The London School of Economics and Political Science

The Weight of Tradition

Investigating the Persistence and Performance of Caste and Gender Hierarchies in Indian Society

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis examines how young Indians navigate and reproduce social hierarchies in their daily lives, with an emphasis on caste and gender. Grounded in the Social Identity Approach, I employ a mixed-methods framework across three empirical studies. In the first empirical study, I analyse secondary survey (with 6122 Indians) data to uncover the contextual factors shaping the endorsement of traditional caste and gender attitudes. Here, I particularly highlight the influence of a concern for familial obligation. In the second empirical study, I conduct 34 in-depth interviews to understand why social hierarchies are performed through *maryada* (subtle acts of deference along intersecting lines of caste and gender), even when hierarchy-relevant norms are not endorsed. I find that it is the type of social scrutiny within a setting, coupled with the prospect of sanctions and reputational harm that compels the performance of *maryada*. Building on this, I conduct an online survey experiment with 612 Indians to examine the mechanisms through which the self-reported performance of *maryada* varies according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for familial obligation. Here, findings indicate that a concern for family obligation and the expectation of sanctions directed at the family, not just the individual, are essential components in understanding the performance of *maryada*. This thesis makes three theoretical contributions. Firstly, I emphasise that real-world hierarchies are constantly shaped and reshaped by contextual processes. Secondly, I posit that a study of the performance of hierarchies is crucial to an understanding of how it is perpetuated in everyday life. Thirdly, by highlighting the prospect of sanctions and reputational fallout, I question existing assumptions of agency. Through this thesis, I underscore the pivotal role of the inclusion of relevant contextual processes in social psychology research, highlighting its dynamic influence on the creation and perpetuation of real-world hierarchies.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Inspiration for the Research

1.1.1 Caste and *Maryada*

For quite some time now, the terms inequality, discrimination, and violence in India have been synonymous with the word caste. Regardless of whether we are discussing other identities, caste is always part of the picture—it is omnipresent. Busting the myth that caste is solely a 'rural' issue, one of my favourite quotes from Perumal Murugan's book, Black Coffee in a Coconut Shell, (2017, p. 169) describes caste akin to the wind:

> Some say this caste exists in the rural areas and not in the urban cities. In the villages, one can feel the force of the wind. Even though the wind loses its force when it hits the buildings in the cities, it is not non-existent in the city streets. Caste is something similar.

I have known for a while that I wanted to dedicate my PhD work to the study of caste. As I began my five-year journey in 2018, I spent the first year attempting to crack the conceptualisation of the idea of caste I wanted to work with. How was I going to 'define' identity or hierarchy in a way that is relevant to caste? As I began the hunt, I went back to the classic works to only realise that there is no accepted definition of caste.

Jodhka (2017, p. 2) presents the *textbook* definition of caste:

> According to the popular textbook view, caste is an ancient Indian institution, derived from the dominant religious ideology of the Hindus. The religious system of the Hindus underlined the significance of *varna*, karma and *dharma*, pronounced in a text called the *Manusmriti*. These ideas produced a hierarchical social order, structured around the notions of purity and pollution. The *varna* system divided Hindus into four or five mutually exclusive categories with Brahmins at the top, followed in order of rank by Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Beneath the four *varnas* were the *achoots* (untouchables), occupying a position at the very bottom of the social order.

Alongside the definition, Jodhka (2017) proceeds to quickly highlight the problems with defining caste in this manner owing to the constant shaping and reshaping of understandings of caste, and its continued relevance in the 21st century.

Despite debates regarding how best to define caste, a few things are clear. One, that it is a complex hierarchical system. Caste, or *jati*, is different (yet related) to the *varna* system described above. Beteille (1996) notes that the idea of *jati* refers more to the units of the system, as opposed to providing a basis for a universal social classification like the idea of *varna* did. In a formal sense, one cannot draw up a complete list of all *jatis*, as new jatis could always be added on, but new *varnas* cannot. Therefore, while there are only a finite number of *varnas*, the number of castes run into the thousands, with a great deal of variability across different parts of India (Bayly, 1999). Two, caste is marked by a pattern of exclusion and discrimination (Thorat & Newman, 2007) directed towards the lowest segments[1]. This is evident in both the systemic forms of exclusion as evidenced by job market data (Deshpande, 2011), exclusion from educational spaces (Paliwal, 2023) and the acts of brutal violence and discrimination that is a daily occurrence across India (Girard et al., 2023). The efforts to address this have resulted in governmental intervention where policies like the reservation policy (Chauhan, 2008; Chin & Prakash, 2011) set aside educational and governmental positions for members of these groups, with the aim of righting past wrongs.

With this in mind, I pored over the anthropological and sociological classics (e.g., Béteille, 1996; Dumont, 1980; Srinivas, 1976) and the more modern works on caste (D. Gupta, 2004; Jodhka, 2002; Mines, 2005; Osella et al., 2000; Still, 2017). As I started to get a sense of the current academic scholarship on the subject, I stumbled on the word *maryada* in a chapter within Eleanor Power's PhD thesis (2015, p. 131) and again in Diane Mines' Fierce Gods (2005, p. 81) and paused.

The word *maryada* translates to 'making social distinctions' (Mines, 2005, p. 81) and refers to a social obligation to perform hierarchical acts of deference along

[1]These segments were formerly the communities subject to untouchability and excluded from the four varnas. They are legally classified within the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes categories today, or can adopt the self-chosen identification, *Dalit.* Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a pioneer of the Dalit movement in India and a leading socio-political reformer who campaigned and fought against caste discrimination (Ambedkar, 2014; Ambedkar & Moon, 1987)

intersecting lines of caste, gender, and other social identities and hierarchies in India. Still (2017, p. 30) explains,

> At wedding feasts, the most important people are served first and positioned in the best seats. At work, a labourer may show his landlord mariyada by addressing him as lord or sir. In the household, a woman will serve the senior men first, giving them the best parts of the curry. A host shows mariyada by greeting a guest properly, offering him a seat and a glass of water. Forms of mariyada create and mark inferiority and superiority: it is visible in the interaction between women and men, Dalits and the dominant castes, men and gods. Just as a man may prostrate himself on the ground before a god, so a woman might touch the feet of her husband, so a Dalit may lower his lungi and hang his head before his employer.

But 'how could that be?', I asked myself. As a native speaker, I just thought it meant...good behaviour? Reading the anthropological definition provided by Mines (2005) made me grapple with my own understanding of *maryada* and the lack of attention I gave it. The word *maryada* was not something that was a part of my everyday parlance. It is like one of those weighty words you read about in your 10th grade Hindi literature class and then conveniently forget. It sent me down a rabbit hole that brought me to the realisation that *maryada* captures something quite untapped and unique about caste and gender hierarchies in India.

1.1.2 Norms around *Maryada* and the Everyday Reproduction of Hierarchies

As I explored the concept of *maryada* further, I began to realise how it encapsulates the complexity and omnipresence of caste in society. The inherent intersectional and relational nature of *maryada* is evident in the countless ways it manifests through behavioural codes of conduct. Gorringe and Rafanell (2007, pp. 108–109) discuss how caste-based patterns of behaviour become the "norm" because they are lived and performed on a daily basis.

What struck me the most was how these norms govern our everyday lives, shaping our behaviours and interactions in subtle but powerful ways. It became

evident that within these seemingly ordinary acts lies the reinforcement of social hierarchies. As Mander (2006, p. 12) pointed out, "behind dramatic acts of violence are everyday realities in which through numerous quotidian acts, Dalits are constantly reminded of their subordinate status".

Moreover, it is possible that the violence and discrimination faced by individuals at the margins of caste and gender are mirrored in the daily acts of deference they are expected to perform. These performative acts thus play a crucial role in perpetuating and reproducing the existing hierarchies. This is reflected in the many recent occurrences (Dominique, 2020; Rajasekaran, 2020) involving members from the Dalit community being forced to sit on the floor (despite holding positions of power within the village governing body in some cases).

There is limited research linking *maryada* or the performance of norms to the everyday reproduction of social hierarchies like caste and gender. This observation has motivated my PhD research, which aims to explore the ways in which caste and gender hierarchies are sustained in our daily lives through the endorsement and performance of norms tied to these hierarchies.

1.2 The Lens of the Social Identity Approach

I began this exploration by looking at some of the most widely recognised theories of status, hierarchies and discrimination which brought me to the Social Identity Approach (Haslam, 2004; Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010) and its two core theories, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987). Hornsey (2008, p. 207) discusses that Social Identity Theory, "was the first social psychological theory to acknowledge that groups occupy different levels of a hierarchy of status and power."

A study of caste and gender hierarchies also promises to be a meaningful addition to the Social Identity Approach in general, and to the study of how social hierarchies within real-world contexts continue to be sustained in everyday life.

1.2.1 Caste, Gender, and the Social Identity Approach

In this section, I briefly summarise some of the core contributions that a study of caste and gender can add to the existing scholarship within the Social Identity Approach. The study of caste and gender presents an opportunity to study intersecting hierarchies that challenge current conceptualisations within the discipline, drawing on a rich set of contextual factors.

A Real-World Hierarchy Intersecting with Other Hierarchies

As discussed above, norms associated with *maryada* along lines of caste are inherently intersectional since they are often articulated with other hierarchical identities (e.g., gender). This acts as an important addition to the study of hierarchies within social psychology. More generally, people's actions in South Asia are distilled and understood through the intersections of hierarchies like caste and gender (Velaskar, 2016). In discussing the intersections of caste and gender, Chakravarti (2018, p. 4) discusses how Dalit women in rural areas bore a special burden – "as Dalits from the upper castes, as labourers from the landlords, and as women from men of their own families and castes."

Challenges to Majority-Minority Conceptualisations of Hierarchy

The structural nature of identities with a hierarchical structure like caste are different from hierarchies that are formed based on majority and minority groups, as often seen in the West, as the oppressed groups in India are often actually numerically greater than the groups at the top of the hierarchy (Deshpande, 2011). Therefore, an exploration of such a nature would lead to a rather unique contribution to the literature on hierarchical identities.

Contextual Considerations

To achieve Tajfel and Turner's goals (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987) of taking the Social Identity Approach to unique contexts and incorporating wider social processes into the study of identity and hierarchy, I specifically emphasise three crucial contextual elements essential for understanding social hierarchies like caste and gender: the role of the family unit, the social setting, and the concern

regarding sanctions and reputation. By considering these factors both in isolation and jointly, I hope to be able to deepen insights into how identity and hierarchies function within the South Asian setting.

In discussing the centrality of the family unit in navigating social relations in India, Gupta (G. R. Gupta, 1976a, xv.) declares,

> So crucial are family relations to a whole society that it is sometimes difficult to resist portraying them as though they were the single core of social relations, though in fact family interactions may be as much affected by other social forces as they affect them. The most intriguing system in the Indian subcontinent, next to the caste system, is its family system.

The role of family and wider kin networks has received extensive attention when looking at the sociological and anthropological scholarship (Das & Das, 2006; G. R. Gupta, 1976a; Pandya, 2017) on caste and gender in India, and is an important contextual element that will be seen throughout all empirical chapters within this thesis.

Within anthropological literatures, a discussion of *maryada* is never without a discussion of the social setting within which *maryada* is performed. Power discusses the giving of *maryada* (*mariyatai* in Tamil) within a temple setting, where it is "meted out in orderly lines of precedence" (2015, p. 131). More generally, discussions on caste too have a spatial element where there are references to the importance given to caste in urban versus rural spaces (A. Shah, 2007). The role of social setting is therefore something I consider through this thesis.

Next, sanctions and reputations also require consideration. In addition to the brutal acts of violence directed at members of marginalised caste and gender groups, the academic scholarship discusses the threat of sanctions associated with norm-violations tied to caste and gender. Such sanctions can include the possibility of bringing shame upon the family, or even something as severe as ostracism from the community (Bidner & Eswaran, 2015).

Gorringe and Rafanell (2007) argue that caste structures are not solely internalised but are also maintained through social sanctions. The sanctions are used to

monitor individuals' behaviour and punish those who violate caste norms. The presence of social sanctions explains both the instability and durability of caste identity. Furthermore, sanctions can also include reputational (Giardini & Wittek, 2019) concerns – something that has received attention in the experimental economics literature on social hierarchies in India (Dugar & Bhattacharya, 2019). Therefore, much like the role of family, I also explore the topic of sanctions in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

Addressing Important Gaps within the Study of Hierarchies in Social Psychology

The study of caste and gender hierarchies from the lens of the Social Identity Approach not only provides a novel perspective on the study of hierarchies in social psychology but also addresses significant gaps within this field. Calls have been increasing to situate the study of hierarchies within their historical, moral, and social contexts (Dixon et al., 2020), moving away from artificial hierarchies studied in controlled laboratory settings. While the representation of culture within social psychology continues to be an issue (Hopkins, 2022), a simple addition of hierarchies from India is not the answer.

The challenge lies in constructing hierarchies in ways that disregard context and neglect the constraints that stand in the way of individuals being able to realise their wishes. Reicher et al. (2021) discuss how the experimental approaches within the discipline tend to assume that cognitive identity-related wishes can translate into realities, and urge us to consider the constraints that exist in the real world when we study group dynamics. I further argue that real-world hierarchies come with the threat of sanctions and reputational damage, and lived experiences of caste and gender bring into question the assumptions of agency in the theorising of social identities and hierarchies. To respond effectively to these calls within the discipline, it is crucial to not only include, but also to operationalise caste and gender hierarchies in a way that incorporates local contextual considerations.

1.3 Young Hindu and Buddhist Indians

My PhD research delves into how young Hindu and Buddhist[2] Indians navigate caste and gender hierarchies in their everyday lives.

I chose to study Indians in this stage of life primarily because young people are in a constant state of flux that makes them particularly worthy subjects to understand the performance of caste and gender-based hierarchies. Empirical studies on India's youth have provided invaluable insights into their changing attitudes, anxieties, and aspirations. Many scholars (Dyson, 2014; Lukose, 2009; Nakassis, 2016) have contributed to a growing body of research, shedding light on youth culture, social hierarchies, and the reformation of traditional norms. Moreover, the study of family dynamics often places the interactions between young Indians and their families at the fore (Patel, 2005; Titzmann, 2017). The negotiations across generations illuminate how the young navigate and balance the traditional with the modern. This demographic therefore provides a unique lens into the understanding how social hierarchies are made and remade against the backdrop of a tussle between the traditional and the modern.

Additionally, the study of young Indians' behaviours takes on significant importance given their prominent presence in India's population and their influential role in shaping the country's future. With estimates suggesting that approximately one-third of India's population falls within the age category of fifteen to thirty-four, the "youth bulge" (Jayal, 2019; Kumar, 2017a) represents an enduring demographic reality.

1.4 Research focus

Research on caste and gender hierarchies in India is primarily carried out in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Within psychology, there are indigenous traditions that challenge, and abandon dominant Western perspectives (Sinha, 2019). While there is much to be learnt from these perspectives that place context and culture at the centre, I argue that the Social Identity Approach, by design, also insists that context is paramount (Reicher, 2004). Therefore, I situate this work

[2]Dr. Ambedkar particularly inspired a long legacy of Dalit-Buddhism, where members from this community can also identify as Buddhist (Paik, 2011).

within the Social Identity Approach and adopt perspectives that place context at the fore when studying how hierarchies are reproduced.

Following from the above, the research questions guiding this thesis are:

How are social hierarchies reproduced in everyday life through the adherence to and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms? What are the reasons underlying people's adherence to and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms?

1.4.1 Theoretical Contributions

The thesis makes three key theoretical contributions.

1. I highlight that real-world hierarchies, deeply embedded in historical, moral, and social settings, are inherently intersectional and dynamic. Furthermore, I emphasise that culture is not a static backdrop, but a contested domain where individuals actively participate in constructing meaning, suggesting that hierarchies are continually formed and reformed within their relevant contexts.
2. I further suggest that hierarchies are understood through their contents, focusing not just on the endorsement of norms but on their context-dependent performances. In doing so, I underscore the ways in which context shapes both the endorsement and the performance of norms, evolving the meanings and understandings tied to these performances.
3. I demonstrate the real-world constraints hindering individuals from realising their hierarchy-related wishes. By doing so, I advocate for a nuanced view of how individuals reconcile with their agency to overcome these constraints.

1.4.2 Empirical Contribution

My empirical contribution involves a novel investigation of young Hindu and Buddhist Indians and their performances of caste and gender hierarchies, which have received limited attention within the Social Identity Approach. Unlike previous studies that often adopt single-identity frameworks assuming uniform identification and endorsement of norms related to hierarchies, my research delves into the nuances of performance tied to caste and gender, specifically focusing on

their everyday reproduction.

1.4.3 Methodological Contribution

The aim of my work is to redress the neglect of the intersections between caste and gender in social psychological studies. By utilising a sequenced mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative and quantitative techniques, I aim to comprehensively explore how these hierarchies are endorsed and performed in the lives of young Indians, considering the context in which they exist.

Through this unique methodological approach, I shed light on the crucial role played by family, social pressures, and sanctions in shaping caste and gender performances. My research avoids artificial experiments and minimal groups, ensuring that the findings remain closely tied to the real-life experiences of the participants. The insights gained from this research will offer valuable contributions to understanding the intricate dynamics of caste and gender among the younger generation of Indians.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis starts with an in-depth examination of the theorisation of identities and hierarchies within social psychology and situates my contributions against important gaps (Chapter 2). This chapter provides the literature review of the thesis. I then move on to provide an explanation of the methodological design of each of the three studies (Chapter 3), with an emphasis on the details of the mixed-methods approach adopted.

Chapter 4 presents the first empirical study of the thesis. It investigates the role of family and other wider contextual factors in the endorsement of traditional attitudes pertaining to caste and gender using survey data based in India. In this chapter, I use quantitative methods to examine the relationships between demographic variables (including memberships to caste and gender groups), concern for family obligation and the endorsement of traditional attitudes along lines of caste and gender.

Chapter 5 employs qualitative in-depth interviews to understand college-age

Indians' own motivations underlying the performance of hierarchical norms, even in situations where they verbally reject them. Here, I delve into the experiences of performing *maryada*, which includes an understanding of the contextual factors that enable (or rather compel) its performance.

Chapter 6 builds directly on the findings of Chapter 5, where I quantitatively delineate and test the relationships between the performance of caste and gender norms, family scrutiny, expectations of social sanctions, and a concern for familial obligation using an online survey experiment with 612 Indian Hindu participants.

The thesis ends with a general discussion and conclusion in Chapter 7, integrating the findings of all the empirical papers to discuss both the theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions of the research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, I turn my attention to the domain of everyday life, a realm that seems mundane yet is bursting with complexities. Coined by the socialist Max Weber (2012) and later introduced to the field of psychology by Holzkamp (2015), the term *conduct of everyday life* brings into dialogue the individual and the social. More specifically, understanding everyday life enables an understanding of the linkages between the personal realm and social living. Social psychologists, in particular, place an interest in the ways in which people navigate their social lives in the face of opportunities and constraints faced on an everyday basis.

It is however important that we think about everyday life in pluralistic terms seeing as the realities of everyday life are not the same for everyone. While it may involve the day-to-day routines, freedoms and inclusions for some people, it is characterised by repression of equality and exclusion for many, and especially people hailing from marginalised groups. Everyday life also brings us face to face with the starker aspects of social life that include discrimination, racism, casteism, and sexism. Echoing this Silverstone (2007, p. 108) observes, "everyday life is constrained by the interests in the power of others where resistance structures both physical and social everyday life is where individuals can be free and creative but also where they can be exploited and repressed."

It is therefore important that conceptualisations pertaining to practices in everyday life underscore a diverse range of contexts that represent different types of relationships, opportunities, constraints that make up an individual or groups everyday life.

The Social Identity Approach (Brown, 2020) within social psychology and its core theories Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987) concern themselves with an understandings of identities and hierarchies within their contexts (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011; Reicher, 2004) and equip us with the tools to conceptualise these different social realities. However, the challenge continues to lie in its applications, where there is a frequent erasure of context (Dixon et al., 2005; Hopkins, 2022; Hopkins et al., 2023). In answering my question on how hierarchies are reproduced in everyday life, I therefore first critically engage with existing theories and applications, before introducing my approach and how I contribute to this field.

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows:

The review opens with (Section 2.1) a brief overview of the Social Identity Approach and its key sub-theories – Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory. Here, I focus on setting the scene and spotlighting the intentions of the founders, Henri Tajfel and John Turner regarding their visions for this approach as they built these theories in the aftermath of World War II.

Section 2.2 and Section 2.3 focuses on Self-Categorisation Theory and specific perspectives within this theory that places focus on the contents of identities and hierarchies to understand how group dynamics are shaped by wider social processes. This perspective places context at the fore and is one that is respectful of cultural difference. I argue that this is a particularly useful lens to adopt in understanding the perpetuation of caste and gender norms.

In Section 2.3, I discuss that the contents of an identity that focus on the endorsement and performance of norms as shaped by context are well-suited to addressing the question of how real-world hierarchies like caste and gender are reproduced. However, when juxtaposing findings from approaches that apply this theory against the lived realities of caste and gender hierarchies, I find there to be major gaps in our understanding of how hierarchies operate in the real-world (in Section 2.4). In Section 2.4, I also caution against addressing such gaps by purely focusing on dichotomised understandings and inclusions of culture and how cross-cultural frameworks distract us from focusing on the deeper theoretical parameters that have led to a side-lining of context.

To illustrate this in greater depth, Section 2.5 is devoted to a deeper critical analysis of the key theoretical parameters and decisions that underlie current approaches within the study of norms through the Social Identity Approach lens. By doing so, I not only highlight gaps in what we know, but question how we know what we know. I emphasise the ways in which the inclusion of context has not been a priority within current applications, and my points of departure.

In Section 2.6, I outline my theoretical framework for the study of the reproduction of hierarchies. The review concludes in Section 2.7 with a reiteration of the overarching questions of the PhD, the individual research questions, and aims of

each chapter.

2.1 Social Identity Approach - An Overview

In this section, I present a brief overview of the key theories within the Social Identity Approach and highlight the major theoretical contributions made by its sub-theories: Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory.

Born in Europe out of a need to better understand intergroup phenomena in the aftermath of the World War (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011), the Social Identity Approach has equipped the world with two seminal theories, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987), to understand group dynamics, and the sense of identity one derives from their group affiliations. Henri Tajfel and John Turner were crucial in developing the conceptual framework of these theories, drawing a distinction between personal and social identities. This distinction underlies the difference between interpersonal situations, where we act as individuals (personal identity), and group situations, where we behave according to our social identity derived from our group memberships. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) largely focuses on intergroup relations and the formation, maintenance and challenging of hierarchies. Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987) builds on Social Identity Theory by focusing on the *intragroup* (Schwartz et al., 2011, p. 208), cognitive and strategic processes by which individuals categorise themselves and others as members of social groups. Below, I start with Tajfel's Social Identity Theory.

2.1.1 Social Identity Theory and Hierarchies

Social Identity Theory was tasked with making sense of the minimal group studies (Tajfel et al., 1971). These studies demonstrated that even the most minimal group assignment (preference for Klee or Kandinsky paintings, or overestimating or underestimating the number of dots in a pattern) that is artificially created can impact behaviour (Ahmed, 2007; Halevy et al., 2012; Tajfel, 1970). This division of subjects into two different groups, based on a trivial, or explicitly random criterion is called the minimal group paradigm (Diehl, 1990). It has also been found that participants are more likely to give rewards to those within the same group than to those in other groups, even when choices are anonymous and do not directly

impact one's own payoffs (Tajfel et al., 1971). In further exploration of this discrimination between members of the in-group versus the out-group, Social Identity Theory explains that a preferential treatment towards the in-group (also known as the in-group bias) or the process of intergroup discrimination is a strategy that aims to achieve self-esteem via social comparison to increase positive distinctiveness of the in-group (Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Reicher, 2004).

For Tajfel, the minimal group studies and "the identification comparison differentiation triad one merely points of departure, not points of completion" (Reicher, 2004, p. 931). Reicher (2004) notes that what it does is outline a psychological pathway or mechanism, but leaves open the question of how those dynamics play out in real life, as a function of different contextual features. In fact, Tajfel's interest primarily lay in subordinate groups embedded within a hierarchy, who were negatively evaluated. He was primarily interested in understanding the ways in which members of such groups respond to this negative evaluation and when they could collectively act to challenge their oppression. As Reicher (2004) describes, Tajfel took discrimination as a given, and sought to understand the mechanisms that underlie resistance and social change. Therefore, the concept of social identity for Tajfel was not a static idea but rather an "intervening causal mechanism in situations of significant social change." Reicher (2004)

Since our self-image connects with our social group's image, it is argued that we aim to improve or maintain a positive image of our group (Ellemers et al., 2002; Rubin & Hewstone, 2004). According to Social Identity Theory, people in high-status groups have a positive social identity they want to maintain . On the other hand, those in low-status groups have a negative social identity, which they strive to improve (Ellemers et al., 2002). What follows is that low-status group members' management strategy then depends on *sociostructural* factors, like the group boundaries' stability, legitimacy, and permeability (Ellemers et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 2000).

Groups where boundaries are perceived to be permeable will see low-status group members leave their group and join a higher-status group (Ellemers, 1993; Wright et al., 1990). When boundaries are fixed, they are likely to work jointly to improve their own group's status (Wright et al., 1990). A similar set of strategies have been

outlined for whether the status difference is seen as being secure or stable (Jetten et al., 2000; Mummendey et al., 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the cases where they are seen as stable, members of low-status groups are unlikely to dispute their position. When seen as being insecure, low-status groups may engage in a form of social competition to undermine the position of the high-status group (Mummendey et al., 1999). This is a mere glimpse of the different types of strategies outlined in the literature, all of which have been vastly tested and adopted within our discipline (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000; Henry & Saul, 2006; Jost et al., 2003; Owuamalam et al., 2016)

This two-group, sociostructural perspective on status has also underpinned the majority of experiments on intergroup relations in psychology (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006), almost as a default option to study hierarchies (Dixon et al., 2020). Meta-analysis studies (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Mullen et al., 1992) demonstrate the range of applications seen, and showcase the dominance of experimental approaches in testing the type of strategy adopted by a low (or high) status group as these perceived sociostructural features are manipulated.

Outside these specific strategies, What Reicher (2004) importantly notes as imminent through this analysis is the issue of power as yet another consideration not explicitly included in the list of sociostructural factors, and the unequal power dynamics that shape the instigation to act. The urge to act requires power to overcome constraints and sanctions of others, which Reicher (2004) reminds us is shaped by context. Overall, what Tajfel and Turner stress through their conceptualisation of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is that any one of these strategies at 'positive differentiation' is embedded within the social and political contexts within which they unfurl. This emphasis on context is carried forward in Turner's development of the Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987), which I turn to next.

2.1.2 Self-Categorisation Theory, Identity Content, and Context

The development of Social Identity Theory quelled some of the concerns regarding unexplained group processes, but it also led to more questions. In particular, Turner wanted to shift attention to the particularities of group context

and how it shapes the ways in which we think and understand the world. Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987) extended the research agenda of the Social Identity Approach by constructing a theory of social self-definition, and by shifting to intragroup processes that are framed by intergroup contexts.

Turning attention to the intragroup, Self-Categorisation Theory investigates the processes through which we see and define ourselves (and others) as members of a social group. The theory suggests that this shift from the personal to the group occurs through a process of seeing or defining ourselves in terms of the group norms and values. The question that follows is when do we see ourselves and others as members of groups? For example, when will we see ourselves, and act, as individuals, rather in terms of our shared gender or caste?

This is where the concept of self-categorisation comes in where we can adopt three different levels of self-categorisation (Haslam et al., 2012). The personal is where take note of our personal identities as different to others. The next is the social, where we indulge in in-group out-group comparisons and finally there is the human level, involving a comparison to other living organisms. Therefore, the question of when we are likely to see ourselves as members of groups depends on whether an identity is salient (or relevant) in a given context.

Furthermore, research also goes on to provide a detailed theorisation and framework that describes what shapes salience. These theories present formulaic, perceptual processes like 'fit' (Turner et al., 1987) and 'accessibility' as specific mechanisms that underlie categorisation. Fit refers to the extent to which our perceptions of group members and the social environment match the characteristics or prototypes of a particular social category. For example, if you see a group of people wearing cricket jerseys and cheering, they "fit" the category of "cricket fans." Accessibility refers to how easily a social category comes to mind. If you have recently been thinking or talking about cricket, the category "cricket fans" might be more accessible in your mind. Salience is then about how prominent or noticeable a particular social category is in a given situation. If a social category fits the situation well (like the group wearing cricket jerseys) and is easily accessible in an individual's mind (because they have been thinking about cricket), that category becomes more salient or noticeable.

Despite these seemingly specific and formulaic definitions tied to this theory, Tajfel and Turner did not seek to specify the behavioural outcomes of social identification (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011) . Rather they explored the dynamics of identification and recognised that the implications of these processes would be contingent upon context. What follows is that behaviour is contingent on the ways in which an identity is defined. In conceptualising the processes shaping identity definition, Hopkins and Reicher (2011) underscore that identities are neither given nor fixed but constructed in and through argument and social practice. Specifically, this perspective relies on the contents (Turner, 1999, p. 34) of an identity which refer to the specific norms and values that feed into the definition of a social identity. These contents too are shaped by larger social and contextual processes.

This perspective of the Social Identity Approach that keeps context at the fore "is respectful of culture and cultural difference" (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011) and is one that I adopt for this thesis. In the next section, I discuss the applications that incorporate the contents of an identity, and then proceed to discuss and zoom into the role that norms play in reproducing identities.

2.2 Identity Contents - Zooming-in

I start here with a helpful distinction made between the idea of in-group identification, which refers to the individual's degree of attachment to a group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and identity content which refers to an individual's own understandings and theorisations of group characteristics, and what it means to be a group member (Ashmore et al., 2004). It is argued that contents, in addition to identification, is important in understanding behaviour (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Livingstone & Haslam, 2008; Verkuyten, 2022). According to Self-Categorisation Theory, the process of social category salience triggers a process of self-stereotyping where one adopts the norms, values and beliefs associated with that category. As a result of this process, behaviour aligns with the normative content of that given category (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Postmes & Spears, 1998; Reynolds et al., 2000). This branch of research focusing on the contents of an identity calls for a shift from generic constructs to an in-depth exploration of the content of identity and its impact on behaviour, shaped by its context (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

Social identities are rich with specific content woven into intergroup relations (Lalonde, 2002). They are not merely labels but carry unique content, including group norms, stereotypes, and affect associated with these identities (Hogg & Reid, 2006). These distinctive elements matter as they influence intergroup behaviours such as conflict (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). Identification with a group, while important, does not, on its own, determine the form that intergroup behaviour will take. Instead, the influence of identification on behaviour is mediated by the specific meaning or content of the identity (Turner, 1999) .

Despite its centrality to the definition of an identity demonstrated by several examples (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011; Verkuyten, 2022), research has underplayed the role of social identity content in intergroup relations (Becker & Wagner, 2009). Below, I will share examples of a few studies to explore the ways in which a study of the contents of an identity have featured in study designs.

Livingstone & Haslam's (2008) study on chronic social conflict in Northern Ireland proposes that the effects of group identification are complex, contingent on

the meanings attached to social identities in such contexts. The authors argue that identification is only a part of the story when it comes to understanding the relationship of the in-group with the out-group. In their study, they shift attention to what it means to be a member of a particular social group that is in conflict with an out-group.

In another study, Freel & Bilali (2022, p. 212), propose that historical narratives influence identity contents, therefore impacting ingroup identification. The authors argue that the content of group identities, "including group origins, characteristics, societal position, and moral image, is influenced by these narratives, forming a part of identity content that is crucial to collective action."

In a study by Western et al. (2022), authors investigate how gender identity content (i.e., norms) influences coping mechanisms in situations of sexual harassment. The findings of the experiment indicate that identity content and salience can be valuable resources in promoting recovery following gender discrimination experiences,. Looking at gender as well, Becker's (2009) study examines how identity content mediates the relationship between identification and the endorsement of sexist beliefs. The authors bring into question the over-reliance on identification to explaining behaviour and use gender role theory to explain that the endorsement of beliefs are sensitive to the ways in which identities and their norms are defined.

The findings from these different studies situated within their unique contexts underscore that the social identity approach does not suggest a universal in-group bias, but rather it emphasises how psychological processes are influenced by both local and broader societal contexts (Verkuyten, 2022). In each case, contents are shaped by context, and together, they shape behaviour (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

This perspective that treats social identity as something that is constantly shaped and reshaped by its contents is a particularly useful lens to adopt in understanding the perpetuation of caste and gender norms. Put very simply, the alignment is clear – caste and gender hierarchies too constitute norms, beliefs, and values that are shaped and reshaped by context. I therefore turn my attention to the study of the contents of an identity that are tied to specific norms.

2.3 The Endorsement and Performance of Norms

Here, I first start by discussing the research on the endorsement and performance of norms within the Social Identity Approach and end this section by positioning current approaches and findings against what we know about the realities attached to the performance of caste and gender in India.

When aiming to understand the impact of norms on attitudes and behaviours, Social Identity Approach is known to be well-suited to addressing questions around when norms translate into behaviours. According to the Social Identity Approach, people conform to norms of a salient and meaningful group as a way to express identification with that group (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). In exploring the communicative side of norms within social interactions, Hogg and Reid (2006, p. 8) define norms as,

> "Norms are shared patterns of thought, feeling, and behaviour, and in groups, what people do and say communicates information about norms and is itself configured by norms and by normative concerns... This communication can be indirect; people infer norms from what is said and done but it can also be direct: people intentionally talk about, or nonverbally signal, what is and what is not normative of the group."

They discuss that for social categorisation to result in normative behaviour, the "categorisation must be psychologically salient as the basis for perception and people must be psychologically identified with their in-group in that context" (Hogg & Reid, 2006, p. 8). This connection between identification-norm-behaviour has been widely tested across a range of contexts (Liu et al., 2019; Neighbors et al., 2013) . Research within Self-Categorisation Theory further refines this thread by asserting that norms will translate to behaviours only if the group is contextually salient (Rathbone et al., 2023).

In addition to the endorsement of norms, the performance of norms tied to an identity has also received attention. Defined as "purposeful expression (or suppression) of behaviours relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a salient social identity", Klein and colleagues (2007) state that the ability to practically express an identity is centric to its definition.

This work on the performance of identity finds its roots in a sub-theory of Self-Categorisation Theory known as SIDE (Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects) (Reicher & Levine, 1994a). Challenging original theories on deindividuation effects that alluded to these processes causing as a loss of self-awareness in group contexts, SIDE theory drew on Self-Categorisation Theory's concept of depersonalisation to explain that it was the increased salience of a group identity that led individuals to want to express their social identities to valued audiences (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher & Levine, 1994b). It is this *expression* of identities to consolidate or strengthen one's identification that Klein and colleagues (2007) define as *identity performance*. In addition to consolidating one's membership, the authors argue that another reason motivating performance is to mobilise audiences into adopting in-group behaviours.

These motivations hold even true for hierarchies where Klein and colleagues (2007) draw on examples focusing on the various sociostructural features of a hierarchy like stability, permeability (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Ellemers et al., 1990), to explain strategies participants are likely to adopt. For instance, group members are more likely to consolidate their identities when they have a stable low status and want to draw attention to the injustice of their disadvantaged social position (Reicher & Levine, 1994a; Spears et al., 2001).

The explorations of the performance of identities also includes an emerging body of qualitative research, but is largely a quantitative effort generalisable to somewhat big and anonymous settings (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher et al., 2021). Given this larger motivating interest, studies experimentally manipulate identity salience (by making identities visible or anonymous) and then test its impact on behaviour (typically a measure of identification with a group). Here, performativity is often expressed through the allocation of resources or rewards within an experiment Haslam et al. (2012).

In addition to the research looking at crowd contexts, qualitative work considers additional contexts that look at issues of multiple, incompatible identities and recognition. Within the qualitative explorations, *performance* takes into consideration the communicative aspects of identity (Amer, 2020; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Lukate & Foster, 2023; Reicher et al., 2021) drawing on Erving

Goffman's work on the presentation of the self (Goffman, 1990). For instance, Hopkins and Greenwood (2013) explore participants' own motivations of making their Muslim identities visible by wearing the Hijab, and how this intersects with the expression of other identities (like gender identity or national identity). Through their study at a mass religious festival in India, Reicher and colleagues (2021) compare Hindu's accounts of enacting their religious identities at home versus at the festival, where a sense of shared identity with their religious in-groups facilitates the ability to enact their identities and realise their identity-related wishes.

When collectively drawing on the results of the endorsement and performance of norms, a few aspects are apparent.

1. The study of norms within the Social Identity Approach is a largely experimental, quantitative effort.
2. According to this research, we endorse and perform norms when we identify with a group and when this identity is salient,
3. and we engage in performance to consolidate identities or to mobilise audiences.
4. Moreover, research points to a cyclical effect, where the identification with a group leads to the endorsement or performance of its norms, which can in turn reinforce a sense of identification (Klein et al., 2007; Rathbone et al., 2023)

Brought together, this presents a rather positive picture of why we endorse and perform norms tied to identities, and to hierarchies in particular. However, it is important to note that these findings should be viewed in the larger context of norms being an understudied (Kish Bar-On & Lamm, 2023) area that continues to struggle with the incorporation of context (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011; Rathbone et al., 2023). The question then is, how the relationship between context (in the way Tajfel and Turner intended it), norms and behaviour truly plays out when we study identities and hierarchies in complex, real-world settings?

2.4 Positioning Theory against Reality

The psychological study of norms is vast, but it has a very specific place within the Social Identity Approach that is still in need of further expansion. Largely dominated by quantitative exploration, it predominantly looks at the endorsement of norms specific to social identities and has not forayed into the endorsement and performance of hierarchies. Despite Tajfel and Turner arguing for contextual processes to be placed at the fore (Reicher, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and culture to be seen as not just a backdrop (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011), this got lost somewhere along the way, and context just became all about salience manipulations (Reicher et al., 2021).

Furthermore, juxtaposing the realities of caste and gender hierarchies with regards to the lived experiences of how norms pertaining to both these hierarchies are navigated in everyday life reveals major gaps in what we theoretically know about hierarchies within the field of social psychology. Be it the intersectional nature of caste and gender hierarchies (Chakravarti, 2018) or the influence of contextual elements like family (Prasad et al., 2020) or threat of sanctions and reputational fallout (Bidner & Eswaran, 2015) leading to the social pressure to adhere to norms (as opposed to a positive assertion of identity), there is a mismatch between reality and theory.

The first instinct is to fall back on the critique that not enough research has been done in Global South contexts. While this is a valid critique alongside important calls to decolonise (Remedios, 2022) our discipline, reducing the extent of the issue to solely an issue of culture or sampling detracts from the real problem. The findings we see (or do not see) are tied more closely to the theorisation, operationalisations and assumptions tied to the constructions of context, identity, and hierarchy. I argue that choices pertaining to these theoretical parameters place a limit on what applications of Social Identity Approach can tell us about the functioning of identities and hierarchies in the real world. After reviewing these parameters, I will situate my contribution to the discipline to highlight my points of departure.

First, I address the point about culture and cultural representation (or the lack of

it) pertaining to the study of identities and hierarchies within the Social Identity Approach.

2.4.1 The Problem with Culture

Despite its malleability, a disproportionately large part of what is known about the Social Identity Approach today comes from studies situated in the Western world (Europe and America) (Brown & Capozza, 2016) and there have been calls to take culture more seriously (Hopkins, 2022).

Specifically, the study of the endorsement and enactment of norms too is largely concentrated in the Global North (Gelfand et al., 2017). Within the study of attitudes and norms, work that has been done in the Global South is situated within dichotomised frameworks like individualism and collectivism (Hornsey et al., 2006) or tight and loose cultures (Gelfand et al., 2017). Despite an emerging body of work outside the Global North, the study of performance and enactment too is largely employing samples from the Global North (e.g., Reicher & Levine (1994a) or Spears et al. (2002)), or addresses issues of pertinence to Global North contexts (e.g., assimilation of migrants in Western countries in the work of Verkuyten & Yildiz (2010)).

While calls to decolonise the field are valid (with increased applications in the Global South), treatment of 'culture' has included either dichotomising the idea of culture (Hopkins, 2022; Hopkins & Reicher, 2011) and/or a mere inclusion of additional context with imported frameworks (as discussed in Chapter 1) which will both prove insufficient in addressing the deeper theoretical and methodological choices that underlie present findings.

The Problem with Dichotomised Frameworks of Culture

The acknowledgement of the Euro-American tilt of studies in social psychology, and in psychology in general is reflected in the calls made by a number of researchers to move beyond the Eurocentric bias. A study by Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) reveals that 97% of the population that American psychological research represents tends to come from WEIRD societies— that is, Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic.. In his book

'Decolonizing Psychology', Sunil Bhatia (2017, xxii) discusses,

> What caught my attention in their study was not merely the disquieting fact that our psychological model of"human nature" is based on American undergraduate students. Rather, I felt compelled to ask the question of what would happen if Indonesia or India and many other societies that usually do not indulge in such universalizing discourse in psychology begin to acquire the power to universalize their own psychologies?

However, even Western, or European psychology is a form of indigenous psychology born out of local cultural assumptions and values associated with the Western self Owusu-Bempah and Howitt (2000).

For the group of decolonial social psychologists with whom I align my work, the response to this critique is not to do away with Euro-American theories and replace them with an alternative form of *centrism* based out of Asia, Africa, or South America. Drawing on Shome (2012), Bhatia (2017, xxv) describes,

> the intention is not to reproduce or reverse the binaries of West/ non-West. Rather, it is to show that the cultural psychology of groups and individuals in places such as Lagos, Pune, Mumbai, and Jakarta are being shaped by uneasy encounters between the incommensurable cultures of North and South, modern, and traditional, East and West, as well as colonial and postcolonial spaces and sensibilities.

In a similar vein, Bhatia (2017, xxi) clarifies his intentions regarding the use of culture,

> The turn to understanding Indian youth stories or Asian counternarratives, however, is not an exercise in replacing an essentialized Euro- American psychological science with an equally reified Asian or Indian psychology. Rather, I articulate a vision of a "decolonized psychology" that takes into account how the co-mingling of colonial, modern, traditional, postcolonial, local, and global creates new narratives of identity that go beyond the binary logic of East versus West, collectivistic versus individualist, and

autonomy versus relatedness.

Furthermore, given the universality of group living and social interdependence, several researchers have argued that any bipolar categorisation of culture marked by individualism at one end of a dimension and collectivism on the other reduces culture to a spectrum (Brady et al., 2018; Hopkins, 2022; Vignoles et al., 2016). This relegates the treatment of culture to a comparison and prevents a full, rich engagement with culture (Chakkarath, 2005). The futility of a dimensional approach is highlighted by studies that show that Americans (who score high on measures of individualism) are no less collectivistic than Japanese or Koeran people (Oyserman et al., 2002) .

