1330	27.1	480
Not aware of law on violence against women		38.1	2640	38.1	1154
p-value		<0.001		<0.001	

Table A5.2: Determinants of Intimate Partner Violence (in past 12 months) for Men by States

Determinants	Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Age												
18-24 years	51.7	149	26.1	141	20.5	72	48.1	77	41.8	151	19.8	94
25-34 years	54.9	421	27.0	405	20.1	368	57.0	378	38.3	341	25.2	405
35-49 years	44.0	548	19.7	504	24.2	532	40.1	659	23.5	566	23.4	551
p-value	0.003		0.025		0.336		<0.001		<0.001		0.505	
Education												
Illiterate	43.8	200	42.1	66	16.3	98	56.6	62	32.1	148	17.1	38
Primary (1-5 std.)	53.2	216	30.7	251	30.7	150	49.9	341	35.9	237	25.3	211
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	51.6	559	20.6	571	22.4	643	46.4	537	30.3	576	25.6	646
Graduation and above	38.5	143	16.1	162	15.6	81	34.1	174	16.5	97	15.5	155
p-value	0.012		<0.001		0.019		0.003		0.010		0.038	

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Determinants	Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Marital Status												
Currently married	50.4	1070	23.6	1034	22.8	948	47.8	1042	31.3	1003	24.7	989
Currently not married	15.6	48	*	16	*	24	23.9	72	22.4	55	7.1	61
p-value	<0.001		0.143		0.027		<0.001		0.099		0.001	
Type of Residence												
Rural	46.3	706	25.6	624	21.9	575	45.5	665	35.6	663	23.5	613
Urban	53.4	412	19.9	426	22.9	397	47.1	449	23.4	395	24.2	437
p-value	0.013		0.017		0.396		0.329		<0.001		0.416	
Wealth Index												
Low	54.2	455	32.4	303	16.2	63	47.5	608	33.7	568	23.3	278
Middle	48.9	385	21.0	363	23.4	344	48.2	308	28.4	271	30.0	401
High	41.2	278	19.2	384	22.6	565	38.1	198	25.0	219	17.9	371
p-value	0.003		<0.001		0.422		0.061		0.046		<0.001	
Caste												
Scheduled Caste	58.0	212	30.5	198	26.5	374	47.9	221	33.9	154	28.3	166
Scheduled Tribe	62.2	45	25.7	125	*	6	55.2	155	26.3	205	29.4	127
Other Backward Classes	47.3	574	20.5	493	28.2	270	47.2	472	32.5	460	22.5	357
General	42.6	287	22.1	234	13.6	322	37.8	266	29.6	239	21.9	400
p-value	0.001		0.036		<0.001		0.006		0.280		0.177	
Religion												
Hindu	50.1	850	23.7	917	20.9	670	45.8	1063	29.7	1013	23.8	847
Muslim	45.7	265	23.5	111	*	26	*	25	57.9	32	20.9	103
Others	*	3	*	22	25.4	276	*	26	*	13	26.0	100
p-value	0.465		0.126		0.256		0.505		0.001		0.706	
Type of Family												
Nuclear	48.0	570	26.4	376	27.5	388	45.4	651	30.3	577	27.6	356
Non-nuclear	49.9	548	21.6	674	19.2	584	47.3	463	31.3	481	31.3	694
p-value	0.283		0.047		0.002		0.296		0.376		0.013	
Economic Stress												
No	38.6	409	26.0	378	23.3	576	35.5	234	19.4	483	22.6	558
Yes	55.4	709	21.8	672	20.8	396	49.1	880	39.0	575	25.1	492
p-value	<0.001		0.073		0.208		<0.001		<0.001		0.179	
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood												
Never	30.2	44	14.9	198	7.4	223	8.3	47	7.0	243	18.2	148
Sometimes	45.5	586	25.2	667	23.4	517	38.4	326	27.1	434	23.0	522
Often	55.6	488	25.0	185	34.4	232	51.1	741	45.0	381	27.3	380
p-value	<0.001		0.011		<0.001		<0.001		<0.001		0.053	
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)												
Equitable	50.6	75	27.6	379	21.5	262	37.5	281	12.9	304	22.7	337
Moderate	47.5	419	19.8	509	27.1	375	49.3	593	27.9	416	25.0	538
Rigid	49.7	624	24.0	162	17.8	335	48.6	240	46.8	338	22.9	175
p-value	0.736		0.024		0.017		0.003		<0.001		0.695	

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Determinants		Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court													
Yes		32.3	248	20.6	524	13.7	397	50.4	247	32.8	203	24.5	319
No		58.7	70	*	10	11.9	58	55.9	34	42.9	35	16.3	90
Not aware of this Law		53.5	800	26.8	516	30.6	517	44.4	833	29.8	820	24.8	641
p-value		<0.001		0.048		<0.001		0.056		0.061		0.166	
Perception on Law about Violence Against Women													
The law makes it easy for woman to bring violence charge against man	Agree	48.2	515	22.1	811	17.4	540	40.9	522	31.9	541	24.4	623
	Disagree	*	23	*	8	36.6	35	28.6	42	*	25	26.5	37
	p-value	0.913		0.220		<0.001		<0.001		0.685		0.707	
Law is too harsh	Agree	51.9	328	24.1	534	13.8	371	39.5	523	33.7	449	26.7	497
	Disagree	43.3	210	18.0	285	27.0	204	46.7	41	24.3	117	17.4	163
	p-value	0.141		0.037		<0.001		<0.001		0.120		0.033	
Law does not provide enough protection for the victim of violence	Agree	38.8	383	25.1	535	17.3	512	48.2	304	37.3	357	19.7	301
	Disagree	71.7	155	16.8	284	31.1	63	27.9	260	22.1	209	28.3	359
	p-value	<0.001		<0.006		<0.001		<0.001		<0.001		<0.001	
Not aware of law on violence against women		49.5	580	27.6	231	27.3	397	52.6	550	29.5	492	22.3	390
Total N		**1118**		**1050**		**972**		**1114**		**1058**		**1050**	

Note: *Figure not shown due to small number of cases

Table A5.3: Determinants of Intimate Partner Violence (past 12 months) for Women by States

Determinants	Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Age												
18-24 years	50.5	91	14.9	73	36.6	84	64.3	101	29.8	89	10.6	81
25-34 years	43.1	170	29.8	174	26.7	171	56.7	184	25.9	162	15.2	154
35-49 years	42.3	163	17.6	187	25.8	172	58.7	181	23.1	182	14.9	208
p-value	0.394		0.006		0.145		0.460		0.501		0.575	
Education												
Illiterate	50.6	175	27.4	201	27.8	102	72.4	128	24.6	178	29.6	31
Primary (1-5 std.)	39.7	82	27.4	87	41.7	117	64.0	87	26.4	92	19.3	122
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	44.5	133	23.0	113	20.8	184	54.5	216	28.3	145	12.4	254
Graduation and above	25.0	34	13.3	33	*	24	22.6	35	*	18	0	36
p-value	0.040		0.023		<0.001		<0.001		0.161		0.002	
Marital Status												
Currently married	47.4	396	22.2	424	28.9	420	60.4	449	25.6	413	15.3	403
Not currently married	*	28	*	10	*	7	*	17	*	20	2.5	40
p-value	-		-		-		-		-		0.014	

Contd...

Determinants	Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Type of Residence												
Rural	48.5	270	27.8	275	31.4	259	61.8	291	25.2	291	16.0	278
Urban	38.1	154	11.7	159	23.4	168	54.4	175	25.7	142	11.7	165
p-value	0.023		<0.001		0.043		0.072		0.495		0.130	
Wealth Index												
Low *(Reference)*	46.7	162	29.4	152	58.5	60	67.3	223	25.8	230	26.8	94
Middle	50.3	141	23.8	141	31.4	150	59.2	143	25.2	121	13.4	179
High	33.9	121	12.1	141	16.8	217	42.5	100	24.4	82	9.0	170
p-value	0.024		0.001		<0.001		<0.001		0.969		0.001	
Caste												
Scheduled Caste	43.3	69	23.5	82	32.3	172	50.7	87	37.2	41	20.4	80
Scheduled Tribe	40.0	4	8.7	41	52.4	16	74.2	88	27.1	82	33.3	35
Other Backward Classes	47.1	255	30.6	155	23.1	114	59.8	209	25.9	220	12.1	176
General	38.9	96	15.8	156	24.8	125	46.2	82	17.5	90	9.0	152
p-value	0.577		0.002		0.021		0.001		0.090		0.001	
Religion												
Hindu	44.4	309	19.5	356	27.5	284	58.8	440	26.4	377	13.4	359
Muslim	47.3	112	30.6	72	*	29	*	4	19.7	54	10.8	42
Others	0	3	*	6	29.0	114	*	22	*	2	21.4	42
p-value	0.175		0.052		0.658		-		0.389		0.227	
Type of Family												
Nuclear	44.1	209	22.4	203	32.2	192	60.2	297	21.4	198	16.4	245
Non-nuclear	45.4	215	21.2	231	24.8	235	57.1	169	29.2	235	11.9	198
p-value	0.432		0.420		0.054		0.305		0.041		0.111	
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood												
Never	13.9	39	0.0	8	10.0	59	*	10	3.4	31	5.4	79
Sometimes	27.4	119	16.1	133	27.9	135	44.0	109	30.5	105	8.7	139
Often	55.6	266	25.4	293	32.0	233	65.1	347	25.9	297	21.1	225
p-value	<0.001		0.019		0.007		<0.001		0.012		<0.001	
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)												
Equitable	36.9	115	24.9	167	23.9	95	32.9	63	25.8	91	7.4	110
Moderate	49.1	171	20.2	218	19.6	218	63.2	347	26.3	232	13.8	262
Rigid	45.9	135	17.0	67	47.9	114	72.3	56	22.8	110	29.7	91
p-value	0.109		0.388		<0.001		<0.001		0.772		<0.001	
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court												
Yes	39.5	138	17.5	117	25.6	174	58.7	75	48.2	92	11.1	143
No	*	18	*	18	*	27	*	*	11.8	31	*	11
Not aware of this law	48.6	268	22.6	299	28.3	226	59.5	372	20.5	310	16.4	289
p-value	0.024		0.107		0.046		0.861		<0.001		0.306	