So, if defaulting to a dimensional approach is not the answer to how culture should be incorporated within our studies, how do we go about doing it? Drawing on Self-Categorisation Theory, Hopkins and Reicher (2011, p. 41) offer a solution to the treatment of culture that I too adopt:

> "Rather than being conceptualised as fixed structures that function as background contexts for behaviour and as being reducible to a number of dimensions, cultures are better conceptualised as sites of dispute with social actors as active participants in the on-going reworking of their meaning and significance for behaviour. Indeed, cultures may best be understood as constituting 'reserves' (Reszler, 1992) of symbols and meanings to be appropriated and deployed in the activity of identity definition."

Therefore, rather than reducing the issue to an individualism v.s. collectivism or WEIRD v.s. non-WEIRD problem or rushing to import existing frameworks to different cultural contexts, I argue that it is crucial to delve deeper into the problems tied to the treatment of context in general (which includes the treatment of culture). The treatment we adopt significantly shapes the results we see, and to illustrate this, I will now dissect the matter in detail. I would like to note here that this exercise is key to establishing my theoretical contribution, which is nested within thoughtfully chosen theoretical parameters that expands upon what is currently known. I underscore that it is not about presenting a social psychology thesis from India because it has not been explored enough before, but about

careful and deliberate theoretical positioning.

2.5 Essential Ingredients for Studying Hierarchies in Context

Now that I have addressed the issue of culture and argued against falling back on dichotomised frameworks of culture, I turn to the gaps in the study of the endorsement and performance of norms that are largely driven by a combination of theoretical and methodological choices made. In the sub-sections that follow, I first discuss gaps that emerge from current applications and end each subsection with a description of my points of departure and my approach.

What is Context?

Tracing our steps back to the principles of the Social Identity Approach, Tajfel and Turner always intended to keep contextual processes at the fore (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and viewed minimal group experiments or de-contextualised experiments as points of departure, not arrival. Underscoring these intentions, Hopkins and Reicher remind us that (2011),

> "Tajfel and Turner did not seek to specify the behavioural outcomes of social identification. Rather they explored the dynamics of identification and recognised that the implications of these processes would be contingent upon context"

In doing so, the authors caution us against approaches that treat "identity as a given" or ones that use culture and context as a static "backdrop".

Repeated calls to take context more seriously and not merely treat it as a static backdrop can be seen in Reicher's work in 2004 (2004), Reicher and Hopkins work in 2011 (2011) and more recently in Hopkins work in 2023 (2023). Clearly, the discipline is yet to fine tune its employment of context as it applies foundational theories. As I review work over two decades that constantly urges the discipline to take contextual processes seriously, I stop to wonder where the reservation or apprehension to do so stems from. I argue that a part of the issue is falling back on tried-and-tested 'defaults' like the minimal group designs with sociostructural operationalisations, dimensional frameworks of culture, and WEIRD samples. These well-developed frameworks shield us from having to grapple with the

messiness (Hopkins, 2008) of contextual processes.

A part of this complexity of context stems from the lack of clarity in how to define context (Cornish, 2004; Reddy & Gleibs, 2019) within a study. Furthermore, Self-Categorisation Theory and the study of norms and identity performance often reduces the idea of the contextual determinants of behaviour to the idea of salience (Huddy, 2002; Reicher et al., 2021; Reicher & Hopkins, 2000). In an attempt to address this issue, Reicher (2021), and some of the related work (Hopkins et al., 2023) emphasises that it is the social organisation or the sense of shared identity in a setting that enables performance of identities in crowd settings (or settings generalisable to mass gatherings). In another study examining the influence of socio-political contexts on racial identity constructions, Reddy and Gleibs (2019, p. 2) situate their study within "explicitly in group settings (specific moments) across different socio-political contexts (as demarcated by different geographical contexts)".

My approach

In a similar vein, I construct an operational definition of context that is more suited to the study of hierarchies on an everyday basis and in intimate settings, and one that appreciates and allows for the dynamic making and remaking of hierarchies. Drawing from Cornish (2004), I consider the micro-social processes in terms of the social groups that actors orient to in a particular context (e.g. family/peers, which change according to who is in the space /setting they are in). Furthermore, such a theorisation of context expands beyond approaches that reduce the idea of context to the presence or salience (Reicher et al., 2021) of an identity in a given setting .

Hierarchy Contents and Performance Shaped by Context

Since this thesis is concerned with caste and gender hierarchies, there is merit in first zooming into the perspectives that researchers adopt when studying hierarchy.

Dixon and colleagues (2005) argue that the over-reliance of researchers imposing their own analytic frameworks had led to a neglect of participants' own theorisations of the meanings to their interaction. While this critique is directed towards studies on intergroup contact, I argue that it also holds true for the study

of hierarchies in general. However, there are branches of work that continue to shift focus to the meaning of hierarchies and how that is shaped by context.

In studying British Muslim participants' own theorisations of marginalisation and group processes, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) highlight the blind spots of solely relying on sociostructural features when studying hierarchies. The authors discuss how considerations of stability, permeability, legitimacy are unlikely to be able to explain the divergent theorisations and understandings of intergroup processes held by their participants. Inherently, such an approach focusing on divergent self-definitions is respectful of wider social, political and cultural processes. It ties back to the Hopkins and Reicher (2011) perspectives on identity and hierarchy that discuss the need to pay attention to their meanings and how they are made and remade in practice.

Research looking at the contents of an identity or hierarchy also argues that the practical ability to express one's identity (or the performance of an identity) plays a crucial role in self-definitions (Klein et al., 2007), and how that identity is understood. However, when considering hierarchies, the contents-performance-context link is lost since applications often default to more de-contextualised approaches. This is particularly visible in the quantitative studies looking at the performance of hierarchies where memberships to hierarchies, in particular, are often treated as fixed, and de-contextualised normative behaviours as defined by experimental parameters (Scheepers et al., 2006). This explains why, when placed against the lived realities of the performance of caste and gender in India through practices such as *maryada*, current approaches fall short in representing these behaviours.

This presents an interesting point of tension in the literature. Literature that emphasises the importance of the contents of an identity in understanding the identity-behaviour relationship argues for the consideration and inclusion of social, political, historical contexts. Yet, when contents are studied in terms of the performance of hierarchies, that very context is erased in current approaches. I therefore argue for the need to extend this inclusion of context within the performance of hierarchies.

My approach - Constructing hierarchy within context

Following the perspective of Hopkins and Reicher (2011) and in the footsteps of past work that adopts this perspective (Reddy & Gleibs, 2019), I treat social hierarchies as being constantly constructed and reconstructed in social practice. I pay specific attention to how hierarchies are defined by norms that are endorsed and performed in everyday life, and consider the micro-social processes in terms of the social groups that actors orient to in a particular setting.

Bringing Hierarchy into Studies - Methodological Choices

Methodological choices involve specific researcher-driven operationalisations of identity, hierarchy and any other constructs used as a part of a study. Operationalisation has to do with the decisions made by a researcher regarding how they bring in hierarchy into the laboratory or generally into the study design.

As discussed earlier, experiments constitute the dominant method for studying hierarchies within social psychology Kerr et al. (2017). Psychology's reliance on the binary status model and operationalisation of hierarchy used in experiments has increasingly been criticised for overlooking the ways in which status relations "derive meaning from their location within a wider relational context" (Kerr et al., 2017). Dixon and colleagues (2020) argue that while the two-status model of hierarchies are itself not problematic, defaulting to using such conceptualisations of hierarchy is. The authors argue that the study of hierarchy needs to be tied to its historical, moral and social context. Additionally, Kerr and colleagues (2017) stress the importance of analysing the subtle ways that power works in and through networks of unequal groups, thereby bringing into view "complex patterns of allegiance, collusion, solidarity, and resistance that seldom feature in social psychological work".

Greenwood (2012) additionally notes that the overuse of the minimal group paradigm within Social Identity Approach has led to a focus away from looking at identities as they are experienced in our social worlds, stripping them of their multiplicity and their historical and contextual meaning. Additionally, decisions to use binary, low status – high status operationalisations of hierarchy within these experiments (Scheepers et al., 2006) that measure performativity by looking at reward distributions make it more challenging to study the more subtle and

context-dependent ways in which power works. Outside of experiments, survey studies focusing on the endorsement and performance of norms find themselves able to bring in more of the real-world into the study by using real identity categorisations of individuals to measure endorsement to context-relevant statements (Khan et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010).

In comparison to the quantitative studies that contribute to the de-contextualisation of the study of hierarchies, qualitative studies adopt approaches where performance is studied and operationalised as being shaped by specific contextual process beyond the idea of salience. Notable examples include Reicher and colleagues' (2021) work on the performance of Hindu religious identity at a mass-religious festival in India and Amer's (2020) study on how White British Muslims' perform their identities in response to the recognition or mis-recognition of seemingly incompatible identities. Furthermore, these studies also adopt intersectional approaches to study identity (K. Crenshaw, 2017; K. W. Crenshaw, 1994). In addressing Greenwood's (2012) argument about the treatment of multiple identities in psychology being *additive*, and not being able to encapsulate the complexity of intersecting identities in the real world, Hopkins and Greenwood (2013) consider the intersection of multiple identities in their study on the performance of identity through the Hijab.

Despite the fact that qualitative research has generally adopted context-sensitive approaches, the subset of work within the performance literature has largely focused on the performance of *identities* and less so on the performance of *hierarchies*. The distinction between the two here is key, seeing as performance places an audience at the fore implying that the social positions of the interacting parties (the one performing and the one observing the performance) relative to one another matters. We see the importance of this in the Hopkins (2013) and Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) where the authors discuss challenges associated with marginalised group members' ability to be heard. Amer too (2020), discusses the importance of considering the role of power asymmetries in identification processes. This suggests that an understanding of the endorsement and performance of hierarchies will need a different lens or approach than the one used for identity. Acknowledging the difference in social positions, studies need to

employ operationalisations that take into account the nuanced power relations and the embodied side to expression.

To summarise, despite the emergence of studies that employ more 'real' operationalisations of identity, hierarchy and performance, the overarching dominance of the minimal group tradition and its operationalisations of identity and hierarchy within Social Identity Approach is also mirrored within the study of norms and performance. Considered jointly with the methods and the de-contextualised perspectives of hierarchies, this adds more colour to why current approaches are not adequately able to reflect the lived realities of real-world hierarchies.

My approach - Method and operationalisations

Through the study of the endorsement and performance of caste and gender hierarchies, I aim to bring a study of the identity performance of hierarchies to the fore. In attempting to extract the best of both worlds, I adopt a mixed-methods approach that draws from the best practices of qualitative and quantitative work. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, adopting experiments does not necessarily mean that context has to be stripped away. Through a deliberate sequencing of the quantitative experiment after qualitative work, I demonstrate that it is indeed possible to retain the historical, moral, and social aspects of hierarchies in quantitative designs. The qualitative in-depth interviews play a role in identifying the relevant contents of hierarchies (norms) that can meaningfully contribute to a careful operationalisation within the quantitative studies. Next, my study designs employ participants' actual gender and caste memberships and I adopt an intersectional approach in the study of caste and gender.

Questioning Constraints and Agency

Thus far, I have shed light on the different intermeshed theoretical and methodological parameters that underlie current approaches. Another parameter that receives less attention are the underlying assumptions regarding the self-group dynamics. Reicher and colleagues (2021) partially address this when they discuss how the quantitative and experimental tradition within the Social Identity Approach and the study of norms (and performance of norms) treats

identity-related wishes as a reality and ignores "constraints" presented by the real world. They argue,

> "The cognitive impact of social identification (and the consequent inclination to enact the group stereotype) tells only part of the story of social identity-based behaviour. It is one thing to identify and endorse certain identity-related positions, and it is another to be able to act upon them: We live in a world of constraint." (Reicher et al., 2021, p. 2)

The authors continue to argue that much research overlooks such constraints because it is increasingly conducted in artificial worlds where the inclination to act in a given way is taken as equivalent to acting in that way and how this issue is exacerbated by fewer studies involving actual behaviour and interactions with others. This line of argumentation is adopted to discuss how the real world presents constraints that prevent individuals from *enacting* their identities as desired.

Related to this idea of constraint is the concept of individual agency – something that is acknowledged as complex (Madhok et al., 2013) yet often treated as a given within the Social Identity Approach. Alongside being able to realise their identity-related wishes is the assumption that individuals have full agency to do so. In presenting Deaux's work on self and social identity, Major (2012, p. 11) states,

> "The self is agentic. In social interactions, individuals who are targets of others category-based expectancies are not passive victims of those expectancies but rather are active agents who are motivated to achieve their own goals, goals that are shaped in part by their own self-definitions. The target's goals may include, for example, making a desired impression on others (self-presentation), maintaining a positive self-image (self-enhancement) or maintaining a consistent self-image (self-verification)."

Here, agency has to do with an individual's ability to exercise autonomy (Bracke, 2008) and choice (Madhok et al., 2013). In the specific body of working looking at the theorisations and performances of marginalised groups like British Muslims

and British Muslim women (e.g., Hopkins & Greenwood (2013), Amer (2020)), the idea of agency often emphasises the position of "women as actors, rather than simply acted upon by male-dominated social institutions" (Burke, 2012).

Challenging this idea of assumed agency through their research on 'dirty work' (i.e. *occupations involving physical, social, or moral taint*) in the Global South, Zulfiqar and Prasad (2022) question whether it is possible for 'dirty workers' in Global South context (Pakistan, in their case) to exercise the kind of autonomy and choice that is often found in psychology studies. The authors further suggest that the "sociohistorical status of certain groups of individuals is so stubbornly salient that it is not possible to erase it through self-narratives" (Zulfiqar & Prasad, 2022, p. 2180) In their case, occupation intersects with caste, class, religion and gender to produce social inequalities that are then reinforced through different forms of violence. This denies workers the agentic resources needed to strategically manage or change their social position.

While the dirty work context presents a rather extreme case of marginalisation, Zulfiqar and Prasad's (2022) study has important learnings that can be generalised to other contexts looking at marginalised groups where the Western, agentic notion of the self is an unrealistic expectation. As I reflect on a more suitable recasting of the idea of agency as applicable to marginalised groups, I prefer using the same definition of agency as used by Zulfiqar and Prasad (2022):

> "[T]emporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and towards the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)." (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 963)

The key benefit of this definition is that it treats agency as something that is contingent on, and a function of the intersection of historical forces and present circumstances (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 1, the threat of sanctions and reputational fallout tied to caste and gender hierarchies implies that it would be overly simplistic to assume that there is full agency to act in accordance with one's wishes. Status hierarchies and sanctions can easily prohibit marginalised groups from exercising the agentic resources assumed to be at an

individual's disposal in present research within studies looking at the endorsement and performance of norms.

In the same breath, I argue that challenging agency does not mean there is a complete stripping away of agency. However, as we need to question all theoretical parameters and engage with a deeper study of context, we need to closely examine an individual's ability to exercise their agency tied to social hierarchies.

My approach - Assumptions regarding agency and identification

Despite painting a dreary picture regarding the state of affairs pertaining to caste and gender hierarchies in India in Chapter 1, I avoid making any extreme assumptions about agency or the lack of it. Unlike current social psychology studies, I do not assume full agency for reasons described earlier. However, I also do not assume the lack of agency. At the heart of the Social Identity Approach is hope for social change and I too envision that as a reasonable goal. Doing so means that we cannot forgo agency entirely. However, the questioning of agency is acknowledging the possibility of obstacles in the path to social change and I argue that it is crucial that theory engages in this type of questioning.

2.5.1 Implications of De-contextualised Approaches

When identity is treated as fixed, context and culture are mere backdrops against which behaviour occurs, behaviours can be explained by memberships of groups. Furthermore, when identity-related wishes can be translated into reality and agency remains unchallenged, an individual's desire to achieve and maintain a positive self-esteem through their group memberships remains upheld.

What follows is a very linear pathway from membership to a social category to identification with that category to adhering to, and performing norms associated with that category. With hierarchies, individuals will assess the structure of group boundaries and act in accordance with what they feel best is for their social position and acting without constraint (or will full agency) implies the ability to restructure their social position if needed.

Reicher and colleagues (2021) already add a layer of complexity and argue that the path from identification to behaviour is not as simple as is assumed within

experimental designs. I further argue that the path from membership to identification and behaviour is not simple when we consider contexts that place obstacles in the path to agency.

A combination of the theoretical and methodological choices above have tangible consequences on the findings of studies exploring the group membership, norms and behaviour relationship. I argue that it is this overarchingly de-contextualised approach to hierarchy and the assumptions tied to agency that explain why we only read about *positive* motivations to enact one's identity or why the endorsement of norms can be traced back to identification with a group.

This should signal that there is a lot more to be explored and learnt as we slowly start to bring context to the fore and rid ourselves of the theoretical and methodological inertia that keeps us from achieving what the Social Identity Approach is meant to do – study identities and hierarchies within *context*.

Therefore, it is evident that the approaches in these studies are supported by theoretical and methodological choices, and it is these theoretical decisions that shape the knowledge we gain. Rather than merely increasing the number of studies from India and other non-WEIRD societies, it is essential to first scrutinise the epistemology underlying our existing knowledge and approaches—dissecting the choices that led to our current understanding. Clearly, it is not as straightforward as where a study is conducted. It is a complex interplay of the theorisation of identity, its operationalisation, the methodologies employed, and the presuppositions regarding the self, all of which collectively influence the findings. While the cultural context of a study does impact these elements, unpacking this complex equation can help highlight the decisions made, and more importantly, illuminate my specific contributions, which I start to outline in the next sections.

2.6 A Framework for Studying the Reproduction of Social Hierarchies

In addressing the gaps using the approach described earlier, I propose a framework for the study of the reproduction of hierarchies in everyday life.

2.6.1 Hierarchies as Made and Remade in Context

Real-world hierarchies are inherently intersectional, deeply rooted in historical, moral, and social contexts. Context here is not limited to mere salience; it incorporates the dynamic micro-social processes within cultural contexts that have substantial influence on behaviour. Existing theories propose that the relationship between identity and behaviour should be approached with an awareness of the content and meaning of identity. This implies that the implications of adopting any identity can only be truly comprehended through an understanding of the culture where that identity is situated and interpreted. I emphasise the need for a similar approach to be extended to hierarchical identities in particular. Synthesising this understanding of context and content, I adopt the perspectives of Hopkins and Reicher (2011), where culture emerges as a contested space where social actors actively participate in meaning construction. Consequently, hierarchies should be regarded as dynamic constructs that are continually made and remade within their relevant contexts.

2.6.2 The Role of Performance

When examining the theoretical construct of hierarchies, the focus is directed not merely at their existence, but more importantly, at the meanings or content attached to these hierarchies, with a particular emphasis on norms. It is not only the endorsement of norms that warrants attention, but also the ways in which these norms are actively performed, tailored to different audiences and adapted to various contexts. Building upon the theorisation of hierarchy that maintains a central emphasis on context, we are then in a position to scrutinise how these contexts shape both the endorsement of norms and their performance. Furthermore, context also contributes to the evolution of meanings, contents, and understandings of norms and performances. Thus, the role of performance

becomes instrumental in illuminating the dynamic interplay between hierarchies, norms, contexts, and their associated meanings.

2.6.3 Navigating Constraints and Agency

An approach that acknowledges the divergence in the understanding of hierarchies, through their contents and the larger contextual processes, reveals real-world constraints. These constraints may hinder individuals from actualising their cognitive, hierarchy-related aspirations due to factors such as sanctions or reputational fall-out. It also fosters a more nuanced conception of how participants comprehend and exercise their agency to surmount the constraints associated with social hierarchies. This dialogue allows for a more detailed understanding of constraint and agency that goes beyond a simple binary dichotomy. Instead, it encourages an exploration into the complex interplay between these elements, revealing the subtleties and intricacies of how individuals navigate their way through social hierarchies while grappling with constraints and reconciling with their personal agency.

2.7 Thesis Roadmap

This thesis is aims to address the following research question:

How are social hierarchies reproduced in everyday life through the adherence to and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms? What are the reasons underlying people's adherence to and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms?

I answer this through three empirical studies that are guided by their own research questions. Here is a brief glimpse into some of the research questions asked in these chapters.

Chapter 4 asks, *How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India?'*

The first empirical paper begins by incorporating relevant familial processes into the study of traditional attitudes. Specifically, it considers how a concern for family obligations (among other relevant contextual factors) shapes the endorsement of traditional attitudes tied to social hierarchies. Through this focus on context, I am able to pinpoint the associations between contextual factors and the endorsement of attitudes, which reveals some interesting tensions. I find that members of marginalised groups may reject the endorsement of traditional attitudes but are simultaneously also concerned about family obligation. This paves the way for a deeper exploration into the understandings of these norms in the second study.

In Chapter 5, I ask, *why do people perform norms relevant to hierarchical identities, even in cases when they do not fully endorse identity-relevant norms?*

The second empirical paper in Chapter 5 focuses on participants' own theorisations and experiences of norms tied to caste and gender. In understanding their theorisations of hierarchy, I place focus on the performance of hierarchy-relevant norms - an area that has received scant attention within the discipline. The findings here help further refine my understanding of context and introduce real-world constraints that add more colour to understanding how and why hierarchies continue to be performed even when they are rejected.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I ask, *how does performance of hierarchies vary according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for tradition?*

Equipped with a rich set of contextual factors, the third empirical study is where I am tasked with operationalising and isolating these effects, to understand how the performance of hierarchies varies according to these contextual factors. This is also the chapter where I pay particular attention to how sanctions are perceived. Overall, through the process of testing these different associations, I aim to bring home the message that hierarchies are made and remade in everyday life through performative acts that are dynamically shaped by context.

In the next chapter, I present the methodological framework of the PhD. I do so to first provide the reader with a birds-eye view of the rationale underlying the sequencing of the studies, and the more nuanced study design decisions that I do not explicitly address within the empirical chapters.

Chapter 3

Methodological Framework

In this chapter, I present the methodological framework of the PhD and spotlight both the individual methods used within each chapter and the sequencing of methods that makes this a *mixed methods* PhD. As the PhD is written in a *paper-based* format, there is somewhat of an overlap between the current chapter and the relevant methods sections of the empirical chapters that follow (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). However, including a methodology chapter gives me the space to engage with, and reflect on the methods used in this PhD. In this chapter, I place a greater focus on the mixed-methods design of the studies and less so on the analytical choices (which I address in the specific chapters).

3.1 A Note on Doing the PhD Through the COVID-19 Pandemic

As I start this chapter, I begin in a slightly unconventional manner. This is because, in some ways my PhD journey has been rather unconventional as along with the rest of the world, it has endured a global pandemic. I start by taking the reader on a brief journey through the occurrences all through the end of 2019 and going into 2020 to be able to map the data collection journey and set that as a backdrop against which I discuss the ordering and the sequencing of the PhD research in this chapter.

When I started my PhD in September 2018, the idea was to test theories of intergroup discrimination in India with a focus on caste identity and the urban-rural difference in how caste manifests itself in daily life. At the start of my second year of the PhD (which was in September 2019), I had started piloting my first experiment that investigated the mechanisms through which a seating manipulation would impact altruistic behaviour in a laboratory setting. As discussed in the earlier chapter, differential seating is one way of performing *maryada*. Given the simplicity of implementing such an idea in a lab setting, I constructed a design where I would have an experimental session with 12 people, where 6 people would be seated on the floor and 6 people would be seated on a chair, and they would then proceed to make an endowment transfer as a part of a dictator game (Bolton et al., 1998) to members of their chair in-group and the out-group. I planned to run this study in the UK and in India, both within college

settings, to be able to understand and explore any potential cross-cultural differences in how seating was perceived, and if that played a role in transfers within the dictator game. The expectation was that seating would lead to a stronger effect in an Indian setting owing to the historical social and moral connotations that differential seating and *maryada* carries with it.

By March 2020, I had already completed 60% of the data collection in the UK with LSE's Behavioural Lab for the UK instalment of this study. I was nearing completion at a rapid rate and was getting ready to travel to India, where I had already set in motion plans to run the experiment in colleges in Mumbai. As soon as COVID started picking up and the lockdown was announced in the middle of March 2020, everything came to a standstill. I had to hit a hard pause on my experiment that was being run in the UK, and it has been paused indefinitely since. I also had to cancel my travel plans to India and any plans to do any fieldwork in India in the immediate future that 2020 brought with it.

In addition to having to abandon what would have been my first and second empirical chapters, the next few months lacked complete clarity as to how I was going to proceed with the PhD and how I would pivot. My supervisors and I deliberated over how long we should wait before deciding to fully pivot to the online realm, and we found ourselves to be in a limbo for quite some time. By mid-2020, it was clear that the end was not in sight and that I would have to properly pivot to the online setting for studies and reconceptualise the PhD. Even though I abandoned ideas of running an experiment online, the paper that was in the pipeline after the experiments would have been a qualitative research paper involving interviews, and I realised that this was something I could do online. All I knew was that the idea of *maryada* had some role to play in the complex web of how we navigate social hierarchies in India, and I decided that this would be the topic of my interview. To some extent, I allowed the findings of that interview to guide the shape of the entire PhD. Alongside that and being aware of needing to adhere to larger PhD timelines, my supervisors and I began scouring the internet to look for potential secondary data options that would complement some of the larger themes I was interested in exploring; attitudes and preferences tied to social hierarchies for young Indians. So, by the end of 2020, I had completed the second

empirical study (Chapter 5) of the PhD and was looking for what would become the first study of my PhD.

By June of 2021, it was clear that the Lokniti-CSDS (Kumar, 2017a) dataset was best suited to my larger theoretical interests, and I began the process of trying to procure that dataset. By March 2021, I had completed a preliminary analysis of the qualitative interviews, which gave me enough fodder to be able to think of the study that would be directly based on that (study 3, Chapter 6). I knew that these findings were rich, detailed, and nuanced, and that I wanted to put them to the test within a quantitative, experimental approach. I then used the specific details of the results from the qualitative chapter to construct the experimental design and questioning for the survey experiment chapter, which is study 3/Chapter 6 of the PhD.

The larger point of acquainting the reader with my PhD journey during COVID is to firstly bring in transparency regarding the actual sequence of the procurement and the conducting of this research, which is not the same as the order in which the chapters have been written. Seeing as this is positioned as a mixed methods PhD, I believe this context is important in setting the tone for the more in-depth view that I will present. It also is an opportunity for me to pay homage to what was intended to be the first empirical chapter of my PhD—the lab experiment using a differential seating manipulation that I plan to revisit very soon.

Even though the ordering in which the chapters have been written here does not align with the order in which the data was procured, collected, and even analysed, I believe the sequencing here offers a very natural build-up to cementing the narrative and the key questions that this PhD is concerned with.

Very briefly, the first empirical study (Chapter 4) acts as a very broad foundational base for the PhD allowing me and the reader to engage with the nuances of the social categories and behaviours that I am interested in (caste, gender, young Indians and family). The second empirical study (Chapter 5) utilises in-depth interviews to build an understanding of the role that family plays in the performance, and in some cases the endorsement of caste and gender norms. Finally, the third empirical study (Chapter 6) builds upon the findings of the second empirical study to construct the experimental manipulate and test relevant

associations brought to light by the preceding qualitative study.

3.2 Methodological Overview

This PhD explores how and why Hindu and Buddhist Indians reproduce caste and gender hierarchies in their everyday lives. I place particular focus on their endorsements and performances of norms associated with caste and gender. I explore this through three empirical studies, each building on the other, with previous findings shaping the design and/or framing of subsequent studies.

For the first study (Chapter 4), I investigate the role played by wider contextual processes (in the form of a concern for family obligation) in the endorsement of traditional attitudes pertaining to caste and gender using survey data based in India. Focusing on participants' own understandings and experiences of caste and gender norms performed through acts of *maryada*, the second study (Chapter 5) utilises semi-structured, in-depth interviews to understand why college-age Hindu and Buddhist Indians perform hierarchical identities even when they do not endorse hierarchy-relevant norms. The final study (Chapter 6) is built directly from Study 2 and aims to quantitatively delineate and test the relationships between the performance and endorsement of caste and gender, family scrutiny, concern for family obligation, and the perceptions around social sanctions using an online survey experiment. Table 3.1 presents an overview of the three studies.

Table 3.1: Methodological overview.

Chapter/Study	Research Questions	Method	Data Collection	Sample Size	Age Range	Treatment
Chapter 4/Study 1	How do demographics and family relate with traditional attitudes in India?	Quantitative - Survey	Secondary survey dataset	6122	15-34	Caste and gender as singular

Chapter 5/Study 2	Why do people perform hierarchical identities, even in cases when they do not fully endorse identity-relevant norms?	Qualitative – In-depth interviews	Primary interviews conducted via Zoom	34	18-25	An intersectional approach to caste and gender
Chapter 6/Study 3	Does imagined family scrutiny have an effect on participants' self-reported performance of caste and gender norms? How do people perceive sanctions from different groups for when they defy hierarchy-related norms or behaviours?	Quantitative – Survey experiment	Primary data – Online survey experiment	612	18-30	An interaction term between caste and gender

3.2.1 An Extended Note on Sampling

Youth, as defined by the United Nations (Nations, n.d.), encompasses individuals between 15 and 24 years old and The National Youth Policy of the Government of India defines 'youth' as those aged between 15 and 29 years (Singh, 2014). I use the age ranges set by both these definitions in both studies where I collect primary data. This age range reflects a critical period where individuals are often in a state of transition between familial dependence and independence. Their interactions with both traditional and modern cultural norms provide me with a unique lens to understand the dynamics of caste and gender hierarchies.

The decision to focus on young Hindu and Buddhist Indians for the investigation of the reproduction of caste and gender hierarchies in India is shaped by multiple factors. The state of flux that young people are in makes them particularly worthy subjects. In this stage of life, individuals are involved in reshaping their relationships with their family, entering new social contexts, and encountering

reputational risks independent of their family identity. These elements intersect to produce fertile ground for research into the reproduction and challenge of social hierarchies. Many authors have suggested that understanding Indian youth and their 'Indianness' is like observing a "cultural kaleidoscope", where caste, class and religion continually transform the image (Bhatia & Priya, 2018; Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). Therefore, focusing on this group brings forward the complexities of navigating these shifting influences.

The experiences of the young in India can provide unique insights. Their position at the crossroads of tradition and modernity, the intergenerational tensions they navigate, and the social settings they occupy can reveal nuanced insights about the reproduction of hierarchies. And the navigation of these tensions is not a new phenomena. Corwin's work in the 70's (Corwin, 1977) spoke of the young having to navigate traditional rules of caste with their families when it came to marital preferences. In 2017, the Lokniti-CSDS survey (Kumar, 2017a) suggested that a majority of young Indians continue to be worried about family tradition.

Examining the behaviours of young Indians is of paramount importance considering their demographic prominence in India's population and their influential role in shaping the country's future. Scholarly studies on India's youth (Dyson, 2014; Lukose, 2009; Nakassis, 2016) have provided valuable insights into the ever-changing youth culture, intimate social hierarchies, and the transformation of traditional norms. Hence, focusing on the young can further contribute to our understanding of these social dynamics. Kumar (2017a) discusses how this is all the more significant in the times we live in currently, for the attitudes and beliefs of young Indians will help us understand the mindset of an increasingly politicised young India where caste and religion-based politics are frequent causes of unrest and violence.

Finally, there are logistical advantages to focusing on this sample during a global pandemic. I was clear that I wanted to bring real group memberships into my study designs, so I chose to be flexible on age. Naturally, the online world is one that the young are more familiar with. Therefore, there was a certain faith that the decision to focus on the young would help me meet requisite sample sizes (especially through uncertain times).

3.2.2 Rationale for Mixed-Methods

To date, most research inspired by the Social Identity Approach (Brown, 2020; Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010) has been experimental (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006). This holds even more true for the research on social hierarchies, which typically uses experimental designs with dyadic operationalisations of hierarchy (low status-high status) (Caricati, 2018). These studies typically investigate how beliefs concerning the stability and legitimacy of group hierarchies, and the permeability of their group boundaries, shape minority group members' action (Ellemers et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 2000).

Through their qualitative work on minority group members' theories and conceptualisations of Islamophobia and social change, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) address a wider range of topics than those typically considered within an experimental investigation. The authors suggest that the boxes of stability, permeability and legitimacy do not quite capture divergent theorisations of intergroup dynamics at play in the marginalisation of Muslims.

A similar schism can be seen even within the identity performance literature where quantitative studies looking at the performance of hierarchies continue to be focused on sociostructural features of a hierarchy (Scheepers et al., 2006). As a contrast to these de-contextualised studies, qualitative studies bring wider social processes to the fore as they explicate participants' own motivations for making an identity visible (Amer, 2020; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Lukate & Foster, 2023; Reicher et al., 2021). This makes salient the clear line of divide where the qualitative work is more context-rich, intersectional (Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013), and focuses on participants understandings of identities whereas the quantitative and experimental work is still in the de-contextualised world of measuring identification using approaches discussed previously.

The *methodolatry* (Abrams & Hogg, 2004; Reicher, 2000) and dominance of experimental methods continues to this date, with quantitative and qualitative methodologies often placed on opposite ends of the methodological spectrum (Brannen, 2005). Rather than seeing these methodological and even epistemological approaches as incompatible extremes, I have instead elected to take a mixed method approach to the overall PhD project, allowing me to tackle a

wider range of motivating research questions.

I therefore integrate both approaches, extracting the best that qualitative and quantitative methods have to offer in my understanding of how social hierarchies like caste and gender are reproduced. The richness of exploratory qualitative data focusing on the experiences of participants followed by the precision of quantitative measures offers an opportunity to contextualise the quantitative using the qualitative. The academic scholarship on mixed-methods research harnesses these synergies as using a mix of the methods provides a richer development of the topic of focus Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004)

3.2.3 Sequencing of the Studies

In this section, I delve into the unique advantages of a mixed-methods approach in examining the endorsement and performance of hierarchies. Drawing from the literature on identity performance (Klein et al., 2007), there exists a myriad of methods each with its distinct offerings. I start by comparing these methods to understand what we learn from them. Surveys, as demonstrated by Verkuyten and Yildiz (2010) and Khan and colleagues (Khan et al., 2016), are invaluable for gauging attitudes and behavioural intent tied to identity performance. Their scalability and breadth make them an apt tool for operationalisation and testing associations. Experiments, as seen in the research stemming from SIDE (Reicher & Levine, 1994b), grant us the precision to examine causal relationships through their capability for control and randomisation. Finally, qualitative methods (as seen in the work of Amer (2020), Lukate & Foster (2023)) offer a deeper dive, extracting nuanced meanings and participants' own motivations to make their identities visible, along with treating identities as intersectional.

Central to my approach is the complementarity of the methods, optimising each for what they can best offer in understanding hierarchies. Initially, I employed survey data to identify the contextual processes that shape the endorsement of attitudes tied to social hierarchies. The strength of surveys lies in their administrative benefits, enabling the gathering of varied attitudinal responses across a broad spectrum of topics, which subsequently assists in refining the research focus. However, to truly unpack the identity-behaviour relationship, it is

imperative to dive into the contents of an identity (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011). Therefore, qualitative work becomes essential to unearth the divergent, deeper meanings attached to hierarchies and their norms as rooted within context. This phase offers me the opportunity to treat identities and hierarchies as intersectional. Finally, experiments then come into play, drawing from qualitative insights that might hint at potential causal relationships. For instance, a preliminary understanding from qualitative data suggests that the extended family has a more pronounced impact on the performance of caste and gender as compared to parents. Experiments therefore serve as the litmus test for such predictions, determining their veracity.

In orchestrating my own research presented in this thesis, I have meticulously aligned the sequence of methods to adequately address the questions posed. I argue that both qualitative and quantitative strategies are vital. Quantitative approaches, such as surveys provide a wide lens on attitudinal statements tied to norm adherence within context. On the other hand, qualitative methods delve into the intricacies of contents and theorisations (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006), illuminating how identities and hierarchies are understood, reconciled with, and moulded by their contexts. Further experimental analysis, can then evaluate the nuances of how behaviour shifts with evolving contexts. By intertwining qualitative and quantitative approaches in this manner, this thesis ensures that interpretations of hierarchy are consistently contextualised, preventing any detached, de-contextualised conclusions. More generally, any combination of qualitative and quantitative methods within a well-sequenced approach will ensure that the abstractions of identity or hierarchy in a study are always in dialogue with context.

3.3 Breaking Down the Studies

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of all the studies, placing primary focus on their rationale, and designs that speak to the mixed-methods nature of this PhD. Where relevant, I will include a brief mention of the analysis approach and how such approaches help in getting at findings used in the framing and design of subsequent studies. Each study here has findings that stand on their

own. However, for the purposes of this chapter, I only highlight the findings from a study that I use as a 'launching pad' for the framing of the next. So, I discuss findings from study 1 that shape study 2 and how findings from study 2 shape study 3.

At this point, I recommend that the reader pause, and consider the option to move to Chapter 4 (empirical study 1) and come back to this section as they review the empirical chapters individually. While the methods section within each one of the three empirical chapters is in service to the larger themes and questions of that chapter in isolation, the contents of this section present the connecting thread that links the designs of the three studies - something I am able to do in more detail here than the typical journal article would allow. Therefore, some of the detailing here runs the risk of being too much too early.

3.3.1 Study 1: Survey dataset

Rationale

As discussed in the introductory sections of this chapter, I procured the Lokniti-CSDS (Kumar, 2017b) dataset during the COVID-19 pandemic as a part of my 'Plan B' of the PhD. I had decided to stay flexible and 'work with what I have' and was willing to work with data that aligned with some of the larger themes I am interested in, namely caste, gender, family and tradition with a college-age or close to college-age sample. Upon procuring the data and studying it, I decided to position this as the first, foundational empirical study of my PhD

Research questions

The more specific research questions tied to the individual models explored were constructed in keeping the variables the dataset offered in mind. The broad research question guiding this chapter is, 'How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India?'

Methodology

Anchoring to The National Youth Policy's definition of 'youth' as those aged between 15 and 29 years, Lokniti-CSDS extends this upper limit by 5 years and sets their age range as 15-34.

Variable selection

Based on the publicly available questionnaire on the Lokniti-CSDS website (Kumar, 2017b), I requested 72 variables, after which I further short-listed the variables relevant to this study to come up with a final set of variables that I divided into three broad categories - demographic variables (Table 3.2), mediating variables (Table 3.3), and outcome variables (Table 3.4). I now discuss these briefly.

Table 3.2: Lokniti-CSDS introductory questions.

Questionnaire Item
Gender
Are you married?
Household Information - What type of area is it?
What is the total number of family members living in your house (above 18 years)
Are you a pure vegetarian, a vegetarian but eat eggs or are you a non-vegetarian who also eats chicken, meat or fish?
And what is your caste group?
And what is your caste group?
Up to what level have you studied?

These are the typical demographic socioeconomic variables that act as predictor variables. In addition to memberships to caste and gender, I had variables that gave me a sense of family size and type of area, allowing me to explore my general interest in the family unit in a number of different ways.

Treatment of caste and gender

Quantitative studies typically include an interaction term in cases where they predict that the effect of one variable (e.g., caste) on the outcome (attitude on

statement regarding women's clothing) is dependent on another variable (e.g., gender). I consciously choose not to include a study of an interaction between caste and gender in this case because of the way in which caste was coded Section 8.1.1. The categorisation of caste into OBC, SC, ST and Other makes it challenging to discern some of the important distinctions within the 'Other' category that I am interested in. I present a lengthier discussion on this in Chapter 4.

Table 3.3: Lokniti-CSDS mediator questions.

Questionnaire Item
How much do you worry about the following things - About maintaining family traditions
How much do you worry about the following things - About family problems
Ranking from 1 to 4, please tell me how proud do you feel of the following four identities - your state identity, your caste, your being Indian, and your religion? I mean from among these four identities which identity will you place on the first position, which one on the second position, which one on the third position and which one on the fourth position? - Your caste
Ranking from 1 to 4, please tell me how proud do you feel of the following four identities - your state identity, your caste, your being Indian, and your religion? I mean from among these four identities which identity will you place on the first position, which one on the second position, which one on the third position and which one on the fourth position? - Your religion
Is any of your close friends from another religion than yours?
Is any of your close friends from another caste than yours?
Is any of your close friends from the opposite gender?

These sets of variables are ones that are likely to be shaped by the demographic variables. Here, I take particular interest in the questions on worry about maintaining family tradition and family problems owing to the fact that it is not just a simple or objective measure of family like family size, but a subjective measure of a concern for tradition which is close to the themes of *maryada* that I am interested in.

Table 3.4: Lokniti-CSDS outcome questions

Questionnaire Item
Tell me for each statement, do you agree with it or disagree with it?
- It is not right for women to work/do a job after marriage
- Wives should always listen to their husbands
- Girls should not wear jeans
Do you consider the following things right or wrong? -
- Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes
- Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions
- Girl and boy living together without marriage
- Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married
Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours?
- People who cook non-vegetarian food/meat/fish
- People from another caste
- People who drink alcohol
- People from another religion
- Boy and girl living together outside of marriage

In Table 3.4, the outcome variables were ones that I classified as more directly probing the endorsement of traditional attitudes and preferences tied to caste and gender using these attitudinal statements. Here, the set of questions on neighbour discomfort do not seem like they directly speak to caste and gender. In Chapter 4, I present a longer discussion on their relevance within the Indian context.

Looking specifically at the outcome variables, I knew at the outset that I wanted to capture a diverse range of attitudes that captured how traditional norms live and thrive in the everyday. I therefore centre this study around three different models (Table 3.5) that each tap into a theme of attitudes associated with caste and gender. Model 1 - A Suitable Girl looks at gender norms directed at women, Model 2 - Bad Romance looks at moral evaluations of romantic relationships and Model 3 - Your Friendly Neighbourhood looks at discomfort with having neighbours who do not adhere to traditional caste and gender norms.

Table 3.5: Lokniti-CSDS - the 3 models.

Model	Questionnaire Item
Model 1 - A Suitable Girl	Tell me for each statement, do you agree with it or disagree with it? - It is not right for women to work/do a job after marriage - Wives should always listen to their husbands - Girls should not wear jeans
Model 2 - Bad Romance	Do you consider the following things right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions - Girl and boy living together without marriage - Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married
Model 3 - Your Friendly Neighbourhood	Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - People who cook non-vegetarian food/meat/fish - People from another caste - People who drink alcohol - People from another religion - Boy and girl living together outside of marriage

Moving from Study 1 to Study 2

The model construction and approach to the data helped draw out the important aspects that I investigate further in the next chapter which has to do with traditional norms tied to caste and gender in the everyday (e.g., clothing, food, tonality) and the role that the family and tradition play.

In Chapter 2, I started off with an operational definition of 'context' that has to do with the micro social processes associated with how social actors orient to

particular groups. While the prior anthropological and sociological literatures have identified family, social setting and sanctions as contextual processes relevant to the Indian setting, I fully expected this to get more refined as I traversed through the studies, using the appropriate methods to aid and validate the understandings of context.

At the end of Study 1, my findings indicate that family tradition, and a concern for the same were somehow important and had to be further investigated. Therefore, as I move from this first study to the second, I shift from looking at endorsements and scale-based measures of concern for tradition to now looking at participants' own theorisations, understandings and experiences of caste and gender norms (through the practice of *maryada*) and the role of the family (among the other contextual factors of interest).

3.3.2 Study 2: Interviews

Rationale

The 2020 pandemic necessitated the shift to online interviews, which proved not just a fall back, but a rich methodological tool (Howlett, 2022) . With most confined to their homes, participants were readily available and eager to discuss their identities.

Crucially, while Study 1 touched upon the endorsement of caste and gender, Study 2 delved deeper, exploring the nuances and performances of these identities in context, shedding light on contents and meanings tied to these hierarchies.

Research questions

The qualitative research questions were iterated upon after the initial interviews helped pick up on tensions regarding participants' complex relationships with their own performances of caste and gender and the broad research question for this paper is, Why do people perform hierarchical identities, even in cases when they do not fully endorse hierarchy-relevant norms?

Methodology

Sample

A total of 34 semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with Hindu and Buddhist college students and balance was sought on age and caste. Unlike the first and third studies, being a current college student was a part of the inclusion criteria for this study. As discussed in Chapter 1, I expect social settings to play a role in the performances of caste and gender and the college is a fairly significant social setting for young Indians (especially given the definition of 'young' that has been adopted). In Chapter 4, being a college student was not a part of the inclusion criteria. For this chapter, however, college as a social setting is a crucial aspect of the study design.

Treatment of caste and gender

While there are growing calls for psychology to to adopt approaches that treat identities and hierarchies as intersectional (Azmitia & Mansfield, 2021), the inclusion of such approaches continues to be a challenge. In advocating for intersectional approaches within the Social Identity Tradition, Greenwood (Greenwood, 2012) draws on classic theories of intersectionality that find their roots in feminist scholarship (K. Crenshaw, 2017; K. W. Crenshaw, 1994) and emphasises the importance of recognising the interconnectedness and simultaneity of multiple identities. Her suggestions, while specifically focusing on gender identity, introduces a lens that can be applied to a broader context of analysing identities and hierarchies. It emphasises that for social psychological research to align with the purpose with which it was created, it is crucial to perceive identities as intertwined, co-existing entities that are fundamentally influenced by their surrounding context.

Within the realm of social psychology, the multifaceted and complex nature of gender as a social identity is increasingly being recognised (Greenwood, 2012). Historically, the social identity approach to gender has often oversimplified gender, leaning towards a singular, universal understanding of what it means to identify as a woman or a man. Nowadays, however, social psychologists are beginning to appreciate not only the complexity of social identity but also its intersectional aspects. In India, the intersections of gender and caste are particularly noteworthy (V. Kannabiran & Kannabiran, 1991; Liddle & Joshi, 1986) . Ghosh and Banerjee (2018) emphasise the importance of adopting an

intersectional lens when trying to understand to understand the exclusion, humiliation and violence associated with lived realities of caste and gender. They discuss (Ghosh & Banerjee, 2018, pp. 5–6), how,

> gender in caste society becomes a tool to mark caste honour, which builds hierarchy, and is expressed by the degree of control that men exercise over the women of their own caste. Subjugation of women both within and outside one's caste groups then becomes a necessary condition not only for the subsistence of patriarchy but also for the maintenance of caste purity and therefore the need to control women's sexuality through the practices of endogamy, discourses of honour etc., to maintain and reproduce norms of upper caste respectability. On the one hand, humiliation of women of lower caste becomes a means through which hierarchies are maintained.

In this qualitative study, I adopt an intersectional approach to study the performance of caste and gender and I aim to avoid what Greenwood (2012) calls an *additive* approach to multiple identities which involves a linear and mathematical way of controlling features of a hierarchy or identity. Such an approach fails to capture the intermeshed nature of real-world hierarchies. Following her advice, I design my topic guide and plan my analysis in a way where caste is never separated from gender, or vice versa. For the analysis too, I reflect on findings keeping participants' intersecting hierarchical identities in mind.

Research Design - Topic Guide

The topic guide seeks to explore the intricate nuances of *maryada* as it has been referenced in foundational anthropological and sociological studies (Mines, 2005, p. 81). It begins by understanding personal values and interests, then delves into familial backgrounds, specifically looking at upbringing and prominent influences. The guide further explores any distinct groups or identities that might have played pivotal roles. A deeper inquiry into *maryada* ensues, highlighting its indirect manifestations, themes of obligation, and the interplay of superiority and inferiority. Contextual interpretations of *maryada* in various settings like college, home, or one's native place are examined.

Moving from Study 2 to Study 3

I use a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) approach to analyse the interviews and this process helped extract patterns and rich meaning from the data. I describe these select few results below as they are essential to the design of Study 3.

Study 2 enabled a more precise refinement of contextual processes that shaped behaviour. This is summarised as familial audiences within social settings that jointly constitute the context determining the nature and severity of sanctions that may be meted out in case of transgression. Further, these contextual factors work dynamically to shape and reshape *maryada*.

As I moved from the second study to the third, I was tasked with having to operationalise qualitative findings, keeping in mind that this was likely to be something I would have to iterate on (especially seeing as there are no scales on, or related to *maryada* that I am able to anchor to). As participants discussed their own motivations to perform *maryada*, their responses contained within them rich reserves of meaning and information that I set out to carefully operationalise.

First were their descriptions of behavioural categories of *maryada* that tap into rich domains of the contents or meanings participants associated with *maryada*.

1. One way of performing *maryada* is through acts of *serving*. These include examples where women described having to serve men first, before they could eat.

2. Another example was how 'lower caste' women had to leave their plate unfinished and serve the upper caste man who just entered the room.

3. *Maryada* could also be performed through clothing and appearance. These include examples where men discussed rules around keeping a beard as 'upper caste' Hindus, or women discussed dressing in traditional attire, or more conservatively in the presence of extended family.

4. Another way of giving *maryada* is through the process of seating. Here, *maryada* is given by a member of a 'lower' caste group to a member of an 'upper' caste group by giving up one's chair to the member of the higher

group. Giving up one's chair was also discussed as a form of *maryada* given by younger people to older people.

5. *Maryada* is also performed through adjustments to tonality and speech. Examples here include speaking in a muted tone, expressing agreement with views (independent of internal agreement with them), addressing someone with a term of respect.
6. *Maryada* can also be performed through food choices. These include cases where a participant discussed how they chose to abstain from eating non-vegetarian food in the presence of family or in another case, not sharing food or the same vessel with a person of another caste.
7. Maintaining physical distance from another person is yet another way to perform *maryada*. These included instances in which performing *maryada* meant maintaining a set physical distance from a member of the opposite gender or a different caste.

Participants identified relevant audiences and social settings as parts of relevant contextual features

1. Audiences - Friends, parents and members of the extended family
2. Social settings - College, home, native place

Next, participants' statements carried with them certain causal implications. The strongest implication was that the scrutiny of the extended family is stronger than that of parents. Participants discussed how the native place (with the extended family in it) saw a stronger enforcement of norms of *maryada* as compared to their homes (with their parents in it). At the most liberal end, the college, and friends in college is a context where there is no worry about sanctions or obligations.

Finally, they discussed, in great depth, a host of sanctions they would face if they do not adhere to the norms of *maryada*, particularly in the presence of the extended family and in settings where they were present. Examples include getting shouted at or rebuked, being physically hit, bringing shame upon parents and the family being ostracised by the community.

3.3.3 Study 3: Survey Experiment

Rationale

Study 2 was critical in highlighting that the performance of *maryada*, and caste and gender norms occurs within a complex ecosystem of contextual factors. Therefore, my first aim was to be able to do adequate justice to the qualitative research findings by operationalising the various domains or behavioural categories that together tap into different sides of *maryada* and then individually test the different (and sometimes causal) associations that participants alluded to in the interviews.

Research questions

The first research question, does (imagined) family scrutiny have an effect on participants' self-reported performance of caste and gender norms?, is constructed with the intention of testing the causal claim that extended family scrutiny has a stronger effect on self-reported performances of *maryada* than parental scrutiny. Here, I compare parents and extended family scrutiny across all domains of *maryada.*

Next, I ask, *how do participants perceive sanctions tied to transgressions for defying norms tied to caste and gender?* Here, I further investigate the topic of sanctions and reputational fall-out and how individuals perceive them and how their own social category memberships inform these perceptions

Finally, I ask, *how does the (self-reported) performance of hierarchies vary according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for obligation* (I replicate the construction of this variable as I did in Study 1) ? This last question places all contextual factors in dialogue with one another to test the ways in which performance varies according to context.

Methodology

Sample and recruitment

For the online survey experiment, I opted against using MTurk echoing concerns regarding sample quality (Aruguete et al., 2019; Ford, 2017). The limited online presence of the Indian sample on platforms like Prolific, coupled with the high

costs associated with the Qualtrics panel, led me to adopt a different approach. I took charge of the recruitment process using paid advertisements on Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter (Section 8.3.1). This strategy proved successful as 612 participants from various parts of India completed the survey, ensuring a balanced representation across caste and gender. For this study, I broadened the age range to be from 18-30, mimicking the Lokniti-CSDS survey age range. However, like Study 2, participants had to be current college students or recent graduates (having graduated within the previous 6 months) since college was included as one of the social settings that participants' would have to reflect on.

Research Design

The research design primarily consists of an online survey experiment. The experimental manipulation is a variation of the type of scrutiny where participants are randomised into a condition where they are asked to imagine an audience reading their answers.

The 612 participants answered the same set of questions related to their caste and gender-relevant norms under two of three conditions: friend scrutiny AND parent scrutiny OR extended family scrutiny. Participants always answered questions under friend scrutiny first, making this a sort of baseline. Once they finished responding to the survey under friend scrutiny, they were randomly assigned to parent scrutiny or extended family scrutiny. More minute details regarding the design and procedure can be found in the Methodology section within Chapter 6. I now draw attention to aspects of the design that directly resulted from the interviews.

I incorporate several aspects of participants' own understandings and workings of *maryada* into an experimental tradition that has largely been known to erase context. The inducement of familial scrutiny, even if just hypothetical, is still a feature of the design that has social significance for the subjects in the real world.

Treatment of caste and gender

As discussed earlier, adopting intersectional approaches within quantitative studies is a challenge. However, in this study, questions and statements pertaining to *maryada* encapsulated intersections of caste and gender. *Maryada* is an

inherently relational concept and something that is given along intersecting lines of caste and gender.

Questionnaire and survey instrument structure

While the actual survey instrument is available for review in (Section 8.3.2), I end this section with an overview of the different categories of questions and manipulations following from the design and results of studies 1 and 2 described earlier. The aim of showcasing this here is to highlight to the reader that every aspect of Study 3's design finds its roots in the previous two studies and findings, always keeping participants' real experiences within their contexts at the fore.

Table 3.6: Breaking down the experimental elements.

Research Design Element	Source
Survey questions under imagined scrutiny - Content or meaning of hierarchy	
Caste and gender norms	Lokniti and qualitative interviews
Moral judgement towards relationships	Lokniti
Maryada through clothing	Qualitative interviews
Maryada through limiting interaction	Qualitative interviews
Maryada through food	Qualitative interviews
Maryada through subservience	Qualitative interviews
Maryada though general rules	Qualitative interviews
Maryada though restraint	Qualitative interviews
Maryada though conversation	Qualitative interviews
Social setting embedded within questions - contextual element	
College	Qualitative interviews
Home	Qualitative interviews
Native place	Qualitative interviews
Audience experimental manipulation - contextual element	
Friend	Qualitative interviews

Research Design Element	Source
Parents	Qualitative interviews
Extended family	Qualitative interviews
Transgressions - contextual element	
Inappropriate dressing	Qualitative interviews
Inappropriate language	Qualitative interviews
Partner from a different caste	Qualitative interviews
Partner from a different religion	Qualitative interviews
Getting pregnant/making someone pregnant	Qualitative interviews
Sanctions - contextual element	
Getting shouted at	Qualitative interviews
Physical 'hitting'	Qualitative interviews
Participant will be excluded by group	Qualitative interviews
Ostracised	Qualitative interviews
Bringing shame upon larger group	Qualitative interviews
The larger group is ostracised	Qualitative interviews

3.4 Ethics and Reflexivity

3.4.1 Ethics

The first empirical study of this PhD (Chapter 4) utilises secondary data. In adherence to the policy set by the London School of Economics (LSE), I ensured that the chosen dataset did not contain any identifiable details related to living or recently deceased individuals. I put in a request for the specific variables used in this dataset and the organisation providing the data only shared the data requested. According to LSE's guidelines, this type of research does not require undergoing the usual ethics review procedures.

In the scenarios where the research involved participants (as in Studies 2 and 3 in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively), every measure was taken to ensure an ethical approach. The participants were provided with consent forms as well as participation information sheets that outlined the details of the study, the ways in which their data would be used, and all measures pertaining to confidentiality and

anonymity. Copies of these are available in Section 8.2.1 and Section 8.3.2. Furthermore, my contact information was shared with the participants from studies 2 and 3 in case they wished to reach out after the data collection process. All ethical processes were reviewed and cleared by the LSE Research Ethics Committee and Monk Prayogshala (for Study 3).

3.4.2 Reflexivity

General reflections

As a Hindu Indian woman who grew up in India, I found that daily life consisted of adopting many different personas. There was one version of me that was tailored to be appropriate for family and extended family audiences. I would remember my mother outlining clear rules of what constituted appropriate conduct in front of familial others. When visiting extended family members, I would have to dress appropriately and upon meeting them, greet them and speak to them in a soft and polite tone. Upon reflection, I can attest to there being a shift in my physicality when I would interact with extended family members, especially when I was in a setting where I would find them in large numbers. Seeing as my parents are both highly educated individuals, I was never expected to adhere to perhaps stronger gendered norms in the presence of extended family (for e.g., serving the men food or generally being excessively deferential towards older people). However, this persona I would adopt was drastically different from the version of me in front of my friends. With friends, I would adopt a much more boisterous persona and did not find myself having to adhere to norms of gender. And in the privacy of my home and in the presence of my parents, I struck some sort of middle ground where I had the ability to bargain the extent to which I had to bend to tradition.

The reason I do not specifically mention caste here is because my caste identity has been largely invisible to me seeing as I am a Brahmin woman, who hails from an upper middle-class family, that lives in the city of Mumbai, and who has been born and raised by liberal and educated parents. When I reflect on the intersections of my own identity categories, I find that I have largely occupied spaces where my gender has been more salient and where I have had to adhere to

gender norms, with caste receding to the background seeing as it was never directly enforced upon me or something I enforced.

That led to the incorrect perception that caste must not matter, when in fact, it only did not matter because I was from an ‘upper caste’ group reaping the privileges of caste and class intersections. As I began educating myself and moved out of the protective confines of my own home, I began to realise the numerous ways in which caste and gender weave themselves into daily life. Initially, a large share of these realisations would stem from informal conversations with people, and through stories of lived experiences in books. In addition to shaping my own very personal thought processes and worldview, reading about the lived experiences of people living at the margins of caste and gender intersections has also shaped this PhD thesis.

Reflexivity - In-depth Interviews in Chapter 5

In this sub-section, I engage with my own positionality as I reflect on the interview process that forms a part of Chapter 5 (the second empirical study of the PhD).

COVID and the sensitivity with time

The announcement of the COVID-19 lockdown in India in March 2020 posed the biggest threat to the informal sector in India that included jobs that individuals from the lower middle and lower classes partake in. As cases continued to increase, there was a rising uncertainty regarding how a large percentage of the people in India would be able to put food on the table.

I present the above as a necessary context as I thought about conducting interviews during the times of COVID-19. About 70% of my sample hailed from lower middle class to lower class families - the group that was hit the worst as a result of COVID-19. Back in the month of March 2020, I had already lined up the first interviews, and could have technically gone ahead with interviews on Zoom. However, it was the very profiles of these students and their socioeconomic backgrounds that ethically stood in the way of conducting interviews. The tense state of mind in the country coupled with the mounting uncertainty meant that it was not the right time to speak to them about their caste, class identity in depth, or make the idea of inequality more salient. COVID-19 made, and makes this

inequality both salient and distressing, with social distancing being a luxury only the rich can afford.

By September 2020, things were worse. However, the country, like most others in the world, was forced to open up. Colleges moved teaching online, and there was a sense of settling into the new normal. Additionally, qualitative research on such a topic is a fine balancing act. While I did take the sensitivity of time into account, my questions did not directly make the issues of casteism and heightened inequality during COVID more salient or pronounced. I aimed to build understandings of *maryada* within everyday social interaction, therefore, the conversation was not particularly centred around caste or class. Even in the instances it was brought up, there was no attempt to make acts of discrimination or inequality salient. Therefore, a combination of the passage of time (thereby allowing people to settle from the initial shock of COVID-19) and the nature of my topic led to the decision that it was ethically sound to proceed with the interviews in early September 2020.

Talking to a Brahmin talking about caste

As I completed my first few interviews, I found that I was humbled by the openness with which my interviewees shared their life stories and experiences with me. Owing to the controversial and divisive nature of the subject, I had assumed that the discussion on caste would be fairly surface level. I thought that the surface level nature of the conversation would be further exacerbated by the fact that every interviewee knew my surname - 'Iyer'. To most Indians, a surname like 'Iyer' is a dead giveaway that the person is a Tamil Brahmin. I expected that this knowledge would create a wall between me and my "lower" caste and Dalit responders. However, my longest and richest conversations were with these very students. They spoke with ease and clarity, about the day-to-day humiliation they face, about the subtle jibes, about the surprised reactions society gives them when they thrive, about the fact that their caste wrestles its way into every interaction they have. Hearing this, the invisibility of my own caste hit me like an anvil. For most of my life, I was oblivious to the fact that caste had anything to do with discrimination. I was told I was a Brahmin and that it meant I had to espouse Brahminical values like praying every day, and not eating meat. Therefore,

listening to these interviews made me reflect on the invisibility of my caste.

Being a silent activist - not judging the Brahmin who called the Dalit 'dirty'

As someone who is vehemently against the atrocities perpetrated by the caste system, I find that I must silence the supporter of Dalit rights part of my identity as I carry out my research. However, at times, that does not come to me as easily. For instance, one participant spoke about how they do not mind "lower" caste people, or Dalits, but that Dalits come from households where practices around hygiene are not up to the mark. So, while the ally in me wanted to express my displeasure at such comments, the researcher in me had to stay composed. However, that made me wonder if I was being deceptive. By nodding along to views and opinions I do not agree with, am I being untrue or tricking the interviewee into thinking that I sympathise with their thoughts? After the interview with this participant, I realised that maybe I was being unnecessarily sympathetic to get them to feel like they could express their true views. I almost wanted to be the confidant with whom they could share their socially undesirable thoughts. However, I realised that there was a fine balance to be struck here. While circumventing the social desirability bias is desired, achieving that by trickery is not. Therefore, I decided to not try too hard to be seen as a confidant, and be more measured in my reactions that would indicate sympathy when there is none. If that means that I would forgo listening in on their thoughts, that would be an acceptable compromise.

3.5 Concluding Note

In this chapter, I have focused on the mixed-methods foundation underpinning my research. I began by describing my journey of manoeuvring my PhD work amidst pandemic challenges, followed by an in-depth methodological overview of my overall approach that adapted to COVID-19 challenges. This included a keen examination of the sequencing of the studies, underscoring how each piece serves the broader social psychological inquiries of this PhD. After detailing the three studies, I touched on ethical considerations and reflected upon my own positionality.

My primary intent with this chapter is to spotlight the unifying thread across the studies, showcasing the synergies inherent in a mixed-methods approach. The subsequent chapters, 4 through 6, delve into the individual empirical studies, culminating in Chapter 7, where I weave together the discussions and findings in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 4

Traditional Norms in Modern India: A Survey Study

Preface to Chapter 4

Although contained within a single chapter, the extensive scope of this chapter might potentially evolve into multiple papers. As a result, the chapter exceeds the typical length of a journal article. My goal is to establish a robust foundation for subsequent inquiries in the PhD, providing an understanding of how caste and gender function within the Indian context.

Central to this investigation is an exploration of the factors that shape the endorsement of traditional attitudes towards caste and gender. By analysing these factors, this research aims to elucidate the implications of these attitudes on individual choices and the perpetuation of social hierarchies. A crucial part of this inquiry involves understanding the role of family and friends, as well as the influence of an individual's immediate social environment.

In this context, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) emerges as a method that employs iterative processes, acting as a powerful tool to uncover complex dynamics. Recognising the significance of this iterative approach, the broad scope of the subject matter calls for an examination of multiple models and a deep dive into varied dynamics.

By exploring the interplay of caste and gender attitudes across various categories, and by highlighting the significance of the family and kin unit, this work aspires to provide a foundational understanding of the multifaceted dynamics in play. Such an understanding will inform future research endeavours both within and beyond this PhD.

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Abstract

Social psychology has paid a fair amount of attention towards examining the impact of demographic factors like age, gender, social class, on social attitudes. However, the role of the family is treated quite narrowly. Using a secondary survey dataset that captures the attitudes and beliefs of 6,122 Indians, this study seeks to address this gap by investigating how the endorsement of traditional attitudes related to caste and gender hierarchies in India is shaped by various pertinent demographic and familial factors. These determinants include an indicator assessing concern for family obligation, and demographic variables like marital status, education level, family size, and the development status of one's city or town. I utilise a Structural Equation Modelling approach and, within three distinct models, explore different sets of associations – 1) the relationship between concern for family obligation and traditional attitudes, 2) between demographic factors and traditional attitudes, and 3) between demographic factors and a concern for family obligation. The first model investigates traditional attitudes concerning gender norms applicable to women. The second model centres on moral judgements about romantic relationships that challenge caste and gender norms. The third model investigates traditional attitudes relating to discomfort with neighbours who deviate from traditional caste and gender norms. Across all three models, I find that the endorsement of traditional attitudes is associated with heightened concern for family obligation. Moreover, this concern for family obligation is influenced by factors such as gender, family size, and urban versus rural living conditions. By emphasising the pivotal role that concern for family obligation has in shaping the endorsement of traditional attitudes concerning caste and gender in the Indian context, this research augments the study of attitudes within social psychology, directing attention to relevant contextual dimensions that influence traditional attitudes.

Keywords: social norms; traditional attitudes; caste; gender; social hierarchy

4.1 Introduction

Traditional attitudes and beliefs do not exist in a vacuum. They represent a deeply embedded set of norms, shaped by a complex interplay of factors. Moreover, these attitudes are likely to perpetuate social hierarchies. This paper seeks to understand how traditional attitudes linked to social hierarchies are shaped, and the influence of cultural and contextual factors on their endorsement. Theoretically, it builds upon literature within social psychology that examines the myriad of factors that shape social attitudes, specifically attitudes that are often antecedents of prejudice (Weißflog et al., 2023). Empirically, the focus is on the endorsement of traditional attitudes by Hindu Indians.

Situating this within the Indian context of caste and gender, espousing such attitudes profoundly impacts modern Indian society. For instance, labour market data (Deshpande, 2011; Jayachandran, 2021) and the housing issues faced by Muslims and members of marginalised caste groups (Thorat et al., 2015) indicate significant discriminatory consequences arising from these attitudes. More distressingly, moral judgements related to inter-caste or inter-religious relationships have resulted in honour killings (D'Lima et al., 2020). Understanding the origins of these attitudes is therefore critical.

Ethnographic evidence indicates that, besides affiliation to social categories like caste and gender or demographic determinants such as education levels (A. Shah, 2007; Titzmann, 2017) , the family unit also moulds these norms (Dhar et al., 2019; A. Shah, 2005), acting as the guardians of honour and tradition. Moreover, one's orientation to one's family is influenced by factors like caste, gender, and other demographic considerations (Prasad et al., 2020, p. 9). Hence, exploring the dynamic interrelation of these constructs and acknowledging the pivotal role of the family in shaping attitudes are critical to grasping the persistence of traditional attitudes in the Indian context.

Social psychology offers valuable approaches for studying attitudes, and has extensively looked at the impact of various demographic variables (Kuppens et al., 2018; Weißflog et al., 2023) on attitudes. There is also a consideration of the influence of personal relationships on attitudes e.g., familial influence through a

study of intergenerational transmission or parental influence (Prioste et al., 2015). However, this focus is quite narrow and there is a dearth of studies that capture the looming effect of ‘family’ beyond the parental unit. This is particularly evident when considering the Indian context where the idea of family looms larger than the parental unit.

I therefore introduce a novel dimension of the role of the family into the study of attitudes by analysing a secondary survey dataset on youth attitudes and preferences in India. This survey, conducted in 2016, sampled 6,122 Indian “youth” aged 15-34. Using a Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) approach, I aspire to offer a comprehensive perspective on how traditional attitudes are shaped. In doing so, I simultaneously evaluate associations between demographics, concern for family obligation, and their independent associations with endorsement of traditional attitudes. Through this exploration, I build on existing research on attitudes and beliefs within social psychology by considering a broader, more omnipresent, and a more culturally relevant operationalisation of the role of the family.

4.1.1 Family and the Shaping of Attitudes within Social Psychology

Social psychology has effectively mapped out the intricate pathways by which societal attitudes are formed, particularly those that contribute to the persistence of social inequalities. The research of Weißflog and colleagues (2023) is particularly illustrative, demonstrating how class and gender interact across various cultural contexts to influence social judgements. Their study reveals that gender norms and general inequality levels within societies distinctly affect attitudes, thereby informing social hierarchies. This lays the groundwork for understanding the linkages between individual attitudes and the broader societal norms that underlie prejudice and discrimination, highlighting the integral role of societal norms in the formation of such attitudes.

Building on these findings, social psychology has also turned its lens towards the role of the family in attitude formation (Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Sinclair et al., 2005). Familial influence, as shown by Fan and Marini (2000), is a significant determinant of gender-role attitudes during young adults’ transition to adulthood,

while Prioste and colleagues (Prioste et al., 2015) emphasise how parental practices shape adolescents' values. Yet, the focus has primarily been on the direct transmission of attitudes (Zagrean et al., 2022), often overlooking the broader familial context and its multifaceted impact.

The treatment of the family's role, particularly its influence on attitude formation, has been somewhat narrowly construed within the literature. The contributions of Zagrean and colleagues (2022) highlight the bidirectional nature of ethnic prejudice transmission within families, mediated by the quality of family relationships and adolescents' contact with diverse ethnic groups. These findings call for a more nuanced understanding of familial influence beyond mere attitude inheritance.

In light of this, there is a pressing need for an in-depth exploration of the family as a multifaceted entity, especially within the Indian cultural landscape where the notion of family extends far beyond the conventional Western understanding of parent-child dynamics (G. R. Gupta, 1976b; Juvva, 2020). The Indian family system, often embodying a complex network of extended relations and communal interdependencies, warrants a more granular investigation to discern its influence on the sustenance of caste and gender hierarchies.

By incorporating a nuanced measure of family obligation into the investigation, my study seeks to broaden the scope of how family dynamics are considered in relation to shaping attitudes. Coupled with demographic variables, this research aims to contextualise and elucidate the mechanisms through which caste and gender hierarchies are maintained and negotiated within daily life.

4.1.2 Caste and Gender Attitudes in India: An Overview of Contextual Considerations

Drawing on the above discussion, this paper emphasises the endorsement of traditional attitudes associated with caste and gender hierarchies in India. By embedding the study of these endorsements within their specific context, I integrate broader social processes into the understanding of how attitudes form. In this section, I present the unique contextual considerations of how caste and gender are navigated in India, paving the way for the relationships I will explore

later in this chapter. Throughout this section, I draw on the literature on caste and gender norms to eventually form my predictions regarding how attitudes are shaped. This choice is largely motivated by the fact that traditional attitudes mirror a deeply embedded set of norms.

Caste and gender norms form the foundation of social interaction in India. They are intertwined with critical, life-altering decisions, such as choosing a spouse (Narzary & Ladusingh, 2019), and are evident in everyday social interactions. The prevailing assumption is that increased traditionalism corresponds with a stronger adherence to caste and gender norms. Caste-related norms influence marital choices, with norms surrounding inter-caste marriages (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016) still prevalent today. Caste and gender norms also affect employment opportunities, with individuals from lower castes (Deshpande, 2011) and women (Jayachandran, 2015) facing restrictions that impact their ability to join the workforce. Dietary preferences, such as a strict vegetarian diet and abstention from alcohol, are also influenced by caste norms (Bennett et al., 1998). Furthermore, caste and gender norms guide clothing choices, promoting traditional attire (Gilbertson, 2014). In the contexts highlighted, norms can be injunctive (Cialdini et al., 1990) or moral, laying the groundwork for navigating social interaction.

While outlining the general landscape of caste and gender norms in the Indian setting, it is crucial to understand that norms are not merely endorsed or enacted voluntarily – they can be enforced (Chowdhry, 1997; Nolan, 2017). Research within the South Asian context indicates that the threat of sanctions and reputational fall-out can drive adherence to norms (De et al., 2021; Savani et al., 2012). For injunctive, traditional norms defining morality, non-compliance can result in severe repercussions. Lower caste individuals often experience humiliation and sometimes even brutal violence for not adhering to specific norms concerning attire and general conduct (Bell, 2017; De et al., 2021). While this chapter does not delve into this aspect of enforcement and sanctions, subsequent chapters in this PhD will address it in depth.

Considering broader contextual elements, the Indian family system is intertwined with caste and gender hierarchies. Foundational studies from the 1970s (Kakar, 1978) and more recent studies too, discuss that the "Indian family is characterised

by strong emotional bonds that foster both mutual dependence and control, and that kinship ties and familial obligations are often central in the construction of self-hood in India" (Prasad et al., 2020, p. 144) . More contemporary research suggests that Western-style "individualism" is unlikely to emerge in India soon, given the significance of family, caste, and religion (Juvva, 2020). Even in modern India, the family's role remains pivotal (K. Kannabiran, 2006, p. 4427).

India is a society in flux, experiencing a collision of traditional and modern values. This conflict necessitates a contemporary understanding of how traditional norms continue to evolve in India's 'modern' contexts. Gilbertson (2018, p. 130) highlights the growing perception of traditional views – that women should be restricted from public domains like education and employment and be subservient to their husbands and families – as 'backward' and a hindrance to national progress. In contrast, others note that despite modern discourses on the expanded choices available to women, many Indian families uphold conventional gender roles (Scrase, 2006), even in urban and suburban settings. Gilbertson (2018, p. 134 - 135) discusses how people are critical of working women who appear to be neglecting their household duties. She goes on to describe,

> "There is evidence that participants sought to maintain the essence of respectable 'Indian' family relations, understood in terms of uniquely strong bonds of love, affection, and mutual dependence, while simultaneously endorsing gender equality as a necessary component of an acceptably progressive or cosmopolitan middle-class identity. However, informants showed considerable resistance to an overly equitable relationship between husband and wife and framed this resistance in terms of the threat posed by excessive Westernisation, in the form of 'ego problems', to the stability of marriage, and thus to 'Indian culture' ".

Thus, India's modernity is often juxtaposed with its traditions, with the family being central to how caste and gender are navigated.

What Shapes Traditional Attitudes in India?

After laying the groundwork in the preceding section, I now pinpoint the specific contextual elements relevant to the study of caste and gender attitudes. Beyond the family unit and one's social categorisations, numerous demographic factors, as highlighted by various studies, influence the adherence to traditional norms in India. These include education levels, geographical location (urban vs. rural), marital status, and family size. While this list is not exhaustive, I further explore these factors, given their emphasis in anthropological and sociological literature on caste and gender.

To facilitate my investigation on traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender, I draw on literatures that underscore the interconnected dynamics underlying the perpetuation and formation of caste and gender norms. In this paper, I concentrate on three core relationships: 1) The association between demographic indicators and the endorsement of traditional attitudes 2) between one's orientation to family tradition and the endorsement of traditional attitudes 3) between demographic indicators and one's orientation to family tradition. These core relationships and what we know about these relationships from past literature are what drive my core sets of predictions later in this chapter.

Demographics shape endorsement of traditional attitudes

Various demographic factors, as substantiated by numerous studies, determine adherence to traditional norms in India. These factors encompass social categorisations (e.g., caste, gender) and demographic markers (education, marital status, urban vs. rural living, family size). I highlight the most emphasised factors in the literature.

The associations between caste or gender and the endorsement of traditional attitudes are not straightforward, especially when looking at the behaviours of members from the marginalised segments of both these identities. While members of marginalised caste groups (hailing from the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, or Dalit categories) may have rejected the Hindu caste system (Ambedkar, 2014), they are still subject to caste norms where individuals face sanctions if they fail to adhere to a specific set of norms associated with their caste category (Gorringe &

Rafanell, 2007). When looking at gender, too, modern Indian women may internally reject the need to conform to ideals of feminine subservience. Gilbertson (2018, p. 133) discusses how her female informants tended to associate “belief in the inherent inferiority of women with ‘backward’ villagers, the poor and the elderly and incompatible with an urban cosmopolitan outlook”. However, women are also known to be held to traditional expectations by their husbands or the larger kin unit, with the threat of sanctions attached to norm violations (Bidner & Eswaran, 2015; Chakravarti, 1993) .

When it comes to urban versus rural settings, as one moves from the developed, Westernised metros to smaller towns and then to villages, the adherence to traditional norms surrounding caste and gender increases. Shah (2007) discusses that villages tend to be small communities divided into a relatively small number of castes, where the population of each caste is also limited. Inter-caste relations in rural areas operate in a face-to-face community, which may lead to a stronger obligation to adhere to the vertical hierarchical structure. In contrast, in urban regions, the population consists of many caste groups with minimal intermingling. This results in reduced observability of decisions by relevant others compared to rural areas. In rural settings, caste and gender intersect significantly to influence norm adherence. In another study by Alex (2019), the perception of the positioning of castes in the local hierarchy was based on caste honour. This honour was dependent on the role women played in the community, and a man’s ability to control a woman determined the status of castes in the local hierarchy. These findings underscore that contextual factors intersect significantly to influence behaviour.

Next, education matters: higher levels of education are associated with reduced adherence to traditional norms. A particular study highlighted how higher education levels, among other factors, created a conducive environment for young individuals to enter live-in relationships in the Indian context (Titzmann, 2017). Being married also likely influences norm adherence. Some of the pivotal elements in the traditional Hindu marital relationship include “a clear-cut division of labour between them, each having an essential role to play in the household, and the expected subordinate position of the wife” (Chakrabortty, 2002, p. 54).

Being part of a larger family, often coinciding with the concept of a joint family, is also linked to greater adherence to traditional norms. Gilbertson (2018, pp. 155–156) noted that family size played a role in understanding gender norms. Smaller families with a reduced probability of having sons meant daughters had to be more empowered. In another study on the intergenerational transmission of traditional gender attitudes, Dhar et al. (2019) posited that the transmission might be especially pronounced in South Asia due to people residing in expansive joint families and parents' control over their children's marital choices.

In summary, a myriad of factors influence norm adherence in India, and are therefore likely to play a role in the formation and shaping of traditional attitudes tied to these norms. These include individual characteristics such as education, caste, and gender, as well as contextual influences like urban/rural settings and family size.

I now turn to another set of associations pertaining to individuals' relationship with their families. As discussed earlier, the family is a pivotal site for the internalisation of traditional norms. One's orientation to their family significantly influences the endorsement of traditional attitudes. Yet, this orientation is also moulded by the demographic indicators previously discussed. I therefore delve deeper into both aspects.

Orientation to Family Shapes Endorsement of Traditional Attitudes

The kin unit is particularly salient when considering social norms and relationships in India. A vast body of evidence suggests that one's orientation to their family can mould norm adherence. This orientation differs from demographic variables like family size or urban versus rural living; it taps into a subjective construct about an individual's orientation towards the family unit. Gilbertson's ethnographic research (2018) recounts informants discussing family values in India and contrasting them with a perceived amoral Western culture. Alongside family values, another study (Dhar et al., 2019) found that when a parent held a more discriminatory attitude, their child was 11 percentage points more likely to share the same view. The study revealed that parents, especially mothers, had a more significant influence on their children's gender attitudes than their peers. Inequality in the Indian family also impacts women in particular.

Feminist scholarship has shed light on the everyday life in a household which reveals gender disparities and discrimination at the household level (Patel, 2005, p. 16).

Measuring constructs like family values or traditions is intricate, encapsulating various underlying facets that touch upon tradition, conservatism, respect, and even deference. While family values might be significant in other settings, they manifest in distinct ways within the Indian context. In India, the evidence collectively indicates that the family is a vital site for the internalisation, establishment, and perpetuation of caste and gender norms (D'Cruz & Bharat, 2001; G. R. Gupta, 1976a; Kapadia, 1959; Prasad et al., 2020), and is therefore likely to play a role in the formation and shaping of attitudes.

Demographics Shape How We Orient Towards Family

So far, we have observed that demographic indicators impact norm adherence, as does orientation to one's family. Demographic factors, however, are known to shape this orientation towards family too. Highlighting the impact of coming from a rural area on maintaining family tradition, Prasad and colleagues (2020, p. 11) discuss how families from rural backgrounds, who migrate to urban areas, and the working-class families already present there, retain their traditions. They argue that these families preserve their cultural practices, with their functioning guided firmly by their original rural culture. Additionally, gender plays a role in how individuals align with tradition, with women and daughters bearing the responsibility of upholding family honour (Alex, 2019; Still, 2017).

Drawing on these studies, there appear to be interconnected threads in how traditional norms surrounding caste and gender are shaped in India. The adherence to norms and attitudes is influenced by demographic factors (e.g., gender, education, caste) and is also moulded by how one orients to one's family. Yet, these demographic factors further shape family orientation, emphasising the family's significance in understanding caste and gender norms.

The complex nature of these dynamics is often qualitatively condensed in research findings. For instance, Patel (2005) links the experiences of gender disparity faced by women to the influence of one's family. This comment combines three

elements: a demographic factor like gender, the value placed on family tradition, and the resulting traditional gender norms. However, the extent to which gender influences norm adherence, or how gender affects adherence to family, remains ambiguous. Such a statement represents a singular aspect in a multifaceted ecosystem of social dynamics that influence norms in this context. Thus, the challenge is to quantitatively demarcate these factors, discerning their roles within the broader ecosystem of social processes that shape attitudes and norms.

4.1.3 The Present Study

At the start of this study, I pinpoint the dearth of an incorporation of relevant dimensions of family within social psychology's study of attitudes. This study addresses that gap through a study of attitudes attached to caste and gender that necessarily brings 'family' to the fore. In asking the question of what shapes the endorsement of traditional attitudes, the aim is to delineate and identify relevant contextual factors that include a measure of orientation to family and other demographic indicators. By doing so, I will have set the foundation for a more in-depth understanding of these relevant factors function to keep hierarchies in real-world settings alive.

The focus of this thesis is on the reproduction of hierarchies in daily life, with an initial identification of contextual factors like demographics and family laying the groundwork for an understanding of the elements that drive this reproduction. The relationship between attitudes, norms, and behaviours is well-documented in social psychology (Hogg & Smith, 2007; Terry et al., 2000) —a connection that is crucial to explore as a foundational step in this thesis.

At the heart of this thesis lies the need for a clear solidification of what 'context' means within this research. In Chapter 2, the definition of context I adopt has to do with micro-social processes in terms of the groups that people orient to in a given setting. This chapter contributes to that definition by highlighting the family's role as an influential social group. The aim is to build an understanding of the family's impact, not just through its members but through the powerful (and sometimes invisible) lens of family obligation. This exploration of family obligation is central, which is why it is positioned as the second research question;

its own relationship with demographic variables is intriguing and warrants an in-depth, standalone investigation as a part of this research.

Following from the above, the primary research question guiding this chapter is (RQ1):

How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India?

A secondary question (RQ2) that further unpacks the dynamics related to a concern for familial obligation is:

How do demographics factors relate to a concern for familial obligation?

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Data and Procurement

The dataset employed in this chapter is the 2017 "Attitudes, Anxieties and Aspirations of India's Youth: Changing Patterns' survey" (Kumar, 2017a) commissioned by Lokniti, CSDS, and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). The survey-based study sought to answer key questions about how India's youth thought and lived. Conducted between April and May 2016 across 19 states of India, the survey engaged 6,122 respondents aged 15-34 years. This "Youth Study" follows the Lokniti-CSDS-KAS Youth Surveys of 2007 and 2011. After reviewing the publicly available resources (e.g., the questionnaire, preliminary report, and descriptive findings), I selected roughly 72 variables of interest. These variables, reflecting my broader thematic interests, span questions on caste and gender attitudes, measures of worry for family tradition, and indicators of kin and friend networks' composition. These variables included demographic indicators, measures of orientation towards one's family and questions on attitudes and preferences that were measured on a Likert scale.

4.2.2 Participants and Procedure

According to the report published by the organisation (Kumar, 2017a), the survey deliberately over samples urban youth (particularly those living in the largest and

large cities in terms of population) relative to rural youth. This was done to obtain sufficiently large sample sizes to allow for a deeper analysis of youth living in different types of urban areas – both big and small. The survey was conducted using a standardised questionnaire (Kumar, 2017b), which was administered face to face at the residence of the respondents. In each of the 19 states where the survey was conducted, the questionnaire was translated in the local language understood by most people of the state. Most questions in the questionnaire were structured, i.e., close-ended.

4.3 Analysis plan – The SEM Approach

The variables in the dataset coupled with my research aims aligns well with a Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) approach (Kline, 2015a). I start below with a general discussion of why SEM is a suitable analytical tool, followed by a discussion of its previous applications within social psychology and conclude with an explanation of how it is suited to addressing the specific research questions and aims presented in this chapter.

SEM is particularly relevant for exploratory work aimed at understanding complex relationships between variables, as can help visualise relationships between a vast array of concepts. It permits the simultaneous examination of relations between diverse variables and includes latent variables measured by observed indicators. Many questions in this dataset (particularly those on attitudes and preferences) allow for the creation of multiple latent variables for my analysis. Several questions targeting specific attitudes tap into underlying latent constructs for measurement and testing. Subsequent tables will list these variables, including their categorisations in my analysis.

The employment of SEM is not very common in studies within Social Identity Approach (SIA). Nonetheless, it has been employed in several studies within social psychology examining attitudes, demonstrating its versatility and applicability. For instance, the study by Weis et al. (2018) used path analysis, a specific form of SEM, to explore gender role attitudes across countries. Another study (Cassar et al., 2017) utilised SEM to probe the mediating influences of social identity and psychological contracts, underlining SEM's strength in elucidating

the complex pathways through which transformational leadership impacts work attitudes. Although my study does not focus on mediation, this demonstrates SEM's broader utility in analysing the structure of relationships within social psychological phenomena. Similarly, Özdemir and Gözün's work (2013) employed SEM to evaluate the relationships between religiosity, self-esteem, and identification with Turkish identity. Their study effectively illustrates how SEM can be leveraged to analyse how broader social identities and personal attributes interrelate, aligning with some of the core aims of this chapter. Furthermore, Guan and So's (2016) research provides a compelling example of how SEM can uncover the processes through which social identity influences self-efficacy through perceived social support. This underscores SEM's capability to provide insights into the dynamics of social support and identity, relevant to my study's exploration of the role of family obligation and demographic factors in perpetuating social hierarchies. By adopting SEM, this chapter is in alignment with these studies in its methodological approach, leveraging its strengths to tackle a broad spectrum of concepts and visualise the intricate relationships that sustain caste and gender hierarchies.