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Determinants		Uttar Pradesh		Rajasthan		Punjab/ Haryana		Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Perception on Law about Violence against Women													
The law makes it easy for woman to bring violence charge against man	Agree	25.0	161	23.0	258	27.0	266	57.2	273	31.3	199	13.4	209
	Disagree	*	3	*	11	*	11	*	22	*	4	14.1	56
	p-value	<0.001		0.758		0.087		0.545		0.023		0.881	
Law is too harsh	Agree	25.3	111	14.6	115	39.1	97	58.3	223	29.3	100	15.9	178
	Disagree	27.1	53	29.9	154	22.5	180	53.5	72	32.7	103	9.1	87
	p-value	<0.001		0.007		0.016		0.424		0.020		0.256	
Law does not provide enough protection for the victim of violence	Agree	26.0	136	26.0	203	28.0	166	56.8	122	34.8	171	12.9	194
	Disagree	*	28	14.1	66	28.3	111	57.7	173	10.0	32	15.5	71
	p-value	<0.001		0.085		0.977		0.564		<0.001		0.757	
Not aware of law on violence against women		54.6	260	19.9	165	29.0	150	62.4	171	19.6	230	15.2	178
Total N		424		427		434		466		433		443	

Note: * Figure not shown due to small number of cases

Table A5.4: Odds Ratio for Men's Perpetration of Any Form of IPV (in past 12 months) by States

Determinants	Odds Ratio (CI)					
	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Age						
18-24 years *(Reference)*						
25-34 years	1.15 (0.76 – 1.73)	0.93 (0.58 – 1.49)	0.95 (0.50 – 1.79)	1.56 (0.93 – 2.63)	0.87 (0.55 – 1.37)	1.53 (0.86 – 2.72)
35-49 years	0.78 (0.52 – 1.17)	0.56* (0.35 – 0.93)	1.05 (0.56 – 1.94)	0.74 (0.45 – 1.23)	0.31** (0.19 – 0.49)	1.27 (0.72 – 2.25)
Education						
Illiterate *(Reference)*						
Primary (1-5 std.)	1.64* (1.08 – 2.47)	0.59 (0.32 – 1.11)	3.66** (1.78 – 7.54)	0.67 (0.36 – 1.24)	0.97 (0.60 – 1.56)	1.77 (0.67 – 4.63)
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	1.15* (1.09 – 2.28)	0.38** (0.20 – 0.71)	2.04* (1.07 – 3.88)	0.56 (0.30 – 1.04)	0.84 (0.52 – 1.35)	2.14 (0.83 – 5.49)
Graduation and above	1.22 (0.71 – 2.08)	0.28** (0.13 – 0.59)	1.82 (0.72 – 4.59)	0.42* (0.19 – 0.89)	0.38* (0.17 – 0.86)	1.31 (0.45 – 3.81)
Type of Residence						
Rural *(Reference)*						
Urban	1.98** (1.15 – 2.73)	0.81 (0.54 – 1.22)	0.87 (0.60 – 1.26)	1.26 (0.94 – 1.68)	0.65* (0.46 – 0.94)	1.26 (0.89 – 1.78)
Wealth Index						
Low *(Reference)*						
Middle	0.74 (0.54 – 1.01)	0.63* (0.42 – 0.95)	1.61 (0.75 – 3.46)	1.29 (0.92 – 1.83)	1.05 (0.71 – 1.57)	1.29 (0.86 – 1.93)
High	0.49 (0.32 – 0.76)	0.70 (0.41 – 1.21)	1.98 (0.89 – 4.89)	1.24 (0.73 – 2.09)	1.76* (1.00 – 3.09)	0.72 (0.43 – 1.19)
Caste						
General *(Reference)*						
Scheduled Caste	1.38 (0.91 – 2.09)	1.12 (0.70 – 1.78)	1.97** (1.29 – 3.01)	1.34 (0.89 – 2.01)	1.36 (0.81 – 2.29)	1.56 (0.92 – 2.63)
Scheduled Tribe	1.67 (0.82 – 3.43)	0.72 (0.39 – 1.29)	1.25 (0.06 – 25.05)	1.69* (1.05 – 2.72)	0.63 (0.38 – 1.05)	1.50 (0.86 – 2.54)
Other Backward Classes	0.99 (0.71 – 1.38)	0.76 (0.50 – 1.15)	2.04** (1.29 – 3.23)	1.36 (0.95 – 1.93)	1.28 (0.84 – 1.94)	0.97 (0.68 – 1.40)
Religion						
Hindu *(Reference)*						
Muslim	0.79 (0.58 – 1.10)	1.13 (0.65 – 1.94)	1.32 (0.46 – 3.74)	2.86* (1.12 – 7.34)	3.48** (1.51 – 8.05)	0.97 (0.54 – 1.74)
Others	0.56 (0.02 – 16.7)	0.24 (0.04 – 1.48)	1.53* (1.04 – 2.25)	1.45 (0.55 – 3.85)	1.76 (0.44 – 7.17)	0.88 (0.48 – 1.62)

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Determinants	Odds Ratio (CI)					
	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Type of Family						
Nuclear *(Reference)*						
Non-nuclear	0.95 (0.73 – 1.24)	0.72* (0.52 – 0.99)	0.76 (0.53 – 1.09)	0.97 (0.74 – 1.27)	0.800 (0.58 – 1.09)	0.67* (0.50 – 0.91)
Economic Stress						
No *(Reference)*						
Yes	1.60** (1.21 – 2.12)	0.64** (0.46 – 0.89)	0.59** (0.42 – 0.86)	1.76** (1.24 – 2.50)	1.58** (1.13 – 2.23)	0.88 (0.65 – 1.21)
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood						
Never *(Reference)*						
Sometimes	1.18 (0.56 – 2.51)	2.15** (1.34 – 3.45)	3.04** (1.69 – 5.47)	6.94** (2.09 – 23.02)	4.04** (2.19 – 7.42)	1.26 (0.80 – 2.00)
Often	1.47 (0.67 – 3.21)	2.27** (1.28 – 4.01)	4.26** (2.26 – 8.03)	10.58** (3.23 – 34.67)	8.08 (4.34 – 15.07)	1.69* (1.05 – 2.73)
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)						
Equitable *(Reference)*						
Moderate	0.69 (0.41 – 1.16)	0.71 (0.45 – 1.10)	0.97 (0.62 – 1.54)	1.43 (0.95 – 2.15)	3.27** (2.01 – 5.34)	0.93 (0.57 – 1.49)
Rigid	0.78 (0.46 – 1.31)	0.53** (0.37 – 0.74)	1.38 (0.93 – 2.06)	1.30 (0.94 – 1.81)	1.81* (1.12 – 2.90)	1.06 (0.76 – 1.48)
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court						
Yes *(Reference)*						
No	3.89** (2.08 – 7.28)	0.84 (0.18 – 3.85)	1.13 (0.46 – 2.76)	1.60 (0.65 – 3.94)	1.45 (0.63 – 3.33)	0.62 (0.34 – 1.12)
Not aware	2.53** (1.75 – 3.64)	1.28 (0.88 – 1.86)	2.92** (1.84 – 4.64)	0.46** (0.32 – 0.66)	0.81 (0.53 -1.25)	1.18 (0.83 – 1.70)
Knowledge About Law on Violence						
Yes *(Reference)*						
No	0.62* (0.44 – 0.89)	0.97 (0.38 – 2.46)	0.63 (0.37 – 1.07)	1.64** (1.13 – 2.39)	0.95 (0.62 – 1.45)	0.74 (0.39 – 1.37)
Not aware	0.60** (0.43 – 0.85)	0.88 (0.56 – 1.39)	1.16 (0.73 – 1.85)	1.56** (1.14 – 2.14)	0.88 (0.61 – 1.28)	0.71 (0.48 – 1.04)

Note: *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

Table A5.5: Odds Ratio of Women Experiencing any Form of IPV (in past 12 months) by States

Determinants	Odds Ratio (CI)					
	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Age						
18-24 years *(Reference)*						
25-34 years	0.77 (0.43 – 1.38)	2.86* (1.29 – 6.37)	0.77 (0.42 – 1.43)	0.86 (0.47 – 1.57)	0.77 (0.39 – 1.53)	1.31 (0.52 – 3.32)
35-49 years	0.97 (0.52 – 1.83)	1.21 (0.52 – 2.82)	0.59 (0.30 – 1.18)	0.73 (0.39 – 1.37)	0.54 (0.26 – 1.12)	0.97 (0.39 – 2.41)
Education						
Illiterate *(Reference)*						
Primary (1-5 std.)	0.84 (0.45 – 1.58)	0.88 (0.45 – 1.75)	2.48* (1.24 – 4.95)	0.55 (0.27 – 1.09)	0.69 (0.34 – 1.41)	0.60 (0.19 – 1.90)
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	1.39 (0.75 – 2.61)	0.75 (0.34 – 1.65)	1.29 (0.62 – 2.71)	0.48* (0.24 – 0.95)	0.51 (0.24 – 1.09)	0.55 (0.17 – 1.68)
Graduation and above	0.62 (0.21 – 1.82)	1.53 (0.40 – 5.86)	0.93 (0.21 – 4.26)	0.16** (0.05 – 0.57)	0.49* (0.04 – 0.58)	0.05 (0.01 – 2.29)
Type of Residence						
Rural *(Reference)*						
Urban	0.91 (0.54 – 1.48)	0.41* (0.19 – 0.84)	0.84 (0.51 – 1.39)	1.22 (0.73 – 2.04)	1.13 (0.58 – 2.19)	0.91 (0.46 – 1.81)
Wealth Index						
Low *(Reference)*						
Middle	1.46 (0.85 – 2.53)	0.84 (0.44 – 1.64)	0.35** (0.17 – 0.72)	0.96 (0.54 – 1.70)	0.94 (0.48 – 1.84)	0.65 (0.31 – 1.38)
High	1.09 (0.54 – 2.22)	0.54 (0.22 – 1.34)	0.20** (0.09 – 0.44)	0.78 (0.36 – 1.67)	0.81 (0.34 – 1.95)	0.59 (0.24 – 1.47)
Caste						
General *(Reference)*						
Scheduled Caste	1.32 (0.61 – 2.84)	1.17 (0.53 – 2.58)	0.91 (0.48 – 1.70)	0.62 (0.27 – 1.38)	1.94 (0.71 – 5.30)	1.81 (0.67 – 4.88)
Scheduled Tribe	1.85 (0.22 – 15.54)	0.38 (0.12 – 1.25)	2.10 (0.67 – 6.58)	1.68 (0.72 – 3.96)	1.32 (0.54 – 3.24)	3.47* (1.13 – 10.68)
Other Backward Classes	1.22 (0.68 – 2.15)	1.56 (0.78 – 3.15)	0.86 (0.45 – 1.67)	1.18 (0.62 – 2.25)	1.35 (0.65 – 2.78)	1.48 (0.64 – 3.46)