Given my two research questions that are distinct yet interrelated, SEM has proven to be a fitting tool for this investigation. SEM's capacity to represent a system of regressions makes it exceptionally suited for analysing multiple variables and their interrelations within the same model, efficiently addressing both questions simultaneously. The complexity and volume of the variables at play, some of which share enough similarities to warrant the construction of latent variables, underscore the necessity of employing SEM. This methodological choice not only facilitates a comprehensive examination of the data but also allows for an efficient presentation of the multifaceted relationships inherent in the study.

Demographic Variables

I will henceforth refer to the first category of variables as *demographic* variables (Table 4.1). These include social categories (e.g., caste, gender, marital status), demographic variables, and some demographic-linked preferences (e.g., dietary habits). Caste warrants special mention. When asked about caste, respondents provided a blend of *varna* (traditional caste categories) and *jati*, which was later

classified by the study's researchers. Given the *varna* and *jati* distinctions, the classification likely harbours some ambiguities. Based on the coding (a description of which is available in Section 8.1.1), it seems 'Other' pertains to open or 'upper' caste groups.

Table 4.1: Overview of the demographic variables

Questions	Categories	Variables
Gender	Male = 0, Female = 1	Female
Are you married?	Married = 1, Not married = 0	Married
Household Information - What type of area is it?	Village, town, city, metro	Type of area
What is the total number of family members living in your house (above 18 years)	Small family (1-3 members), medium family (4-6 members), large family (7 members or more)	Family size
Are you a pure vegetarian, a vegetarian but eat eggs or are you a non-vegetarian who also eats chicken, meat or fish?	Pure vegetarian, non-vegetarian, eggetarian	Dietary preferences
And what is your caste group?	Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (SC/ST), Other Backward Classes (OBC), Other	Caste
Up to what level have you studied?	Below primary or non-literate, primary or middle, matriculate, Intermediate or college without degree, graduate, postgraduate or professional degree	Highest education level

Mediating Variables

Next, I categorised some variables as mediator variables (Table 4.2). Substantively, these variables lie somewhere in the middle: responses to these questions are influenced by the demographic variables described above, but they, in turn, could shape the outcome variables discussed below. Here, I included two questions that ask participants about the extent to which they worry about family tradition and family problems. How individuals think about family tradition is one of my core

interests, so these variables play a central role in the subsequent analysis. I also incorporated questions that had participants rank how proud they feel about different identities, focusing particularly on their caste and religion. Lastly, this category includes questions assessing whether individuals have friends from different religions, castes, and genders.

Although these sets of questions may seem dissimilar, a common thread connects them. They are questions that could be influenced by the demographic variables yet are not quite attitudes themselves. They represent the 'middling' category variables that could be considered as mediators.

Furthermore, I utilised these variables to construct latent variables for subsequent analyses. First, I created a latent variable representing concern for the obligation towards one's family. This variable was constructed using two indicators from the dataset: worry about maintaining family traditions and concern about family problems. Higher values of the indicators suggest greater levels of concern.

I also created a latent measure of the diversity of one's friend group using three indicators: whether participants have friends from different castes, religions, and genders. These indicators were coded such that a response of 'no' to having a close friend from a different caste, gender, or religious group was coded as 1.

Table 4.2: Overview of the mediating variables.

Questionnaire Item	Categories in My Data	Variable Name	Latent Variable Name
How much do you worry about the following things - About maintaining family traditions	"Not at all" = 1, "Very little" = 2, "Somewhat" = 3, "Quite a lot" = 4	Worry about family tradition	Concern for family obligation
How much do you worry about the following things - About family problems	"Not at all" = 1, "Very little" = 2, "Somewhat" = 3, "Quite a lot" = 4	Worry about family problems	Concern for family obligation

Ranking from 1 to 4, please tell me how proud do you feel of the following four identities - your state identity, your caste, your being Indian, and your religion? I mean from among these four identities which identity will you place on the first position, which one on the second position, which one on the third position and which one on the fourth position? - Your caste	“Rank 4” = 1, “Rank 3” = 2, “Rank 2” = 3, “Rank 1” = 4	Caste pride	-
Ranking from 1 to 4, please tell me how proud do you feel of the following four identities - your state identity, your caste, your being Indian, and your religion? I mean from among these four identities which identity will you place on the first position, which one on the second position, which one on the third position and which one on the fourth position? - Your religion	“Rank 4” = 1 , “Rank 3” = 2, “Rank 2” = 3, “Rank 1” = 4	Religious pride	-
Is any of your close friends from another religion than yours?	“Yes” = 0, “No” = 1	No close friends from another religion	Non-diverse friend group
Is any of your close friends from another caste than yours?	“Yes” = 0, “No” = 1	No close friends from another caste	Non-diverse friend group
Is any of your close friends from the opposite gender?	“Yes” = 0, “No” = 1	No close friends from another gender	Non-diverse friend group

Outcome Variables

The dataset also presents several variables that reflect the various attitudinal questions pertaining to caste and gender within this dataset. I model these as my outcome variables. Table 4.3 presents a list of all the variables in this category, along with a description of how they were coded.

Table 4.3: Overview of the outcome variables.

Questionnaire Item	Categories in My Data	Variable Name	Latent Variable Name
Tell me for each statement, do you agree with it or disagree with it? - It is not right for women to work/do a job after marriage	"Fully disagree" = 1, "Somewhat disagree" = 2, "No opinion" = 3, "Somewhat agree" = 4, "Fully agree" = 5	Women should not work after marriage	Gender Norms Applicable to Women
Tell me for each statement, do you agree with it or disagree with it? - Wives should always listen to their husbands	"Fully disagree" = 1, "Somewhat disagree" = 2, "No opinion" = 3, "Somewhat agree" = 4, "Fully agree" = 5	Wives should always listen to husbands	Gender Norms Applicable to Women
Tell me for each statement, do you agree with it or disagree with it? - Girls should not wear jeans	"Fully disagree" = 1, "Somewhat disagree" = 2, "No opinion" = 3, "Somewhat agree" = 4, "Fully agree" = 5	Girls should not wear jeans	Gender Norms Applicable to Women
Do you consider the following things right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes	"Right" = 1, "Somewhat right" = 2, "Can't say" = 3, "Wrong" = 4	Inter-caste marriage - right or wrong	Judging romantic relationships
Do you consider the following things right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions	"Right" = 1, "Somewhat right" = 2, "Can't say" = 3, "Wrong" = 4	Interreligious marriage - right or wrong	Judging romantic relationships
Do you consider the following things right or wrong? - Girl and boy living together without marriage	"Right" = 1, "Somewhat right" = 2, "Can't say" = 3, "Wrong" = 4	Live-in relationships - right or wrong	Judging romantic relationships
Do you consider the following things right or wrong? - Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married	"Right" = 1, "Somewhat right" = 2, "Can't say" = 3, "Wrong" = 4	Dating - right or wrong	Judging romantic relationships
Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - People who cook non-vegetarian food/meat/fish	"No" = 1 , "Maybe" = 2, "Yes" = 3	Discomfort with neighbours who eat meat	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours

Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - People from another caste	"No" = 1 , "Maybe" = 2, "Yes" = 3	Discomfort with neighbours from another caste	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours
Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - People who drink alcohol	"No" = 1 , "Maybe" = 2, "Yes" = 3	Discomfort with neighbours who drink alcohol	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours
Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - People from another religion	"No" = 1 , "Maybe" = 2, "Yes" = 3	Discomfort with neighbours from another religion	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours
Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? - Boy and girl living together outside of marriage	"No" = 1 , "Maybe" = 2, "Yes" = 3	Discomfort with neighbours in live-in relationships	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours

Here too, I construct latent variables:

1. Gender norms applicable to women: Three indicators were selected for this model: 1) women should not work after marriage; 2) wives should always listen to their husbands; 3) girls should not wear jeans. All these items were measured on a Likert scale, with higher values indicating greater agreement, therefore indicating more 'traditionalism'. Crucially, these individual indicators seem to be capturing something unobservable about traditional norms applicable to women, justifying the construction of this latent variable.

2. Judging romantic relationships: Four indicators were selected for this model: 1) Do you consider the following things right or wrong? – Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes; 2) Do you consider the following things right or wrong? – Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions; 3) Do you consider the following things right or wrong? – Girl and boy living together without marriage; 4) Do you consider the following things right or wrong? – Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married. All these items were recoded to ordered factors with higher values indicating that the type of relationship is more wrong,

therefore indicating more traditional views. These individual indicators also seem to capture something unobservable about what is considered moral or immoral regarding romantic relationships between men and women.

3. Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours: Five indicators were selected: Would it create discomfort/problems for you if these were your neighbours? 1) People who cook non-vegetarian food/meat/fish; 2) People from another caste; 3) People who drink alcohol; 4) People from another religion; 5) Boy and girl living together outside of marriage. Responses are coded in a manner where higher values indicate greater discomfort, indicating a greater tilt towards a traditional mindset. This latent variable allows me to tap into an unobserved measure of discomfort towards having neighbours from a different caste or religion and ones that do not abide by traditional Hindu, upper caste norms.

4.3.1 The Three Structural Equation Models

Even with a focus on caste and gender, "traditional attitudes" can take on infinite meanings. Therefore, with the 3 models presented below, the primary question (RQ1) moves from being a very general research question, to a question that takes on three specific operationalisations of 'traditional attitudes' as seen in the analytical focus column in Table 4.4. Each one of these three models takes on a different dimension of what qualifies as 'traditional attitudes' based on the outcome variables in the Lokniti dataset. Together, these three models address the more subtle ways in which traditional attitudes pertaining to caste and gender hierarchies permeate everyday life.

The first model, "A Suitable Girl", focuses on attitudes about traditional gender norms applicable to women. It probes the extent to which Indians concur or differ with statements about what women or girls should or should not do. This model encompasses the performative (clothing) and deferential (listening to husband) aspects of gender norms, aligning with the concept of *maryada*, or giving hierarchical deference (Mines, 2005, p. 81) as described in Chapter 1.

The second model, "Bad Romance", considers beliefs about the morality (or immorality) of various romantic relationships. This includes questions on the

acceptability of inter-caste and inter-religious relationships. Responses might indicate the degree of adherence to caste and religious norms advocating for marrying within one's group. Similarly, perceptions about pre-marital dating or cohabitation not only signify traditionalism but also reflect how aligned individuals are with the 'ideal' standards determined by religious and caste norms.

The third model, "Your Friendly Neighbourhood", gauges comfort levels with different types of neighbours. Participants are asked about their ease or unease with neighbours from various castes and religions. This model also includes questions about neighbours in a live-in relationship and consuming meat and alcohol. Consumption of meat and alcohol is considered taboo for upper caste Hindus, and staunch practitioners would also not prefer to be surrounded by people who deviate from these rules. This has led to challenges with the housing market in India, where there is increasing evidence of Muslims and members of marginalised castes not being able to find housing (Thorat et al., 2015) on grounds of their dietary preferences (Kikon, 2022).

Importantly, these models do not directly address the persistence of casteism through lenses like violence, discrimination, or affirmative action views. Instead, caste and gender attitudes are intricately woven within broader preferences and everyday decision-making domains. This underlines the point that the nuances of caste and gender seamlessly integrate into routine existence.

Table 4.4: Description of the Structural Equation Models.

Model	Analytical Focus	Demographics	Mediators	Outcomes
Model 1 - A Suitable Girl	How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India? - attitudes tied to gender norms applicable to women	Caste, gender, marital status, type of area, family size, highest education level	Concern for family obligation	Gender norms applicable to women

Model 2 - Bad Romance	How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India? - attitudes tied to moral judgements about romantic relationships	Caste, gender, marital status, type of area, family size, highest education level	Concern for family obligation, Non-diverse friend group	Judging romantic relationships
Model 3 - Your Friendly Neighbourhood	How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India? - attitudes tied to discomfort with neighbours who deviate from traditional caste and gender norms	Caste, gender, marital status, type of area, family size, highest education level, dietary preference	Concern for family obligation, caste pride, religious pride	Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours

4.3.2 Core Predictions

Given that this chapter serves as the foundational piece for the remainder of the PhD, the intention is for this study to adopt a more exploratory approach. Nonetheless, considering the variables and the research questions detailed earlier, certain key predictions stemming from the research questions informed the analyses for each one of the three models. These predictions were formulated keeping the previously shared anthropological and sociological evidence from section 4.1.2 in mind.

The primary research question (RQ1), how do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India results in two set of predictions.

The first, prediction involves the relationship between demographic variables and

traditional attitudes. Across all three models, I predict that

> P0.1 - being male, married, adhering to a strict vegetarian diet, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with traditional attitudes concerning caste and gender.

In the literature discussed in 4.1.2, adherence to caste and gender norms are known to be sensitive to, and related with gender, marital status, caste, education, where one lives, and dietary preferences (Alex, 2019; Dhar et al., 2019; Gilbertson, 2018; A. Shah, 2007; Titzmann, 2017). Owing to the linkages between attitudes and norms, I have aligned the predictions here with what we know about the relationship between demographics and caste and gender norm adherence in India.

The second prediction involves the relationship between a concern for familial obligation and traditional attitudes. I predict that,

> P0.2 - an increased concern for family obligation is positively associated with espousing traditional attitudes.

This prediction is also driven by findings in prior literature that suggests that one's orientation to their family can mould norm adherence (D'Cruz & Bharat, 2001; G. R. Gupta, 1976a; Kapadia, 1959; Prasad et al., 2020)

Next, the third core prediction is aimed at understanding how demographic factors relate with a concern for familial obligation (tied to RQ2)

> P0.3 - being female, married, adhering to a strict vegetarian diet, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with an increased concern for family obligation.

Here too, the direction of the associations mirrors what we see in the literature (Alex, 2019; Still, 2017), and that of P0.1 with the one exception being gender. As gatekeepers of family honour, women are more likely to be concerned about

family obligation.

Notes on Modelling Choices

Forgoing Parsimony

In this chapter, an unorthodox approach to modelling was adopted, characterised by an exploration across a wide array of items rather than striving for a parsimonious model. This decision stems from a fundamental interest in understanding the distinct role played by each variable. The intention is not necessarily to refine the model to a few key predictors but to examine the breadth of factors and their relationships, offering a comprehensive view that can inform subsequent chapters. A deliberate choice was made to present initial results without extensive iteration, focusing less on model fit in this phase. It is anticipated that in future work, particularly for publication, a more iterative process focusing on model optimisation will be employed.

Forgoing Mediation

The decision to not primarily focus on mediating effects stems from this chapter's specific interest in understanding how family dynamics shape traditional attitudes and how these family obligations are influenced by demographic factors. Additionally, there is an interest in examining how demographics directly shape traditional attitudes. In this context, the potential mediating effect of demographics on attitudes through family dynamics, while undoubtedly valuable, falls outside the core interest of this particular chapter. This methodological choice is aligned with the chapter's exploratory aims, seeking to map out the complex web of factors contributing to the perpetuation of social hierarchies. It allows for a direct examination of the relationships between family obligation and demographics on traditional attitudes without the intermediary step of assessing mediation, thus providing clarity and focus on these primary relationships. Furthermore, the use of a mediation analysis was eliminated on statistical grounds. Kline (2015b) reminds us that most mediation analyses are erroneously brought to studies with cross-sectional designs where all variables are concurrently measured, lacking the crucial element of time precedence. As the present dataset and study qualifies as a cross-sectional study, this means that

mediation actually cannot be established in such designs "unless there is a convincing rationale for directionality specifications". This provides further reason against pursuing a mediation analysis.

Model Form - The Similarities and the Differences

A final note on modelling choices involves my decisions around model specification. The three models are largely similar to one another where there is a depiction of the three core relationships (stemming from the three core predictions P0.1, P0.2, and P0.3) I am interested in. These include the relationship between demographic variables and traditional attitudes, between a concern for familial obligation and traditional attitudes, and between demographic factors relate with a concern for familial obligation.

Additionally, models 2 and 3 go over and above these core predictions as they see the inclusion of a few more variables and latent constructs. For instance, "Bad Romance" sees an inclusion of a latent construct measuring diversity of one's friend group along lines of caste, gender and religion. This makes for a fitting inclusion because the outcome (latent) variable measures moral judgement towards intercaste and inter-religious relationships, thus offering a degree of complementarity. A similar decision is made for "Your Friendly Neighbourhood" where I include dietary preferences within the 'demographic' variable category, and measures of caste and religious pride as 'mediator' variables. The outcome variables that form the latent construct ask about neighbours from a different caste, religion, and those who eat meat and drink alcohol. Therefore, questions on caste and religious pride (as prospectively signalling a preference for neighbours from the same in-group) and dietary preferences seem fitting. The addition of these variables lead to an expanded set of predictions (beyond the core predictions outlined above) and are presented alongside model specifications below.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

The breakdown of responses to the various variables are presented in Table 4.5, Table 4.6, and Table 4.7. Overall, there is a reasonable balance of attributes and

perspectives represented in the sample. I would like to draw your attention to a few key points.

Table 4.5: Descriptive statistics - Demographic variables

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Caste	Other Backward Classes (OBC)	2587	42.26
Caste	Others	2036	33.26
Caste	SC/ST	1496	24.44
Highest education level	Intermediate/College no degree	1297	21.19
Highest education level	Matric pass	1283	20.96
Highest education level	Primary pass or Middle pass	1212	19.80
Highest education level	Graduate or equivalent	1184	19.34
Highest education level	Post Graduate or Professional Degree	574	9.38
Highest education level	Below Primary or Illiterate	527	8.61
Gender	Male	3566	58.25
Gender	Female	2556	41.75
Married	Married	3405	55.62
Married	Not married	2662	43.48
Family size	Medium	3410	55.70
Family size	Small	2181	35.63
Family size	Large	531	8.67
Type of area	Village	2619	42.78
Type of area	City	1456	23.78
Type of area	Metropolis	1181	19.29
Type of area	Town	866	14.15
Dietary preferences	Non-vegetarian	3597	58.76
Dietary preferences	Pure vegetarian	1754	28.65

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Dietary preferences	Eggetarian	560	9.15

The largest proportion of participants hail from villages, and the distribution across cities and metropolises is somewhat similar, with towns being the least represented category. A majority of the sample consists of non-vegetarians. OBCs (Other Backward Classes) represent the largest caste category within this sample, which is also the case for male participants and those who are married.

Table 4.6: Descriptive statistics - Mediator variables

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Friends from another caste	Yes	4985	81.43
Friends from another caste	No	1030	16.82
Friends from another gender	No	3465	56.60
Friends from another gender	Yes	2391	39.06
Friends from another religion	Yes	4305	70.32
Friends from another religion	No	1696	27.70
Caste pride	Rank 4	1710	27.93
Caste pride	Rank 3	1576	25.74
Caste pride	Rank 2	1039	16.97
Caste pride	Rank 1	795	12.99
Religious pride	Rank 4	1549	25.30
Religious pride	Rank 3	1464	23.91
Religious pride	Rank 2	1387	22.66
Religious pride	Rank 1	757	12.37
Worry about family problems	Quite a lot	3476	56.78
Worry about family problems	Somewhat	1530	24.99
Worry about family problems	Very little	520	8.49
Worry about family problems	Not at all	477	7.79
Worry about family tradition	Quite a lot	2935	47.94
Worry about family tradition	Somewhat	1774	28.98
Worry about family tradition	Very little	651	10.63

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Worry about family tradition	Not at all	631	10.31

Looking at the diversity within friend groups, most participants say that they do have friends from other castes and religions. However, a majority say that they do not have friends from another gender. When it comes to worrying about family traditions and family problems, participants who respond 'quite a lot' constitute the largest share.

Table 4.7: Descriptive statistics - Outcome variables

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Girls should not wear jeans	Fully disagree	2084	34.04
Girls should not wear jeans	Somewhat disagree	1214	19.83
Girls should not wear jeans	Fully agree	1175	19.19
Girls should not wear jeans	Somewhat agree	1015	16.58
Girls should not wear jeans	No opinion	634	10.36
Wives should always listen to their husbands	Fully agree	1520	24.83
Wives should always listen to their husbands	Somewhat agree	1516	24.76
Wives should always listen to their husbands	Fully disagree	1460	23.85
Wives should always listen to their husbands	Somewhat disagree	1104	18.03
Wives should always listen to their husbands	No opinion	522	8.53
Women should not work after marriage	Fully disagree	2166	35.38
Women should not work after marriage	Somewhat agree	1240	20.25
Women should not work after marriage	Fully agree	1119	18.28

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Women should not work after marriage	Somewhat disagree	1063	17.36
Women should not work after marriage	No opinion	534	8.72
Intercaste marriage – right or wrong?	Right	2155	35.20
Intercaste marriage – right or wrong?	Wrong	1960	32.02
Intercaste marriage – right or wrong?	Somewhat right	1463	23.90
Intercaste marriage – right or wrong?	Can't say	544	8.89
Inter-religious marriage – right or wrong?	Wrong	2454	40.08
Inter-religious marriage – right or wrong?	Right	1847	30.17
Inter-religious marriage – right or wrong?	Somewhat right	1293	21.12
Inter-religious marriage – right or wrong?	Can't say	528	8.62
Dating – right or wrong?	Wrong	3078	50.28
Dating – right or wrong?	Somewhat right	1391	22.72
Dating – right or wrong?	Right	1082	17.67
Dating – right or wrong?	Can't say	571	9.33
Live-in relationships – right or wrong?	Wrong	3967	64.80
Live-in relationships – right or wrong?	Somewhat right	859	14.03
Live-in relationships – right or wrong?	Right	730	11.92
Live-in relationships – right or wrong?	Can't say	566	9.25
Neighbour discomfort – different caste	No	5112	83.50

Variable	Category	N	Percentage
Neighbour discomfort – different caste	Yes	640	10.45
Neighbour discomfort – different caste	Maybe	263	4.30
Neighbour discomfort – different religion	No	4708	76.90
Neighbour discomfort – different religion	Yes	785	12.82
Neighbour discomfort – different religion	Maybe	427	6.97
Neighbour discomfort – meat eater	No	4604	75.20
Neighbour discomfort – meat eater	Yes	1166	19.05
Neighbour discomfort – meat eater	Maybe	231	3.77
Neighbour discomfort – drinks alcohol	Yes	2726	44.53
Neighbour discomfort – drinks alcohol	No	2658	43.42
Neighbour discomfort – drinks alcohol	Maybe	582	9.51
Neighbour discomfort – in a live-in relationship	No	2831	46.24
Neighbour discomfort – in a live-in relationship	Yes	1990	32.51
Neighbour discomfort – in a live-in relationship	Maybe	786	12.84

Most participants fully disagree with statements, ‘girls should not wear jeans’ and ‘women should not work after marriage’. However, the opposite category, ‘fully agree’, still constitutes a sizeable share of responses. This peculiarity is even more pronounced for the statement ‘wives should always listen to their husbands’, with a majority agreeing. The relatively high proportion of participants who ‘fully

agree' provides an initial indication of traditionalism.

Further evidence of this traditionalism is found in responses regarding the morality of different types of relationships. Excluding inter-caste marriage, a significant majority of participants label inter-religious relationships, dating, and live-in relationships as wrong. Live-in relationships, in particular, are deemed wrong by a wide margin. Conversely, participants appear more accepting of inter-caste relationships.

In terms of neighbours, a vast majority of participants express comfort with those from different castes or religions. However, there's notable discomfort with neighbours who consume alcohol. For neighbours who eat meat, most participants express comfort. Yet, when it comes to live-in relationships, the numbers of participants expressing comfort versus discomfort are more evenly matched.

4.4.2 SEM Results

All SEM models were estimated using the 'Lavaan' package in R (Rosseel, 2012). All observed indicators were treated as ordered categorical variables. Lavaan defaults to providing DWLS (Diagonally Weighted Least Squares) estimators for ordered data. Details of the measurement model and model fit indices are presented after the results of each model.

4.4.3 Model 1 – A Suitable Girl

Model Specification:

The first model tests the three sets of core predictions that I outlined earlier:

> P1.1 - being male, married, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with more traditional attitudes on gender norms relevant to women
>
> P1.2 - An increased concern for family obligation is positively associated with more traditional attitudes on norms pertinent to women.

P1.3 - I expect analogous associations between the demographic variables and a concern for family obligation, except for gender. Here, I predict that being female will correlate positively with a concern for family obligation.

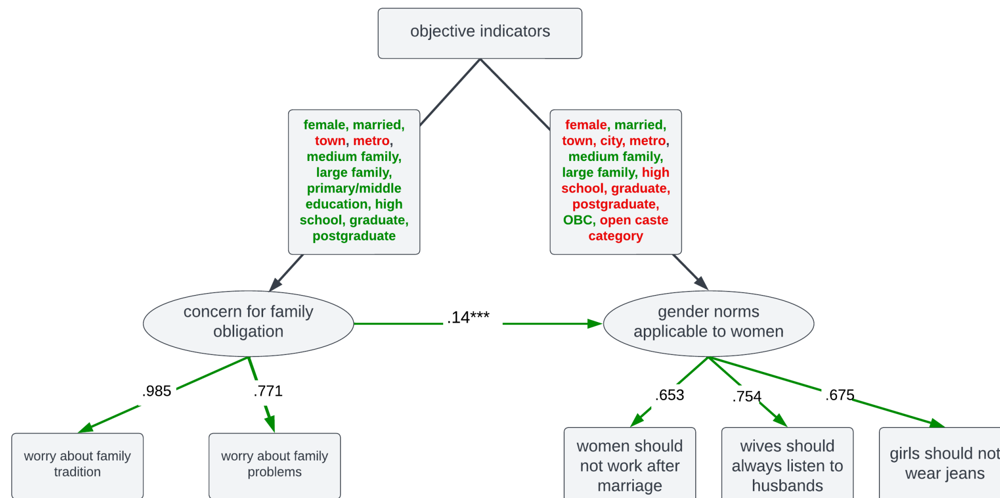

Figure 4.1: A Suitable Girl - SEM Model
variables in circles represent latent variables, variables in rectangles represent observed indicators, text and arrows in green represent positive and significant associations at conventional levels of significance, text and arrows in red represent negative and significant associations at conventional levels of significance

First, I examine the measurement model before delving into the structural model. The measurement model offers insight into how effectively the latent variable loads on to the individual observed indicators, effectively indicating if the latent variable is a good measure of the underlying indicators. Given that the primary focus of this paper revolves around the regression models, I utilise the measurement model as a preliminary checkpoint to confirm that the factor loadings are positive and significant. In this context, all loadings are positive and significant as seen in Table 4.8, indicating that higher values of the latent variable, concern for family obligation, denote higher levels of concern.

Table 4.8: Factor Loadings of the Structural Equation Model (measurement model) - A Suitable Girl

Latent Variable	Item	Coefficient
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Tradition	0.985***
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Problems	0.771***
Gender Norms Applicable to Women	Women should not work after marriage	0.653***
Gender Norms Applicable to Women	Wives should always listen to husbands	0.754***
Gender Norms Applicable to Women	Girls should not wear jeans	0.675***

Next, I examine the results of the structural model.

Table 4.9: Structural equation modelling regression results - A Suitable Girl.

Path	Coefficient
female to concern for family obligation	0.05***
married to concern for family obligation	0.1***
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.09***
living in a city to concern for family obligation	-0.01
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.09***
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06***
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.06***
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.04*
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.02
high school to concern for family obligation	0.06**
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.07**
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.04**
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	-0.01
open caste category to concern for family obligation	0
concern for family obligation to gender norms applicable to women	0.14***
female to gender norms applicable to women	-0.24***
married to gender norms applicable to women	0.09***
living in a town to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05***
living in a city to gender norms applicable to women	-0.13***
living in a metro to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05***

medium family size to gender norms applicable to women	0.05***
large family size to gender norms applicable to women	0.05***
primary or middle education to gender norms applicable to women	0.03
matric education to gender norms applicable to women	-0.02
high school to gender norms applicable to women	-0.1***
graduate to gender norms applicable to women	-0.17***
postgraduate to gender norms applicable to women	-0.22***
OBC caste category to gender norms applicable to women	0.05***
open caste category to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05**

Note:

r-sq = 0.19

Note:

p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

Table 4.9 presents standardised regression coefficients (representing the expected change in the outcome variable, in its standard deviation units, given a 1-sd change in the explanatory variables) that depict relationships between independent variables and the dependent latent variables. These associations are also visually depicted in Figure 4.1. In Table 4.9, I describe all the paths that detail the strength and significance of the association. For instance, in the path "female to concern for family obligation" I test the association between being female (the independent variable in this case) and concern for family obligation (dependent variable). All coefficients here are indicative of associations and do not suggest causality. A more detailed table with confidence intervals (ci.lower, ci.upper), standard errors (SE), Z values (Wald test), and p-values is available for review in Section 8.1.3.

Overall, the relationships between concern for family obligation and all the demographic variables align with expectations. Positive associations in cases of being female, being married, and originating from larger families suggest that individuals in these demographic categories express heightened concern for family obligation. Negative associations for town and metro (compared to village) indicate a lower level of concern for family obligation in those areas. Contrary to expectations, some higher education categories (compared to no education, the reference category) are generally linked with increased levels of concern for family obligation, suggesting this might reflect a measure of concern about family issues, beyond just tradition. Furthermore, hailing from the OBC category or being a part of the open caste categories as compared to being in the SC or ST caste categories

are not statistically significantly associated worry for family obligation. While members of the SC/ST group may reject tradition (one of the underlying constructs of this latent variable), they are still likely to care and worry about family problems, potentially explaining why I do not find an association here.

Next, in accordance with predictions, elevated concern for family obligation correlates with higher agreement levels towards traditional attitudes tied to gender norms.

Discussing the associations of social categories and demographic indicators with agreement levels on traditional gender-related attitudes, results largely align with predictions. This is evident from the positive and significant associations observed in cases of larger family sizes, being married, and originating from the OBC caste category. Similarly, negative associations for individuals living in towns, cities, and metros (compared to village), and for some higher education categories are in line with predictions. Notably, being female correlates with reduced agreement levels on traditional gender norms.

Gilbertson (2018) portrays an India in transition, where the ideal housewife's image has transitioned from solely handling household chores to managing both household and office tasks. This adaptation to modernity reflects in the current data where it is observed that women are less inclined to espouse traditional attitudes tied to gender norms compared to men. Concurrently, this model suggests women show more concern for their families than men. This aligns with previous anthropological studies proposing that a family's honour predominantly rests with its women (Gilbertson, 2014; Still, 2017). This might suggest that even if women do not personally espouse traditional attitudes, concern for family and potential sanctions might still influence their adherence to norms. This is likely relevant for members of other marginalised categories, like caste. Here, group members might not support traditional attitudes (which could arguably limit them) but might still adhere to norms to appease kinship networks or to avoid sanctions.

Evaluating the fit of any SEM requires careful consideration of several fit indices, as no single measure can fully capture the model's adequacy. Tests such as CFI (Comparative Fit Index), TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index), SRMR (Standardised Root

Mean Square Residual), and RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation) are the go-to tests for an SEM approach (Kline, 2015a; Stone, 2021) . For this model, the RMSEA value of 0.05 suggest an adequate fit with the observed data, aligning with standard criterion for adequacy (RMSEA ≤ 0.05) (Kline, 2015a). Together with a CFI of 0.92 and TLI of 0.97, the results supports a reasonably good model fit. However, the SRMR value of 0.07, while within acceptable limits, indicates room for improvement in model specification.

While the r-squared value of 0.19, might suggest moderate explanatory power, it is crucial to interpret these in light of the exploratory nature of the research. The aim was not to construct a parsimonious model but to explore a wide array of concepts and their interrelations. This methodological choice is aligned with the thesis's broader objectives of understanding the complex fabric of social hierarchies and attitudes, rather than maximising variance explained in specific outcomes.

4.4.4 Model 2 – Bad Romance

Model Specification:

This model introduces the same three sets of relationships, but the outcome focuses on opinions regarding the moral or immoral nature of male-female romantic relationships.

> P2.1 - being male, married, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with more traditional attitudes regarding romantic relationships.
>
> P2.2 - an increased concern for family obligation is positively associated with more traditional attitudes regarding romantic relationships.
>
> P2.3 - I expect analogous associations between the demographic variables and a concern for family obligation, except for gender. Here, I predict that being female will correlate positively with a concern for family obligation.

Apart from the latent variable looking at the concern for family obligation, this

model introduces another mediating latent variable measuring the homogeneity of one's friend group concerning caste, religion, and gender. The inclusion of this latent variable stems from its relevance and complementarity to the model's outcome. Beyond our families, our friendship circles and the diversity within such groups are likely to influence our perspectives on romantic relationships. Moreover, the diversity of a friend group along lines of caste, gender and religion is complementary to the questions that capture judgement towards romantic relationships across the same cleavages, making it a suitable addition to this model in specific (and not to the others).

In addition to the three core predictions that align with the previous model's predictions, I predict that,

> P2.4 - Being female, married, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with having a non-diverse friend group

Again, as entities that are known to be the gatekeepers of honour, women are more likely to be friends with other women and have a homogeneous friend group.

> P2.5 - Having a non-diverse friend group would be positively associated with more traditional attitudes regarding romantic relationships.

First, I examine the measurement model and then delve into the structural model:

Table 4.10: Factor loadings Structural Equation Model (measurement model) - Bad romance.

Latent Variable	Item	Coefficient
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Tradition	0.910***
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Problems	0.841***

Latent Variable	Item	Coefficient
Non-diverse friend group	No close friends from another caste	0.660***
Non-diverse friend group	No close friends from another religion	0.800***
Non-diverse friend group	No close friends from another gender	0.446***
Judging romantic relationships	Intercaste marriage - right or wrong	0.945***
Judging romantic relationships	Interreligious marriage - right or wrong	0.945***
Judging romantic relationships	Live-in relationships - right or wrong	0.781***
Judging romantic relationships	Dating - right or wrong	0.775***

As illustrated in Table 4.10, all factor loadings are positive and significant. This indicates that higher values of the latent variable, measuring the lack of diversity in a friend group, suggest an increasing likelihood that the friend group is homogeneous. Higher values of the latent construct, measuring opinions on the moral or immoral nature of male-female romantic relationships, imply a greater inclination to label such relationships as immoral. The interpretation of the construct measuring concern for family obligation remains consistent with the previous model.

Table 4.11: Structural equation modelling regression results - Bad Romance.

Path	Coefficient
female to concern for family obligation	0.05***
married to concern for family obligation	0.1***
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.1***
living in a city to concern for family obligation	-0.01
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.09***
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06***
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.05***
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.05*

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.02
high school to concern for family obligation	0.06**
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.07***
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.04*
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	0
open caste category to concern for family obligation	0.01
female to having a non-diverse friend group	0.15***
living in a town to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.14***
living in a city to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.17***
living in a metro to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.09***
married to having a non-diverse friend group	0.11***
matric education to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.16***
primary or middle education to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.08***
high school to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.25***
graduate to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.28***
postgraduate to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.25***
OBC caste category to having a non-diverse friend group	0
open caste category to having a non-diverse friend group	0
medium family size to having a non-diverse friend group	0
large family size to having a non-diverse friend group	0.04***
having a non-diverse friend group to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.16***
concern about family obligation to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.03**
female to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.01
living in a town to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.03**
living in a city to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.2***
living in a metro to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.11***
medium family size to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.04***
large family size to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.07***
married to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.14***
matric education to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.08***
primary or middle education to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.03
high school to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.15***
graduate to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.18***
postgraduate to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.2***
OBC caste category to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.07***
open caste category to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.04**

Note:

r-sq = 0.18

Note:

p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

Given that the associations between the demographic variables and concern for family obligation have already been discussed in the previous model, I now focus

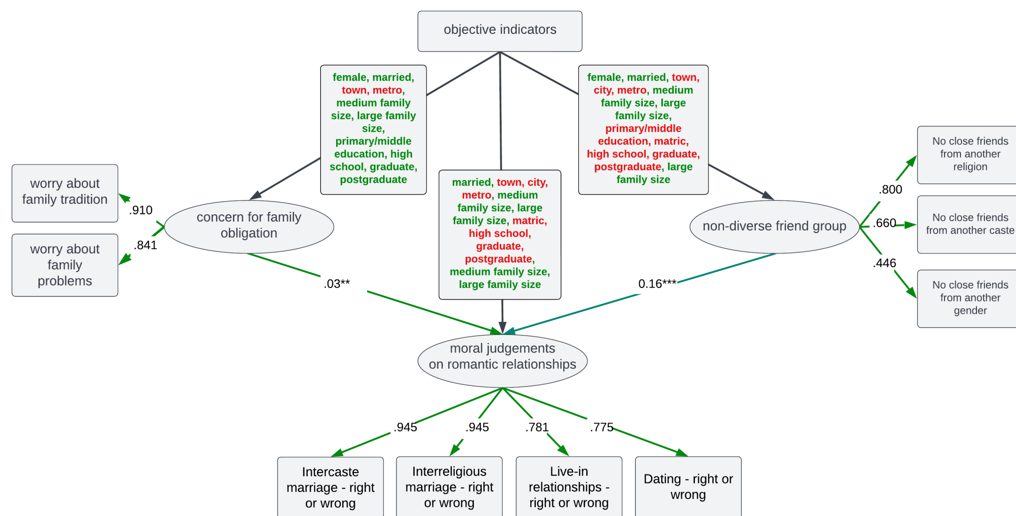

Figure 4.2: Bad Romance - SEM Model
variables in circles represent latent variables, variables in rectangles represent observed indicators, text and arrows in green represent positive and significant associations at conventional levels of significance, text and arrows in red represent negative and significant associations at conventional levels of significance

on other associations (also depicted in Figure 4.2).

In examining the determinants of having a non-diverse friend group, being female, being married, and having a large family compared to a small one are both positively (and significantly) associated with a more homogeneous friend circle. These findings align with expectations, as do the negative associations observed for living in more developed regions and having higher levels of education. There's no discernible link between caste and the diversity of friend groups. The observation that women are less likely to have diverse friend groups concurs with the anticipated norms of subservience (*maryada*), where it is generally considered inappropriate for women to socialise freely with men.

Regarding the outcome, both having a non-diverse friend group and a heightened concern for family obligation correlate with more traditional perspectives on romantic relationships. This is in line with the predictions, suggesting that one's immediate social circle significantly influences their attitudes.

The results for some of the associations between the demographic indicators and the outcomes conform to expectations. There is evidence that belonging to the OBC and open caste categories is also positively linked to these traditional views.

Yet, regarding gender, there is no evidence suggesting that women are more inclined towards traditional views on romance compared to men, as the coefficient lacks statistical significance.

Overall, introducing a latent measure of diversity within one's friend group adds depth and subtlety to our understanding of what shapes attitudes. In both the previous and the current model, I observe that a larger family size correlates positively with more traditional stances. Concurrently, possessing a diverse set of friends across lines of caste, gender, and religion tends to counteract traditional perspectives. The company one keeps plays a pivotal role in moulding attitudes. Evidently, both family and friend groups are likely to exert influence, often pulling in contrasting directions. Nonetheless, I must refrain from making definitive statements about the causality or direction of this effect; it is equally plausible that individuals with more progressive viewpoints naturally gravitate towards, or form diverse social circles.

"Bad Romance" exhibits an even tighter fit, as indicated by an RMSEA of 0.05. This model's fit is further corroborated by its CFI and TLI values (0.97 and 0.99, respectively), which demonstrate good fit. The SRMR value of 0.06 also suggests a satisfactory fit, reinforcing the model's adequacy in capturing the relationships among variables. Much like the results seen in 'A Suitable Girl', the r-squared value of 0.18 suggests moderate explanatory power.

4.4.5 Model 3 – Your Friendly Neighbourhood

Model Specification:

This model adopts a distinct emphasis, seeking to discern the factors influencing choices and perceptions related to neighbour preferences. As highlighted in the literature review, a preference for neighbours sharing one's caste and religion has resulted in marginalised groups struggling to secure housing in major metropolitan areas of India. Thus, even preferences that might appear innocuous (and not directly related to norms as in the previous models) concerning potential neighbours can have profound ramifications. Moreover, unease with certain neighbour types can yield discriminatory outcomes, underscoring a broader point about how attitudes can extend beyond an individual and their immediate circle to

encompass strangers. The specific set of predictions for this model are as follows:

> P3.1 - being female, married, adhering to a strict vegetarian diet, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with heightened unease with neighbours who do not adhere to conventional Hindu, upper-caste norms.

Following from the above where it was predicted that women are likely to prefer homogeneous friend groups, it is likely that this also translates to neighbour preferences where women are more likely to be comfortable with neighbours who adhere to conventional Hindu, upper-caste norms.

> P3.2 - an increased concern for family obligation is positively associated with heightened unease with neighbours who do not adhere to conventional Hindu, upper-caste norms

> P3.3 - I expect analogous associations between the demographic variables and a concern for family obligation as in P3.1

Beyond the three core sets of predictions tested throughout all models, this model introduces additional mediator variables, specifically the pride one feels towards their caste and religion. In this model, caste and religious pride is also predicted to be related with a concern for family obligation.

> P3.4 - being female, married, adhering to a strict vegetarian diet, having lower educational qualifications, living in underdeveloped areas, having a larger family, and belonging to the open caste category or OBC categories (in contrast to the SC/ST category) are positively associated with pride in one's caste and religion

> P3.5 - an increased concern for family obligation is positively associated with pride in one's caste and religion.

> P3.6 - Pride in one's caste and religion is positively associated with heightened unease with neighbours who do not adhere to conventional Hindu, upper-caste norms

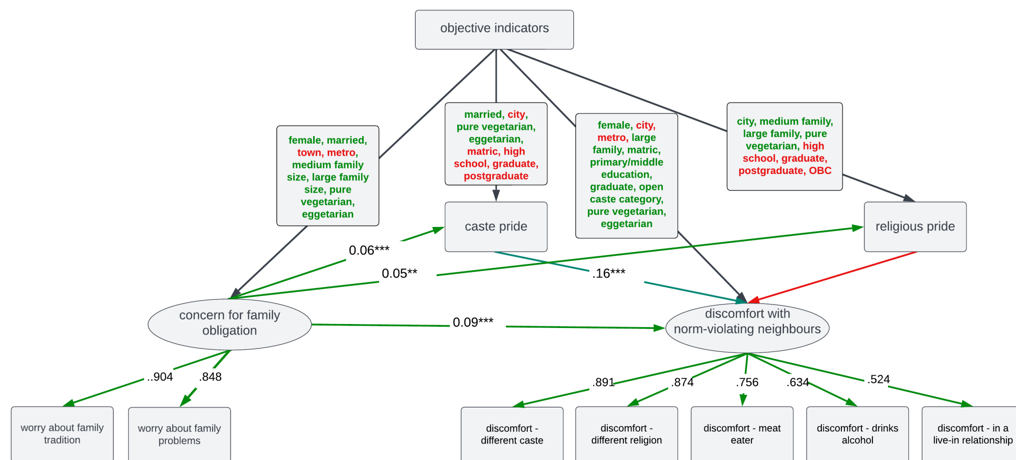

Figure 4.3: Your Friendly Neighbourhood - SEM Model
variables in circles represent latent variables, variables in rectangles represent observed indicators, text and arrows in green represent positive and significant associations at conventional levels of significance, text and arrows in red represent negative and significant associations at conventional levels of significance

First, I examine the measurement model in Table 4.12 and then delve into the structural model depicted in Figure 4.3 and Table 4.13:

Table 4.12: Factor loadings Structural Equation Model (measurement model) - Your Friendly Neighbourhood.