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Determinants	Odds Ratio (CI)					
	Uttar Pradesh	Rajasthan	Punjab/Haryana	Odisha	Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Religion						
Hindu *(Reference)*						
Muslim	1.27 (0.73 – 2.22)	2.37* (1.18 – 4.77)	1.63 (0.53 – 4.99)	0.36 (0.06 – 1.92)	0.74 (0.30 – 1.80)	1.18 (0.34 – 4.12)
Others	#	5.44* (1.30 – 22.68)	2.06* (1.13 – 3.74)	0.95 (0.26 – 3.48)	1.06 (0.06 – 18.14)	1.78 (0.65 – 4.91)
Type of Family						
Nuclear *(Reference)*						
Non-nuclear	1.23 (0.76 – 1.96)	1.13 (0.67 – 1.92)	0.76 (0.46 – 1.29)	0.91 (0.56 – 1.48)	1.51 (0.90 – 2.52)	0.83 (0.44 – 1.55)
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood						
Never *(Reference)*						
Sometimes	1.91 (0.63 – 5.81)	#	2.26 (0.76 – 6.73)	5.32 (0.97 – 29.04)	12.65* (1.49 – 99.03)	1.27 (0.37 – 4.29)
Often	6.14** (2.14 – 7.65)	#	2.56 (0.89 – 7.41)	14.09** (2.67 – 74.03)	10.35* (1.25 – 85.67)	2.91* (1.01 – 8.42)
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)						
Equitable *(Reference)*						
Moderate	0.97 (0.53 – 1.79)	0.57 (0.23 – 1.45)	1.93 (0.91 – 4.10)	4.39** (1.76 – 10.97)	1.09 (0.48 – 2.48)	3.49* (1.31 – 9.33)
Rigid	1.06 (0.60 – 1.87)	0.63 (0.36 – 1.11)	0.64 (0.33 – 1.22)	4.01** (2.11 – 7.61)	1.18 (0.57 – 2.46)	1.58 (0.68 – 3.65)
Perception on Law about Forced Sex by Husband/Partner – It's a Criminal Act and Husband/Partner Can be Taken to Court						
Yes *(Reference)*						
No	0.21* (0.04 – 0.96)	2.47 (0.69 – 8.78)	1.08 (0.34 – 3.46)	1.67 (0.43 – 6.56)	0.11** (0.03 – 0.36)	0.84 (0.08 – 7.99)
Not aware	0.75 (0.41 – 1.35)	1.32 (0.67 – 2.59)	0.93 (0.49 – 1.75)	0.84 (0.46 – 1.56)	0.20** (0.10 – 0.40)	0.89 (0.42 – 1.94)
Knowledge about Law on Violence						
Yes *(Reference)*						
No	2.87** (1.54 – 5.34)	1.00 (0.28 – 3.48)	2.74 (0.61 – 12.29)	0.75 (0.32 – 1.79)	0.27* (0.09 – 0.80)	0.72 (0.27 – 1.86)
Not aware	4.99** (2.56 – 9.72)	0.52* (0.28 – 0.96)	1.64 (0.84 – 3.16)	0.71 (0.41 – 1.23)	0.74 (0.39 – 1.37)	1.15 (0.54 – 2.48)

Note: # Insufficient N for analysis; *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.1: Actual Family Size and High Desire for Sons for Men and Women by States						
States	UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Men						
Actual Family Size (in %)						
Never married or no children	37.8	39.7	43.2	42.6	38.7	41.5
Have more sons	26.0	23.5	22.1	25.4	24.1	20.5
Have more daughters	22.0	20.8	15.5	18.2	18.1	18.8
Equal number of children	14.2	16.0	19.2	13.8	19.1	19.2
Desired Family Size (in %)						
Desire for more sons	26.6	6.5	12.8	8.7	13.4	12.1
Desire for more daughters	5.2	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.9	3.5
No preference or both equally	40.2	67.5	75.1	46.7	61.5	55.8
Do not want any child	28.1	23.5	9.1	42.5	23.3	28.6
Women						
Actual Family Size (in %)						
Never married or no children	27.5	20.1	26.8	25.8	22.6	23.8
Have more sons	27.7	25.7	20.8	30.9	21.0	23.8
Have more daughters	30.7	32.5	32.7	29.5	35.1	27.4
Equal number of children	14.0	21.7	19.7	13.8	21.4	25.0

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States	UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Desired Family Size (in %)						
Desire for more sons	21.3	14.0	20.4	11.3	12.2	7.3
Desire for more daughters	3.8	4.0	2.4	1.4	4.6	0.8
No preference or both equally	39.4	53.3	47.2	49.0	49.7	51.3
Do not want any child	16.5	15.4	10.8	20.3	18.8	25.6
Did not respond	19.8	13.4	19.1	18.0	14.8	15.1

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra

Table A6.2: Actual Number of Children and High Desire for Sons by Men and Women

Desire for Children → / Actual Number of Children ↓		High Desire for Sons	Equal or No Preference	Desire More Daughters	Want No Child	Did Not Respond	N
No children/never married	Men	9.9	55.3	1.6	33.2	0	3757
	Women	3.6	29.3	0.4	0	66.7	778
More sons than daughters	Men	29.4	44.4	1.6	24.5		2169
	Women	13.7	50.9	7.7	27.7		765
More daughters than sons	Men	16.2	49.9	11.2	22.7		1734
	Women	28.4	46.5	1.3	23.8		1003
Equal number of sons and daughters	Men	9.9	65.7	0.9	23.5		1545
	Women	10.0	65.4	2.6	22.0		612

Table A6.3: High Desire for Sons and Actual Family Size for Men and Women by States

Actual Family Size	High Desire for Sons – Men					
	UP*	RJ*	PJ/HR*	OD*	MP*	MH*
Never married or no children	18.7	5.2	5.8	6.3	8.8	6.3
Have more sons	43.2	10.1	26.2	13.2	22.2	33.6
Have more daughters	26.4	7.6	17.4	9.2	18.3	6.8
Equal number of children	17.4	2.5	9.5	7.2	7.0	6.6
Actual Family Size	**High Desire for Sons – Women**					
	UP*	RJ*	PJ/HR*	OD^{NS}	MP*	MH*
Never married or no children	7.6	1.0	2.1	2.7	1.8	0.8
Have more sons	17.1	21.7	23.2	13.2	8.6	3.2
Have more daughters	38.9	18.5	40.9	18.6	25.0	15.4
Equal number of children	18.9	10.0	8.5	7.7	6.5	7.6

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra;
*Significant at 99%; NS - Not Significant

Table A6.4A: Profile of Men Who Have High Desire for Sons by States							
Select Background Characteristics		Desire for More Sons					
		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Current age	18-24 years	21.5	4.5	6.2	4.1	9.5	6.9
	25-34 years	29.7	6.7	13.0	9.8	12.2	10.4
	35-49 years	28.1	8.0	19.2	11.0	17.4	17.8
	Significance	**	**	**	**	**	**
Level of education	Illiterate	29.5	6.3	11.5	14.3	21.0	16.2
	Upto primary (1-5 class)	29.6	9.6	17.3	15.2	14.5	19.1
	Upto higher secondary (6-12 class)	27.9	6.8	12.9	7.0	12.5	12.3
	Graduate and above	14.4	2.6	9.1	2.8	7.4	6.5
	Significance	**	**	NS	**	**	**
Type of family	Nuclear	25.5	10.0	18.1	7.9	15.2	13.5
	Non-nuclear	27.5	5.1	9.9	10.2	11.1	11.4
	Significance	*	**	**	NS	*	NS
Caste	Scheduled Caste	25.7	6.0	13.0	11.0	12.4	11.8
	Scheduled Tribe	26.9	7.2	-	13.6	16.1	15.6
	Other Backward Classes	29.2	6.4	17.2	8.4	13.2	14.3
	General	22.5	6.7	10.2	5.2	12.3	9.3
	Significance	**	**	**	*	NS	**
Religion	Hindu	28.0	6.9	13.4	8.5	12.5	12.1
	Muslim	22.6	3.5	16.7	19.4	34.7	13.0
	Others	-	-	10.8	8.1	25.0	11.3
	Significance	**	NS	*	NS	**	NS
Type of residence	Rural	28.5	6.0	11.7	10.5	11.6	14.5
	Urban	23.9	7.1	14.3	6.2	15.9	8.6
	Significance	NS	NS	*	**	*	**
Wealth index	Low	30.7	8.1	9.4	11.8	16.1	17.4
	Middle	26.9	7.1	16.4	6.7	11.4	14.6
	High	20.8	5.0	11.1	3.1	8.7	6.5
	Significance	**	NS	**	**	**	**
Witnessed/ experienced discrimination/ harassment during childhood	Never	3.9	6.1	1.9	7.5	7.5	8.1
	Sometimes	26.6	5.8	11.6	6.6	15.5	10.4
	Often	29.3	9.5	26.8	9.8	14.6	15.9
	Significance	**	*	**	NS	**	**
Decision making in family	Both equally	22.7	6.9	12.3	8.9	12.7	8.9
	Father	27.8	6.1	13.2	8.5	13.7	14.3
	Significance	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	**
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Never	28.6	5.4	11.7	11.1	12.2	12.3
	Sometimes	24.7	7.5	11.5	10.1	13.5	13.7
	Often	28.3	5.2	25.4	7.5	16.4	11.3
	Significance	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS
Masculinity index# (gender attitude and relationship control)	Rigid	33.5	8.1	12.0	9.6	22.7	26.5
	Moderate	23.1	8.5	22.3	12.3	14.5	15.0
	Equitable	48.0	5.0	14.8	4.9	7.0	10.8
	Significance	**	NS	**	*	**	**

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra; *Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%; NS - Not Significant; # - Only for currently married

Table A6.4B: Profile of Women Who Have High Desire for Sons by States							
Select Background Characteristics		High Desire for Sons					
		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Current age	18-24 years	7.8	5.8	7.9	5.9	3.9	1.9
	25-34 years	27.0	12.3	23.7	11.1	7.2	6.6
	35-49 years	31.8	21.4	31.1	16.6	24.0	11.7
	Significance	**	**	**	**	**	**
Level of education	Illiterate	32.6	20.9	25.0	24.8	23.3	21.4
	Upto primary (1-5 class)	25.8	17.0	33.1	12.4	7.1	13.6
	Upto higher secondary						
	(6-12 Class)	13.7	5.5	13.3	5.3	6.1	4.2
	Graduate and above	0	5.4	6.8	7.3	6.5	3.0
	Significance	**	**	**	**	**	**
Type of family	Nuclear	26.3	16.5	23.9	11.5	13.6	5.5
	Non-nuclear	16.3	11.9	17.5	10.8	10.9	9.0
	Significance	**	NS	*	NS	NS	NS
Caste	Scheduled Caste	25.6	25.3	18.6	15.0	7.4	11.7
	Scheduled Tribe	-	17.9	37.0	18.3	17.8	11.9
	Other Backward Classes	23.2	13.0	22.1	9.7	13.6	6.8
	General	15.6	7.9	18.1	4.0	7.5	4.0
	Significance	NS	**	*	*	*	*
Religion	Hindu	24.4	12.9	21.6	11.3	12.7	7.3
	Muslim	12.8	16.0	29.6	-	10.3	10.0
	Others	-	29.4	14.5	18.2	-	3.3
	Significance	**	NS	NS	NS	**	NS
Type of residence	Rural	24.8	17.7	21.2	12.9	14.7	8.9
	Urban	16.0	7.8	19.1	8.3	8.2	4.5
	Significance	NS	*	NS			
Wealth index	Low	25.9	20.8	27.0	15.6	15.6	15.1
	Middle	23.6	14.0	27.7	9.8	10.5	7.1
	High	13.2	8.2	12.7	4.5	6.7	3.7
	Significance	*	**	**	**	**	*
Witnessed/ experienced discrimination/ harassment during childhood	Never	15.4	-	22.9	-	2.3	6.7
	Sometimes	16.3	9.7	16.3	12.8	5.0	6.0
	Often	24.6	16.7	22.0	11.1	16.7	8.2
	Significance	*	NS	**	NS	**	NS
Decision making in family	Both equally	19.6	15.2	20.7	9.6	13.6	9.8
	Father	23.7	12.3	20.2	15.3	8.5	5.0
	Significance	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS
Witnessed male participation in HH chores	Never	23.5	12.8	22.0	11.1	12.4	9.6
	Sometimes	19.3	15.9	23.1	11.5	14.0	5.7
	Often	17.7	14.2	15.6	11.0	9.8	5.6
	Significance	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
Masculinity index# (gender attitude and relationship control)	Rigid	29.8	15.9	23.6	18.4	17.0	13.0
	Moderate	22.2	16.6	18.6	6.1	13.1	3.6
	Equitable	12.3	11.0	16.9	1.7	5.8	2.9
	Significance	**	*	**	**	**	**

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra;
* Significant at 95%; ** Significant at 99%; NS - Not Significant; # - Only for currently married

Table A6.5: Men and Women Agreeing on Attitudinal Statements about Preference for Sons and Daughters														
Statements	Aggregate		Uttar Pradesh		Odisha		Punjab/ Haryana		Rajasthan		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
It is important to have son to carry on the lineage or family name	87.0	83.0	79.9	84.4	85.5	82.3	85.2	89.0	94.0	80.5	88.9	89.6	92.5	73.3
It is important to have a son to take care of you in your old age	75.7	74.1	73.9	81.2	79.8	72.6	74.4	75.7	80.0	58.2	63.3	83.0	78.2	65.3
Fathering a male child shows you are a real man	48.0	37.5	60.3	50.2	52.1	31.1	44.7	27.3	29.7	34.5	43.5	38.3	54.4	32.0
If a wife does not have a son, a family has good reason to pressurize her husband to leave her	22.1	45.2	27.9	44.6	21.0	53.4	17.9	48.3	7.3	33.5	34.0	49.1	23.2	43.2
Having a daughter is a financial burden/loss	17.2	14.9	29.6	22.2	18.1	13.4	24.2	15.4	3.0	6.2	12.8	17.4	9.5	9.7
A couple who has only a female child is unfortunate	11.1	9.3	23.9	5.3	8.9	8.3	6.2	6.1	2.6	5.0	11.3	13.0	3.6	13.7
If a wife does not have a son, her husband has good reason to leave her or divorce her	10.7	21.5	11.4	21.5	2.6	8.8	13.1	30.5	4.1	15.3	20.9	29.3	13.9	19.8
A couple have good reason to abort a pregnancy if they learn it is a girl child	9.2	14.1	12.0	19.8	4.1	2.8	8.2	17.1	1.6	7.1	7.4	15.8	17.2	12.4
Total N	9205	3158	1529	526	1611	566	1484	538	1515	502	1501	501	1565	525

Table A6.6: Attitude towards Preference for Sons and Discrimination against Daughters/Girls by High Desire for Sons by Men and Women						
Desire for Children →		High Desire for Sons	Equal or No Preference	Desire for Daughters	Did Not Respond	N
Attitude towards Preference for Son ↓						
High	Men	21.7	73.1	5.3	NA	3757
	Women	17.5	66.1	3.4	13.0	778
Moderate	Men	12.6	84.9	2.5	NA	2169
	Women	18.8	63.9	2.1	15.1	765
Low	Men	11.8	86.2	2.0	NA	1734
	Women	6.7	66.6	3.4	23.3	1003
Discriminatory Attitude against Daughters/Girls ↓						
High	Men	22.2	71.9	5.9	NA	3757
	Women	20.6	64.6	2.7	12.1	778
Moderate	Men	14.7	82.9	2.4	NA	2169
	Women	13.0	67.8	2.9	16.3	765
Low	Men	15.7	80.9	3.4	NA	1734
	Women	10.3	64.5	3.1	22.1	1003

Table A6.7: Preference for Sons, Discriminatory Attitude against Daughters/Girls and High Desire for Sons by Men and Women						
Preference for Sons	High Desire for Sons by States – Men					
	UP**	RJ**	PJ/HR^{NS}	OD*	MP**	MH**
High	30.4	19.5	10.5	15.5	17.8	17.1
Moderate	20.9	5.1	15.9	5.9	11.5	9.2
Low	26.5	3.7	12.6	4.8	11.2	7.8
Discriminatory Attitude against Daughters/Girls	High Desire for Sons by States – Men					
	UP**	RJ**	PJ/HR^{NS}	OD**	MP^{NS}	MH**
High	30.6	12.9	14.2	13.7	15.9	18.5
Moderate	25.9	6.0	10.9	6.5	11.6	11.7
Low	13.2	4.7	13.9	2.5	13.8	6.5
Preference for Sons	High Desire for Sons by States – Women					
	UP**	RJ**	PJ/HR**	OD**	MP**	MH**
High	19.1	9.0	30.5	18.5	14.2	12.7
Moderate	28.6	18.7	22.5	15.5	12.8	7.4
Low	12.5	10.7	10.3	1.9	6.3	3.1
Discriminatory Attitude against Daughters/Girls	High Desire for Sons by States – Women					
	UP**	RJ^{NS}	PJ/HR^{NS}	OD^{NS}	MP**	MH**
High	26.7	20.5	24.1	13.5	14.2	15.2
Moderate	20.5	10.6	15.9	8.2	14.5	2.9
Low	13.8	13.5	20.2	7.1	8.1	3.3

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra;
*Significant at 95%; **Significant at 99%; NS - Not Significant

Table A6.8A: Men's Knowledge and Awareness on Women/Girl Focused Laws and Policies by States							
Laws and Policies		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Law that limit family size	Yes	17.7	19.1	25.4	66.6	32.7	34.1
	No	82.3	80.9	74.6	33.4	67.3	65.9
Perception about Law on inheritance rights to daughters (Yes)	Unfair for son	14.5	9.5	35.8	24.6	16.1	8.2
	Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters	28.4	58.5	53.1	40.2	19.0	29.4
	Fair for daughters	24.1	72.7	61.5	34.8	36.1	46.9
	Fair for all children	21.9	58.5	44.3	41.7	33.6	40.9
	Not aware of this law	65.1	21.4	30.7	41.8	51.1	46.5
Perception about PCPNDT law (Agree)	Law is important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market	56.3	66.7	53.9	31.5	50.3	56.5
	Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice	49.5	46.7	47.4	21.0	47.6	39.8
	Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being	45.9	55.1	43.6	20.2	48.0	38.7
	Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son	37.3	35.4	43.6	5.9	29.8	30.9
	Social security schemes for couples with only daughter would make the law more acceptable	55.4	64.5	52.4	31.0	47.1	47.2
	No knowledge or awareness about this law	42.5	33.2	45.8	67.9	48.2	43.0
Perception about law which provides couples incentive for having girl child (Yes)	It can motivate couples to have girl children	94.1	89.2	79.2	97.0	70.8	89.8
	It will help parents to give better life to their children	86.4	84.3	78.6	96.1	75.2	92.2
	It will reduce the sex selective abortion in community	85.5	88.5	77.4	92.6	79.9	89.7