Latent Variable	Item	Coefficient
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Tradition	0.904***
Concern for Family Obligation	Worry about Family Problems	0.848***
Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	Discomfort with neighbours from another caste	0.891***
Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	Discomfort with neighbours from another religion	0.874***
Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	Discomfort with neighbours who eat meat	0.756***

Latent Variable	Item	Coefficient
Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	Discomfort with neighbours who drink alcohol	0.634***
Discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	Discomfort with neighbours in live-in relationships	0.524***

Results of the measurement model suggest that all factor loadings are positive and significant. For the latent construct measuring discomfort towards having neighbours from a different caste or religion and ones that do not abide by traditional Hindu, upper caste norms, higher values of the construct indicate greater discomfort. Patterns for concern for family obligation remain the same as previous models.

Table 4.13: Structural equation modelling regression results - Your Friendly Neighbourhood.

Path	Coefficient
female to concern for family obligation	0.04**
married to concern for family obligation	0.08***
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.08***
living in a city to concern for family obligation	0
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.1***
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06***
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.05***
pure vegetarian to concern for family obligation	0.14***
eggetarian to concern for family obligation	0.08***
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.01
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.02
high school to concern for family obligation	0.03
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.04
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.03
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	0
open caste category to concern for family obligation	-0.01
concern for family obligation to caste pride	0.06***
female to caste pride	0.02
married to caste pride	0.05**
living in a town to caste pride	-0.02
living in a city to caste pride	-0.09***

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient
living in a metro to caste pride	-0.01
medium family size to caste pride	0.03
large family size to caste pride	0.02
pure vegetarian to caste pride	0.1***
eggetarian to to caste pride	0.06***
matric education to caste pride	-0.07***
primary or middle education to caste pride	-0.02
high school to caste pride	-0.1***
graduate to caste pride	-0.08***
postgraduate to caste pride	-0.15***
OBC caste category to caste pride	-0.03
open caste category to caste pride	-0.02
concern for family obligation to religious pride	0.05**
female to religious pride	-0.03
married to religious pride	-0.01
living in a town to religious pride	0.01
living in a city to religious pride	0.08**
living in a metro to religious pride	-0.03
medium family size to religious pride	0.07***
large family size to religious pride	0.1***
pure vegetarian to religious pride	0.07***
eggetarian to to religious pride	0.01
matric education to religious pride	-0.04
primary or middle education to religious pride	0.01
high school to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.09***
graduate to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.1***
postgraduate to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.07***
OBC caste category to religious pride	0.05**
open caste category to religious pride	0.01
concern for family obligation to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.09***
caste pride to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.16***
religious pride to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04
female to to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.05**
married to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0
living in a town to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.04
living in a city to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.17***
living in a metro to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.16***
medium family size to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0
large family size to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.08***
matric education to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.07***
primary or middle education to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.06**
high school to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04
graduate to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.06**
postgraduate to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.01

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient
OBC caste category to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.01
open caste category to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.07***
pure vegetarian to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.23***
eggetarian to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04**

Note:

r-sq = 0.16

Note:

p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

As with the prior models, results relating to associations between concern for family obligation and the demographic variables align with expectations. Moreover, concern for family obligation correlates positively with identifying as a pure vegetarian or an eggetarian, in contrast to being a non-vegetarian.

Addressing pride in one's caste and religion, the data offer partial support for the predictions. I observe that an elevated concern for family obligation correlates with pronounced pride in both one's caste and religion. Being a pure vegetarian is positively linked with pride in both caste and religion, suggesting that individuals who fervently identify with their caste groups (via pride in their caste group) may express this identity through dietary choices. This concurs with earlier research examining normative behaviours in relation to dietary inclinations (Kikon, 2022). Regarding caste, there appears to be no evidence for an association between membership in a particular caste group and pride in that group.

With respect to the outcome variable, a heightened concern for family obligation is linked with more conventional preferences concerning acceptable neighbours. This association also holds for pride in one's caste, being a pure vegetarian, and identifying with the open caste category. The three positive correlations here imply a notable inference about the nuanced ways our affiliation with a category (measured by pride in this instance) might lead to discriminatory outcomes.

As anticipated, this discomfort towards neighbours who do not espouse traditional values associated with caste and gender norms might originate from the social classifications to which we belong (e.g., gender or marital status). There is preliminary evidence suggesting that caste might be influential. Belonging to

the open caste categories, as opposed to the SC/ST groups, combined with an elevated pride in one's caste, is associated with heightened levels of discomfort. This may imply that members of 'upper' caste groups experience unease living alongside people from different (and potentially marginalised) castes or religions. Such sentiments might also relate to dietary choices. 'Upper' caste Hindus adhering to strict vegetarianism and a no-alcohol policy might prefer neighbours who maintain similar lifestyles. The emergence of caste-homogeneous housing societies in urban areas like Mumbai echoes these preferences (Thorat et al., 2015).

"Your Friendly Neighbourhood" also showcases adequate fit, notably an RMSEA of 0.02. The CFI and TLI values (0.99 and 0.99, respectively) and the SRMR of 0.02 are indicative of good fit to the data. As before, an r-squared value of 0.16 suggests moderate explanatory power.

4.5 Discussion

This chapter is motivated by two questions. The first question (RQ1) asks, 'How do demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation relate to the espousing of traditional attitudes in India?'. A secondary question (RQ2) explores how demographics factors relate to a concern for familial obligation. To address these questions and the predictions attached to them, I employ three distinct Structural Equation Models, each addressing a different category of traditional attitudes as represented by different outcome (latent) variables.

Specifically, *'A Suitable Girl'* examines what influences attitudes concerning gender norms. *'Bad Romance'* assesses views on the morality of various romantic relationships. *'Your Friendly Neighbourhood'* gauges discomfort levels with neighbours of a different religion, caste, or those with liberal and modern inclinations. I first synthesise results from the three models and discuss the results tied to the core sets of predictions before discussing their implications for the social psychological study of attitudes in the context of social inequality.

The first set of core predictions stemming from P0.1 (P1.1, P2.1, P3.1) across all three models considered the relationship between demographic indicators and the different types of attitudes encapsulated by the three models. When examining

these relationships, several crucial differences arise, suggesting that the endorsement of caste and gender attitudes is generally sensitive to demographic factors.

First, I turn my attention to caste and gender. In *'A Suitable Girl'*, I discern that the OBC caste category harbours stronger traditional attitudes compared to SC/ST groups. In *'Bad Romance'*, both the OBC and open caste categories exhibit more conservative views on romantic relationships than the SC/ST groups. Open caste members also express discomfort with neighbours whose preferences counter upper-caste, Hindu norms. Collectively, this might suggest a liberal-leaning SC/ST and a more traditional OBC and upper caste, but such interpretations necessitate caution. Caste intricacies interweave with other social categories (e.g., gender, class) to influence behaviour. Despite potentially rejecting traditional attitudes in private or anonymous settings, marginalised groups may still face external pressures to conform. Abundant literature underscores the severe repercussions for SC/ST members whose behaviours deviate from caste and religious norms (Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007; Gupte, 2013; Hoff et al., 2011) . These findings provide a starting point in building an understanding towards how members of marginalised groups navigate traditional norms. To paint a more holistic picture, it is vital to first understand how members of these groups comprehend and define these hierarchies (i.e., the contents of caste and gender hierarchies) (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Livingstone & Haslam, 2008) and how these meanings are shaped by context (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

In this chapter, evidence emerges suggesting that being female correlates with an increased concern for family obligation. However, the relationship between gender and traditional attitude endorsement varies by context. While women display less traditionalism regarding gender norms, they tend to have less diverse social circles (defined by caste, gender, religion) and are more uncomfortable with neighbours who challenge Hindu, upper caste norms. However, there is no significant evidence indicating that women deem certain romantic relationships more immoral. As custodians of honour and family values, it is comprehensible that women might prefer associating with others who share their gender, religion, and caste. Nevertheless, when considering gender norms, contemporary Indian

women seem more inclined to reject antiquated views on attire, post-marital employment, or marital subservience. Gilbertson (2018) highlighted the evolving urban landscapes in India, where tradition and modernity co-exist, contributing to the gradual diminution of deeply entrenched regressive attitudes towards women.

The mixed results for gender and caste further reinforce the need to understand how members of these groups perceive caste and gender hierarchies, as well as the norms associated with them. Here, I have begun to build on this by identifying a concern for family obligations as a relevant contextual process that likely shapes the definition of caste and gender hierarchies.

Outside of caste and gender, I find that living in a village, compared to more developed towns, cities, and metros, is associated with stronger traditional attitudes across all models. A vast body of prior ethnographic and sociological work supports this; the urban as 'modern' and rural as 'traditional' argument is well-established in the literature (A. Shah, 2007). However, understanding what urban areas offer that rural areas lack, contributing to a more modern, less traditional outlook, is crucial. Past work (Choukroune & Bhandari, 2018) has highlighted that urban spaces are typically more anonymous. People in rural areas are likely part of larger families and face scrutiny from their extended kin networks. Consequently, even the public is not necessarily anonymous (Thiranagama, 2019). This suggests a potential opportunity to explore the interactions between urban/rural locales and family size or undertake qualitative work to grasp the deeper nuances of familial scrutiny in rural areas, which might drive norm adherence.

Connected to the area of residence is family size. Here, too, I discover that being part of medium or large families, compared to smaller ones, is associated with higher levels of traditionalism. Much like the urban-rural divide, there are underlying mechanisms related to large family sizes that influence traditional attitudes differently from small families. In subsequent chapters, I will argue that social scrutiny is pivotal in adhering to norms and that the type of observer is significant. Thus, a larger family might mean increased scrutiny from both immediate and extended family members. Savani and colleagues (2015) suggested that individuals might adhere to cultural mandates if the cultural

environment frequently reminds them of these expectations. Being surrounded by numerous family members could serve as a reminder of traditional expectations, motivating adherence to traditional norms in rural settings or within large families. Conversely, I also find evidence that having a diverse friend group in terms of gender, caste, and religion is linked to liberal views towards live-in, inter-caste, and inter-religious relationships. This underlines the importance of one's social circle in shaping, maintaining, and acting upon traditional attitudes.

The second prediction P0.2 (P1.2, P2.2, P3.2 in all three models) involved the relationship between a concern for familial obligation and traditional attitudes. My findings indicate that concern for family obligation correlates with higher traditionalism across all three models. These observations echo past South Asian ethnographic and sociological studies that discussed family influences on gender norms (Gilbertson, 2018) and norms pertaining to romantic relationships (Titzmann, 2017). In the neighbour preference model, I note that heightened family concern relates to discomfort with neighbours whose lifestyles diverge from upper-caste, Hindu standards. Contextualising this within the acute housing challenges faced by marginalised groups in Indian metros (Thorat et al., 2015), it becomes evident that a concern for family obligation has significant societal implications.

I now move to the secondary research question and the final prediction P0.3 (P1.3, P2.3, P3.3 in all three models) tied to the relationship between demographic factors and a concern for familial obligation. Across all models, evidence suggests a relationship between demographic factors and a concern for family obligation. This concern is related to one's gender, marital status, family size, residence area, and education. Results largely corroborate existing knowledge, such as women exhibiting greater concern for family obligations, or urban inhabitants being less preoccupied with family tradition compared to their rural counterparts. Noteworthy are the associations between concern for family obligation with education and caste. For education, there's some evidence that higher education levels (compared to no education) correlate with increased family concern. This suggests that, unlike other 'development' indicators (e.g., urban versus. rural living), higher education does not necessarily correlate with decreased family

concern – a finding understandable considering the significance of kin networks in India. Regarding caste, there is no evidence suggesting differences in concern for family obligation between SC/ST and OBC or open caste categories. Instead of positing that concern for family traditions transcends caste boundaries, it is likelier that caste influences family concern via variables like gender. Hancock (2007) elaborated on how societal structures are organised through intersections of identity categories, highlighting the utility of an intersectional lens. Vandana (2018) studied women's varied experiences across intersections of caste, class, and gender, discovering differences in how Dalit women from different socioeconomic backgrounds related to their families. This underscores the merit of an intersectional framework, which I delve into in Chapter 5.

Together, I find that concern for family obligation is associated with the endorsement traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender and that this concern is also associated with other demographic variables. This suggests that family obligation (and tradition) could be a rather crucial contextual element, warranting a deeper consideration of this construct in the study of caste and gender attitudes and norms in India. Here, I find that concern for family obligation shapes the endorsement of traditional attitudes, but it is also likely that it shapes the ways in which these hierarchies and their attached norms are defined and understood. Next, a concern or worry for family obligation hints at the potential social pressures attached to family obligation. For instance, Derné (1992, p. 260) reported that "upper-caste, middle-class North Indian Hindu men's talk about family life in intensive interviews reveals a true self that focuses on being guided by social pressures". The association of the endorsement of attitudes with a *concern* for family obligation questions the positive and agentic assumptions within social psychology that are taken for granted when discussing why we adhere to norms. Is it that we endorse norms to strengthen identification (Klein et al., 2007) with a group or do we do it out of a sense of familial pressure or obligation? I discuss these questions in the subsequent chapters where I continue to question assumptions tied to agency within social psychology.

Reflecting on the findings from this study sheds light on several critical implications for the field of social psychology and the overarching themes of this

thesis. First and foremost, the inclusion of family obligation as a significant dimension introduces a novel aspect to the study of attitudes. This emphasises the need for a more thorough interrogation of familial factors beyond the traditional focus on parental influence (Prioste et al., 2015). By highlighting the nuanced roles played by various factors such as education, caste, and urban versus rural living, this research underscores the complexity of family dynamics in shaping attitudes towards caste and gender norms. Consequently, it calls for social psychology to broaden its perspective on family, incorporating more diverse familial aspects that extend beyond parental attitudes and behaviours.

Moreover, the implications of this study for understanding social hierarchies and social inequality within social psychology are profound. It demonstrates that the family's influence on social attitudes looms larger than just the interactions with parents, particularly in contexts like India where the concept of family extends beyond nuclear boundaries to include a wider array of relationships. This finding suggests that in societies with similar familial structures, the meaning of 'family' could encompass more than just parental figures, thereby affecting the socialisation process and the perpetuation of social norms in more complex ways. Such insights contribute to a deeper understanding of how social hierarchies and inequalities are maintained and challenged through familial obligations and expectations.

For this thesis, these findings aid in the clarification of what constitutes 'context'- emphasising family as an important social group that significantly impacts the endorsement of traditional attitudes. This underscores the importance of considering the broader familial context, not just as a backdrop for individual development but as an active and influential entity in its own right. By delineating the ways in which family obligation relates with demographic indicators to shape attitudes towards caste and gender, this research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the social mechanisms underpinning inequality. As such, it sets the stage for subsequent analyses that delve further into the complexities of social hierarchies, offering a richer framework for exploring the multifaceted influences on social attitudes within the Indian context and beyond.

4.5.1 Limitations

Every research endeavour has inherent limitations and trade-offs. The Structural Equation Modelling approach I have employed enabled me to unpack the associations I am keen to explore further in subsequent chapters. I opted for breadth over depth, prioritising a wide-ranging exploration over a parsimonious model. Tweaking any model requires time and effort, potentially limiting the focus to one or two models. Prioritising a broad overview has facilitated a comprehensive exploration of traditional attitudes in India. In this pursuit, I have placed more emphasis on direct effects than the mediating role of family. As discussed earlier, this chapter does not consider the intersections of caste and gender. My intent is to use these findings as a foundation for subsequent chapters that will adopt a more robust intersectional lens when examining identity.

In this chapter, I do not delve into the *definition* of the hierarchy (i.e., the participants' understandings of norms). There is extensive research demonstrating that understanding the relationship between identity and behaviour requires an examination its contents (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Livingstone & Haslam, 2008; Verkuyten, 2022) and how broader social and cultural processes shape them (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011). I further emphasise this need to focus on hierarchy content and underscore the broader contextual processes likely influencing not only endorsement but also the meanings of caste and gender.

4.6 Conclusion

Applying a Structural Equation Modelling approach to a secondary dataset on the attitudes of young Indians has helped unearth some of the contextual underpinnings of traditional attitudes surrounding caste and gender in India. I present a comprehensive view of how the social categories to which we belong, various demographic indicators, and concerns for family obligations shape the endorsement of traditional attitudes related to caste and gender. In doing so, I map three sets of interconnected relationships. Firstly, I find that demographic variables shape traditional attitudes. Next, I ascertain that a heightened concern about family obligations, in general, is associated with increased levels of traditionalism. Lastly, I determine that a concern for family obligation is

influenced by a number of demographic variables, including gender.

This chapter builds on the body of work surrounding the study of the formation of attitudes within social psychology (Weißflog et al., 2023), with a specific focus on the broader contextual factors that impact the endorsement of caste and gender attitudes. I highlight three main contributions. Firstly, the family unit is identified as crucial when studying traditional attitudes related to caste and gender. Secondly, concerns for family obligation provide insights into the social pressures associated with the endorsement of traditional attitudes, drawing attention to the ever-evolving nature of context. Thirdly, the relationship between social category memberships and attitude endorsement is intricate and nuanced. For instance, some tensions emerge, such as women expressing concerns about familial obligation, while simultaneously disagreeing with traditional attitudes. These insights underscore the importance of the role of familial obligation, adding yet another dimension to the role of the family in perpetuating prejudice.

My analysis reveals additional avenues for research. I demonstrate that young people express concerns about family obligations and challenges, which influence their alignment with traditional attitudes. Is this concern rooted in the fear of upsetting parents, or does it hint at graver implications, such as the avoidance of stringent repercussions? Delving deeper through qualitative research could provide a clearer understanding of the implications of concerns for tradition and the conceptualisation of caste and gender hierarchies. My findings also pinpoint a dichotomy, wherein concerns for family obligations appear to coexist with a rejection of traditional attitudes. Once more, employing qualitative methodologies and in-depth interviews could unravel the implications of this tension in the context of norm adherence, and shed light on how marginalised groups navigate these societal pressures, as they resist such norms.

Traditional beliefs, when integrated into diverse contexts, can serve as catalysts in perpetuating deep-seated hierarchies. Whether it stems from reluctance to have a neighbour from a different caste, or the belief that inter-religious relationships are ethically and morally unacceptable, such beliefs can lead to extensive discriminatory repercussions. In an ever-evolving world, efforts to comprehend how age-old, inflexible hierarchies persist via the endorsement of traditional

attitudes hinge upon a careful examination of context. With this chapter, I have aspired to lay the groundwork for understanding the initial stages of comprehending the factors that sustain these enduring hierarchies.

Chapter 5

Maryada, Identity Performance and the Reproduction of Hierarchies in India: A Qualitative Study

Preface to Chapter 5

> "In its most common usage, *maryada*, or modesty, connotes social traditions and boundaries, the mores and norms a woman must abide by to earn love and respect from her family and immediate community. Being decent and dutiful makes you pure, lovable and worthy of a good man. *Maryada* is malleable, taking different shapes and forms across the country. In Delhi, it means women should be home before it gets dark. For migrants from Jharkhand, it means women should avoid the purchase of lipsticks and must regularly attend church. *Maryada* becomes a Ghunghat in Gujarat, or purdah in western Uttar Pradesh. *Maryada* means loving one's children, finding the most profound meaning and resonance in caring for one's home. Most importantly, *maryada* means self-discipline: don't giggle or act silly, hold yourself solely accountable for household honour or dirty dishes, don't be selfish, don't wear jeans, never make decisions independent of your family, never express desire, never buy things for yourself, never discuss your favourite actor in public or watch films alone. *Maryada* maps the boundaries of what is appropriate or 'normative behaviour' for a woman, what she ought to do and be, demarcating the possibilities for her spirit and self." (Bhattacharya, 2021, pp. 233–234)

When attempting to unpack the ways in which social hierarchies are reproduced in everyday life, studying the outward endorsement of traditional attitudes forms one part of a more complex set of phenomena. As previous research has demonstrated, the identity-behaviour relationship requires a focus to be placed on its contents and meanings (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011). Here, I focus on exactly that by drawing out participants own self-definitions and understandings of caste and gender.

Specifically, I turn my attention to the concept of *maryada* that was introduced in Chapter 1. Adhering to norms of *maryada* entail performative acts of deference that are typically given by members of low-status groups and received by members of a higher-status group. Furthermore, it is intersectionally performed along lines of caste and gender.

Investigating *maryada* through the social psychological lens of identity performance acts as a gateway into tapping into participants' own complex understandings of their performances and proves important in being able to get a fuller picture of the durability of hierarchical systems like caste and gender.

Abstract

Social hierarchies are defined and perpetuated through the performance of hierarchical identities in everyday interactions. Research within self-categorisation theory has examined the performance of hierarchical identities largely in experimental settings with artificial groups. It is assumed that identity-relevant norms are endorsed, and that identity performance functions to enable positive social consequences for the individual. However, real world hierarchies are not always endorsed, and I therefore examine why people perform hierarchical identities despite non-endorsement of identity-relevant norms. Based on qualitative interviews with 34 Indian college students, I outline how caste and gender hierarchies are understood and performed through acts of deference known as *maryada*. Despite being critical of these norms, students perform *maryada* to avoid negative consequences like social sanctions, particularly in the presence of extended family. I argue that research designs employing real world hierarchies embedded within unique social contexts contribute to a richer understanding of how hierarchies can be reproduced through identity performance.

Keywords: identity performance, hierarchical identity, social sanctions, *maryada*, caste, gender

5.1 Introduction

Social hierarchies are not only structurally produced but are also perpetuated through the performance of social identities in everyday life. By acting in social situations in ways congruent with their assigned social identity in a hierarchy, members of high status and low status groups may reaffirm and thus perpetuate hierarchical relations. This paper aims to contribute to understanding how and why people may perform hierarchical identities, even as they verbally reject those unjust hierarchies. Theoretically, it draws on recent developments within self-categorisation theory which emphasise the communicative aspect of identity, including how identities are performed (Klein et al., 2007) and the consequences of those performances in everyday, real-world contexts (Amer, 2020; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013).

To explore these issues, I present a qualitative interview study involving college-aged Hindu Indians, exploring why they perform hierarchies through acts of deference known as *maryada* even when they do not endorse norms relevant to the hierarchy. The word *maryada* translates to “making social distinctions” (Mines, 2005, p. 81) and refers to a social obligation to perform hierarchical acts of deference along intersecting lines of caste, gender, and other social identities in India.

Through this exploration, I aim to expand upon the body of work that investigates identity performance in social psychology. This will entail considering the performance of complex real-world hierarchies (e.g., caste and gender) that will build upon what is known about the functions of performance and what is known about the role of social context and its influence on identity performance.

I argue that a shift from the minimal group paradigm approach (Diehl, 1990) with artificially constructed hierarchies to exploring experiences of identity performance within real-world hierarchies allows for an appreciation of the unique contextual factors influencing performance. This inclusion of local social context into the study of identity performance enables a richer understanding of how hierarchies are understood and reproduced in everyday life.

5.1.1 Identity Performance – Positive Motivations and Dyadic Hierarchies

Performance to Enable Positive Social Consequences

The roots of the study of identity performance can be traced back to the theories of deindividuation within social psychology. Deindividuation has been traditionally theorised as a loss of self-awareness in a group context. Challenging this, the Social Identity model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE) theory (Reicher et al., 1995) introduced a strategic dimension, arguing that people were not just losing their individuality, but rather expressing their social identity to valued audiences. So, instead of a loss of personal identity, SIDE emphasised the affirmation of social identity.

Klein et al. (2007) later extended the strategic side of SIDE by exploring the ways in which the audience, and the visibility to an audience, can impact the performance of one's identity. The authors developed their theory and framework of identity performance by drawing upon the findings of several SIDE studies (e.g., Cronin & Reicher (2006); Spears et al. (2002)) and other studies looking at intergroup relations (Barreto et al., 2003).

The authors proposed that the performance of an identity is centric to self-definitions and contents of an identity, and group members are likely to perform their social identities to consolidate their group membership (identity consolidation function) or mobilise others in the in-group into following specific behaviours (mobilisation function). For instance, Noel et al. (1995) found that prospective student fraternity members described out-group members more negatively when their responses were made public to the in-group, thereby consolidating their group membership. An example of performance to mobilise is visible in a study by Reicher and Hopkins (2000), who found that politicians used mobilising tactics, like stressing their *Scottishness*, to appeal to a Scottish electorate. These two strategies are aimed at enabling what are seemingly positive social consequences pertaining to the social identity (identities) in question. Furthermore, they implicitly assume that identity-relevant norms are fully endorsed and supported by the self.

Research following Klein et al. (2007) has explored how identity performance occurs in the face of complex and intersecting identities. By looking at identity performance through the donning of a hijab, Hopkins and Greenwood (2013) found that making an identity visible can facilitate the subsequent performance of that identity, and positively consolidate a desired identity.

Research on identity *enactment* also argues that performing (enacting) an identity is central to identity construction and discusses the positive motivational bases of identity (Vignoles et al., 2006). This work identifies specific motivational bases of identity enactment including the motive for efficacy (where people need to see themselves as capable of acting on their word) and the motive for belonging (being recognised and accepted by others). Echoing Klein et al. (2007), the functions are theorised as enabling positive social consequences.

The implicit assumptions of positive functions of identity performance and endorsement of identity-relevant norms were also examined in a recent study looking at the enactment of identity at a religious festival in India (Reicher et al., 2021). The authors employed in-depth interviews to explore the factors that influence the enactment of religious identity using a sample of Hindu Indians participating in a mass religious gathering in North India. This paper explores the differences in enactment across two different spaces – the mass gathering versus being at home in the village. The authors argued that the existence of a shared identity at the *mela* (the mass religious gathering) enables identity enactment in a manner that is not possible in the village (a space not marked with the same level of shared identity).

When brought together, we can see that the literature on identity performance presents a rather positive take on performance – that it serves the function to enable positive social consequences, and that there is an endorsement of identity relevant norms.

Dyadic Hierarchies

As a part of their framework, Klein and colleagues (2007) also discussed the performance of identity among members of high and low status groups using classic models of hierarchy developed in social psychology (Ellemers et al., 2002;

Jetten et al., 2000). The authors drew upon research that stated that identity consolidation is likely when a group has a stable high status and does not need to actively change the situation so much as to "bask in its own glory"(Scheepers et al., 2006). Furthermore, permeable group boundaries may mean that members of a low-status group are able to become members of a more prestigious out-group if they perform out-group relevant norms.

Most of the studies looking at identity performance when there is a status ordering to groups are based on experimental designs Scheepers et al. (2006) placing focus on the socio-structural characteristics of a hierarchy (e.g., stability and permeability). Some of these studies also used a minimal group paradigm design to manipulate status. For instance, in Scheepers et al. (2006), participants were given positive or negative feedback on a group task which determined 'status' assignment. This type of random allocation aids in the ability to predict when performance will occur. However, this artificial assignment into status with an exclusive focus on socio-structural features is unable to fully tap into the strong historical-social-moral connotations of real-world hierarchies. Greenwood (2012) has argued how the minimal group design and methodological preferences within social psychology has led to an erasure of context. This erasure of context therefore limits the ability of existing frameworks of identity performance to fully appreciate the ways in which hierarchical identities are performed.

Another issue stems from the over-reliance on such frameworks as the default option to study identity processes. In demonstrating why this may not be sufficient, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) discuss how certain explorations may call for a participants' own theorisations of such processes. In their study on British Muslims' understandings of social processes around marginalisation and the dynamics surrounding Islamophobia, the authors find that minority group behaviour may not always be best construed in terms of sociostructural parameters, but may be better explained through participants' own theories of social and political change.

Broadly, as Dixon et al. (2020, p. 41) notes, "the challenge is ultimately not simply to move beyond binaries or the minimal group model, but also to understand how far more complex and intersecting social category memberships shape

individuals' thoughts, feelings and behaviours within specific contexts". Therefore, I argue that any theory of performance (that considers hierarchies) should draw from models of social stratification that present complex, real-world social category memberships, rather than solely relying on simplistic assumptions and minimal group conditions.

In the next section, I will address how a study of identity performance within the Indian context allows for a) a more holistic understanding of the functions of performance that includes the desire to avoid negative consequences and b) considers a real-world socially stratified society that allows for an understanding of performance within complex social category memberships.

In doing so, I will present the idea of *maryada* in India as an informative case of identity performance. I will then introduce the rationale behind selecting Hindu and Buddhist college-age students as the sample for this study, and how this inclusion works towards addressing the disciplinary and literature specific gaps outlined above.

5.1.2 Hierarchical Identities and *Maryada* as a Case of Hierarchical Performance

Caste – Complex, Intersecting, and Hierarchical Social Identities

As discussed in Chapter 1, caste, or *jati*, is a complex hierarchy that can include thousands of categories with great variability across different parts of India. The word caste describes "social groupings that many South Asians recognize as distinguishing different kinds of human beings from others" (Mines & Lamb, 2010, p. 145) and represents a group with hereditary membership in South Asia (Ovichegan, 2014) . Within the Indian context, *jati*, a term derived from Sanskrit, is used to refer to caste. A distinct, yet related concept to caste is varna, which is used to describe the ancient division of humans into four groups. These are the "Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and kings), Vaishyas (commoners, including merchants and farmers), and Shudras (servants of the other three)" (Mines & Lamb, 2010, p. 145). The lowest category that existed outside this system were the 'untouchables', or the Dalits (Ghose, 2003).

The hierarchies of caste also intersect with other important identities and hierarchies. Chakravarti (2018, p. 4) discusses how Dalit women in rural areas bore a special burden – "as Dalits from the upper castes, as labourers from the landlords, and as women from men of their own families and castes." A study of caste, mindful of its intersections with other identifications such as those based on class, gender, age, etc., therefore, offers an opportunity to investigate how complex, real-world hierarchies are performed.

Maryada as the Performance Complex and Intersecting Hierarchies

I specifically investigate the performance of identities by examining how Indian college students think about performing *maryada* in various social relations. The word *maryada* translates to "making social distinctions" (Mines, 2005, p. 81) and refers to a social obligation to perform hierarchical acts of deference along intersecting lines of caste, gender, and other social identities in India (Power, 2015, p. 131). In giving *maryada*, a person expresses respect to another in a hierarchical relation, conveying the lower social status of the giver and the higher status of the receiver. The giving of *maryada* entails a physical act of deference. This can include acts like folding one's hand, serving food, touching feet, sitting at a lower level, speaking in a softer tone (Mines, 2005; Still, 2017).

While the idea of *maryada* is closely tied to the caste hierarchy, it applies to more than just caste. Still discusses that:

> Forms of *mariyada* create and mark inferiority and superiority: it is visible in the interaction between women and men, Dalits and the dominant castes, men and gods. Just as a man may prostrate himself on the ground before a god, so a woman might touch the feet of her husband, so a Dalit may lower his lungi and hang his head before his employer. (2017, p. 30)

These are all ways that *maryada* is expressed and hierarchies enacted in everyday life, making *maryada* a suitable vehicle for exploring the performance of hierarchical identities.

Anthropological and sociological literatures describe deliberate performative acts as a part of the expression of *maryada*, making this a suitable vehicle for exploring

the performance of hierarchical identities within social psychology. Drawing on Goffman (1990), Narayan (2021, p. 272) discusses the "absoluteness of the performance codes of jati maryada" in colonial Kerala and how these codes included rules surrounding "embodiment, posture, clothes, hairstyles, and jewellery" (Narayan, 2021, p. 277). Gorringe and Rafanell (2007, p. 105) make sense of the embodiment of caste and drew on Bourdieu and Foucault. They underscored the centrality of bodies in the reproduction of hierarchy and how the body is just not a symbol of caste difference, but the means "by which such differences are constituted, perceived and subjectively experienced." The rules dictating interaction and the awareness of the same also imply that the subsequent performance is a deliberate act where the performance is tailored to identity-relevant norms, thereby satisfying the social psychological conditions on what qualifies as identity performance.

In this study, the concept of performance integrates the idea that identities are intersectionally constructed, experienced, and embodied, as well as performatively enacted (Lukate & Foster, 2023). This notion encompasses both embodied intersectionality and performativity, emphasising the visual aspects of identity. Rather than merely focusing on how caste and gender are " experienced within the body" (Mirza, 2013, p. 5), performative acts showcase the more creative dimensions of identity. It reveals the processes of challenging, resisting, negotiating, and recreating how we are perceived by others. Sociological theories of performance and self-presentation advances the view that identity (including gender (Butler, 2011)) is an act of doing. This doing takes the form of identity performances, or the continuous presentation of self (Goffman, 1990), which is a form of social choreography that is dynamically shaped by contextual processes.

A key dimension of the performance of *maryada* involves its social enforcement, with sanctions for not behaving according to hierarchical norms. Gorringe and Rafanell (2007, p. 103) discuss how:

> caste is etched into the social fabric by codes of conduct governing modes of address, attire and physical positioning that carry most force in isolated villages. The discrimination faced by Dalits is manifold: they cannot wear shoes in higher caste streets, they must drink from

> separate receptacles, they are not allowed to wear clothes below the knee or above the waist.

Further, they face sanctions, often violent, for flouting caste boundaries. Clearly, in the case of caste and *maryada*, these hierarchies come with social pressures or coercion to perform the appropriate identity.

While caste and gendered hierarchies are thus policed by one's interlocutors, *maryada* is not always enforced in the same way in every social situation. Caste and gender identities have been found to be adhered to differently in urban versus rural settings and in public versus private spaces (Thiranagama, 2019), thereby underscoring the fact that performance is sensitive to the unique social context within which it occurs.

By using *maryada* as a case of identity performance, I examine the functions of *maryada* which may include avoiding negative consequences as well as achieving positive consequences. It also examines the specific social contexts under which people feel compelled to perform *maryada*.

5.1.3 The Sample - Hindu and Buddhist College Students Studying in Indian Metros

The methodological choice to use a sample of Hindu college age students stems from the substantively relevant stage of life they belong to, and the spaces they occupy. This is a sample of people facing a life transition (school to college) as well as navigating and creating new hierarchies (see Nakassis (2014) for a discussion on the performance of college-relevant hierarchies like class and gender).

College-age students are likely to be navigating social interactions in a few key social and physical spaces that are of substantive interest to this research, particularly regarding comparability. The first space of interest is their college environment, located in a metropolitan city (e.g., Mumbai or Pune). In this instance, the college is an institution that is a particularly rich place to observe intersecting identities and markers of social distinction, making it particularly relevant to the study of *maryada* and social identities in India. Given that this is also a space that sees protests (Jeffrey & Young, 2012) and demonstrations against

the practice of caste and caste discrimination, a college located in a metropolitan city is likely to be a liberal contrast to other types of spaces. As it is expected that members of this sample live with their parents, a second space of interest is their home in the city. A third potential space that this sample is likely to be exposed to is the 'native place,' which is typically a smaller town, city, or village where their parent(s) grew up, and where members of their extended family may currently reside.

The added attraction of a comparison between the urban college space and the semi-rural or rural native place stems from the meaningfulness of this contrast when looking at caste and the identities that intersect with caste. Previous ethnographic studies focusing on South Asia have documented the effect of space (e.g., urban vs. rural, public vs. private) on behaviour related to caste, gender, and religious identity (Thiranagama, 2019). This is, therefore, likely to spill over into how the social organisation within these different spaces facilitate and enforce performance.

Much like Reicher and colleagues (2021) compared and contrasted performance across different spaces in their study, this study, too, sees space as an important aspect to tackle, i.e., to understand the conditions and social processes within a space that influence (or in the case of *maryada*, enforces) performance. An appreciation for the same is then likely to add more nuance to the motivations underlying performance.

Therefore, I aim to first understand how Indian students understand and experience *maryada*, with particular attention being paid to the functions of performance. Second, I aim to contextualise the performance of *maryada* to the local Indian settings I have employed.

More specifically, I will be addressing the following questions in this paper:

1. How do Indian college students experience norms to perform *maryada*?

2. How does the experience of *maryada* vary across social contexts?

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Participants

Thirty-four Hindu and Buddhist college-age students participated in the study. Participants were recruited with the help of three research assistants (RA). The RAs contacted students in their social networks by posting messages in college WhatsApp groups. Initially, this process yielded more interest from students in the non-Dalit category. To correct for this, I specifically started to promote this study on Ambedkarite student groups on Facebook to recruit more interviewees from the Dalit category.

To be able to participate, participants had to be older than 18 years, speak English or Hindi, and had to be registered as a student or be a recent graduate. Balance was sought on gender and caste. The sample breakdown is presented in Table 5.1

Table 5.1: Sample breakdown - Interviews

Category	Gender	Count
Brahmin	Male	4
Brahmin	Female	5
Kshatriya, Vaishya	Male	4
Kshatriya, Vaishya	Female	9
SC, ST, Dalit	Male	7
SC, ST, Dalit	Female	5

5.2.2 Data Collection

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were used to understand and probe participants' understandings and experiences in their performance of *maryada*.

After obtaining departmental ethics clearance, interviews were conducted via Zoom in September 2020. Participant consent was obtained in writing orally prior to starting the recording. All the Zoom interviews were recorded and took between 90 minutes to two hours to complete. Participants were paid a fee of INR 1000 as an incentive for their participation. Interviews were conducted in English, Hindi, or a combination.

Given that the word *maryada* does not feature in everyday parlance (especially in the regions where the interviewees hail from), the topic guide placed greater emphasis on the analytical side of *maryada* and less so on the descriptive side. The aim was to draw out an understanding of *maryada* based on how Indian young adults experienced norms to perform their caste and gender identities within everyday social interactions across contexts. To achieve this, the interview discussed college life, life at home, social interactions in the native place, times when the participant was made to feel superior or inferior, the role that caste played in their everyday life, and instances where they felt obligated to behave a certain way. A few final questions explored how they interpreted the word and concept of *maryada*. The topic guide for this interview can be found in the Appendix (Section 8.2.3)

5.2.3 Analytic Method

A thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was performed to answer each of the empirical research questions. After a verbatim transcription of the data, the transcripts were coded using NVivo. The outcome of this analysis follows the nomenclature presented by Attride-Stirling (2001) where basic themes are described (along with supporting examples) and are grouped within larger organising themes, which are grouped within a global theme.

This process has resulted in two global themes, five organising themes, and twenty-three basic themes (Section 8.2.5). The first global theme, performing to avoid negative social consequences and enable positive social consequences, discusses the functions of performance, and how Indian young adults experience norms to perform *maryada* to realise positive and negative consequences. The second global theme, performance of *maryada* is influenced by scrutiny within space, discusses the sensitivity of performance to its social context and the scrutiny within such contexts.

Interviewees are identified by a number and information on their gender (M = Male; F = Female) and caste (B = Brahmin, K = Kshatriya, V = Vaishya, D = Dalit). As an example, P1MD refers to Participant no. 1 who was Male and Dalit).

5.3 Results and Discussion

Overall, participants were very familiar with the concept of *maryada* and were content to discuss it at length, as they realised that they had a complex relationship with their own performances of *maryada*. Before exploring the themes answering my research questions, I first present a short overall account of my interviewees' understanding and valuing of *maryada* to set the scene for the reader and to draw attention to the meanings (contents) of *maryada* that play a role in how individuals define and make sense of their performances and memberships to caste and gender groups.

Participants described *maryada* using its many colloquial usages that include "honour", "respect", "boundary" and "limit". Most connected it to "patriarchy in India" and how *maryada* is about how "women are expected to serve men" or how "we are expected to give respect to old people". Many also described this idea as relevant to caste and class hierarchies.

However, a far greater referencing to the idea of *maryada* was found in the instances and anecdotes from their daily social interactions where my interviewees did not necessarily use the word *maryada* to describe their behaviour (explaining why the word *maryada* will not feature strongly in the interview extracts presented in this paper). As discussed previously, this was expected because the word *maryada* is not commonly found in everyday parlance. Below, I present these numerous facets of *maryada* that I have analytically extracted from the interviews.

One way of performing *maryada* is through servitude. These include examples where women described having to serve men first, before they could eat. Another example was how 'lower caste' women had to leave their plate unfinished and serve the upper caste man who just entered the room. Some of these examples highlight important intersections of caste and gender in the performance of *maryada* and align with prior work on the subject (Still, 2017). *Maryada* could also be performed through clothing and appearance. These include examples where men discussed rules around keeping a beard as 'upper caste' Hindus, or women discussed dressing in traditional attire, or more conservatively in the presence of extended family. Another way of giving *maryada* is through the process of seating.

Here, *maryada* is given by a member of a 'lower' caste group to a member of an 'upper' caste group by giving up one's chair to the member of the higher group. Giving up one's chair was also discussed as a form on *maryada* given by younger people to older people. Next, *maryada* is also performed through adjustments to tonality and speech. Examples here include speaking in a muted tone, expressing agreement with views (independent of internal agreement with them), addressing someone with a term of respect. *Maryada* can also be performed through food choices. These include cases where a participant discussed how they chose to abstain from eating non-vegetarian food in the presence of family or in another case, not sharing food or the same vessel with a person of another caste. Maintaining physical distance from another person is yet another way to perform *maryada*. These included instances in which performing *maryada* meant maintaining a set physical distance from a member of the opposite gender or a different caste.

Despite performing *maryada*, a large majority of the participants are critical of the very identities they perform. For instance, participants presented well-articulated political perspectives when it came to their views on caste and why they rejected and distanced themselves from casteism. One participant said:

> P3FB: "So, I am able to say all of this that you know what I don't care about this identity because I do have caste privilege. If I didn't have it, my caste identity would shape my choices and it would have a much more…I am able to reject it so freely, and that's a matter of caste privilege, which a lot of other people don't have!"

Participants expressed verbal resistance to more than just caste. They expressed resistance to the imposition of family values and the need to perform *maryada*. Another participant said,

> P6FD: "and it is mostly in this sort of extended family setting, sort of forced to change my behaviour. It really bothers me."

Maryada is frequently described as a patriarchal idea and a participant (Female, Kshatriya) discussed how "*maryada* is about our patriarchal society where women are expected to do all these things". There were also several instances where

participants were critical of gender discrimination and patriarchy. Participants were also critical of bigotry along lines of caste and religion and one participant (Female, Brahmin) described how she does not like certain family members who are “islamophobists and bigots”.

These findings already are a point of departure from Klein et al. (2007), since performance does not automatically mean that identity-relevant norms are fully endorsed. More importantly, this puzzle of performing hierarchies and identities despite being critical of it begs the question, ‘why do students perform *maryada* even when they do not always endorse it?’