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra

Table A6.8B: Women's Knowledge and Awareness on Women/Girl Focused Laws and Policies by States							
Laws and Policies		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Law that limit family size	Yes	15.8	21.5	13.4	49.6	31.3	53.9
	No	84.2	78.5	86.6	50.4	68.7	46.1
Perception about law on inheritance rights to daughters (Yes)	Unfair for son	10.2	12.5	19.1	9.2	10.2	13.9
	Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters	13.7	30.5	28.8	50.7	31.5	38.1
	Fair for daughters	28.3	54.2	32.0	49.1	37.9	57.0
	Fair for all children	33.8	56.6	34.2	43.5	44.7	53.9
	Not aware of this law	63.2	39.8	61.5	48.1	52.9	35.4
Perception about PCPNDT law (Agree)	Law is important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market	35.7	76.5	51.7	41.7	46.9	65.0
	Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice	27.6	72.3	42.6	21.6	40.9	52.6
	Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being	26.8	69.1	36.1	24.2	40.1	44.2
	Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son	28.5	55.8	31.0	6.5	25.4	35.8
	Social security schemes for couples with only daughter would make the law more acceptable	34.7	73.1	51.7	36.2	46.2	58.3
	No knowledge or awareness about this law	63.1	22.9	45.9	58.0	52.5	29.9
Perception about law which provides couples incentive for having girl child (Yes)	It can motivate couples to have girl children	69.4	92.4	53.9	93.6	62.5	91.4
	It will help parents to give better life to their children	64.3	75.5	53.2	92.9	62.5	91.2
	It will reduce the sex selective abortion in community	61.6	80.7	60.2	81.3	53.9	90.3

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra

Table A6.9: Reasons for Having at Least One Son		
Reasons	Men (9205)	Women (3158)
Lineage	76.5	58.1
Old-age support	60.1	59.1
Funeral rites	44.2	27.9
Sharing workload	34.5	18.9
Care when parents are sick	28.3	20.2
Emotional support	23.7	14.4
Protecting family property	18.5	12.8
Brings prosperity	15.3	8.5
Ancestor worship	11.3	7.5
Kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika	5.9	6.8
Social status	9.7	6.5

Table A6.10: Reasons for Having At Least One Daughter		
Reasons	Men (9205)	Women (3158)
Kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika	60.9	35.9
Emotional support	42.2	42.1
Brings prosperity	41.1	23.7
Sharing workload	37.7	45.0
Care when parents are sick	29.0	45.7
Old-age support	15.7	9.4
Social status	10.7	7.4
Ancestor worship	8.8	3.6
Protecting family property	3.9	2.7
Lineage	3.9	3.1
Funeral rites	1.9	1.1

Table A6.11A: Importance and Reasons for Having at Least One Son by States							
Importance of Having Son and Reasons for it		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Men							
Importance	Very	74.3	83.8	80.9	85.5	87.2	61.9
	Somewhat	12.2	12.4	14.5	5.9	7.5	34.3
	Not at all	13.5	3.9	4.6	8.6	5.3	3.8
Reasons reported by men	Lineage	64.7	92.4	86.7	63.0	78.9	82.5
	Old-age support	49.0	73.9	75.0	66.5	74.7	51.7
	Sharing workload	42.5	23.1	20.2	20.0	38.4	38.5
	Emotional support	41.6	11.1	14.7	8.3	20.4	18.8
	Care when parents are sick	30.2	34.5	11.8	32.0	25.8	30.0
	Funeral rites	27.7	72.3	55.4	56.1	50.7	39.5
	Brings prosperity	20.6	7.6	17.2	19.8	22.6	6.5
	Protecting family property	17.0	2.4	13.5	9.9	7.1	37.5
	Social status	11.8	16.5	16.9	6.6	8.4	3.5
	Kanyadaan/raksha bandhan/tika	8.7	2.0	9.1	1.9	5.9	4.5
	Ancestor worship	7.0	22.1	19.3	25.8	7.5	5.7
Women							
Importance	Very	83.3	79.9	84.8	87.7	67.0	81.0
	Somewhat	9.9	9.9	11.2	11.4	19.9	12.1
	Not at all	6.7	10.4	3.9	0.8	13.1	6.9
Reasons reported by women	Old-age support	59.9	64.5	65.6	47.5	54.0	59.3
	Lineage	59.1	65.1	66.8	63.7	48.7	52.4
	Sharing workload	22.9	22.1	6.4	4.6	29.4	18.5
	Care when parents are sick	20.0	9.0	17.1	12.3	22.4	28.2
	Funeral rites	21.9	31.7	28.1	56.7	32.6	20.8
	Emotional support	16.1	8.7	3.1	17.5	9.2	21.9
	Protecting family property	15.6	7.6	11.2	8.8	8.3	16.3
	Kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika	11.2	8.1	3.8	1.8	4.9	5.4
	Brings prosperity	10.8	4.1	8.7	2.5	13.1	7.5
	Social status	8.6	1.7	9.7	3.9	8.7	4.4
	Ancestor worship	3.5	1.7	12.0	21.1	15.1	3.6

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra

Table A6.11B: Importance and Reasons for Having at Least One Daughter by States							
Importance of Having at Least One Daughter and Reasons		UP	RJ	PJ/HR	OD	MP	MH
Men							
Importance	Very	54.2	82.1	83.7	73.9	67.8	42.7
	Somewhat	28.2	16.2	10.1	15.1	22.6	50.2
	Not at all	17.6	1.7	6.2	11.0	9.6	7.1
Reasons reported by men	Emotional support	50.1	34.8	29.6	22.7	41.9	46.0
	Kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika	42.9	86.1	76.5	56.1	66.8	65.4
	Brings prosperity	33.2	79.1	28.6	10.0	61.6	35.1
	Care when parents are sick	32.8	34.4	39.6	45.2	27.2	14.6
	Sharing workload	26.0	31.5	13.0	39.6	48.6	55.7
	Old-age support	11.6	11.6	19.1	37.2	12.6	16.2
	Social status	10.5	25.1	10.9	16.1	13.3	2.3
	Ancestor worship	7.5	4.0	21.7	4.0	3.7	11.4
	Protecting family property	7.1	2.4	2.8	3.3	2.1	2.7
	Lineage	7.1	2.4	6.5	4.9	3.5	0.3
	Funeral rites	2.5	0.3	3.4	2.9	3.5	0.6
Women							
Importance	Very	70.4	71.5	72.6	78.7	58.7	87.0
	Somewhat	28.4	14.9	21.1	16.6	27.5	8.5
	Not at all	1.2	13.6	6.2	4.7	13.8	4.5
Reasons reported by women	Sharing workload	45.4	25.7	55.2	61.5	41.7	42.1
	Care when parents are sick	43.9	41.8	46.8	52.8	32.7	50.3
	Emotional support	40.8	36.3	16.7	55.3	35.1	56.4
	Kanyadan/raksha bandhan/tika	34.8	48.6	60.0	12.7	40.3	27.8
	Brings prosperity	26.0	25.7	26.0	7.1	29.3	21.1
	Social status	8.9	5.8	8.4	8.7	6.0	7.0
	Ancestor worship	7.2	3.0	4.8	0.4	1.6	1.5
	Old-age support	6.5	10.4	9.5	11.5	18.0	7.2
	Protecting family property	4.9	2.0	0.4	3.4	2.8	1.5
	Lineage	3.0	4.4	1.9	0.7	7.0	2.7
	Funeral rites	1.1	2.6	0.7	0.2	1.4	0.8

Note: UP - Uttar Pradesh; RJ - Rajasthan; PJ/HR - Punjab and Haryana; OD - Odisha; MP - Madhya Pradesh; MH - Maharashtra

Table A6.12: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Uttar Pradesh								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	23.2	29.5	47.3	477	19.8	38.0	42.2	188
25-34 years	19.2	33.3	47.5	494	23.2	34.5	42.4	174
35-49 years	18.2	31.8	50.1	558	16.6	39.5	43.9	164
p-value		0.265		1529		0.644		526
Education								
Illiterate	20.5	24.8	54.7	232	15.0	34.8	50.3	181
Primary (1-5 std.)	11.5	46.5	42.0	273	17.0	35.2	47.7	94
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	20.5	28.2	51.3	793	22.4	39.0	38.5	199
Graduation and above	29.2	32.1	38.8	231	34.0	42.6	23.4	52
p-value		<0.001		1529		0.010		526
Type of Residence								
Rural	19.3	31.8	48.9	900	16.3	39.7	44.1	320
Urban	21.0	31.2	47.8	629	25.7	33.5	40.8	206
p-value		0.720		1529		0.027		526
Wealth Index								
Low	19.4	28.2	52.3	560	9.6	38.4	52.0	190
Middle	14.9	33.7	51.4	549	21.9	39.9	38.2	172
High	27.8	33.0	39.2	420	31.1	32.5	36.4	164
p-value		<0.001		1529		<0.001		526
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	14.1	34.7	51.3	283	26.5	37.3	36.1	85
Scheduled Tribe	1.9	18.9	79.2	53	#	#	#	6
Other Backward Classes	21.0	30.6	48.4	759	16.3	38.1	45.5	315
General	25.2	32.5	42.2	434	25.2	37.4	37.4	120
p-value		<0.001		1529		0.014		526
Religion								
Hindu	19.9	31.7	48.4	1127	19.6	39.8	40.6	371
Muslim	20.3	31.1	48.6	397	20.8	29.6	49.6	149
Others	#	#	#	5	#	#	#	6
p-value		1.000		1529		0.351		526
Type of Family								
Nuclear	19.4	37.8	42.8	698	18.6	42.4	39.0	264
Non-nuclear	20.5	26.5	53.0		21.4	31.5	47.1	262
p-value		<0.001		1529		0.133		526
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	57.9	30.3	11.8	77	17.3	32.7	50.0	57
Sometimes	20.5	41.8	37.8	769	34.2	28.8	37.0	153
Often	14.9	19.3	65.8	683	14.0	41.9	44.1	316
p-value		<0.001		1529		<0.001		526
Decision Making								
Father	18.5	29.6	51.8	1131	17.3	35.9	46.8	324
Mother/Both equally	24.5	37.6	37.9	398	23.7	39.1	37.2	202
p-value		<0.001		1529		0.058		526

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	27.9	35.5	36.6	407	12.6	41.2	46.3	277
Sometimes	19.4	32.9	47.7	756	24.1	35.2	40.7	121
Often	10.9	23.3	65.8	366	33.6	29.6	36.8	128
p-value		<0.001		1529		<0.001		526
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	61.9	29.8	8.3	624	52.1	37.2	10.7	138
Moderate	18.8	47.6	33.6	419	9.9	42.7	47.4	171
Rigid	10.9	20.9	68.2	75	2.3	27.1	70.7	115
p-value		<0.001		1118		<0.001		424
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	7.0	47.0	45.9	281	10.8	43.4	45.8	86
No	22.8	28.3	48.9	1248	21.6	36.0	42.3	440
p-value		<0.001		1529		0.071		526
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons**	14.0	32.4	53.6	205	11.3	49.1	39.6	53
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters**	18.9	40.6	40.4	399	6.9	27.8	65.3	82
Fair for daughters**	16.0	41.8	42.1	342	37.6	20.8	41.6	153
Fair for all children**	24.1	38.1	37.8	323	32.6	20.8	46.6	193
Not aware of the law**	19.4	29.1	51.5	1025	13.8	45.0	41.1	319
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	20.6	31.4	47.9	894	33.0	26.6	40.4	209
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	14.4	34.5	51.1	780	18.6	31.0	50.3	160
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	13.9	36.8	49.2	732	19.7	31.0	49.3	158
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	16.1	29.6	54.2	630	30.7	26.0	43.3	163
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	19.4	31.2	49.5	875	35.0	24.0	41.0	203
No knowledge about this law	19.4	32.6	48.0	618	12.3	42.8	44.9	311
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child**	18.4	32.1	49.5	1430	25.2	40.8	34.0	370
It will help parents to give better life to their children**	19.8	34.8	45.3	1320	27.5	37.3	35.2	354
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community**	19.3	34.5	46.2	1308	26.9	37.0	36.1	344

Note: # - Not shown due to small number of cases; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.13: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Rajasthan

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	49.8	37.5	12.6	524	30.9	38.1	30.9	139
25-34 years	50.2	35.4	14.4	481	22.8	48.5	28.7	176
35-49 years	49.0	36.5	14.5	510	21.2	57.0	21.8	187
p-value		0.876		1515		0.016		502
Education								
Illiterate	49.2	30.2	20.6	75	15.9	51.7	32.4	208
Primary (1-5 std.)	39.3	41.4	19.3	295	21.1	53.7	25.3	94
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	48.2	37.3	14.5	850	28.8	46.6	24.7	141
Graduation and above	63.6	30.8	5.5	295	50.0	37.5	12.5	59
p-value		<0.001		1515		<0.001		502
Type of Residence								
Rural	48.6	36.7	14.7	897	19.7	50.2	30.1	309
Urban	51.5	35.9	12.6	618	31.4	46.9	21.6	193
p-value		0.400		1515		0.006		502
Wealth Index								
Low	50.3	31.1	18.6	416	16.2	51.9	31.8	164
Middle	44.2	42.3	13.6	518	23.2	45.7	31.1	156
High	54.1	34.8	11.1	581	31.5	49.5	19.0	182
p-value		<0.001		1515		0.004		502
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	47.5	37.3	15.1	273	13.2	61.5	25.3	90
Scheduled Tribe	49.0	35.9	15.0	170	14.5	41.8	43.6	48
Other Backward Classes	50.3	37.7	12.0	733	20.3	49.2	30.5	174
General	50.6	33.0	16.4	339	36.7	45.2	18.1	190
p-value		0.446		1515		<0.001		502
Religion								
Hindu	49.3	36.3	14.4	1327	26.8	48.9	24.3	414
Muslim	53.5	38.2	8.3	160	13.3	54.2	32.5	81
Others	#	#	#	28	#	#	#	7
p-value		0.382		1515		0.002		502
Type of Family								
Nuclear	40.8	39.6	19.6	430	19.8	54.3	25.9	234
Non-nuclear	53.0	35.3	11.6	1067	29.5	43.4	27.0	252
p-value		<0.001		1515		0.065		502
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	54.9	33.8	11.3	304	#	#	#	10
Sometimes	48.7	37.3	14.0	951	26.1	50.9	23.0	162
Often	47.8	35.9	16.3	260	23.8	47.5	28.7	330
p-value		0.263		1515		0.434		502
Decision Making								
Father	54.2	31.8	14.0	555	22.5	49.1	28.4	282
Mother/Both equally	42.2	44.1	13.7	960	26.9	48.6	24.5	220
p-value		<0.001		1515		0.437		502

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	23.6	54.5	22.0	473	15.5	49.8	34.7	208
Sometimes	58.5	30.5	11.0	826	29.2	54.9	15.9	119
Often	80.8	14.5	4.7	216	32.9	43.5	23.5	175
p-value		<0.001		1515		<0.001		502
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	67.4	27.9	4.7	162	29.8	55.4	14.9	167
Moderate	43.2	43.0	13.8	59	17.4	46.6	36.1	218
Rigid	25.0	40.0	35.0	379	6.3	62.5	31.3	49
p-value		<0.001		1050		<0.001		434
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	55.0	34.3	10.7	301	30.6	44.4	25.0	102
No	48.5	37.0	14.5	1214	22.6	50.3	27.2	400
p-value		0.085		1515		0.229		502
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons**	45.5	28.7	25.9	160	14.5	59.7	25.8	58
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters**	47.4	39.6	13.0	900	18.4	43.4	38.2	151
Fair for daughters**	45.9	39.3	14.8	1082	23.2	50.4	26.5	268
Fair for all children	51.1	35.3	13.5	844	25.4	50.4	24.3	291
Not aware of the law**	61.1	25.9	13.0	351	25.0	45.0	30.0	196
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	53.0	33.8	13.2	983	25.2	53.2	21.6	379
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	57.3	31.5	11.2	696	24.5	54.5	20.9	356
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	54.8	32.4	12.8	796	23.9	53.3	22.8	340
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	43.6	40.6	15.8	509	21.1	56.6	22.2	266
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	53.4	33.9	12.7	951	25.9	52.9	21.3	262
No knowledge about this law**	43.1	41.7	15.1	529	25.1	53.0	22.0	119
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child**	50.9	36.1	13.0	1347	25.6	48.7	25.6	465
It will help parents to give better life to their children**	51.7	35.4	12.8	1291	30.9	50.4	18.7	373
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community*	51.0	35.4	13.5	1336	28.2	49.0	22.8	404

Note: # - Not shown due to small number of cases; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.14: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Punjab/Haryana								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	34.7	25.2	40.1	494	40.4	25.0	34.6	186
25-34 years	42.1	26.8	31.1	449	43.9	25.1	31.0	179
35-49 years	44.8	28.0	27.2	541	28.5	40.0	31.5	173
p-value		<0.001		1484		0.005		538
Education								
Illiterate	49.1	26.8	24.1	112	34.0	28.0	38.0	105
Primary (1-5 std.)	22.5	34.7	42.8	189	18.6	34.5	46.9	127
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	41.0	27.4	31.6	1001	48.8	32.0	19.2	262
Graduation and above	48.7	15.7	35.5	182	50.0	4.5	45.5	44
p-value		<0.001		1484		<0.001		538
Type of Residence								
Rural	37.4	26.2	36.4	869	36.0	30.2	33.8	330
Urban	45.0	27.2	27.9	615	41.3	28.8	29.8	208
p-value		0.001		1484		0.427		538
Wealth Index								
Low	28.4	33.7	37.9	90	20.0	18.7	61.3	70
Middle	31.8	31.6	36.6	514	34.3	30.4	35.3	196
High	46.7	23.1	30.2	880	46.2	32.3	21.5	272
p-value		<0.001		1484		<0.001		538
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	43.8	29.1	27.1	548	41.9	30.0	28.1	219
Scheduled Tribe	#	#	#	14	#	#	#	23
Other Backward Classes	42.0	29.0	29.0	401	28.9	32.2	28.9	133
General	36.7	22.9	40.3	521	37.7	30.8	31.4	163
p-value		<0.001		1484		<0.001		538
Religion								
Hindu	38.1	25.3	36.6	1052	36.4	26.1	37.5	361
Muslim	44.4	30.6	25.0	37	22.2	33.3	44.4	34
Others	46.8	30.1	23.1	395	45.5	39.4	15.2	143
p-value		<0.001		1484		<0.001		538
Type of Family								
Nuclear	50.8	25.3	23.9	522	36.3	33.3	30.4	231
Non-nuclear	34.6	27.2	38.1	962	39.2	26.9	33.9	307
p-value		0.001		1484		0.267		538
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	30.8	27.2	42.0	381	52.1	26.8	21.1	81
Sometimes	42.7	23.7	33.6	766	37.8	35.5	26.7	182
Often	45.5	32.2	22.3	337	34.7	26.9	38.4	275
p-value		<0.001		1484		0.004		538
Decision Making								
Father	32.0	31.9	36.2	794	35.5	25.7	38.9	263
Mother/Both equally	50.7	20.4	28.9	690	40.7	33.3	26.0	275
p-value		<0.001		1484		0.005		538