To begin to answer this question, I now turn to my analysis to answer the first research question about how students experience the norms to perform *maryada* where their experience involves performing to, ‘avoid negative social consequences and enable positive social consequences for the self’. In discussing their experiences of performing *maryada* and navigating pressures, analytical focus was placed on the functions of performance.

5.3.1 Performing to Avoid Negative Social Consequences and Enable Positive Social Consequences

Passively Resign to *Maryada* to Avoid Negative Social Consequences

Several participants discussed ‘giving in’ to performance to avoid negative social consequences that would result from the lack of adherence to norms around *maryada*. There is a desire to avoid a range of unpleasant consequences that lie on a spectrum from minor to severe. One type of consequence was tied to interactions with the family where participants discuss how they go along with it to keep the family happy. While this may not seem like performance to avoid something negative, the articulations usually indicate that they perform acts of *maryada* despite disagreeing with the norms or underlying principles. In describing his adherence to ritualistic performative acts, one participant stated:

> P2MB: “My mom is very religious, but looking at the harm it causes, I am not fond of it. Still, I will do my prayers because she feels happy, but it doesn’t come from inside. I am influenced by many such things

> because she feels happy."

These ritualistic performances are also strongly tied to caste. For instance, the participant above discussed specific rituals performed by an 'upper caste' man, and how the non-believer in him questioned these practices.

In several cases, interviewees gave in to *maryada* to avoid confrontations with the family. Not challenging traditional views and politely agreeing with verbally espoused views is also a form of giving *maryada*. A participant discussed a 'silence is best' approach she uses with her extended family – an approach she may not use 'outside' of a family context:

> P7FV: "On the family WhatsApp group, if there's a problematic thing that comes up, I just ignore it. Earlier, I might have put up a fight at 16 or 17, but nowadays, I just don't engage with it at all. And open confrontation that I really don't want to get into, especially in the family. But otherwise outside, I am all for it."

Participants shared accounts of passively going along with it because of a belief that nothing will change, so confrontations are pointless. When describing an instance where a member of her extended family was discussing casteist and pro-Brahmanical views, a participant concluded that standing up to the extended family was pointless:

> P3FB: "But within my family, you know it is going to be so taxing and that you can't win, so it is better that you don't confront at all. Whatever they're saying, just listen and don't pay any attention to it."

This fatalistic view speaks to the deeply embedded nature of the expectations around *maryada* and performance. The expectations are perceived to be set in stone and what happens in the face of non-performance is clear. There is little perceived leeway to change rigid practices, so the 'why bother' approach commonly arose in the discussions.

Performance also serves the function of avoiding negative social consequences related to the community. Community here is used to refer to the larger kin networks of an individual. In several cases, the worry about 'what will people say' often motivated interviewees to give in and adhere to the norms around *maryada*.

In describing the norms around her clothing choices in the village, a participant stated:

> P9FK: "Being in my village in Uttar Pradesh, you have to be fully covered. If you wear a short top and pyjamas, everyone will watch you and stare and ask, 'hey, what has she worn', and 'where is she from'."

Here, Uttar Pradesh and the village there is the participant's native place. She, and other participants discussed that not following the expectations around *maryada* often attracts the attention of the neighbours, which can eventually lead to 'drama'. They, therefore, are motivated to act in accordance with what is expected to prevent being censured.

So far, we see that participants give in to *maryada* to avoid relatively minor consequences coupled with the fatalistic view that any efforts to resist performing *maryada* is futile. However, as the strength of negative consequences increases, performance is motivated more strongly by a desire to avoid them. Several participants discussed going along with the performance of *maryada* despite their discomfort or disagreement because they were worried that their parents would end up looking bad in the eyes of the extended family and community.

The increasing gradations of negative consequences becomes more serious as the net of unpleasant consequences is cast wide enough to include the parents of the participant. One participant discussed that she needed to be mindful about how she dresses, about maintaining an appropriate distance from 'upper caste' people, about norms around seating because,

> P12FV: "Even if they don't tell me anything to my face, they will reprimand my mother and father if I break the rules" (Female, Vaishya).

Another participant considered the scrutiny he faces in the presence of extended family during a family puja (prayer), and how he is expected to perform certain religious rituals. He discussed that not doing so will lead to his mother facing negative consequences,

> P17MB: "Now there are at least 70 people who are in the room when I am doing something so I can't just say I won't do it because my mom

> will be answerable; so, I have to do it".

In more extreme cases of flouting norms, several participants discussed the more serious social sanctions that would be dealt out to them and their parents if they did not adhere to these norms. This would occur for more serious transgressions. For instance, serious sanctions by the extended family and larger community would be applied if a member of a lower caste refused to give up his or her seat to a member of an upper caste, aligning with previous findings (Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007). Discussing the consequences faced if such norms are not adhered to in her village (in Uttar Pradesh), one participant said:

> P9FK: "You have to do what they expect. If not, they will torture you and constantly taunt you. You will get no help from your family there and even people in the village will not sell you stuff when you need it. You can even get thrown out of the village."

Performance to Enable Positive Social Consequences

Alongside these negative functions of performance, some participants also discussed instances where they performed identity and hierarchy relevant norms more actively, thus indicating a more positive function. It should be noted that while some of the instances of performance seem like they could be classified under the identity consolidation function, this study departs from that very specific nomenclature because the framing of those functions was a result of a very different set of contexts.

Several participants discussed how performing respect through *maryada* enabled them to fulfil desired moral values. Some accounts of this type of respect included giving up a chair for an older person or giving respect to a woman because that is the gentlemanly thing to do. One participant (Female, Vaishya) described this,

> P27MV: "Giving respect is inherently not a bad thing. I give up my chair for an old person because I want to do it and because it is the right thing to do."

Interviewees also discussed how some types of performance are responsibilities they are happy to assume. One interviewee described his Brahmanical thread

ceremony in detail and spoke about how he was the one responsible for performing the rituals:

> P2MB: "When we become adults, we take on the responsibility that we must respect everything in our religion and a lot of other responsibilities…people who have this thing can do certain things during a puja and people who don't have this thing can't…I now know the basis to a ritual and conduct it because it is a family gathering and everyone is happy."

Some participants also discussed that they felt a sense of pride towards their identity and enjoyed performing specific identity-relevant norms. Language, and the way a language is spoken, was discussed here. Another of my participants who was a Brahmin male discussed the difference between street-style Marathi and the 'pure' Marathi spoken by Brahmins. He mentioned:

> P13MB: "I am familiar with all types of Marathi, but I am particular about speaking it the right way. It is important to me. And when I see someone else speaking it in the correct manner, I immediately can tell that they too are Brahmins. I am proud of being a Brahmin."

Across all interviews, instances of performing *maryada* to enable positive social consequences were predominantly shared by male Brahmins. Male Brahmins often found themselves in positions of responsibility where they had to uphold certain values, and this instilled in them a feeling of pride and responsibility. However, this does not imply that male Brahmins did not share instances of also performing to avoid negative consequences, or that female Dalits (one could argue that if male Brahmins were at the top of the caste and gender intersection, female Dalits would be located at the bottom) did not perform to enable positive social consequences. Overall, it reveals the complex relationship participants have with maryada and the performance of caste and gender norms.

Importantly, this demonstrates that we live in a world of constraint where we face real possibility of opposition from others (Reicher et al., 2021), and in this case, that includes the possibility of severe sanctions. Reicher and colleagues (2021) argue that the experimental tradition within the Social Identity Approach assumes

that we live in a world free of constraint and are thus able to realise identity-related wishes. While the authors present these arguments in the context of devout Hindus not being able to enact their religious identities, I present the alternative in the form of situations where may not always want to enact norms tied to hierarchies but constraints in the real world imply that we must.

The interviews revealed that functions of performing *maryada* are sensitive to the intersection of caste and gender. Women seemed to perform to avoid negative consequences to a greater extent than men. However, when caste is considered, the story gets more complicated, and behaviours do not linearly align with the caste or gender ordering. Furthermore, some of the most extreme negative consequences were relevant to a member of the Kshatriya caste, (intermediate level) proving that artificial, low-high experimental manipulations are insufficient when examining how hierarchies are performed.

5.3.2 Performance of *Maryada* is Influenced by Scrutiny in Social Space

Since *maryada* is sensitive to the context in which it is performed, understanding the conditions within which performance occurs becomes crucial. This also contextualises and situates the functions of performing *maryada* to the local context. To address this, a second global theme, performance of *maryada* is influenced by scrutiny within space, was established.

The interview topic guide placed special attention on three spaces – the college, home in the city, and the native place. However, through the course of these interactions, there was a whole gamut of 'spaces' discussed that went above and beyond the initial three places of interest. For instance, some additional noteworthy spaces were family wedding events, festivals celebrated with the wider family, the college hostel, temples, etc. One such example was when a participant described being on a bus headed to a wedding that was fully occupied by the members of their family.

For the sake of convenience, these spaces are categorised as follows. The 'private' space is used to refer to the participant's home, one that they typically share with their parents. The 'public' space refers to the city or the college. Next, the term 'private-public' (a term borrowed from Thiranagama (2019) is used to describe

spaces that are marked by the presence of the extended family, and where these members are present in large numbers (e.g., native place, or a family wedding where there are numerous members of the extended family).

Another aspect to consider as I introduce this theme is the idea of scrutiny as a social process enforcing performance within a space. While participants discussed physical spaces in their articulations on having to behave a certain way, it was never without the people occupying that space, and the scrutiny they are subject to.

Friends in the Public as Least Concerned with *Maryada*

Here, the metropolitan public includes the city of Mumbai in general, and the liberal Mumbai college campus that is described as an inclusive space and a melting pot of genders, castes, classes, and religions. While it can be argued that the boundaries of a college campus make it less 'public', participants described their manifold interactions with their college friends in contexts that transcend the boundaries of the campus (e.g., public transport in Mumbai or other hangout spots in the city). Participants described how Mumbai is open-minded, modern, and developed, effectively describing it as the antithesis of the native place. In discussing this, a participant (Male, Dalit) mentioned, "Mumbai is full of people who are educated, it is developed and there are facilities. It is nothing like the village". They went on to discuss that the college and the city are spaces where people from all castes, classes, genders, and religions co-exist leading to a blurring of the lines of difference.

It should be noted that a large section of my sample came from the middle and lower middle-class sections of Indian society. What this meant in terms of housing in an already overpopulated city like Mumbai was that people live in very densely populated neighbourhoods or chawls. Participants hailing from this segment also discussed using public transport frequently. As a result, these individuals were less able to segregate and isolate themselves from other segments of a caste or any other hierarchies. One participant discussed what this meant with regards to caste boundaries:

> P17MB: "When I was very small, we were in a chawl. Everyone in a

> chawl is co-dependent. Everyone there is not necessarily from the same caste or religion. So, all of them were from a caste which in my village would've been untouchables. My dad used to work in Saudi, so my dad has been there. Mom raised us alone and the people around us have been very helpful in times of need. So, mom doesn't have that sense of upper or lower caste."

While the above was discussed in the context of less explicit casteism or discrimination, there was also a general absence of strictly enforced norms around giving *maryada* in these cases. When asked about *maryada* in college, a participant (P27MV) laughed and said, "*Maryada* and stuff is seen as a joke among me and my friends".

Furthermore, many participants explicitly described how the absence of family presence resulted in them feeling most 'free' in college with friends and in Mumbai. This was highlighted by one participant (P9FK), "I feel the most free here, mainly because there's no family"

Parents in the Private Space Willing to Negotiate *Maryada*

Since the sample of participants chosen for this study predominantly lived in the metropolitan city of Mumbai (and in their parents' home), their parents were also exposed to city life for many years. This generally meant that parents were more willing to negotiate the performance of or adherence to *maryada*.

The term 'private space' here refers to the home environment, for the participants that lived with their parents. In cases where participants lived away from home (e.g., college hostel), they referred to interactions with their parents when they visited home during the holidays or other extended visits. Participants often discussed how their parents were generally more tolerant towards the lack of adherence to *maryada* because they have been exposed to city life and, thus, became open-minded. Discussing her parents' general open-mindedness, one participant (Female, Kshatriya) mentioned, "My parents are more open-minded. If I am interested or talk to an upper caste boy, my parents will be ok with it"

The relevance of *maryada* and performance to identities that are intersecting was also evident when the participants discussed norms as applied to the intersection

of gender and caste. Another participant discussed how her parents were tolerant of norms around food choices, even if they did not fully endorse it:

> P18FB: “Although they have never explicitly said that they don’t like the fact that I eat chicken, they say things like, oh when did you start eating it, why do you eat it, it is not really healthy, it can make you sick, tougher to digest…Veg is much better. But if we don’t sometimes follow that, they do get irked and it does tick them off but, at the same time, they don’t come out and say anything explicitly because they know it isn’t right.” (Female, Brahmin)

While there were descriptions of open-minded parents, many also indicated that their parents would selectively enforce *maryada* by setting different expectations for behaviour at home, versus behaviour in the presence of extended family. In speaking of the norms around seating position, where a member of a ‘lower caste’ is expected to sit at a lower position than a member of an ‘upper caste’, one participant (Male, Kshatriya) discussed his parents’ expectations when they visited their native place and extended family, “In my home in the village, my parents will expect that my lower caste friend will have to give up his chair if an upper caste person enters the house.” However, when speaking about norms around seating, the same participant said, “My parents would not expect my lower caste friend to give up his chair if an upper caste person entered my home in Mumbai” (Male, Kshatriya).

There were also different expectations for what was deemed acceptable and appropriate within the home versus outside the home (with outside the home referring to the college or city). For instance, in a discussion about eating non-vegetarian food, a participant (P2MB) stated, “My mother is like eat whatever you want outside the house, but you cannot eat non-veg inside the house”.

Extended Family in the Private-Public as Strong Enforcers of *Maryada*

While parents, in the confines of the home in the city, can be categorised as selective enforcers who are more willing to negotiate boundaries of *maryada* and performance, the accounts of participants unquestionably suggest that the extended family in the ‘private-public’ space are very strong enforcers of *maryada*.

As stated above, the public-private captures a myriad of spaces that predominantly include the native place and other social gatherings, like family weddings, that are marked by the presence of members of the extended family and the larger community. When discussing the specific entities within the extended family, participants often described them as a collective by saying that "my relatives will say this...". In rare cases, they described instances involving interactions with a specific member of their extended family. This collective they referred to as relatives are siblings of their parents (aunts and uncles), and other senior members of their family (grandmother's siblings, for example). It is also important to mention here that participants did not live with these relatives on a permanent basis. Interactions with relatives ranged from a few hours at a social gathering to two-to-three-month long visits to the native place.

In general, members of the extended family were viewed as being more traditional. Interviewees explained that it largely had to do with them living in under-developed areas where there were lower levels of education and a lack of exposure, placing them in areas that were in stark contrast to a city like Mumbai. This, again, highlights that performance is influenced by scrutiny within a space and how a stronger form of enforcement was instituted by traditional relatives within what is perceived to be socio-economically under-developed spaces.

Relatives in these public-private spaces were viewed as entities who closely scrutinise behaviour and pay attention to the activities of everyone around them. This goes back to (Klein et al., 2007), who noted that general conditions influencing identity performance included the psychological presence of an audience and the actor's belief that they are visible to an audience. Participants indicated multiple accounts describing their awareness of the fact that they were being scrutinised. Discussing this 'nosiness' of the family, one participant shared, "If I upload a photo with a girl on social media, everyone from the family calls and asks me who it is" (Male, Brahmin).

Relatives also publicly call out or censure behaviours that are not in alignment with expectations. This is reminiscent of an extract from Reicher et al. (2021) where a participant at a religious festival was censured if he or she behaved in an identity discrepant manner. Reicher and colleagues (2021) discussed how this

facilitated performance of religious identity. Here, behaviour not in line with what *maryada* would dictate was censured. Discussing an instance when she was publicly censured for wearing ripped jeans, a participant discussed:

> P18FB: "I had gone to Pune for my cousin's wedding, and it was the first in the family. Regardless, we were to go to Pune to the place where the wedding was. It was some 500-600 kilometres away, so we had to undertake a road trip. Even for that road trip, I was wearing a Kurta with ripped jeans. And they took so much offense – I don't know why. They were like 'we are going to a marriage, what is wrong with you'. Why are you wearing ripped jeans? It was a kurta (long Indian top, typically knee-length), the rips weren't even showing. But they were all so offended and I was forced to change out of my ripped jeans into pyjamas. That was one thing. And it is mostly in this sort of extended family setting, sort of forced to change my behaviour."

In addition to censuring behaviour, members of the extended family also have the power to mete out punishment in cases where the expectations around giving *maryada* are not met. This authority and power further increase the ability of the extended family to enforce these norms in certain settings. When asked about what would happen if she did not act in accordance with expectations around *maryada*, one participant explained:

> P16FK: "I cannot hang out with boys. If I am caught, there will be huge drama. Interviewer: Can you give me an example of what can happen? P16FK: My family in the village will stop talking to us and will ignore us when we are in trouble. We will be thrown out of the village."

The public-private setting is marked by shared identity (Reicher et al., 2021) as well as a marked segregation from out-groups. For instance, some participants who spoke about attending social gatherings were conscious of the 'lower' and 'higher' caste groups present. Others who described their rural native places spoke about how their 'lane' was exclusively composed of families of their caste group. Elaborating on this, a participant discussed:

> P21MD: "When I go to the village, the lane I live on is called (mentions

> his surname) lane. It is literally my surname and all people from my community and caste stay there. They know me and my family and know everything that happens."

This, together with scrutiny and censure, only strengthened the enforcement or coercion to perform.

Finally, participants described this enforcement of *maryada* as a deeply embedded and non-negotiable set of 'rules' that they must follow without question. They often described these norms as rules they have known for a long time, and that "it just is the way it is". One participant (Male, Brahmin) discussed how normal these 'rules' are and said,

> P17MB: "Since I am a Brahmin, I am addressed as Gosain, Aagya or Kumar (prince) by members of a lower caste. It is normal in the village. Everyone just does it."

Performance of identity is sensitive to the social context (physical space, in this case) within which it occurs, and the type of scrutiny faced. Depending on space and the scrutiny within that space, *maryada* will be performed to either enable positive social consequences or avoid negative social consequences. As seen above, the conditions under which performance occurs works in complex ways. The presence (or the absence) of parents and the extended family within a social space can motivate performance in a myriad of ways that can be both positive and negative.

Furthermore, the addition of these conditions also presents implications for how people finding themselves at different intersections of caste and gender hierarchies perform their identities. Earlier, I discussed that there is no clear-cut, linear way to predict performance based on a given intersection of identities. To go further, add space and type of scrutiny to the mix and the story gets more complicated and further reinforces the point that current theories of identity performance are not built to accommodate the unique contextual factors that come with real-world hierarchies. Furthermore, understandings and experiences of *maryada* and norms associated with caste and gender are dynamically shaped by wider social processes like familial scrutiny, social setting, and the prospect of sanctions. This

further suggests that the contents of the identity are continually shaped by context (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

5.4 Conclusion

In-depth interviews with the study's participants highlight their mixed experiences regarding the performance of *maryada*. It particularly emphasises the workings of negative social consequences if norms are not adhered to, which helps to explain why people perform hierarchical norms even when they do not endorse a hierarchy. This paper also presents crucial contextual elements that shape the performance of hierarchical identities like caste and gender. Specifically, I demonstrate that space, the type of scrutiny within a space, and the severity of sanctions that are likely to result from the combination of audience within space are likely to play a role in shaping the performance of hierarchical identities.

This paper extends the literature on identity performance in two ways. Studying the performance of real-world hierarchies, like caste and gender, expands upon what is known about the functions (Klein et al., 2007) of identity performance. In addition to the more positive functions already discussed in the literature, the evidence here suggests that the functions of performance should also include the desire to avoid a range of negative social consequences. Second, this work extends what is known about the endorsement and performance of hierarchical identities and makes a case for looking beyond artificial, minimal group designs. Through these interviews, I have demonstrated constraints (Reicher et al., 2021) attached to real-world hierarchies where cognitive identity-related wishes may not always translate into reality. Furthermore, the prospect of sanctions tied to norm violations (that potentially extend beyond the individual) challenge the oft taken-for-granted notions of agency. This study suggests that such assumptions need to be in constant dialogue with realities presented by social contexts. Overall, by considering real world hierarchical identities and embracing their complexities, I argue that local contextual factors need to be factored in when trying to understand the dynamics underlying the performance of identities and hierarchies.

My analysis opens further lines of inquiry. I have shown how young people feel

pressurised by their families and extended families to perform *maryada*. However, the question of how the older generation understands *maryada* and the social rewards and sanctions they face is yet to be addressed. Further, qualitative inquiry could shed light on the many perspectives involved. Moreover, the interviews hint at potential causal relationships between the type of scrutiny and performance and between demographic characteristics (e.g., gender) and performance. These relationships can be tested using quantitative, experimental approaches.

While this paper presents a specific instantiation of identity performance, the learnings are transferable to wider contexts. *Maryada* is essentially a nod to traditional norms (Bhattacharya, 2010, p. 10) and, while this may specifically be an Indian concept, the performance of hierarchies and the more subtle adherence to hierarchical norms is hardly just an Indian idea. For instance, seniority-based hierarchy (*jogei kankei*) in Japan involves giving deference through performative acts and governs social relations (Wang, 2020). Therefore, future research should examine how unique social contextual factors within different cultures shape the performance of identities and hierarchies.

The study of identity performance provides an important lens into understanding how social identities and hierarchies are reproduced in subtle ways in everyday life. Alongside the uproar against hierarchies like caste, there are the everyday realities where members of marginalised groups are reminded of their subordinate status through the enforced performance of these very hierarchies. Through this study, I hope that I have illustrated at least one way in which we may accept and, therefore, perpetuate hierarchies we explicitly resist.

Chapter 6

Scrutiny, Sanctions, and Social Hierarchies: A Survey Experiment

Preface to Chapter 6

In this chapter, I present the results of a survey experiment that builds on the insights outlined in the previous qualitative study in Chapter 5. Here, I test the interconnected and different associations between *maryada*, familial scrutiny, the prospect of sanctions, and a concern for familial obligations.

Although the performance of *maryada* was not an explicitly defined theme in the last chapter, the qualitative analysis revealed multiple domains relating to its performance. Here is a brief refresher of the key findings of the previous Chapter:

One of the key ways that *maryada* is performed is through acts of subservience. Examples include having to serve food to the member of the higher status groups, or needing to dress in conservatively, and in line with what is expected from one's gender and caste group. The act of seating too, is a way of bestowing *maryada*. In this context, a 'lower' caste person may offer their chair to an 'upper' caste person, or a younger person may give up their seat for an elder. *Maryada* also extends to the domain of speech, tonality and food choices where decisions on what to do (and more importantly, what not to do) are guided by norms of *maryada* applicable to one's caste and gender membership.

More generally, understanding the theorisations of *maryada* and experiences associated with caste and gender norms highlighted participants' complex relationships with *maryada*. As I unpacked this complexity, I was able to further refine the specific contextual features that work in tandem to enforce performance. In this chapter, the priority is to individually isolate, and examine how the performance of maryada varies with these contextual factors.

The effect of scrutiny on self-reported performance

Qualitative insights from the last empirical study hint at potential causal relationships. For instance, findings suggest that the extended family has a more pronounced impact on the performance of caste and gender as compared to parents. Experiments therefore serve as the litmus test for such predictions, determining their veracity. I therefore compare parental and extended family scrutiny on questions tied to endorsement of norms and their performance across different social settings identified in the qualitative study (college, home and

native place).

Dissecting perceptions of sanctions and reputational fallout

The interviews also offered a rich understanding of the range of sanctions individuals might face for non-adherence, varying from minor censuring to something as severe as ostracism, and brought forth the role of the audience in influencing the performance of *maryada*. Armed with the granular detailing of performance, sanctions and audience, I hope to underscore and do justice to the rich accounts of participants within this chapter.

Tying this back to social psychological theories of identity performance, this chapter aims to pave the way for a new line of inquiry within the discipline that focuses on the endorsement and performance of hierarchies within non-anonymised, intimate settings.

Abstract

Research within Self-Categorisation Theory argues that identity-relevant norms are strategically performed to reinforce social identification. However, the performance of norms tied to hierarchies that are not always endorsed remain understudied. Embedded within a mixed-methods approach and building on prior qualitative research on the performance of caste and gender, I conducted an online survey experiment with 612 Indian college-age participants. This study operationalises and examines the mechanisms through which the self-reported performance of *maryada* varies according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for familial obligation. Participants were asked to answer the same set of questions related to their performances of *maryada* under the baseline condition and one of two treatment conditions: friend scrutiny (baseline) and parental scrutiny OR extended family scrutiny (treatment conditions). Across all conditions, participants were asked to imagine that members of that relevant condition they were assigned to (friend/parent/extended family members) are reading their answers. Additionally, the survey also had participants respond to questions outlining a range of transgressions in front of friend and familial audiences by selecting the type(s) of sanctions they are likely to face if those transgressions were to occur. When looking at the underpinnings of performance, I find evidence suggesting that the self-reported performance of *maryada* under imagined familial scrutiny across different social settings varies with a concern for family obligation and the expectations of sanctions. Next, I bring the power of sanctions to the fore. The possibility of encountering sanctions is not limited to the individual alone; rather, it is understood as something that encompasses the broader family unit, reinforcing the family's significance in the performance of caste and gender hierarchies. By adopting a mixed-methods design that moves beyond de-contextualised approaches, this study expands upon current research on social hierarchies by highlighting that understandings and performances of real-world hierarchies are continually and dynamically shaped by contextual factors.

Keywords: social hierarchy; sanctions; caste; gender; identity performance

6.1 Introduction

The perpetuation of social hierarchies through the performance of norms tied to those hierarchies is a complex phenomenon. Despite verbal disavowal, individuals across all levels of a social hierarchy may continue to perform these norms, driven by the desire to avoid negative social consequences. In the previous chapter, evidence from a qualitative study on the performance of caste and gender hierarchies in India shed light on the compelled nature of identity performance, highlighting its sensitivity to social settings, familial scrutiny, and the potential for sanctions and general reputational fall-out. In this chapter, I present the results of an online survey experiment that highlights the ways in which these contextual factors shape the performance of hierarchies.

Existing research on identity performance and enactment primarily focuses on identity performance in big, somewhat anonymous spaces e.g., mass gatherings and crowd behaviour (e.g., Khan et al., 2016; Klein et al., 2007; Reicher et al., 2021; Reicher & Levine, 1994a), offering an insight into the impact of contextual salience of a group identity or a sense of a shared identity on behaviour. Within these theories, the performance of identities is often understood and measured as the strategic endorsement of group norms (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher & Levine, 1994b) to strengthen social identification.

In the present study, I aim to pave the way for a new line of inquiry within social psychology that explores the performance of hierarchies in everyday contexts. Here, performance can take the shape of reluctant embodied acts of deference in everyday settings that are performed in front of specific audiences to avoid social sanctions and reputational fall-out. I argue that this adherence to performative expectations contributes to the perpetuation of social hierarchies like caste and gender.

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive mixed-methods perspective on this topic. Using an online survey experiment involving 612 Indian college-age participants, I investigate the mechanisms that underlie the performance of caste and gender hierarchies on an everyday basis. The study design is informed by qualitative in-depth interviews on the performance of *maryada* (Mines, 2005, p. 81)

in Chapter 5. Here, I quantitatively delineate and test the relationships between the performance and endorsement of caste and gender norms, family scrutiny, and social sanctions.

The findings from this study have implications for both theoretical advancements within social psychology and practical efforts directed at dismantling inequality. By integrating the rich insights of qualitative in-depth interviews with the precision of quantitative methods, I aim to build towards a comprehensive perspective on the performance of social hierarchies. Next, by examining the relationships between identity performance, familial scrutiny within social settings, and the expectation of sanctions, I seek to provide a granular understanding of the specific contextual dynamics at play in making, re-making, and sustaining rigid social hierarchies like caste and gender.

6.1.1 Performing Hierarchies: Quantitative Approaches

Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 of the thesis present a review of the state of the sub-field of identity performance within social psychology. Here, I shed more of a spotlight on the quantitative work that focuses on a status ordering between groups.

A large share of the quantitative research on identity performance (Klein et al., 2007) branches out of the work on SIDE (Social Identity model of Deindividuation Effects) theory (Reicher et al., 1995). Within this work, experimental studies often manipulate features like the salience of an identity (Barreto et al., 2003; Reicher & Levine, 1994a), and then proceed to measure attitudes (Wiley & Deaux, 2010), self-stereotypes (Haslam et al., 1992), and endorsement of in-group norms (Barreto et al., 2003).

One branch of this quantitative work studies the performance tied to hierarchical identities in artificial, de-contextualised experimental settings (e.g., Scheepers et al., 2006). These studies often use minimal group designs (Lemyre & Smith, 1985), where it is possible to vary *sociostructural* features (Ellemers et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 2000) like the stability or permeability of group boundaries. In a study by Scheepers and colleagues (2006), assignment to a status group (high versus low) by way of a dot estimation task was a part of a design to help understand how sociostructural aspects of a hierarchy and strategic considerations regarding

the audience shape different social functions of in-group bias.

While experimental studies can be informative, the over-reliance on de-contextualised designs have resulted in studies being unable to speak to lived realities attached to real-world identities and hierarchies (Dixon et al., 2005; Hopkins et al., 2023). This is especially true for the study of identity performance, which is said to play a crucial role in the definition of an identity (Klein et al., 2007). The definition of an identity is closely tied to how it is understood and Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) have, for example, highlighted the divergent and rich theorisations that arise when we move away from solely looking at sociostructural features. In their study, the divergent theorisations of intergroup dynamics shared by marginalised group members demonstrates the need for an expansion in the lenses we adopt. Next, there is the issue of context being equated to rigid definitions of 'salience' within the self-categorisation theory literature. Reicher and colleagues (2021) argue that the contextual determinants of behaviour have more to do with the informal social organisation of a given setting (in their case, the possibility of a shared Hindu identity at a mass religious festival in India). Put together, it highlights an inertia within quantitative approaches that default to de-contextualised approaches that narrowly define context, if not erasing it altogether.

Outside of experimental studies using artificial manipulations, a large body of survey studies within identity performance looks at the behaviour of minority groups (often in front of majority group audiences) where national or ethnic contexts are typically considered. For instance, Barreto and colleagues (2003), draw on SIDE theory to understand performative decisions made by minority (Turkish migrants and Iranian refugees) ethnic groups in front of Dutch majority out-group audiences. In another study looking at religious consolidation among Turkish Dutch Muslims in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2010) consider the stability and permeability of group boundaries with the Dutch majority to better understand motivations to express one's identity. Overall, this strand of research investigates the performative strategies adopted by minority group members to contest an out-group representation of themselves (Barreto & Ellemers, 2000; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Klein et al., 2007; Klein & Azzi,

2001).

In addition to focusing on a very specific type of status relations specific to ethnic identities, these studies often ask scale-based questions that act as a direct measure of social identification. Reicher and colleagues (2021) have discussed how this carries problematic underlying assumptions that people are free to choose their identities, and that we live in a world free of constraints where identity-related wishes can become realities.

Furthermore, measuring performance as the endorsement of in-group norms or strength of identification with the group is likely to sideline the ability to measure definitions of identities and hierarchies as fluid and shaped by context. For instance, in aiming to understand if religious identification is strengthened after participating in a mass Hindu religious festival in India, Khan and colleagues (2016) ask questions like, “to what extent does being Hindu matter to you?”. In another study measuring the endorsement of the rights and opportunities for Muslims to publicly express and confirm their identity, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2010) ask participants to state the extent to which they agree with statements like, “the right to establish own Islamic schools should always exist in the Netherlands”. Across these studies, the use of measures like identification and endorsement can risk painting a static picture of *meanings* and theorisations of hierarchies when in fact, these are features that are continually shaped by wider contextual processes (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

Operationalising performance as the mere endorsement of group norms does not do enough justice to what performance stands for in terms of its significance to the reproduction of identities and hierarchies. The vast breadth and nuance of this is captured well in qualitative work that looks at performance as the embodied expression of identity (Amer, 2020; Lukate & Foster, 2023; Mirza, 2013) that points towards the *doing* of identity (Butler, 2011; Lukate & Foster, 2023), moving beyond the endorsement of norms. Performativity through aspects like clothing and appearance (Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Lukate & Foster, 2023) addresses the more subtle, personal and intimate ways in which we navigate social hierarchies and how it is just not about the endorsement of an identity or hierarchy but about how we embody it in everyday life.

These gaps within experimental and survey approaches are made more salient when I place them against the lived realities of the performance and endorsement of caste and gender as shared in Chapters 4 and 5.

In Chapters 1, 2 and 5 in particular, I discuss how the practice of *maryada* (the performance of hierarchical acts of deference) has to do with the relational performance (Goffman, 1990) of caste and gender norms, and thus constitutes a type of social choreography continually shaped by context. Therefore, any operationalisation of performance and *maryada* needs to be able to capture not just the endorsement of caste and gender norms, but also the meanings attached to these embodied performances of caste and gender.

Next, when discussing the need to incorporate constraints (a term I borrow from Reicher and colleagues (2021)) in the real-world within our study designs, I find this to be particularly true for the study of *maryada* because it is often performed reluctantly, as individuals navigate the prospect of sanctions and reputational fall-out, all the while reconciling with their own agency in overcoming these constraints. Therefore, there is a need to broaden current quantitative approaches that presently assume that performance is motivated by the need to achieve positive consequences (Klein et al., 2007) for the self.

Most crucially, a key aspect needing addressing in our quantitative designs is context. *Maryada* is tied to intersecting hierarchies like caste and gender that people understand and ascribe different meanings to, so fitting an understanding of *maryada* within parameters like stability, permeability and legitimacy of groups boundaries (Ellemers et al., 2002; Jetten et al., 2000) will prove insufficient. Furthermore, experimental manipulations that reduce context to (the presence or absence of) salience are unable to capture the historical, moral, and social contexts that are tied to caste and gender. *Maryada* is sensitive to specific contextual processes and shaped and reshaped by these processes, therefore any study design studying these dynamics will need to place these processes at the fore.

Building upon findings in the previous chapter and the gaps pertaining to the performance of social hierarchies, I propose a type of quantitative design that carefully integrates relevant contextual elements that I have found to be relevant in the performance of caste and gender in India. In Chapter 5, I find that the context

that enables or enforces the performance of caste and gender hierarchies through *maryada* involves a specific audience within a space and their collective efforts to enforce boundaries and norms. Furthermore, both these elements jointly determine the nature and severity of sanctions that may be meted out in case of transgressions. Therefore, I now consider these contextual aspects along with the real-world constraints they come with individually before I present the specific research questions motivating this study.

6.1.2 Family and Extended Family Audiences

The audience's role in the study of identity performance is often dichotomised into in-group or out-group viewership (Klein et al., 2007), with little attention given to further differentiation. As the previous chapters have made clear, the family may be a particularly important audience. In the few instances where it has been considered, navigating family relationships comes out in participants' own articulations of their motivations to make identities visible (instances of the same can be seen in the works of Amer (2020), Hopkins & Greenwood (2013), and Lukate & Foster (2023). In their work on the practice of veiling, Wagner and colleagues (2012) present Muslim women's views regarding the practice of veiling and how they navigate family expectations around the expression of their religious identity. Navigating family expectations is similarly discussed in the work by Lukate and Foster (2023) where they examine the role of hair textures and styles in Black and mixed-race women's identity performances, and present accounts that shed light on how family shapes the performance of racial identities.

Overall, the general bifurcation of the audience into in- and out-groups may miss the significance of audiences such the family, who are neither in-group or out-group. Family, and even the extended family, hold a particular sway in societies like India (Prasad et al., 2020). In Chapter 4, I discuss their centrality in the formation and endorsement of traditional attitudes, supported by the vast sociological and anthropological literatures on South Asia that discuss the importance of this unit (Bhandari & Titzmann, 2017; Das & Das, 2006). Following that, Chapter 5 cements the importance of the family and the extended family when they emerged as crucial entities in the discussion of *maryada* and hierarchical deference in India. In discussing their experiences tied to the performance of

maryada, participants frequently discussed parents and members of their extended family as important observers, and even enforcers of these norms. So, their influence on identity performance is an area that warrants more attention.

Next, I consider the social setting or space within which behaviour occurs, which is yet another contextual element that shapes the performance of caste and gender hierarchies. In-depth interviews in Chapter 5 have indicated that it is not just audience, but audience within particular spaces that compel the performance of caste and gender.

6.1.3 The Influence of Social Setting within Identity Performance

The role of space, or social setting, is long recognised in research within the Social Identity Approach (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). Social settings are multi-faceted constructs, embodying aspects of physicality, social interaction, historical context, political atmosphere, and personal experiences. However, despite this recognition, the integration of social setting within the study of identity performance has been comparatively scarce, predominantly featuring within qualitative research.

One such qualitative exploration was undertaken by Reicher and colleagues (2021) who examined the contrasts drawn by the *Kalpwasis* between their life at home and their experiences in the *mela*. Their interview data revealed the influence of the informal "social organisation" of these two distinct spaces on the Kalpwasis' ability to enact religious practices and pursue spiritual concerns. This underscores the significance of social setting in shaping the performance of religious identity, particularly in the context of the *mela*. Similarly, the work of Lukate and Foster (2023) focuses on the narratives of Black and mixed-race women, emphasising the interplay between changing contexts and identity performance. Specifically, their research explores how spatial movements from one geographic context to another leads to changes in the women's hair-styling practices, which is an integral part of their identity performance.

Despite calls for paying closer attention to context (Reicher, 2004), the relationship between audience, social setting, and identity performance is less well integrated. Reicher and colleagues' discussion (2021) of a shared identity illustrates this gap, where the authors suggest that a detailed study of the social organisation within a

particular space is required to truly comprehend its impact on identity performance. In the studies within the crowd behaviour or mass gathering context (e.g., Hopkins et al., 2023) , emphasis is placed on the degree to which a space is marked by a shared identity. However, for understanding how hierarchies are performed in more intimate, everyday settings, a different perspective is needed.

Building on social settings and the audiences within these settings, I find that both these elements jointly determine the sanctions that may be meted out in case of transgressions, deviating from the present discussions around shared identity being a positive enabler of performance. In the next section, I discuss the starker realities attached to the presence of certain types of audiences within social settings.

6.1.4 The Role of Sanctions and Negative Consequences in Identity Performance

The impact of the prospect of potential sanctions on the performance of hierarchies is an area that merits further investigation. As highlighted in Chapter 5, and supported by my own research findings, anthropological literature from India (Chowdhry, 1997; Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007) demonstrates the potent role of sanctions in maintaining caste and gender hierarchies. In my qualitative study, participants discuss how deviating from caste and gender norms can mean that their parents and larger family lose face, or sometimes face stronger punitive measures.

Despite this, the understanding of norm violations and their consequences within the realm of social psychology and identity performance tends to be primarily focused on the individual. Research on deviance and dissent (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014) explores the various dimensions of violating group norms, addressing the question of why people dissent, and conditions under which this will be punished by others. In their review, Jetten and Hornsey (2014) discuss that broader cultural norms matter, and cite research that suggests that conformity is greater in *collectivist* cultures than in *individualist* cultures presumably because dissent is punished more harshly in groups with collectivist values (Hornsey et al., 2006) – however, such work only places the individual defector in the line of fire. In the

work by Rai and Fiske (2011) too, the authors do cite examples of caste norms and the serious sanctions tied to defying them. Despite that, the spotlight continues to remain on the individual.

Punishment within the identity performance literature has traditionally been baked into in-group out-group interactions in laboratory settings (Reicher & Levine, 1994a; Spears et al., 2002). In a study by Reicher and Levine (1994a) that explored the interplay between visibility of an identity and the role that punishment from powerful out-groups play in influencing identity performance, subjects could allocate points based on a debate performance, with the out-group subsequently controlling the distribution of these rewards among the in-group members. This meant in-group members could be punished based on their behaviour. As discussed earlier, these findings are meant to be generalised to anonymised contexts, and not the perpetuation of hierarchies in intimate settings in the manner I am addressing here.

The sanctions and reputational fall-out that occurs (or is at risk of occurring) within the contexts that shape the performance of *maryada* are the kind of real-world constraints we need to be paying more attention to. My qualitative findings therefore suggest a need for a broader and more comprehensive look at norm violations and sanctions tied to the performance of real-world hierarchies.

6.2 The Present Study

This study aims to address identified gaps in existing research and sets the stage for an examination of the interplay of performance of caste and gender hierarchies, social and familial scrutiny across different spaces, and the looming threats of sanctions within social settings.

In doing so, the need for bridging qualitative and quantitative methodologies is underscored. Qualitative work has provided rich, context-specific narratives and tends not to treat identity-related wishes as realities (Hopkins et al., 2023; Reicher et al., 2021). Quantitative methods, though instrumental in identifying broad behavioural patterns, largely operationalises hierarchies in artificial settings and does not currently incorporate more complex frameworks that allow for the

inclusion of context.

Primarily, the design will utilise actual caste and gender memberships of participants. Next, in addition to the endorsement of caste and gender norms, I operationalise the lived experiences of performing *maryada* across varied social settings. Based on qualitative insights, these experiences include performances through food habits, deferential seating, subservience, tonality, and physical distancing, embodying the multifaceted nature of 'doing' *maryada*.

The present study design also includes a manipulation of imagined familial scrutiny, inspired by the qualitative findings in Chapter 5 where participants' statements carried with them certain causal implications tied to the importance of family. The strongest implication was that the scrutiny of the extended family was stronger than that of parents in causing adherence to norms of *maryada*. Participants discussed how the native place (with the extended family in it) saw a stronger enforcement of norms of *maryada* as compared to their homes (with their parents in it). At the most liberal end, the college, and friends in college saw little concern for *maryada*.

Finally, participants discussed, in great depth, a host of sanctions they would face if they did not adhere to the norms of *maryada*, particularly within social settings where the extended family was present. Examples include getting shouted at or rebuked, being physically hit, bringing shame upon parents, and the family being ostracised by the larger community. I therefore also operationalise sanctions in a manner more closely tied to participant experiences, and consider sanctions and reputational fall-outs that apply beyond the individual.

By integrating rich findings from qualitative work with the scope and precision of quantitative methods, I aim to build towards a comprehensive perspective of social identity performance that is in service to understanding how rigid hierarchies like caste and gender continue to be perpetuated.

These objective leads to the formulation of the following research questions:

6.2.1 RQ1[1]: Does imagined extended family scrutiny have a greater effect on the (self-reported) performance of hierarchies than parental scrutiny?

The first question focuses on familial scrutiny and aims to get a nuanced understanding of what type of scrutiny elicits a stronger self-reported performance of *maryada* from participants.

6.2.2 RQ2 a) How do people perceive sanctions from different groups for when they defy hierarchy-related norms or behaviours?

6.2.3 RQ2 b) How do demographic factors shape the perception of expected sanctions?

After familial scrutiny, I consider the role of sanctions. As discussed above, sanctions are identified as important in the qualitative research and have not been given enough attention within the identity performance literature.