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	41.0	26.2	32.8	1048	34.4	28.0	37.6	264
Sometimes	38.4	24.6	37.0	305	45.1	33.1	21.8	142
Often	40.5	35.7	23.8	131	38.3	29.2	32.5	132
p-value		0.050		1484		0.039		538
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	66.7	23.5	9.8	262	70.7	17.4	12.0	95
Moderate	41.6	28.8	29.6	375	28.4	45.8	25.8	218
Rigid	18.8	27.2	54.0	335	23.5	18.5	58.0	114
p-value		<0.001		972		<0.001		427
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	19.1	25.8	55.1	395	63.4	11.3	25.3	88
No	47.7	26.9	25.3	1089	34.1	32.4	33.5	450
p-value		<0.001		1484		<0.001		538
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons**	33.1	22.8	44.1	555	37.9	7.8	54.4	107
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters**	43.7	26.1	30.2	813	51.3	14.7	34.0	176
Fair for daughters**	45.7	26.0	28.3	902	46.8	19.1	34.1	198
Fair for all children	39.8	26.3	34.0	661	46.7	17.9	35.3	208
Not aware of the law**	27.5	28.8	43.7	456	33.8	36.9	29.3	308
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	39.5	26.6	34.0	800	42.3	24.7	33.0	287
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	39.0	24.8	36.2	708	39.7	23.6	36.7	228
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	34.5	25.9	39.6	668	35.8	20.7	43.5	190
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	36.8	24.9	38.3	656	34.7	21.6	43.7	170
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	38.2	27.0	34.7	762	42.4	24.1	33.5	281
No knowledge about this law**	41.5	26.7	31.8	680	32.4	36.8	30.8	244
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child**	40.1	26.8	33.1	1200	41.4	28.6	30.0	317
It will help parents to give better life to their children**	38.6	28.4	33.0	1167	46.7	23.3	30.0	296
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community*	40.3	25.5	34.3	1149	47.1	23.7	29.2	346

Note: # - Not shown due to small number of cases; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.15: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Odisha								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	42.0	31.9	26.1	415	39.0	41.2	19.8	185
25-34 years	36.1	28.3	35.7	524	37.7	35.2	27.1	197
35-49 years	33.0	31.1	36.0	672	31.9	43.4	24.7	184
p-value		0.003		1611		0.242		566
Education								
Illiterate	11.1	39.7	49.2	71	18.8	36.8	44.4	135
Primary (1-5 std.)	27.8	23.9	48.3	399	25.8	38.1	36.1	97
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	36.4	33.6	29.9	876	41.4	44.3	14.3	280
Graduation and above	57.0	27.1	15.9	265	70.9	27.3	1.8	54
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Type of Residence								
Rural	29.2	29.3	41.5	946	24.6	43.3	32.1	349
Urban	46.6	32.0	21.4	665	54.8	34.1	11.1	217
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Wealth Index								
Low	30.9	26.8	42.3	834	23.0	40.1	37.0	271
Middle	35.2	37.6	27.2	471	32.2	47.1	20.7	170
High	54.5	29.5	16.1	306	66.7	29.6	3.7	125
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	38.1	27.7	34.3	295	17.5	55.0	27.5	98
Scheduled Tribe	23.6	26.1	50.3	223	19.1	35.5	45.5	106
Other Backward Classes	37.2	30.5	32.4	690	40.1	40.4	19.5	259
General	39.9	34.7	25.4	403	60.2	30.6	9.2	103
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Religion								
Hindu	36.4	30.6	33.0	1526	36.7	38.9	24.4	530
Muslim	25.0	25.0	50.0	40	#	#	#	7
Others	45.9	27.0	27.0	45	#	#	#	29
p-value		0.351		1611		0.402		566
Type of Family								
Nuclear	35.3	30.4	34.3	1015	36.5	39.0	24.5	370
Non-nuclear	38.3	30.5	31.2	596	35.3	41.9	22.8	196
p-value		0.107		1611		0.969		566
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	55.9	32.4	11.8	82	#	#	#	12
Sometimes	45.0	31.8	23.1	469	46.0	34.1	19.8	141
Often	31.4	29.6	39.0	1060	31.7	42.6	25.8	413
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Decision Making								
Father	34.9	29.0	36.0	977	37.9	40.1	22.0	396
Mother/Both equally	38.8	32.6	28.6	634	31.6	39.2	29.1	170
p-value		0.008		1611		0.161		566

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	27.0	30.2	42.9	140	38.6	36.8	24.6	168
Sometimes	35.2	31.2	33.6	579	36.4	45.0	18.6	133
Often	8.5	29.9	31.6	892	34.5	39.4	26.1	265
p-value		0.065		1611		0.429		566
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	73.9	20.7	5.4	281	73.7	26.3	0.0	63
Moderate	26.3	35.2	38.5	593	27.6	41.8	30.6	347
Rigid	8.6	25.5	65.9	240	8.5	55.3	36.2	56
p-value		<0.001		1114		<0.001		466
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	33.2	33.8	33.0	1058	42.0	43.1	14.9	282
No	42.9	23.6	33.6	553	30.8	36.4	32.9	284
p-value		<0.001		1611		<0.001		566
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons**	34.9	25.1	40.0	392	38.5	44.2	17.3	60
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters**	38.7	31.3	29.9	595	37.3	44.9	17.8	280
Fair for daughters**	36.9	33.9	29.2	505	37.2	44.0	18.8	268
Fair for all children	42.9	30.7	26.5	651	37.0	44.7	18.3	232
Not aware of the law**	30.0	32.2	37.8	705	34.7	34.7	30.6	277
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	42.8	29.4	27.8	528	49.2	41.9	8.9	222
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	32.2	32.0	35.8	345	52.0	39.8	8.1	117
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	36.2	30.1	33.7	335	55.1	36.2	8.7	122
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	25.0	26.0	49.0	104	32.4	54.1	13.5	38
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	42.9	29.5	27.7	515	52.2	40.5	7.3	187
No knowledge about this law**	33.5	31.0	35.5	1073	26.8	38.4	34.8	341
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child**	36.0	30.4	33.6	1558	37.5	40.1	22.4	534
It will help parents to give better life to their children**	36.3	30.6	33.1	1536	36.8	40.4	22.9	527
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community*	36.1	30.7	33.2	1472	40.7	39.3	20.0	461

Note: # - Not shown due to small number of cases; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.16: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Madhya Pradesh								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	24.8	45.0	30.2	510	19.7	42.8	37.5	152
25-34 years	24.6	43.7	31.7	414	22.3	39.2	38.6	166
35-49 years	24.0	41.9	34.2	577	15.3	35.5	49.2	183
p-value		0.721		1501		0.143		501
Education								
Illiterate	13.8	42.0	44.2	168	11.4	34.9	53.7	179
Primary (1-5 std.)	15.2	52.4	32.4	285	15.3	40.8	43.9	102
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	27.2	41.3	31.5	894	23.0	43.4	33.7	191
Graduation and above	39.6	40.3	20.1	154	#	#	#	29
p-value		<0.001		1501		<0.001		501
Type of Residence								
Rural	24.7	43.1	32.2	879	15.7	36.5	47.8	318
Urban	23.8	44.1	32.2	622	25.0	42.9	32.1	183
p-value		0.900		1501		0.001		501
Wealth Index								
Low	17.4	46.4	36.2	752	14.8	35.4	49.8	246
Middle	25.6	40.2	34.2	411	13.8	44.7	41.4	155
High	41.6	39.6	18.8	338	24.8	38.1	37.1	100
p-value		<0.001		1501		<0.001		501
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	23.2	44.0	32.8	216	35.8	32.1	32.1	48
Scheduled Tribe	17.2	45.6	37.2	250	15.4	30.8	53.8	87
Other Backward Classes	29.2	42.3	25,8	674	19.1	37.7	43.2	259
General	22.4	43.4	34.2	361	14.9	50.4	34.7	107
p-value		0.005		1501		0.001		501
Religion								
Hindu	24.8	42.8	32.4	1427	21.2	37.0	41.8	426
Muslim	12.0	64.0	24.0	45	8.1	46.5	45.3	72
Others	#	#	#	29	#	#	#	3
p-value		0.046		1501		0.034		501
Type of Family								
Nuclear	25.1	42.1	32.7	819	12.3	34.6	53.1	236
Non-nuclear	23.3	45.0	31.6	682	25.2	43.0	31.8	265
p-value		0.514		1501		<0.001		501
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	36.4	40.8	22.7	386	63.6	27.3	9.1	46
Sometimes	23.2	41.8	35.0	590	25.9	51.1	23.0	139
Often	18.8	46.7	34.5	525	9.8	35.3	54.9	316
p-value		<0.001		1501		<0.001		501
Decision Making								
Father	27.8	42.0	30.2	407	17.5	41.3	41.3	372
Mother/Both equally	16.1	46.8	37.0	1094	23.7	31.4	44.9	129
p-value		<0.001		1501		0.110		501

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	14.3	43.9	41.7	666	23.5	37.8	38.6	247
Sometimes	25.9	49.0	25.1	572	13.3	39.8	46.9	140
Often	21.6	31.2	47.2	263	16.3	39.8	43.9	114
p-value		<0.001		1501		0.138		501
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	41.4	45.2	13.3	304	38.2	44.9	16.9	91
Moderate	21.6	46.1	32.4	416	17.0	42.4	40.6	232
Rigid	14.1	38.7	47.2	338	1.8	21.1	77.2	110
p-value		<0.001		1058		<0.001		433
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	23.2	41.3	35.4	479	17.8	42.7	39.5	155
No	25.0	44.5	30.6	1022	19.7	37.1	43.2	346
p-value		0.169		1501		0.493		501
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons	22.0	44.8	33.2	259	17.6	43.1	39.2	47
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters**	32.7	43.3	23.9	300	15.2	52.5	32.3	144
Fair for daughters**	35.2	43.5	21.2	566	17.9	51.1	31.1	178
Fair for all children**	35.4	40.0	24.6	519	22.0	49.8	28.3	214
Not aware of the law**	17.1	44.9	38.1	731	15.1	30.9	54.0	275
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	27.8	42.5	29.7	804	24.7	41.7	33.6	226
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	27.6	43.1	29.4	768	26.3	41.0	32.7	201
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	27.5	42.9	29.7	776	28.0	39.5	32.5	197
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	19.7	41.8	38.5	471	25.2	33.9	40.9	124
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	27.7	43.0	29.3	749	25.4	41.4	33.2	223
No knowledge about this law**	20.3	44.6	29.6	670	13.6	36.7	49.7	272
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child*	23.8	41.9	34.3	1015	19.8	42.5	37.7	311
It will help parents to give better life to their children	25.2	42.2	36.2	1116	18.2	43.1	38.7	300
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community*	25.8	45.5	28.8	1186	18.5	39.3	42.2	263