Furthermore, chapters 4 and 5 are predominantly devoted to unpacking the impact of family within social settings. These chapters have also provided an understanding of how an individual's own social category memberships and other demographic characteristics shape how they orient towards, and respond to family obligation and family scrutiny. In effect, we see that individuals are in constant dialogue with these contextual processes. I believe it is important to now extend these understandings to the topic of sanctions and reputational fall-outs. As discussed, sanctions represent the real-world constraints that cause social actors to reconcile with their agency and very little is known about how individuals navigate these processes. Therefore, RQ2 shifts attention to building an understanding of how individuals perceive sanctions and how their perceptions are shaped by who they are and the groups they belong to.

Driven by a more exploratory approach, the first part of RQ2 presents a more descriptive look at how participants perceive the likelihood of punitive measures from friends, family and extended family audiences across a range of imagined transgressions. The second sub-question aims to explore how these perceptions

[1]Of all the research questions, this is the only one that specifically explores the causal impact of imagined scrutiny on responses. The questions that follow test associations between the variables.

are related to participants' background, including the social categories they belong to.

6.2.4 RQ3: How does performance of hierarchies vary according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for tradition?

Bringing it all together, this final research question aims to consider these phenomena jointly, so as to test the inter-connectedness of performance, audience, setting, sanctions and tradition and to bring home the point that context is constantly making and re-making the self-definitions and meanings associated with hierarchies.

A Conceptual Note on the Research Questions

The design and focus of the research questions in this study directly address the identified gaps in existing research on the reproduction of caste and gender hierarchies, underpinning the conceptual framework laid out at the beginning of this thesis. This section elucidates how these questions are intricately tied to the central issues of the thesis: hierarchies being made and remade in context, the pivotal role of performance, and the dynamic between agency and constraint.

Hierarchies as made and remade in context: The first research question (RQ1) delves into the nuances of familial scrutiny, comparing parental to extended family scrutiny, and examines its effect on the performance of maryada across various social settings. This inquiry aligns with the thesis framework that posits real-world hierarchies as intersectional constructs that are continually shaped and reshaped within their relevant contexts. By exploring the differential impact of parental versus extended family scrutiny, RQ1 seeks to unravel how hierarchies are performed and perceived in different social milieus, thereby bringing to light the micro-social processes within cultural contexts that influence behaviour.

The role of performance: Central to the thesis is the examination of norms not just in their endorsement but in how they are actively performed, adapted, and tailored to different audiences and contexts. RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3 collectively foreground the concept of performance, with a particular emphasis on the lived

experiences of adhering to maryada. RQ1's focus on self-reported performance, RQ2's exploration of sanctions linked to the transgression of hierarchical norms, and RQ3's comprehensive look at the interplay between performance, audience, setting, sanctions, and tradition collectively contribute to a deeper understanding of how norms are enacted within the fabric of everyday life. This exploration is instrumental in elucidating the dynamic interplay between hierarchies, norms, contexts, and their associated meanings.

Navigating constraints and agency: The exploration into the realm of sanctions (RQ2) and the broader investigation encompassed by RQ3 pivot around the concept of navigating constraints and agency within social hierarchies. These questions probe into the tangible constraints that individuals face—such as sanctions or reputational fallout—while also considering how individuals negotiate these constraints through their actions and perceptions. By examining how sanctions are perceived and the contextual factors influencing these perceptions, as well as how performance of hierarchies varies according to social scrutiny and expectations, this study aims to uncover the complex interplay between individual agency and the structural constraints imposed by societal norms and expectations.

In summation, the research questions serve as a bridge connecting the empirical investigation with the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. They facilitate an in-depth exploration into how caste and gender hierarchies are actively constructed, contested, and conformed to within the tapestry of Indian society. This approach not only addresses the gaps in the existing literature but also enriches our understanding of the intricate mechanisms through which social hierarchies are perpetuated and challenged.

6.3 Methodology

6.3.1 Sample

A total of 612 participants took part in the online survey. Participants were recruited from all over India using paid Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter advertisements. All advertisements used are available for review in the Appendix

(Section 8.3.1).

Balance was sought along lines of gender (male and female) and caste (Dalit and Non-Dalit) by setting quotas on Qualtrics. To be able to participate in the survey, participants had to meet the following criteria:

- have to be Hindu/Buddhist (assigned at birth)
- have to have been raised by a mother and father
- have to be a current college student or recent graduate
- have to mention caste category born into

Eligibility was assessed with the help of a questionnaire, and eligible participants were then redirected to participate in the experiment. Written consent was sought at the start of the survey, after participants were presented with an information sheet. Both these documents are available for review in the Appendix (Section 8.3.2.2 and Section 8.3.2.3).

Upon completion of the entire survey, participants were redirected to a second (decoupled) survey where they shared their emails that were later used for distributing the incentives. All participants who completed the survey received a voucher (Amazon or Google Pay) worth INR 200. If participants were not able to accept vouchers, a bank transfer for INR 200 was made to their account. Additionally, 20 participants were selected at random to win an additional prize of INR 1000. The base 'show up fee' of INR 200 (translating to roughly 5 GBP in purchasing power parity terms follows standard[2] Indian rates for a 30-minute survey.

For our pilot phase, the survey experiment was followed by focus group discussions covering participants' overall impressions and points of confusion, and whether the survey questions, primes, and treatments worked as intended. After completing the pilot, we rolled out the survey online and recruited participants using Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter advertisements. Data collection took place between 1st of April – 1st of May 2022.

[2]I make an assessment of the 'standard' rate based on the LSE Behavioural Research lab participation fee for a 30 minute survey (5 GBP)

Ethics

The proposal for this research was reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science and found to be in line with the University's ethics policy. Additionally, this study was also cleared by the Monk Prayogshala Institutional Review Board and Ethics Review Committee based in Mumbai, India.

6.3.2 Design and Procedure

The research design primarily consists of an online survey experiment. The experimental manipulation is a variation of the type of scrutiny where participants are randomised into a condition where they are asked to imagine an audience reading their answers.

The 612 participants answered the same set of questions related to their caste and gender-relevant norms under two of three conditions: friend scrutiny AND parent scrutiny OR extended family scrutiny. Participants always answered questions under friend scrutiny first, making this a baseline. Once they finished responding to the survey under friend scrutiny, they were randomly assigned to parent scrutiny or extended family scrutiny. This design, depicted in Figure 6.1, has resulted in parent scrutiny versus extended scrutiny as being the 'experimental' (or causal) aspect.

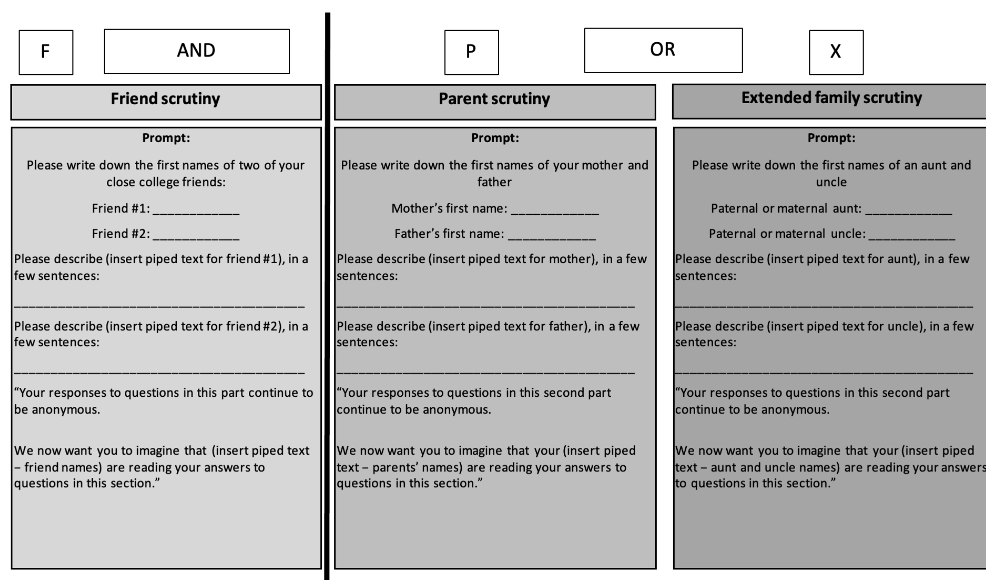

Figure 6.1: Treatment conditions

The survey experiment consists of several stages and Figure 6.2 provides a glimpse and sequencing of the same.

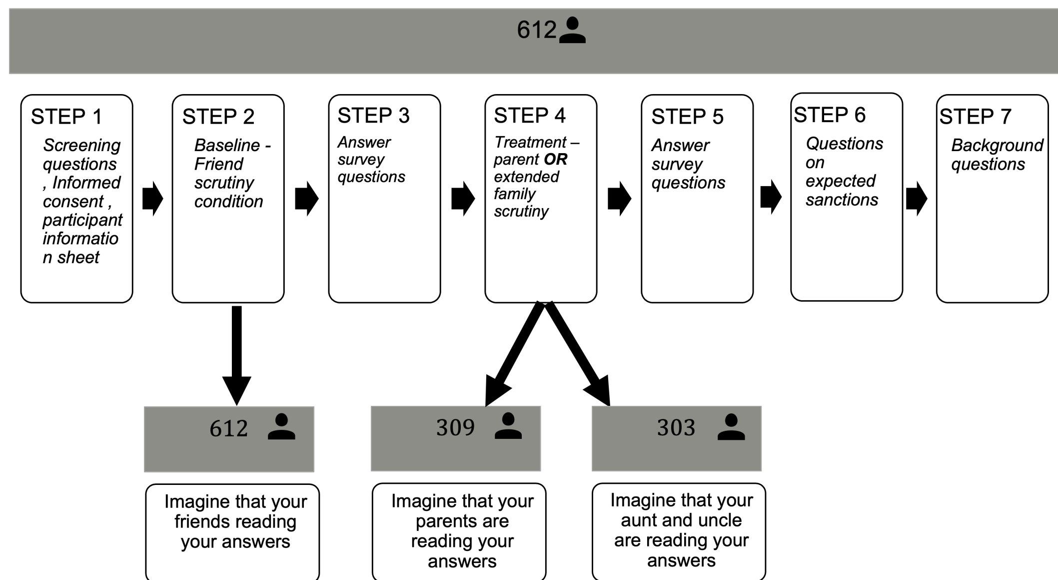

Figure 6.2: Procedure

Within each condition, participants were first asked to add the (first) names of 2 members of their friend group (for the friend condition), mother and father (for the parent condition), and aunt and uncle (for the extended family condition) and then needed to describe them using 50-100 characters. After that, the next page presented the survey questions with this consistent message as a header - "imagine that X and Y are reading your answers" (where X and Y are the 2 names members of the particular condition participants are within or assigned to).

Questions

The 50 questions asked within the part of the survey where participants responded under imagined scrutiny were based off of the findings presented in Chapter 5. Additionally, a set of questions that fit with themes I am interested in from the Lokniti-CSDS (Kumar, 2017a) survey were also included. Questions captured general attitudes towards caste, gender norms, and personal experiences of the performance of caste and gender norms across different social settings. The sub-sections below provide further information on the different categories of questions employed in the survey.

Questions measuring worry for family obligation and family influence

Questions included the extent to which participants worried about family tradition, family problems and family reputation, and the extent to which the family and extended family have an influence on career and marriage choices. In the first empirical chapter of this thesis, I established that concern for family obligation is associated with a stronger endorsement of traditional attitudes pertaining to caste and gender norms. Here, I build on that and ask these questions under imagined scrutiny to understand if responses shift under scrutiny. Additionally, I include a question that more explicitly asks about worrying about family reputation, as that is closely associated with, but not quite synonymous with tradition. For the questions in Table 6.1, choices followed the options available in the Lokniti survey ("Not at all", "Very little", "Somewhat", "Quite a lot"). For the questions in Table 6.2, participants could choose an option between "Not at all", "Very little", "Some", "A lot". Responses to all questions (including the questions in the next sections) were converted to ordered factors where higher values indicated a more traditional response[3]. In this case, for example, a response of quite a lot to the question on how much you worry about family tradition receives a score of 4.

Table 6.1: Questions under scrutiny - Family obligation.

Question
How much do you worry about maintaining family traditions?
How much do you worry about family problems?
How much do you worry about family reputation?

Table 6.2: Questions under scrutiny - Family influence.

Question
How much influence did your/will your parents have on your career/education?
How much influence did your/will your relatives have on your career/education?

[3]In cases where questions had a liberal framing e.g., "Eating beef/cow meat is part of people's personal eating habits and nobody should have an objection to this.", care was taken to ensure that higher numerical codes were still given to the most traditional response to that question. So here, Disagreement would get a higher numerical score than agreement.

Question
How much influence did your/will your parents have on your decision to get married?
How much influence did your/will your relatives have on your decision to get married?

Questions measuring agreement with with caste and gender norms

These sets of questions, too, are drawn from the Lokniti-CSDS survey (Kumar, 2017a), since they directly speak to the endorsement of caste and gender norms across a number of domains. One category of questions (Table 6.3) asks participants to state the degree to which they agree with a number of statements presenting traditional attitudes on gender and caste. A second set of questions (Table 6.4) asks participants to assign a moral judgement (how right, or how wrong) to questions on romantic relationships of different types. Unlike the other sets of questions, both these groups of questions remove the self from the situation. Choices for questions in Table 6.3 were “Fully disagree”, “Somewhat disagree”, “Somewhat agree”, “Fully agree”. For Table 6.4, choices were “Right”, “Somewhat right”, “Can’t say”, “Wrong”.

Table 6.3: Questions under scrutiny - Endorsing caste and gender norms.

Question
Eating beef/cow meat is part of people’s personal eating habits and nobody should have an objection to this.
It is not right for women to work/do a job after marriage
Wives should always listen to their husbands
Girls should not wear jeans
Women should not refer to their husbands using their first name after marriage
Caste should play an important role when deciding to become friends with someone

Table 6.4: Questions under scrutiny - Moral judgements.

Question
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Girl and boy living together without marriage
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married

Questions measuring self-reported performance of hierarchies across different settings

Born directly from the interview findings discussed and presented in Chapter 5, these survey questions tap into participants' performance of caste and gender hierarchies across different social settings. Seeing as the interviews helped unearth three spaces of significance to this population, participants are asked to think about a specific social setting (college, home, native place) and an audience observing their behaviour within that setting (e.g., imagine that your parents are reading an answer to a question about you hanging out with a member of the opposite gender in college). While this dual level of imagination may seem tiresome at first, the pilot phase helped refine the framing and presentation of these questions. All these questions were constructed by drawing on experiences of individuals at various intersections of caste and gender hierarchies. In accounts shared as a part of my interviews, female Kshatriyas spoke about clothing and needing to maintain family honour. Therefore, while a quantitative analysis presented in this chapter treats caste and gender as separate, the outcome variables here are a direct result of an intersectional understanding of caste and gender. All questions here had the following response choices - "Always", "Often", "Sometimes", "Rarely", "Never".

Table 6.5: Questions under scrutiny - *Maryada* in college.

Question
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing
When I'm in college, I hang out alone with a member of the opposite gender
When I'm in college, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)
When I'm in college, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair
When I'm in college, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste
When I'm in college, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste
When I'm in college, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect
When I'm in college, If an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it
When I'm in college, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say
When I'm in college, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave

Table 6.6: Questions under scrutiny - *Maryada* at home.

Question
When I'm at home, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. '*aap*' or '*ji*') when I address people older than me
When I'm at home, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect
When I'm at home and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it
When I'm at home, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say

Question
When I'm at home, women serve men their food, and not the other way around
When I'm at home, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)
When I'm at home, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave

Table 6.7: Questions under scrutiny - *Maryada* in the native place.

Question
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing
When I'm in my native place, I hang out alone with a member of the opposite gender
When I'm in my native place, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)
When I'm in my native place, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair
When I'm in my native place, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste
When I'm in my native place, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste
When I'm in my native place, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. 'aap' or 'ji') when I address people older than me
When I'm in my native place, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect
When I'm in my native place and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it
When I'm in my native place, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say

Question
When I'm in my native place, women serve men their food, and not the other way around
When I'm in my native place, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave

Perceptions on sanctions

After completing questions under hypothetical scrutiny, participants were asked to 'stop imagining' parents or relatives reading responses and were asked a number of situational questions on different types of transgressions along the lines of caste and gender in front of friends, parents and members of their extended family. Participants had to respond by selecting the negative consequence(s) they expected would occur as a result of an observer (friends or parents or extended family) knowing about or observing a type of transgression (ranging from dressing inappropriately to something as extreme as getting pregnant outside marriage).

One of the key findings presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 5) was that young Hindus perform their identities to avoid a range of negative consequences. A thematic analysis approach allowed for a more detailed understanding of a range of negative consequences people wanted to avoid. These consequences were also articulated in a manner that seemed to move from bad (being shouted at) to severe (being ostracised from one's community). Following the completion of that study, I deemed it necessary to delve deeper into this battery of negative consequences that were faced. Upon revisiting the results to understand what determined a type of consequence being faced, it was immediately clear that three things were at play. One, there was the type of observer namely friend or parent or members of the extended family. Next, there was the type or domain of transgression. Participants discussed everyday instances where they would defy behavioural codes of conduct specific to their social category, for instance women wearing revealing clothes, or not using pronouns of respect. And third the combination of observer and type of transgression seemed to determine the punishment that was dealt out. There also seemed to be a sense of preparedness,

where participants were easily able to predict what would occur with any combination of observer and transgression and rationalised their own behaviour with this in mind. To map this out, I asked a set of questions to precisely capture and flesh out the relationship between observer, transgression and consequence, and presented it in a situational, vignette style set of questions as showcased in Figure 6.3 (only questions with friends as observer is shown here for illustrative purposes. The entire list of questions with other observers can be found in the Appendix, in Section 8.3.2.4).

	No negative consequence	I would get shouted at by my friends	My friends would not want to hang out with me	I would physically be hit by my friends	My friends will look bad in the eyes of my peers	I will be asked to leave my friend group	My friend group will be disowned by the larger peer group/college
I dress inappropriately (e.g., revealing clothing)	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
I don't use pronouns of respect when addressing people older to me	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
I use swear words when speaking	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
Using casteist and/or homophobic slurs	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
My college friends find out I have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different caste	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
My college friends find out I have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different religion	●	■	■	■	■	■	■
My college friends find out that I am pregnant/made someone pregnant outside marriage	●	■	■	■	■	■	■

Figure 6.3: Questions on sanctions

Participants were presented with the same set of situations which present different types of transgressions that defy gender and caste norms in front of three different audiences - friends, parents, and members of their extended family. They were then asked to state what consequences they would face (if at all), and could choose multiple consequences that ranged from minor (shouted at) to severe (being ostracised).

The study concluded with participants answering a final set of background questions that were not included in the initial screening questions.

6.4 Analysis Plan

To offer a clearer understanding of the empirical approach taken in this study, I now discuss the types of data used and the analytical methods employed. This aims to prepare the reader for the forthcoming analyses, segregating them by research question (RQ) and providing a succinct overview of the employed data and analytical techniques.

RQ1: Does imagined extended family scrutiny have a greater effect on the (self-reported) performance of hierarchies than parental scrutiny?

The analysis for RQ1 is based on responses to 50 survey questions, employing a Likert scale for answers. These questions are derived from prior qualitative research, designed to capture nuanced perspectives on familial scrutiny and its effects. The scales, while unvalidated, are crucial for capturing the breadth of attitudes uncovered in qualitative studies. The choice not to validate the scales in this preliminary exploration stems from an emphasis on breadth over precision, aiming to identify broad patterns and potential areas for more detailed investigation in future research. This is also why I have decided to treat these questions and items as separate as I analyse them. Since these questions have been constructed from prior qualitative work, examining and analysing them independently will help aid future research efforts that iterate upon this work.

Linear regression analysis serves as the primary method for this inquiry. This choice is rooted in the discipline of social psychology, where linear regression is a standard tool for assessing relationships between variables. Given the large number of items and the exploratory nature of this work, multiple testing is anticipated. Consequently, results will be approached with caution, where any significant result will not be viewed as strong evidence in favour of an effect of scrutiny.

RQ2 a) How do people perceive sanctions from different groups for when they defy hierarchy-related norms or behaviours?

RQ2 b) How do demographic factors shape the perception of expected sanctions?

This segment explores responses to hypothetical transgressions against hierarchy-related norms and behaviours, along with demographic indicators. The data captures participants' perceptions of possible sanctions for norm violations, providing a window into societal responses to such transgressions.

The analysis employs descriptive methods and correlation analysis to understand the relationship between demographic factors, and the anticipation of sanctions.

This focus aligns with the thesis's central theme of social scrutiny and positions the exploration of sanctions as a pivotal area for subsequent research.

RQ3: How does performance of hierarchies vary according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for tradition?

RQ3 leverages the entirety of the survey data collected, integrating insights from across the various domains explored in the study. Owing to the use of the entirety of the data, I construct weighted composites in an effort towards dimension reduction.

Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) (Kline, 2015a) is utilised for this comprehensive analysis. This methodological choice is notably unconventional, as the aim here is not to distill the data into a parsimonious model but rather to explore the interconnections between different factors influencing hierarchical performance. SEM is selected for its capacity to handle complex models and multiple variables, facilitating a broad exploration of the dynamics at play. This approach is particularly suited to the thesis's exploratory aims, seeking to map out the landscape of attitudes and behaviours related to caste and gender hierarchies as the study concludes.

I now move to the results section where I start with some descriptive results, and then present results pertaining to each of the research questions. Prior to the results associated with each research question, I discuss the more specific approaches tied to the data preparation and analysis along with the key predictions.

6.5 Results

6.5.1 Descriptives of Demographic Factors

Table 6.8 presents descriptive statistics of the sample of the 612 participants who completed the experiment. These are also the background variables of substantive interest to me, and ones I will use in the analyses that follow. In some cases, variables were re-coded in a way that would aid interpretability in the subsequent analysis. For caste, SC, ST, and Dalit were collapsed into a category called 'SCST'.

The other categories were kept separate. While one approach to treating these variables could have been converting them into a binary measure (Dalit, Non-Dalit), I am interested in how members at different levels of the social hierarchies respond to pressures to enact hierarchy relevant-norms.

The survey asked participants to name their current city or town of residence. I proceeded to re-code this information to assume a value of X, Y, or Z based on the Government of India's most recent classification of Indian cities based on their performance on a number of demographic factors (DNA Web Team, 2018). X cities and towns are the most developed, and include metros like Mumbai and Delhi and Z include the least developed towns and villages, with Y cities and towns in the middle. Overall, there is a good balance across all the demographic characteristics. The SC/ST/Dalit categories are significantly higher in number seeing as the recruitment was done on the basis of acquiring a balance in between Dalits and Non-Dalits. This explains why the numbers within the Non-Dalit categories are individually smaller in number.

Table 6.8: Background variables.

Variable	Level	N	Percentage
Caste	Kshatriya	93	15.20
	Brahmin	90	14.71
	Vaishya	41	6.70
	SC/ST/Dalit	225	36.76
	OBC	163	26.63
City development	X	251	41.01
	Z	194	31.70
	Y	164	26.80
	NA	3	0.49
College location	metro	193	31.54
	non-metro	419	68.46
Family size	Large	55	8.99
	Medium	374	61.11
	Small	95	15.52

Variable	Level	N	Percentage
	NA	88	14.38
Gender	Female	296	48.37
	Male	305	49.84
	Non-Binary/Third	11	1.80
Living with	Family beyond parents	166	27.12
	Parents	368	60.13
	Alone or with friends	72	11.76
	NA	6	0.98
Mother's education	Postgraduate	70	11.44
	Undergraduate	178	29.08
	10th or 12th complete	218	35.62
	None or partial schooling	140	22.88
	NA	6	0.98
Native place location	Metro or None	212	34.64
	Small town or city	249	40.69
	Village	151	24.67

6.5.2 Baseline Responses and Movement Between Conditions

Since participants answered the same questions twice under two conditions, I consider both, the absolute scores and the descriptive shift in responses from baseline (friend condition), placing more of a focus on the latter seeing as it is the movement of participants' responses that is of interest here. I have shared the visual plots in the Appendix Section 8.3.3 that depict the distribution of participants' actual responses for all the questions. What I find by looking at the graphs is that even as they imagine friends reading their answers, participants respond traditionally to a number of questions. For e.g., questions on worry about family obligation (family tradition, family problems and family reputation), touching feet at home, or the practice of women serving men food in the native place all see a high percentage of responses in agreement with these practices. This may provide some initial suggestion that such practices may be deeply internalised to an extent that it is less sensitive to the type of scrutiny.

Moving the shift in responses, the data presented in Section 8.3.5 represents the average shift in responses between the baseline friend condition and the parent condition, and the baseline friend condition and the extended family condition for each question. Given the manner in which the data were treated, a positive change score (p minus f or x minus f) would suggest that participants shift in a more traditional direction when thinking about family members on a number of questions. I find that for 39 out of 50 questions, participants, on average, shift to more traditional responses as they move from baseline (imagined friend scrutiny) to imagined parent scrutiny. For friend scrutiny to extended scrutiny, this positive change occurs for 40 questions. While not causal (seeing as the "experimental" comparison is between parent and extended), this provides some initial suggestion that family scrutiny is a key part of the larger context that shapes the performance of *maryada*. However, seeing as responses under the "baseline" friend scrutiny are on the traditional end of the spectrum for a number of questions, it could also be that the some of the norms and practices being referred to in the questions are already deeply embedded or internalised and not sensitive to scrutiny.

6.5.3 Results of RQ1: Does extended family scrutiny have a greater effect on the (self-reported) performance of hierarchies than parental scrutiny?

Approach to the data analysis and data preparation

RQ1 uses a linear regression model where I use the change scores that capture the movement of participant responses from the baseline (so, x-f values and p-f values for every participant). Out of the many ways to construct the outcome variable, this approach was chosen for the purposes of interpretability, and to be able to use the baseline information, rather than absolute scores under parent condition and extended family condition.

The central question any experiment asks is if there is evidence of a causal effect. In the present study design the 'random assignment' (that would allow me to make causal claims) comes from participants' assignment to condition parent (p) or condition extended (x).

Predictions

For every question, when moving from friend condition, I expect that respondents will provide more traditional responses under the parent and extended family conditions (implying that I first and foremost expect all change scores to be positive).

> P1: Assuming x-f and p-f are positive, respondents within the extended family condition will experience a greater magnitude of a shift towards traditional thinking as compared to participants within the parent condition (i.e., average of x-f > average of p-f).

These predictions are formed as a result of the results from the qualitative study in Chapter 5, where norms around the performance of *maryada* and a general adherence to norms were perceived to be enforced most strongly in the presence of extended family members.

Results

The estimates in the tables below captures the difference between the average change score for participants assigned to x (extended family condition) and the average change score for participants assigned to p (parent condition). A positive value indicates x experienced a greater shift towards traditional thinking on a given question compared to p.

Out of the 50 linear regression models run (all of which can be found in the Appendix Section 8.3.6), I only find partial support for the prediction P1 seeing as the difference between the conditions is only significant for a small number of questions. In Figure 6.4, I provide a list of the questions for which the difference is significant (at the 5% level).

The significant difference seen for the questions on family reputation and influence potentially suggests that compared to the friend baseline condition, participants imagining extended family shifted more in the direction of greater worry and influence as compared to those imagining their parents. This could indicate that what ‘family’ means in the moment can shift based on the audience in one’s mind. The estimate for generally following rules of conduct in the native

place indicates that imagining the extended family reading answers causes a greater shift towards a more traditional response as compared to imagining parents. This result aligns with the qualitative findings that suggests that the extended family within the native place tend to be the strongest enforcers of *maryada*. Negative estimates for staying quiet if an old person is rude in the native place and agreeing despite internal disagreement in the native place suggest that the average shift towards a more traditional response was higher in the parent condition as compared to the extended condition. Parents are likely to closely manage expectations regarding conduct in front of extended family. So, it is conceivable that imagining parents reading responses around the type of conduct in front of extended family members could be a reminder of the instructions given by parents regarding these very 'rules'.

	worry fam rep	extended influence career	extended influence marriage	old rude home	old rude native place	agreeing native place	following rules native place
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.114^{**}	0.145^{**}	0.205^{***}	0.161^{**}	-0.154^{**}	-0.205^{***}	0.149^{**}
	(0.052)	(0.064)	(0.062)	(0.069)	(0.066)	(0.078)	(0.071)
Constant	-0.033	0.013	-0.050	-0.040	0.132^{***}	0.178^{***}	-0.081
	(0.037)	(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.049)	(0.047)	(0.055)	(0.050)
R^2	0.008	0.009	0.018	0.009	0.010	0.013	0.008
F Statistic	4.826^{**} (df = 1; 595)	5.102^{**} (df = 1; 595)	11.143^{***} (df = 1; 594)	5.403^{**} (df = 1; 595)	5.462^{**} (df = 1; 521)	6.898^{***} (df = 1; 520)	4.439^{**} (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01						

Figure 6.4: Parent versus Extended Family Scrutiny - Select Results
Linear regression results of 7 out of 50 questions - limited evidence in support of predictions

6.5.4 Results of RQ2:

I now shift attention to the section on sanctions and reputational fall-out, and first present a descriptive view of how participants responded to questions on sanctions.

In Chapter 4 (study 1) and 5 (study 2), family, as a key contextual element, is explored in great detail. Chapter 4 looks at a concern for family obligation and dissects the ways in which our social category memberships shape how we orient to these contextual processes. In chapter 5, I look at family as the audience and how individuals understand family scrutiny across different settings and how this shapes their behaviour. In this final empirical chapter, I now want to shift attention to the topic of sanctions, which is connected to family scrutiny, and adds further nuance to what we know about the contextual determinants of the performance of caste and gender. As discussed previously, family within a social setting is understood to determine the type and severity of sanctions that individuals could face for transgressing or defying rules of *maryada*. Crucially, sanctions and reputational fall-out are the real-world constraints (that go hand-in-hand with context) tied to the performance of caste and gender hierarchies.

Therefore, given the rich and in-depth articulations regarding the prospect of sanctions and reputational fall-out tied to *maryada*, I first aim to understand how individuals perceive sanctions and the sorts of judgements they exercise. Next, I investigate how individuals' own social category memberships and other aspects of their background shape their perceptions of sanctions

6.5.5 Results of RQ2 a) How do people perceive sanctions from different groups for when they defy hierarchy-related norms or behaviours?

Approach to the data analysis and data preparation

For the first part of RQ2, I use the data on expected sanctions to build a descriptive understanding of how participants make sense of sanctions in the context of performing caste and gender hierarchies in front of different audiences. By considering the proportion of people who said 'yes' to a range of punitive

measures (displayed in Table 6.9), I am able to preliminarily map out trends in how participants evaluate a type of transgression in front of a type of observer.

Table 6.9: Percent of respondents saying the various sanctions would occur for the associated behaviour.

audience	transgression	getting shouted at	avoided by group	getting hit	individual os-tracised	bring shame upon larger group	the entire group is os-tracised
f	Inappropriate dressing	31.05	10.29	4.08	4.08	8.01	1.31
p	Inappropriate dressing	64.22	14.05	7.03	4.90	14.54	2.29
x	Inappropriate dressing	62.58	14.54	6.21	7.84	19.61	2.12
f	No pronouns of respect	36.93	10.46	3.92	5.56	9.64	1.14
p	No pronouns of respect	67.81	11.76	8.99	6.37	15.20	2.29
x	No pronouns of respect	62.75	14.54	5.56	6.37	22.39	3.10
f	Swear	34.64	8.50	6.05	5.23	5.39	1.14
p	Swear	65.20	16.18	13.07	7.19	15.69	2.12
x	Swear	60.29	16.99	8.17	9.15	22.39	3.43
f	Slurs	49.18	27.12	6.54	13.24	12.91	6.05
p	Slurs	64.38	15.03	12.91	5.72	10.13	2.45
x	Slurs	59.15	16.83	8.66	7.19	17.65	2.29
f	Intercaste romance	15.85	8.82	3.59	6.21	4.08	0.65
p	Intercaste romance	44.44	21.73	14.38	10.46	15.36	4.25
x	Intercaste romance	43.46	18.95	9.31	9.48	23.86	5.23
f	Inter religious romance	19.77	8.99	3.92	5.72	3.59	0.82
p	Inter religious romance	52.12	26.63	16.01	14.87	20.10	7.84
x	Inter religious romance	46.73	23.69	9.64	13.40	27.12	7.68
f	Pregnancy	43.30	24.18	9.31	13.73	17.65	16.67
p	Pregnancy	52.29	41.67	33.33	30.23	36.93	31.70
x	Pregnancy	51.96	35.62	16.67	27.94	41.18	32.84

When friends are observers, being shouted at is something most people say ‘Yes’

to for all types of transgressions. Outside of that, the proportions for the other sanctions are more or less similar for dressing inappropriately, not using pronouns of respect or swearing. For these relatively milder transgressions, it is expected that a sanction involving the friend group being ostracised by the larger community is relatively uncommon. For using casteist or homophobic slurs, or friends knowing about a partner from a different caste and religion, there is a slight uptick in friends not wanting to hang out with the participant and participants expecting that they will be asked to leave the friend group. The jump in the number of participants expecting their group to be ostracised is higher for using casteist or homophobic slurs. This is to be expected, since friends within college settings are unlikely to condone using foul language that displays casteist behaviours. There is an expected increase in proportions across all sanctions for pregnancy seeing as this is generally viewed as a significant transgression within Indian society.

For transgressions where parents are observers, being shouted at continues to be something most people say 'Yes' to for all types of transgressions. What is noticeable here is the increase in overall proportions once transgressions move to parents finding out about a partner from a different caste or religion or about the participant becoming (or making someone) pregnant, including the expectation that that parents will be ostracised from the larger community.

With extended families as observers to transgressions, the distribution of proportions remains similar to situations where parents are observers, with a similar uptick in proportions for situations where members of the extended family find out about a partner from a different caste, religion or pregnancy outside wedlock. The only minor difference is the slightly heightened degree of sanctions for these latter three transgressions when the extended family members are observers, which is in line with expectations. There is generally a lowered expectation of getting hit in the case of extended family. This is likely to be the case because extended families are not meant or expected to use corporeal punishment – that is more likely to be something that parents do.

Even when looking at the proportions across observers holding the type of transgression constant, important differences arise, indicating that the type of

observer and the type of transgression plays an important role when thinking about negative consequences that are likely to arise. For instance, let us consider the case of the observer finding out that the participant has a partner from another caste. There is an increasing likelihood of the larger group in question being ostracised because of an individual's transgression along these lines where the relatives being ostracised by the larger community is more expected as compared to the friend group being ostracised by the larger community.

While further testing is needed to be able to infer significant differences here, this mapping out of evaluations and expectations of sanctions already helps provide a preliminary understanding of how individuals make sense of transgressions. Crucially, there is initial suggestion here that individuals expect other entities (e.g., parents) or sometimes the larger group (e.g., extended family) to face punitive measures for their mistakes that involve crossing lines tied to caste and gender norms.

6.5.6 Results of RQ2 b) How do demographic factors shape the perception of expected sanctions?

Approach to the data analysis

As discussed in the previous chapters, the performance of and adherence to *maryada* and to caste and gender norms in general is sensitive to the social categorisations we belong to. In a similar vein, our social categorisations and background are also likely to influence our perceptions and expectations tied to what would happen if we crossed boundaries and defied set expectations or norms of behaviour. To test this, I now explore the associations between perceptions of expected sanctions and participants' social category memberships (caste, gender) and other background variables in linear regression models.

I have data capturing 7 acts of transgression, 6 types of possible sanctions and punitive measures for each transgression, across 3 audiences. After an initial mapping of the data (for e.g., an analysis of the proportions described above), the first step involved constructing an outcome variable that would capture a measure of perception of sanctions that somehow combined the 6 different types of sanctions I asked participants about. I therefore constructed a latent measure that

collapsed all expected consequences for a given type of transgression and a given type of audience. I do so using Latent Trait Analysis (Bartholomew et al., 2011). The additional practical benefit of such an approach involves a dimension reduction of the data, making it easier and more manageable to analyse.

Latent trait models are factor analysis models for categorical or binary data where observed indicators are binary (e.g., whether a particular sanction is expected or not as taking a value of 1 if likely and 0 if not) but the latent trait is continuous. The measurement portion of the model gives us an indication of how well the underlying indicators are representative of a trait. Latent trait analysis is typically used in, for example, educational testing applications (Hambleton & Cook, 1977) where researchers may want to examine how the individual items (test questions) behave as measures of a latent trait (ability in those applications).

In this study, however, I use this analysis to derive a summary measure of the responses for each type of transgression and audience, for use in subsequent analysis (rather than to engage in an evaluative exercise of how well the underlying indicators represent the trait - something I have flagged for future work and iterations). Doing so is one way (Lauderdale, 2013) to use these estimates as outcomes or predictors in regression models.

Therefore, to summarise my approach:

I first re-coded all the possible negative consequences as a binary which assumes a value of 1 if selected and 0 if not selected. I then ran latent trait models using the mirt package in R (Chalmers, 2012), where first I created 1 latent trait for every transgression type in front of every audience type. After doing this, I made an assessment of the model parameters as a preliminary step. I do not present those results here seeing as an analysis or discussion of the parameters does not directly concern the research question. The parameters, however, did suggest that "getting shouted at"[4] does not represent the traits well, so I excluded them from the next step, which is the construction of factor scores for each individual. Factor scores

[4]Although I have not (as noted above) discussed the item response curves in detail, they did reveal something interesting (and surprising). This is pertaining to the results for the transgression that has to do with "being shouted at" . Clearly the curves for it are often very different. Sometimes they are essentially flat, indicating that responses to this item are essentially uncorrelated with the other items. That being the case, I left out the "getting shouted at" item from the analysis and the factor score (Section 8.3.7).

calculate the estimated conditional means through a weighted sum using the model parameters multiplied by the items where participants say that a sanction is likely to occur. Factor scores carry the same information as a weighted sum and summarise each individual's perceptions of sanctions for different transgressions in front of different audiences.

The factor score is therefore a measure of an individual's perception of the punitive measures they would face by a group (friends, parents or extended family) in cases of a transgression of a particular type in front of (or brought to the awareness of) that group. Given the manner in which the underlying items were coded, higher factor scores indicate a stronger expectation of sanctions and punitive measures for a given transgression in front of a type of group.

While I do not engage with the measurement model in great detail, this process provides me with a sense of the perceived severity of a particular audience's response to various types of normative violations. That has value and meaning, beyond the particulars of the sanctioning and punishment, as it would presumably influence how likely people are likely to transgress.

Table 6.10 provides the range of factor scores for every combination of audience type and transgression.

Table 6.10: Range of factor score values for transgressions in front of different audiences.

Audience	Transgression	Minimum	Maximum
f	Inappropriate dressing	-0.26	2.78
p	Inappropriate dressing	-0.34	2.68
x	Inappropriate dressing	-0.37	2.64
f	No pronouns of respect	-0.26	2.91
p	No pronouns of respect	-0.35	2.72
x	No pronouns of respect	-0.35	2.61
f	Swear	-0.24	2.64
p	Swear	-0.41	2.61
x	Swear	-0.42	2.49
f	Slurs	-0.45	2.39

Audience	Transgression	Minimum	Maximum
p	Slurs	-0.35	2.66
x	Slurs	-0.40	2.58
f	Intercaste romance	-0.23	2.95
p	Intercaste romance	-0.48	2.38
x	Intercaste romance	-0.47	2.35
f	Inter religious romance	-0.22	2.95
p	Inter religious romance	-0.57	2.17
x	Inter religious romance	-0.56	2.24
f	Pregnancy	-0.53	2.13
p	Pregnancy	-0.94	1.55
x	Pregnancy	-0.88	1.69

I now discuss the regression models I ran using these factor scores as outcome variables.

$Y = \beta 0 + \beta 1 * caste * male + \beta 2 * familysize + \beta 3 * livingsituation + \beta 4 * city/towncategory + \beta 5 * nativeplacecategory + \beta 6 * collegelocation + \beta 7 * mother'seducation + \varepsilon$

Y represents the factor scores tied to the latent trait measure for expected sanctions, β0 is the intercept, β1, β2, β3, β4, β5, β6, and β7 are the regression coefficients corresponding to each predictor variable, caste * male represents the interaction term between caste and male variables, family size, living situation, city or town category, native place category, college location, mother's education, and father's education are the independent variables.

Predictions

For every type of observer and every type of transgression, I have outlined predictions that have been constructed keeping the results of the qualitative findings in mind:

> P2.1 Compared to females, being male will be negatively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a

given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

While women may internally reject traditional norms as seen in Chapter 4, qualitative accounts suggest that they expect greater punishment for transgressions. The anthropological and sociological literatures on caste and gender in India also suggest that women are the gatekeepers of honour of the family (Gilbertson, 2014; Still, 2017) , and how crossing boundaries is often met with swift sanctions (Gorringe & Rafanell, 2007; O'Malley, 2023).

P2.2 Compared to Brahmins, being a member of any other caste category will be positively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

Even though Dalits and other "lower" caste groups may reject the caste system, they are still often held to societal expectations regarding norms of *maryada* and deference and may anticipate more sanctioning, as compared to Brahmins (Hoff et al., 2011).

P2.3 Gender difference in expectations tied to punitive measures will be lower for Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, OBCs and STs compared to Brahmins.

Even though upper caste women come out on top of caste hierarchies, they continue to be held to strict rules of femininity and appropriate behaviour. In discussing the caste and gender dynamics explored in the Marathi movie *Sairat*, Harad (2023) explains that the adherence to norms of caste and patriarchy within dominant castes is essential to the maintenance of the dominance of the men in these communities. Chakravarti (1993) further suggests how the authority of the male kinsmen is backed by the right to use coercive tactics and physical chastisement of women who violate the norms established for them.

P2.4 Compared to living in small families, living in medium and large families will be positively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

P2.5 Compared to living alone or with friends, living with parents and family beyond parents will be positively and significantly associated

with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

P2.6 Compared to metros (X cities), living in Y or Z cities will be positively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

P2.7 Compared to no native place or when a native place is a big city, hailing from native places that are small towns, cities or villages will be positively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

P2.8 Compared to having mothers with no, or partial primary education, higher levels of education will be negatively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

P2.9 Compared to having a college in a metro, having a college in a non-metro city or town will be positively and significantly associated with higher levels of expected sanctions for a given type of transgression in front of a given type of observer.

Predictions P2.4 through P2.9 outline predictions that are a continuation of the themes explored in Chapter 4. There, I tested associations between similar objective indicators and a concern for family obligation. Here, I test associations between similar indicators and perceived sanctions. Following from that, the predictions too are in line with the predictions made in Chapter 4. Therefore, a larger family size, living with parents, living in a town and city that is not as developed, having a native place that is a village, a college in a non-metro city are all indicators of being more exposed to the family and larger kin units where norms are likely to be enforced more strongly. I include mother's education as a predictor here seeing as past research has shown mother's to have an important influence on their children's internalisation of norms and attitudes (Dhar et al., 2019).