Note: # - Not shown due to small number of cases; **Significant at 99%

Table A6.17: Socio-Demographic Factors and Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Maharashtra								
Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Age								
18-24 years	22.5	38.2	39.3	517	42.6	33.3	24.1	158
25-34 years	22.2	36.9	40.9	492	36.3	38.1	25.6	158
35-49 years	39.6	43.1	17.3	556	33.0	36.5	30.5	209
p-value		0.099		1565		0.367		525
Education								
Illiterate	10.8	59.5	29.7	44	25.0	53.6	21.4	31
Primary (1-5 std.)	20.8	37.5	41.7	239	24.8	33.6	41.6	127
Up to higher secondary (6-12 std.)	17.1	39.6	43.3	972	35.2	39.7	25.1	302
Graduation and above	32.4	38.5	29.1	310	73.1	16.4	10.4	65
p-value		<0.001		1565		<0.001		525
Type of Residence								
Rural	15.0	39.9	45.0	923	34.4	34.7	31.0	325
Urban	28.3	39.1	32.1	642	41.3	38.3	20.4	200
p-value		<0.001		1565		0.027		525
Wealth Index								
Low	9.7	42.8	47.5	416	28.4	26.3	45.3	111
Middle	17.1	35.9	47.0	606	31.0	41.8	27.2	205
High	30.0	41.6	30.0	543	46.6	34.7	18.7	209
p-value		<0.001		1565		<0.001		525
Caste								
Scheduled Caste	16.1	41.9	41.9	247	23.3	47.6	29.1	91
Scheduled Tribe	15.7	42.8	41.6	194	16.3	46.5	37.2	47
Other Backward Classes	18.6	40.7	40.7	526	41.3	36.4	22.3	213
General	25.2	36.8	38.0	598	44.9	26.7	28.4	174
p-value		0.023		1565		<0.001		525
Religion								
Hindu	20.8	38.8	40.5	1241	37.6	34.1	28.2	433
Muslim	21.6	36.7	41.7	168	40.0	27.5	32.5	47
Others	16.9	49.3	33.8	156	30.0	56.7	13.3	45
p-value		0.167		1565		0.007		525
Type of Family								
Nuclear	25.8	39.9	34.4	440	40.2	32.3	27.5	294
Non-nuclear	18.0	39.5	42.4	1125	33.0	40.8	26.2	231
p-value		<0.001		1565		0.108		525
Witnessed/Experienced Discrimination/Harassment during Childhood								
Never	35.7	38.8	25.6	246	51.7	36.7	11.7	97
Sometimes	20.0	42.9	37.1	728	38.7	35.3	26.0	173
Often	14.6	36.1	49.3	591	29.2	36.2	34.6	255
p-value		<0.001		1565		<0.001		525
Decision Making								
Father	11.5	39.3	49.2	581	33.8	40.4	25.8	234
Mother/Both equally	33.4	40.0	26.6	984	39.3	33.0	27.7	291
p-value		<0.001		1565		0.201		525

Contd...

Determinants	Men				Women			
	Low	Moderate	High	N	Low	Moderate	High	N
Experienced/Witnessed Male Participation in Household Chores								
Never	12.1	43.3	44.6	423	24.1	38.0	38.0	180
Sometimes	21.8	36.8	41.4	341	48.0	30.9	21.1	138
Often	23.9	38.9	37.1	801	42.1	37.4	20.6	207
p-value		<0.001		1565		<0.001		525
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)								
Equitable	38.5	40.6	20.8	337	67.2	27.0	5.7	71
Moderate	12.0	43.5	44.4	538	24.2	46.2	29.6	262
Rigid	5.1	27.6	67.3	175	4.7	23.4	71.9	110
p-value		<0.001		1050		<0.001		443
Laws that Limit Family Size								
Yes	13.3	39.7	47.0	539	37.5	39.2	23.3	270
No	24.2	39.5	36.2	1026	36.4	32.6	31.0	255
p-value		<0.001		1565		0.108		525
Perception about Law on Inheritance Rights to Daughters (Yes)								
Unfair for sons**	5.4	22.5	72.1	137	31.5	26.0	42.5	80
Fair only for unmarried/deserted daughters*	12.6	36.9	50.5	469	29.5	51.5	19.0	181
Fair for daughters	18.8	38.1	43.1	703	40.1	42.8	17.1	267
Fair for all children	20.2	40.8	39.1	621	39.9	42.8	17.3	250
Not aware of the law**	24.3	41.5	34.1	757	28.0	28.0	44.1	213
Perception about PCPNDT Law (Agree)								
Law important otherwise there will be insufficient girls in marriage market*	20.1	37.2	42.7	863	38.1	41.1	20.8	334
Law goes against women's abortion rights and their right to choice**	10.8	36.6	52.6	641	37.2	40.1	22.7	263
Law can go against women's mental and physical well-being**	11.9	35.5	52.6	596	35.8	40.1	24.1	237
Law should allow sex selection for couples with no son**	5.0	33.0	62.0	486	25.9	48.7	25.4	182
Social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable**	12.2	40.0	47.8	756	36.9	42.5	20.6	292
No knowledge about this law*	21.1	42.8	36.1	698	26.8	28.0	45.2	171
Perception about Law which Provides Couples Incentive for Having Girl Child (Yes)								
It can motivate couples to have girl child**	22.2	41.0	36.8	1386	39.4	36.9	23.8	482
It will help parents to give better life to their children**	22.1	40.4	37.6	1426	40.1	37.6	22.3	476
It will reduce the sex selective abortion in the community*	21.6	40.4	38.0	1390	40.3	37.6	22.2	*472*

Note: **Significant at 99%

Figure A6.1: Preference for Sons among Men and Women

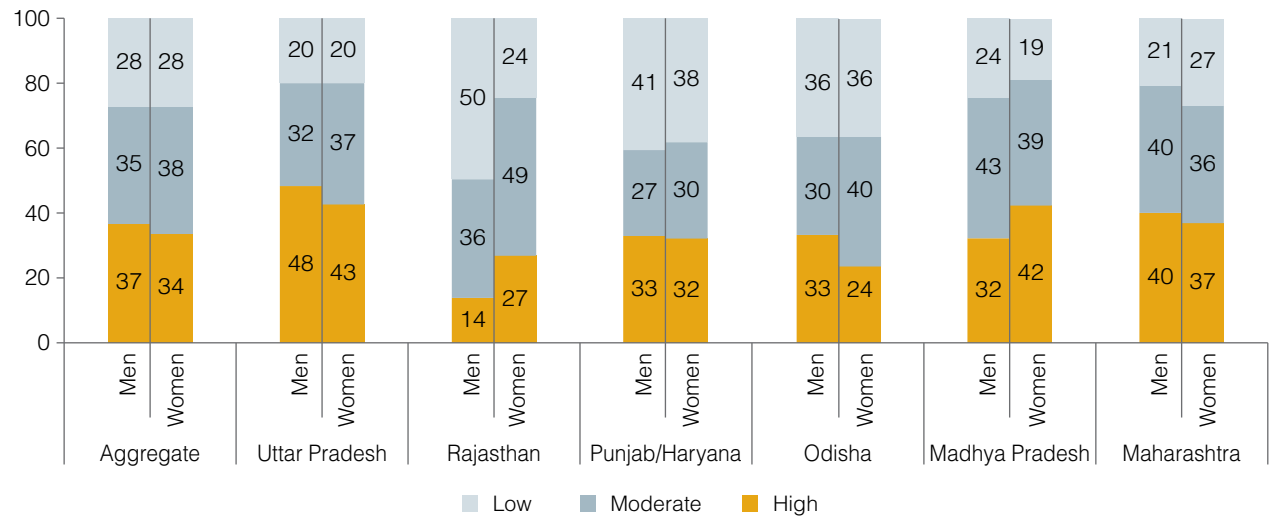
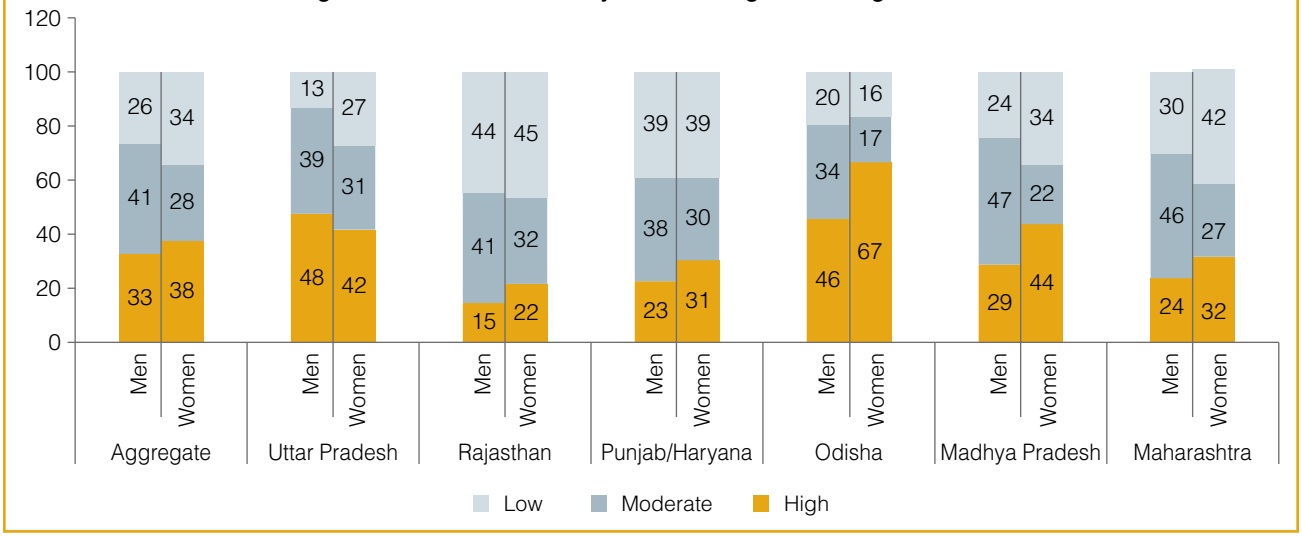


Figure A6.2: Discriminatory Attitudes against Daughters/Girls



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