Results

Transgressions in the presence of friends

Table 6.11: Transgressions in front of friends

Term	Inappropriate dressing	No pronouns of respect	Swear	Slurs	Intercaste romance	Inter religious romance	Pregnancy
Intercept	0.125	0.164	0.22	-0.156	0.09	0.158	0.053
SC/ST	-0.058	-0.208	-0.174	-0.02	0.099	0.025	-0.197
Kshatriya	-0.182	-0.231	-0.195	-0.125	-0.048	-0.142	-0.1
OBC	-0.069	-0.132	-0.126	-0.08	-0.102	-0.158	0.027
Vaishya	0.232	-0.272	0.026	0.035	-0.016	-0.027	-0.314
Female	-0.146	-0.25	-0.249	-0.029	-0.175	-0.163	-0.308
Medium family size	0.018	0.011	-0.005	0.118	-0.048	-0.035	-0.012
Large family size	0.14	0.132	0.05	0.208	0.164	0.043	0.29*
Living with family beyond parents	-0.01	0.11	0.071	-0.015	-0.006	0.01	-0.008
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.187**	0.146*	0.211**	0.194**	0.156*	0.086	0.182*
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.234**	0.144*	0.08	0.417***	0.148	0.103	0.178
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.043	0.119	0.005	0.451***	-0.002	-0.012	0.083
College in non-metro	-0.005	0.114	0.038	-0.034	0.071	0.076	0.149
Cities Y	0.042	0.016	0.082	-0.032	0.067	0.068	-0.021
Cities Z	0.002	-0.053	-0.094	-0.045	0.059	0.056	-0.044
Native place in a small town or city	-0.227***	-0.207***	-0.231***	-0.038	-0.264***	-0.216***	-0.031
Native place in a village	-0.196**	-0.251***	-0.217**	-0.061	-0.221**	-0.192**	-0.23*
SC/ST:Female	-0.071	0.067	0.103	-0.246	-0.172	-0.182	0.086
Kshatriya:Female	0.074	0.164	0.172	0.022	0.054	0.18	0.186
OBC:Female	-0.063	0.084	0.063	-0.053	0.08	0.059	-0.048
Vaishya:Female	-0.067	0.543*	0.484*	-0.067	0.367	0.137	0.699*

Note:

$p < .05^*$, $p < .01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$

Table 6.11 presents a summary of the regression models for each type of transgression type in front of friends. In the regression model, we have the various dependent variables as column headers (e.g., inappropriate dressing = latent trait

factor scores for expected sanctions if one dresses inappropriately in front of friends) which is regressed on all the predictors as discussed above.

From the results in Table 6.11, there is no evidence of caste or gender effects nor any interaction between the two. There is, however, some suggestion that participants with mothers who are more educated expect, on average, higher levels of sanctions from friends as compared to those with mothers who have not received any education. Additionally, the most consistent effect across all transgressions where the friend group is the audience is the negative effect of smaller native places.

The findings tied to mother's education estimates are contrary to predictions where I expected higher levels of parents' education to be associated with lower levels of expected sanctions. The significant estimates for dressing appropriately, using pronouns of respect and not swearing or using caste slurs are likely to also represent 'proper' forms of behaviour, which may be shaped more strongly by educated parents.

Another unexpected set of findings are the negative and significant set of estimates for native places. Across most types of transgressions, participants with a native place that is a small town or city, or a village expect, on average, lower level of sanctions from friends as compared to those with a native place in the city (or those with no native place). This consistency of this finding across a different range of transgressions is worth reflecting on. It is plausible that people who are exposed to native places that are small towns, cities or villages view friends or the college as a very liberal space in contrast to the native place. It could be a form of anchoring that leads such individuals to expect that they can 'get away' with a lot in college.

Transgressions in the presence of parents

Table 6.12: Transgressions in front of parents.

Term	Inappropriate dressing	No pronouns of respect	Swear	Slurs	Intercaste romance	Inter religious romance	Pregnancy
Intercept	-0.147	0.029	-0.019	0.137	-0.147	-0.129	-0.16
SC/ST	0.017	0.018	-0.091	-0.098	-0.172	-0.134	-0.41*
Kshatriya	0.048	-0.013	-0.2	-0.234	-0.256	-0.01	-0.055

OBC	0.126	0.167	0.135	-0.126	-0.128	-0.027	-0.05
Vaishya	0.325	0.226	0.445*	0.038	0.082	-0.039	-0.344
Female	-0.001	-0.035	-0.066	-0.312*	-0.099	0.063	-0.069
Medium family size	0.048	-0.07	-0.083	-0.01	0.159*	0.07	0.022
Large family size	0.159	0.149	-0.017	0.212	0.263*	0.224	0.191
Living with family beyond parents	0.003	-0.034	0.011	-0.091	-0.063	-0.105	-0.136
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.156*	0.169*	0.25***	0.156*	0.226**	0.225**	0.313***
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.177*	0.172*	0.32***	0.22**	0.244**	0.229*	0.367***
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.231*	0.133	0.208	0.146	0.209	0.223	0.426**
College in non-metro	-0.039	0.019	0.066	0.055	0.098	0.048	0.134
Cities Y	0.073	-0.015	-0.096	-0.103	0.006	-0.007	-0.125
Cities Z	-0.022	-0.076	-0.137	-0.079	-0.11	-0.121	-0.286**
Native place in a small town or city	-0.066	-0.162*	-0.041	0.036	-0.026	-0.007	0.261**
Native place in a village	-0.069	-0.092	0.063	-0.01	-0.062	0.095	0.07
SC/ST:Female	-0.166	-0.111	-0.18	-0.05	-0.174	-0.339	-0.015
Kshatriya:Female	-0.073	-0.058	0.075	0.154	0.296	-0.101	0.402
OBC:Female	-0.126	-0.268	-0.319	0.088	0.05	-0.181	-0.105
Vaishya:Female	-0.388	-0.079	-0.441	0.03	-0.026	-0.136	0.404

Note:

p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

For transgressions in front of parents too (Table 6.12), the expectations of sanctions are once again positively associated with mother's education levels for all types of transgressions. Outside of this, there is limited support for the hypotheses barring the negative association between caste and expected sanctions where members of the SC/ST/Dalit categories expect, on average, lower levels of sanctions if their parents were to find out that they are pregnant (or if they made someone pregnant). Outside of this, there is no consistent evidence in support for the rest of the predictions.

Transgressions in the presence of the extended family

Table 6.13: Transgressions in front of extended family members.

Term	Inappropriate dressing	No pronouns of respect	Swear	Slurs	Intercaste romance	Inter religious romance	Pregnancy
Intercept	-0.045	0.034	0.1	0.297	-0.229	-0.009	-0.156
SC/ST	0.016	-0.057	-0.185	-0.279*	-0.092	-0.301*	-0.43**
Kshatriya	-0.044	-0.061	-0.344*	-0.509***	-0.185	-0.254	-0.12
OBC	0.012	-0.051	-0.188	-0.312*	-0.091	-0.291*	-0.058
Vaishya	0.051	0.137	0.222	-0.234	-0.079	-0.368	-0.335
Female	0.008	-0.253	-0.339*	-0.418**	-0.107	-0.287	-0.177
Medium family size	0.028	0.002	0.041	-0.031	0.096	0.127	0.032
Large family size	0.103	0.099	0.206	0.122	0.146	0.283*	0.242
Living with family beyond parents	-0.013	-0.013	-0.081	-0.146*	0.01	-0.106	-0.055
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.11	0.182*	0.174*	0.122	0.155	0.163*	0.261**
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.161	0.205*	0.269**	0.344***	0.276**	0.234*	0.352***
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.294**	0.182	0.297**	0.32**	0.16	0.212	0.54***
College in non-metro	-0.023	0.011	-0.008	0.082	0.06	0	0.193*
Cities Y	-0.021	0.007	-0.045	-0.009	-0.007	0.051	-0.141
Cities Z	-0.055	-0.035	-0.085	0.018	-0.134	-0.112	-0.229*
Native place in a small town or city	-0.041	-0.086	-0.04	-0.065	0.134	0.056	0.157
Native place in a village	-0.121	-0.144	-0.026	-0.1	0.078	0.073	-0.031
SC/ST:Female	-0.185	-0.016	0.1	0.064	-0.08	0.087	0.099
Kshatriya:Female	-0.04	0.206	0.42*	0.419	0.313	0.374	0.388
OBC:Female	0.108	0.276	0.31	0.244	0.22	0.393	0.086
Vaishya:Female	0.031	0.204	0.002	0.297	0.331	0.579	0.706*

Note:

p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

Like the case for when friends and parents are the observers to transgressions, the mother's education level matters even in the case of transgressions in front of the extended family (Table 6.13). There continues to be a positive association between how educated the mother is, and the child's (participant's) perceived expectations of sanctions and reputational fall-out across all transgressions.

This consistent finding across all three audiences begs further reflection. I dissect this from two standpoints - from the participant's standpoint, and from a mother's standpoint (assuming she has a role to play in instilling norms, values and beliefs tied to caste and gender in her child). In my qualitative interviews, one Male Brahmin participant discussed,

> "even though I am not religious or anything, I have to perform the rituals at home and do these caste ritual things. Otherwise, they will tell, how was he raised by his mother and criticise her".

This "it will reflect poorly on my mother" thinking is consistent through my interviews, indicating that from the individual's perspective, it is likely that they may be thinking about the reputational consequences that could extend to their mothers if they transgressed. So, how does the mother's education come in? Within a patriarchal system, one could argue that educated women are a direct challenge to the patriarchy. Therefore, participants with more educated mothers would expect that any audience within a patriarchal system, and particularly familial audiences will be quick to additionally punish transgressions made by the child of a woman who has already violated a norm in one sense. This could be a way to signal to her that any "bad behaviour" can be tied back to her being too educated or liberal. In such a patriarchal system, a more educated mother could also be more likely to raise a "good" child who behaves well, so that any transgression does not come back to her as criticism saying that she neglected inculcating good values in her child. Taking this further, this could result in a form of guilt where the more educated a mother is, the more she feels the pressure of instilling the appropriate norms of behaviour, in a way shielding herself from any criticism of her upbringing.

My reflections above, are of course, only speculative at this stage. However, irrespective of what the underlying mechanisms are, there is one important takeaway with regards to what we know about education. In Chapter 4, I find that being more educated is not associated with lower concern for family obligation. Here we see that having mother's who are more educated is associated with a higher expectation of sanctions. Together, this preliminarily suggests that more education does not necessarily imply the shunning of tradition and may not

translate to a lower adherence to traditional norms. The ways in which education works as a part of this system of factors is complex and not necessarily liberalising. In fact, education may stand directly at odds with the enforcement of traditional norms, and its positive liberalising effects may be seen as a challenge to the patriarchy. Still (2011) discusses how "education for girls is seen as a particularly risky business". She draws on her ethnographic fieldwork to demonstrate how upwardly mobile Dalit women (who used education to marry upwards within their caste) face an interesting challenge - while they use education to escape a life of being an agricultural labourer, marrying into middle-class families means that they are tasked with the maintenance of family honour. This honour is then displayed though the performance of *maryada* (e.g., clothing, manners and modesty).

Coming to the implications for social psychology, I gather that the real-world within which caste and gender norms are enforced is filled with constraints that take the form of perceived and real sanctions that include reputational fall-out. What I learn here is that participants' perceptions of these constraints are informed and shaped by factors that include their mother's education levels. Therefore, the process of negotiating with these constraints and reconciling with one's own agency to overcome these constraints is a complex process needing further investigation.

6.5.7 Results of RQ3: How does performance of hierarchies vary according to social scrutiny, expectations regarding sanctions and a concern for tradition?

So far, I have considered the pieces on family scrutiny, social setting, and sanctions in a somewhat isolated manner. In this final section of the chapter, I attempt to bring these contextual elements in dialogue with one another. Hopkins and Reicher (2011) talk about how context presents reserves of meaning that are deployed in the making and remaking of identity and hierarchy. Here, I jointly bring those reserves in dialogue with one another through the model presented below.

In this first attempt to see the interplay between these factors, these final results

combine the pieces set up in the last models, namely family scrutiny, expected sanctions and the performance of identities in different social settings within a Structural Equation Model. As I did in Chapter 4, I also include a measure of concern for family obligation here to explore the relationship between expected sanctions, a measure of family obligation, and family scrutiny and the performance of caste and gender hierarchies.

Approach to the data analysis and data preparation

The benefit of using a SEM approach is that it allows for the inclusion of latent variables and composite variables and presents a system of relationships at once. In that regard, I deem it to be a suitable choice to appreciate the complexity of the relationships between the performance of caste and gender hierarchies, scrutiny, and the expectations around sanctions and a concern for family obligation.

With regards to variable construction, I create a latent variable called *concern for family obligation* that uses as its indicators the questions on worry about family traditions, family problems and family reputation. All factor loadings are positive (Table 8.89) indicating that higher values of the latent variable are associated with more concern.

For expected sanctions, the latent trait measures used in the previous section are still significantly high in number. For the purposes of this analysis, I therefore undertook a second level of collapsing where I construct weighted composite scores[5] for all items tied to parent sanction (combining expected sanctions for all transgressions where parents are the observers) and extended sanction (combining expected sanctions for all transgressions where the extended family members are the observers) respectively[6].

Seeing as each one of these transgressions is likely to carry a different level of importance or weight, I construct weighted composites using a factor analysis (DiStefano et al., 2019). I use the factor loadings resulting from the factor analysis and multiply variables by its weight to create a weighted score. The sum of these

[5]I limit my discussion on the factor analysis component here seeing as it presently acts as a means to an end, with the end being the larger Structural Equation Model that ties all threads of this chapter together.

[6]I make a conscious choice to not include friends here because the core experimental comparison is between parent and extended.

weighted scores resulted in a composite variable for *expected parent sanction* (Table 8.87) and another one for *expected extended family sanction* (Table 8.88). All factor loadings are positive, indicating that higher values of these composites, on average, indicated a stronger expectation of sanctions from parents and extended family members respectively.

Coming to the outcome variable, I utilise all the ordered Likert responses for questions on identity performance in college, at home and in the native place under imagined parent scrutiny and imagined extended family scrutiny to once again create three different weighted composite factor scores. These new weighted composite variables each represent the performance of hierarchies in college, at home, and in the native place respectively. I once again opt for weighted composites here (as opposed to a latent construct like I do for concern for family obligation) because all underlying indicators tap into a distinct dimension of hierarchical deference. Here too, all factor loadings (Table 8.84, Table 8.85, Table 8.86) for all the questions under college, home and native place are positive, indicating that higher values of these composites, on average, indicated higher values on instances of self-reported performance of *maryada* in these social settings.

I place particular focus on the following associations, which are depicted in Figure 6.5.

1. between expected sanctions from parents and extended family members and concern for family obligation
2. between expected sanctions from parents and extended family members and performance of identities in college, home, native place
3. between concern for family obligation and performance of caste and gender in college, home, native place

Predictions

For both, parent, and extended family conditions respectively,

> P3.1 higher values of a measure of expected sanctions from parents and extended family members is positively associated with stronger agreement with statements surrounding a participants' self-reported

performance of caste and gender norms in the college, home and native place

P3.2 higher values of a measure of expected sanctions from parents and extended family members is positively associated with greater concern for family obligation

P3.3 greater concern for family obligation is positively associated with stronger agreement with statements surrounding a participants' self-reported performance of caste and gender norms in the college, home and native place

Results

Coming to the results, the SEM model tests different associations within the different conditions. The analysis was conducted using the Lavaan (Rosseel, 2012) package in R[7] which allows grouping the data by condition.

Table 6.14: Standardised coefficients from SEM model.

Condition	Path	Standardised coefficient
parent	expected sanctions from parents to concern for family obligation	0.131
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to concern for family obligation	-0.094
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.049
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.008
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.252**
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.372***
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.035

[7]In Lavaan, the way to execute an SEM is using the multi-group function (even in cases where the interest is not in doing a multi-group comparison, per se). Here I am not trying to compare parent and extended, and am treating them as separate, seeing as I am interested in the structural model (and therefore hold all measurement parameters constant).

parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada at home	-0.079
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.070
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	-0.115
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.113
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to concern for family obligation	-0.218*
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to concern for family obligation	0.255
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.048
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.016
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.120
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.367***
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada at home	-0.132
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.064
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.082
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	-0.223
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.265*

Note:
p < .05*, p < .01**, p < 0.001***

This output in Table 6.14, accompanied by Figure 6.5, presents standardised regression coefficients (expected change in the outcome variable, in its standard deviation units, given a 1-sd change in the explanatory variables) along with an indication of the coefficients where the p-values meet conventional levels of

significance. A more detailed table is available for review in Table 8.90.

Under the parental scrutiny condition, I find that higher levels of concern for family obligation is associated with higher levels of self-reported performance of hierarchical deference along lines of caste and gender at home. Under the extended family scrutiny condition too, this positive association holds. Like in Chapter 4, I find that a concern for family obligation is positively associated with not just the endorsement of hierarchical norms, but also the performance of these norms across different settings. What I am additionally able to gather here is that a concern for family obligation is positively associated with an expectation of sanctions, which is the case under extended family scrutiny. The findings add further nuance to how individuals think about and respond to tradition and reputation and how that is an important player in the endorsement and performance of hierarchical norms.

Barring the weak association between the prospect of extended family sanctions and the performance of hierarchies in the native place under imagined extended family scrutiny, there is little evidence for direct associations between the expectations of sanctions and the performance of hierarchies across the different social settings. This can be explained by the way in which sanctions have been operationalised where the underlying measures are not entirely and exclusively in alignment with the performative norms probed in the survey questions.

Reflecting on these results together, there is partial evidence for the two-way associations between sanctions and concern for family obligation, between concern for family obligation and performance of hierarchies, and (weakly) between expectations of sanctions and performance of hierarchies. These provide initial suggestions for the potential interconnectedness of these mechanisms and the different ways in which family exercises its influence on our understanding of and adherence to these hierarchical norms. One possible takeaway needing further exploration is whether the expectation of sanctions causes a performance of *maryada* across settings through a concern for obligation. This type of mediation, causal analysis has not been conducted here and is something that can be explored in future research.

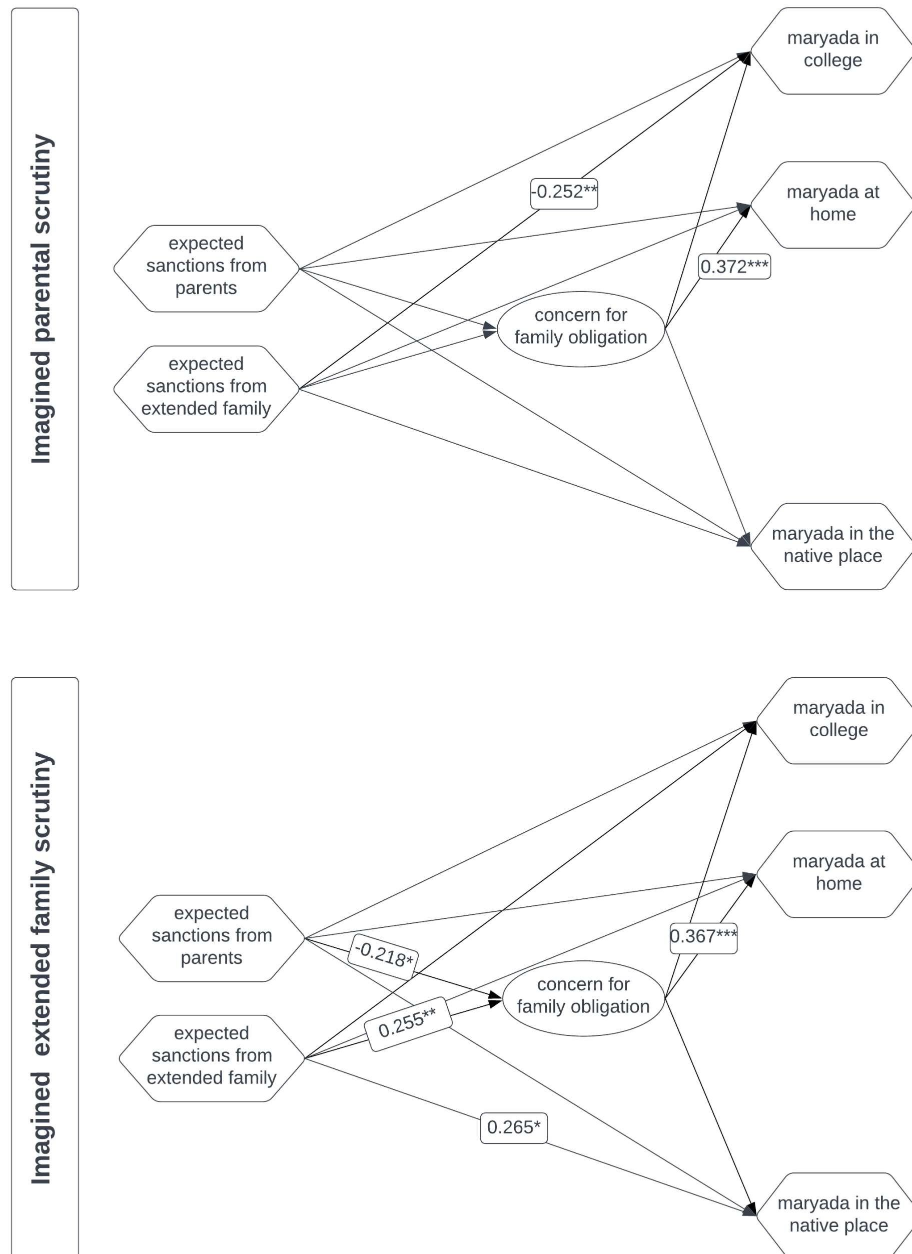

Figure 6.5: Structural Equation Models for parent scrutiny and extended family scrutiny
variables in circles represent latent variables, variables in hexagons represent weighted composites.

6.6 Discussion

Building on the qualitative research study presented in Chapter 5, this chapter delves into the specific contextual elements that contribute to the performance of caste and gender hierarchies in India. Guided by three research questions, I aim to first examine the causal relationship between the type of familial scrutiny and self-reported endorsement and performance of caste and gender. Second, incorporating the prospect of sanctions, I examine participants' expected likelihood of punishments, ranging from mild to serious, for a spectrum of transgressions in front of friends and family. I then examine how their assessment of sanctions is shaped by their backgrounds and social categories they belong to. Finally, I look at how performance of identity-relevant norms across social settings varies according to social scrutiny and concern for sanctions and tradition.

The first research question tests if there is a causal relationship between type of scrutiny and self-reported endorsement and performance of caste and gender norms. Specifically, does extended family scrutiny influence self-reported performance more than parental scrutiny by way of a shift in participants' responses to more traditional levels? I find a difference in conditions only for a limited number of questions, primarily those related to concern for extended family reputation and influence. Furthermore, these results fall within a multiple-testing approach. Regression models were run separately for all 50 questions and there were no predictions tied to which question(s) would come up as significant. With so many tests, it is generally quite possible to have some come out as 'significant', therefore, any significant result emerging from such an approach must be treated with caution.Still, this exploratory set of tests has been helpful in suggesting potential areas for refinement and focus. More importantly, these findings indicate that future work needs to enhance the ways in which the audience and/or the questions are constructed within study design. A likely issue lies in the operationalisation where 'think about an aunt and uncle' may not adequately represent the comprehensive influence of the extended family. It might also be attributed to the sheer numerical strength of the extended family, which could compel performance as a group audience, rather than any specific aunt or uncle. I delve into the tradeoffs of selecting such a prime in the limitations section,

but the next phase of this work needs to reassess the methods used for priming these entities. Lastly, in terms of a causal difference, a stronger difference was expected between friend and parent or friend and extended scrutiny conditions, but the incorporation of friend scrutiny in the study design was done in a manner that prevents me from making any causal claims. For example, all participants always answered questions under the friend scrutiny condition first, making it more of a baseline than a randomised treatment condition. Future iterations of such a study would need to consider designs (e.g., factorial designs or purely between-subjects designs) to be able to arrive at causal claims regarding friend versus familial scrutiny.

Transitioning to the results on sanctions, a descriptive overview of proportions provides valuable insights into participants' understanding of punitive measures. Even seemingly minor transgressions, such as dressing inappropriately or not using pronouns of respect, bring about parental shame, indicating that the sanctions are not just applied to the individual, but can include the parents. This finding largely supports what has already been established in the anthropological and sociological literature on caste and gender norm violations in India (Abraham, 2001; Gupte, 2013; Mahalingam, 2007). Looking into demographic factors that are associated with expected sanctions, across various audiences, what stands out is an intriguing, counterintuitive association between a participant's mother's education and higher expected sanctions for transgressions across all types of observers. The positive association between the two suggests that education does not necessarily liberalise traditional views as often assumed; instead, it could play a role in reinforcing norms of 'appropriate' behaviour. These findings also underscore the deep-rooted influence of family. An individual's expectations and assessment of sanctions are likely to be sensitive to their parents' backgrounds, and the potentially liberalising effects of more education can be muted by the entrenched systems that keep caste and gender hierarchies in place. Overall, the investigations into sanctions brings into question the positive and agentic claims made within the identity performance literature. Here, we see individuals constantly in dialogue with real-world constraints and a starker reality regarding audiences: audiences are kept in mind not only to affirm identities (Klein et al., 2007) but also to evade punishment.

Turning to the Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) results pertaining to the third research question, there is partial evidence for the two-way associations between sanctions and concern for family, between concern for family obligation and performance of hierarchies, and (weakly) between expectations of sanctions and performance of hierarchies. Overall, these results suggest that family, through their role as observers, through their ability to sanction transgressions and by inducing a concern for tradition and reputation in actors, are likely to exercise their influence on the performance of hierarchies. These findings point towards the interconnectedness of scrutiny, sanctions, concern for tradition, and the enactment of hierarchy across different settings. It suggests the possibility that sanctions may foster a concern for family tradition and reputation, which in turn could shape the enactment of caste and gender hierarchies. However, it raises an intriguing question: what exactly does the expected likelihood of sanctions inspire in participants? What is the psychological mechanism through which it impacts the performance of caste and gender hierarchies? Based on my findings, it appears that concern could be the psychological process through which expected sanctions impact behaviour. However, the specificity of this mechanism requires further examination—the construction of the questions on "worry about family tradition" and "problems" was undertaken by Lokniti-CSDS as a part of their survey study (Kumar, 2017a). To maintain equivalence, I adopted a similar construction in this chapter as well. Upon revisiting the supplementary material of the Lokniti survey, I was unable to find more information on the reasoning or research underlying the construction of this question. Specifically, given its significance, I argue that more attention needs to be paid to what is meant by concern and what drives it. Investigating this would help refine our understanding of the psychological mechanisms that underlie norm adherence in similar contexts.

As I integrate these various strands of inquiry, there are key takeaways that start to emerge. Like in previous chapters, this chapter reinforces that the family exercises its influence intricately into the fabric of identity performance and endorsement of traditional norms. Preliminary evidence suggests that the family, whether immediate or extended, is a critical component of individuals' social context. This is first reflected in the (descriptive) observation of movement in responses (from the friend condition) to the more traditional end of the spectrum across many

questions. However, family exercises its influence not just as an audience scrutinising behaviour. This unit has worked its way deep into the fabric of our decision-making such that we seem to factor in our parents' education, the potential for family shame because of norm violations, and a concern for family obligations when we make our decisions regarding the endorsements and performances of hierarchical norms.

Next, the power of sanctions comes to the fore. Findings in this study indicate that the threat of sanctions reaches beyond the individual and extends to the larger family unit, reinforcing the family's significance in the performance of caste and gender hierarchies. The type and severity of these sanctions vary widely and are sensitive to who the observer is and what the transgression is. Moreover, our own backgrounds and the social categories we belong to can inform our perceptions of what would happen if we defied rules of performance. Together, this points to the power of the audiences in not just observing behaviour, but through their enforcement of sanctions. Furthermore, it provides insight into how we navigate real-world constraints and the factors we take into consideration in as we navigate them. It is not as simple as the presence of constraints (like opposition from others, or sanctions in this case) or its absence but it is more about how we are in constant dialogue with such processes, that will inevitably inform and shape our own sense of agency.

Reflecting on the roots of Social Identity Approach (Brown, 2020), this work reveals the intricate and complex set of contextual factors that continually make and remake social hierarchies (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011). The performance of hierarchies like caste and gender is continually and dynamically shaped by a complex network of familial, social, and sanction-related factors that are all in service of upholding these systems. However, as I try to draw on existing frameworks within social psychology to position these results, I find myself struggling, seeing as current approaches and frameworks examining the performance of hierarchies have distanced themselves from the very context they are meant to serve (Dixon et al., 2005). To redress this, I end this section by positioning my findings against the framework I built at the start of this thesis.

Firstly, by illustrating how familial scrutiny and the anticipation of sanctions

influence individuals' adherence to caste and gender norms, this research underscores the notion that hierarchies are constantly being shaped and reshaped within specific social contexts. This challenges the static view often held in social psychology, suggesting instead that hierarchies are dynamic and contingent on the interplay of various social forces, including the expectations and pressures exerted by family. This perspective enriches the thesis by highlighting the fluidity of social structures and the role of social settings in defining and maintaining hierarchies.

Secondly, the emphasis on performance in this chapter brings to light the active role individuals play in either reinforcing or challenging social norms. The findings demonstrate that the performance of caste and gender norms is not merely a passive reflection of internalised values but a deliberate act influenced by the perceived consequences of non-conformity. This notion of performance, particularly in the face of familial and societal scrutiny, adds a critical dimension to our understanding of how individuals navigate social hierarchies. It suggests that social psychology should pay greater attention to the performative aspects of hierarchies, considering how individuals' presentations of self are crafted in response to their social environments.

Lastly, the exploration of agency and constraint provides a nuanced view of how individuals make choices within the confines of social expectations. The results indicate that while individuals possess agency, their decisions and performances are significantly shaped by the potential sanctions they face for deviating from normative behaviours. This duality of agency and constraint offers a more complex picture of human behaviour within social hierarchies, emphasising that choices are often made within a framework of anticipated rewards and punishments. It challenges social psychologists to consider not only the agentic aspects of identity performance but also the constraints that limit individuals' ability to express their identities freely.

Together, these findings offer a richer, more complex understanding of social hierarchies and their maintenance, challenging existing paradigms within social psychology and enriching the thesis with a deeper analysis of the mechanisms through which caste and gender norms are perpetuated and contested in everyday life.

6.6.1 Limitations

This study is not without its limitations. The issue of multiple testing presents itself as a challenge, due to the running of 50 regression models. However, I position this study as exploratory, where I did not go in with a precise set of predictions regarding which of the 50 questions would show up as significant. Next, the operationalisation of the audience needs more careful consideration. The prompt asking participants to 'imagine aunt and uncle' may not fully encapsulate extended family scrutiny in the way intended. I elected to prompt people to think of an aunt and uncle for comparability to the parental condition where I asked participants to think about their mother and father (and similarly in the friend condition where I asked people to think of two friends), but while people can typically be understood to have only two parents, part of what is notable about the extended family is their much larger number. As a result, the effort at equivalence between the conditions may have meant that the salience of the extended family condition was minimised and did not yield the desired effect.

The study's design, requiring participants to 'imagine your parents reading about your behaviour in college,' may compromise comprehension due to its dual layer of imagination. Therefore, alternative ways of testing this need to be considered. Doing the same survey twice is likely to have led to fatigue and responses in the second condition are likely to have been heavily influenced by what participants said in the first condition. A between subject design or devising a method to create a gap between two survey attempts may be a valid way to address this issue. The lack of randomised question order could potentially impact the findings along lines mentioned earlier, though this was omitted to avoid introducing additional control variables.

The measures too could be more precise. The survey itself is vast and covers numerous buckets of questions, which poses analytic challenges. In future iterations, I plan to focus on particular strands (e.g., impact of prospect of sanctions on performance) to induce more focus. As a result of the vastness and breadth of the categories of questions, the connection between the questions on sanctions and the questions on the performance of caste and gender across different settings is presently weak. Through more precision and better focus, I

believe this too can be addressed in future iterations of this work.

6.7 Conclusion

Through this study on the performance and endorsement of caste and gender norms, I have aimed to shed light on the various contextual mechanisms that play a role in the endorsement and performance of social hierarchies. Findings highlight the numerous ways in which the family unit's influence weaves itself into our daily enactment of caste and gender. Also powerful are the role of sanctions, potentially extending from the individual to encompass the larger family unit, providing some insight into why performance occurs even in cases where identity-relevant norms may not be endorsed.

This study builds upon existing literature on identity performance in three distinct ways. First, it expands the traditional focus from identity performance in big, somewhat anonymous spaces (Reicher et al., 1995), to the more intimate, daily interactions and incorporates the intricate interplay of family, society, and sanction-driven factors that underpin the performance of social hierarchies. Second, it uses a mixed-methods approach that grounds the quantitative investigation in rich, context-specific qualitative insights. This design allows the quantitative exploration of performance to reflect more closely the social realities of the studied hierarchies. This approach contrasts with the frequently used artificial minimal group experiments seen in the field's experimental methodologies (Scheepers et al., 2006). Lastly, this research underscores that endorsing or performing norms associated with a hierarchy is not solely about affirming identities or expressing affiliations (Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013; Klein et al., 2007). It also involves evading the potential punitive consequences linked to familial scrutiny. This adds another layer to understanding the motivations behind people's performance of identities, highlighting not just a desire for positive self-esteem, but also a keenness to avoid negative social consequences.

This research opens up further avenues of inquiry. The most salient of these concerning the psychological mechanisms underpinning the impact of expected sanctions on performative behaviour can be tested using experimental and mixed-methods approaches. Further qualitative work can also provide a rich,

nuanced and context-specific understanding of norm-violations and attached consequences, which will allow any subsequent quantitative exploration of the linkages between performance and sanctions to be more closely tied to context.

As I conclude the empirical portion of my PhD with this chapter, I want to emphasise the gradual and progressive depth in knowledge gained as I moved from one chapter to the next. From looking at the outward endorsement of norms in Chapter 4, to extracting the contents or meanings of caste and gender (and *maryada*) as shaped by specific contextual factors in Chapter 5, and finally unpacking the associations in Chapter 6, I conclude here by highlighting that the theorisations and meanings attached to hierarchies are anything but static. They are constantly in flux, and dynamically shaped by contextual factors (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

Together with the last chapter, my research underscores the important role that performative acts play in keeping deeply entrenched hierarchies alive. It demonstrates that dismantling such rigid hierarchies requires a multi-faceted approach, attentive to the intricate and interwoven influences of family, social context, and potential sanctions. As we continue to unravel these complexities in a way that is sensitive to local context, we will be better equipped at identifying the more subtle ways in which hierarchies are reproduced by, and around us.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to explore how social hierarchies in the real-world are reproduced in everyday life through the endorsement and performance of norms. I did so by focusing on the experiences of young Hindu and Buddhist Indians and how they navigate caste and gender relations in India. I have drawn on social psychological theories to demonstrate the importance of examining hierarchies within their historical, moral and social contexts and paying attention to the specific social and cultural processes that influence the identity-behaviour relationship. I propose that the under-researched concept of the performance of hierarchical norms helps reveal the multi-faceted way in which these hierarchies are dynamically reproduced by context.

In this final chapter of the thesis, I first summarise the findings of the three empirical studies (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) before discussing how they jointly contribute to a framework for understanding the reproduction of hierarchies in everyday life.

In doing so, I acknowledge the importance of studying hierarchies as contextual, incorporating the endorsement and performance of hierarchy norms and questioning our assumptions regarding agency and real-world constraints as central to the processes and experiences of navigating these hierarchies. Finally, this chapter discusses the theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions of this thesis, before concluding on a note of resistance and hope.

7.1 Starting Point of the Research

Hopkins (2008, p. 366) states that "social psychology has not always engaged with the messiness of everyday life" and how the habit of "de-contextualised" and "sanitised" conceptualisations of behaviour has led to a neglect of participants' own constructions or meanings ascribed to their interactions. While this argument is made in the context of theories and frameworks of intergroup contact, I contend that it holds true even within the Social Identity Approach (Brown, 2020; Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010), and particularly within the study of how hierarchical structures operate in the real world.

This stark contrast between lived realities of hierarchies and theoretical

constructions and applications tied to the study of hierarchies was further exacerbated when I considered the case of caste and gender. In India, caste and gender are intersecting hierarchical systems that weave themselves into the fabric of everyday life. Practices like *maryada* (Mines, 2005, p. 81) which entails a performance of deference along intersecting lines of caste and gender, compelled in the most intimate of settings, contributes to the dynamic making and re-making of caste and gender.

Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987) has equipped us with the tools to study identities and hierarchies in context, however, applications and frameworks have fallen short of embedding context into the way identity and hierarchy is studied. To address these gaps, I proposed a theoretical framework in the initial chapters of this thesis that integrates the following:

1. Real-world hierarchies are intersectional, and embedded in historical, moral, and social settings. It emphasises that culture is not a static backdrop, but a contested domain where individuals actively participate in constructing meaning, suggesting that hierarchies are continually made and remade within their relevant contexts.

2. Hierarchies are understood through their contents, focusing not just on the endorsement of norms but on their context-dependent performances. It underscores how context shapes both the endorsement and the performance of norms, evolving the meanings, contents, and understandings tied to these performances.

3. Hierarchies come with real-world constraints hindering individuals from realising their hierarchy-related wishes. Understanding meanings (contents) of hierarchies as dynamically shaped by context allows for a more nuanced view of how individuals comprehend and reconcile with their agency as they navigate real-world constraints.

I ask, *How are social hierarchies reproduced in everyday life through the adherence to, and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms? What are the reasons underlying people's adherence to and performance of hierarchy-relevant norms?*

7.2 Summary of the Findings

I address the research question through three empirical studies situated within the Indian context, that each build on one another. The starting point of this thesis' empirical work (empirical study 1, Chapter 4) examines the endorsement of traditional attitudes pertaining to caste and gender using survey data based in India. Within three distinct models, I examine the relationships between demographic variables, concern for family obligation and the endorsement of traditional attitudes using a Structural Equation Modelling approach. These three models consider traditional attitudes on gender norms applicable to women, moral judgements on romantic relationships, and discomfort with having neighbours who deviate from traditional caste and gender norms. The second empirical study (Chapter 5) employs qualitative in-depth interviews to understand college-age Hindu Indians' own experiences and motivations underlying the performance of hierarchical norms, even in situations where they verbally reject them. Here, I delve into the experiences of performing *maryada*, which includes an understanding of the contextual factors that enable (or rather compel) its performance. The third empirical study (Chapter 6) builds directly on the findings of Chapter 5 where I employ an online survey experiment to quantitatively delineate and test the relationships between the performance and endorsement of caste and gender, role of family scrutiny, concern for familial obligations and a perception of social sanctions.

The findings of the first empirical study showcase that the endorsement of traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender is associated with a greater concern for family obligation among other demographic indicators that include participants' social category memberships. Furthermore, the concern for family obligation is related to participants' social categories like gender, the size of one's family, and whether one lives in a more urban versus a more rural setting.

The findings of this study have been crucial in cementing the relevant contextual processes that shape traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender. In particular, it emphasises the role of family, and specifically the concern for family obligations. Second, the concern for family obligation hints at the social pressures associated with norm endorsement and adherence, pointing to the influence of context.

Third, the association between demographic factors and attitudes is complex. For instance, some tensions have been highlighted, like women displaying a stronger concern for family obligation compared to men, but also being the ones who reject attitudes tied to traditional gender norms. These discoveries reinforce the need to expand our understanding of the various dimensions of family that influence attitudes within social psychology. Additionally, this perspective on context offers a reservoir of rich meanings and possibilities for studying social norms, particularly in relation to caste and gender. However, it leaves open the question of how these norms are understood and experienced, something that the findings of the second empirical study in Chapter 5 reveal.

Based on interview data, the second empirical study in Chapter 5 explores the understandings and experiences of the performance of caste and gender articulated by college-aged Hindu and Buddhist Indians. This study first and foremost demonstrates the multi-faceted ways in which *maryada* is performed along intersecting lines of caste and gender. It uncovers numerous behavioural categories of *maryada* (that later prove crucial in Chapter 6) and the complex relationship that participants have with their performance of *maryada*. Existing research on identity performance (Klein et al., 2007) within the Social Identity Approach assumes that the performed endorsement of norms is the same as the internal endorsement or identification of norms. I argue that that is not the case and that people perform caste and gender even when they reject these hierarchies. Specifically, Klein et al (2007) and related papers on identity performance focus on the positive motivations to perform identity. In my study, participants discuss performing caste and gender to avoid a range of negative consequences, including severe sanctions. Next, I also find that in addition to performance being sensitive to participants' own caste and gender memberships, it is dynamically shaped by the specific micro-social processes that involve the type of scrutiny within a social setting. Participants discuss their understandings and experiences of performing *maryada* in front of friends, parents and extended family members and within social settings (spaces) like the college, home, and the native place. Here, *context* takes the shape of the type of scrutiny within a social setting, and a combination of the two informs participants' expectations of sanctions. Of all these combinations, I find that *maryada* is most strongly compelled in the presence of the extended

family and in the native place.

The findings of the second empirical study brought out the importance of extracting the divergent and rich meanings of *maryada,* and the ways in which participants reconcile with these norms in everyday life. In the first empirical study in Chapter 4, I was able to capture an outward demonstration of behaviour in the form of the endorsement of attitudes and norms, and identified that a concern for family obligations is a part of the story. I was, however, not able to pinpoint the complex relationships between these elements. The qualitative study in (Chapter 5) enabled an extraction of meaning that proved essential in deepening understandings of how norms tied to caste and gender are not only endorsed, but also performed, and how they are continually shaped by contextual processes. Through the understanding of participants' own complex relationships with their performances, I am able to appreciate the real-world constraints in the form of sanctions that prevent them from asserting their hierarchy-related wishes.

Chapter 5 helped unearth a number of key contextual elements (scrutiny within a social setting with the ability to enforce norms through the threat of sanctions) and the final empirical study in Chapter 6 was tasked with combing through them and understanding how they relate to one another. Following the results of the qualitative study, I set out to first examine whether extended family scrutiny (as compared to parental scrutiny) caused a stronger traditional response to self-reported performances of caste and gender. While I only found weak evidence for this, the descriptive shift in responses from the baseline condition ("imagine your friends are reading your answers") to both the family conditions ("imagine that your parents/imagine that your aunt and uncle are reading your answers") provides preliminary validation that family scrutiny is associated with more traditional responses. Seeing as empirical studies 1 and 2 heavily emphasised wider contextual processes tied to the family, I proceeded to deep dive into perceptions around sanctions in the latter half of empirical study 3. I find that participants perceive the prospect of sanctions as reaching beyond the individual and extending to the larger family unit, reinforcing the family's significance in the performance of caste and gender hierarchies. The type and severity of these sanctions vary widely and are sensitive to who the observer is and what the

transgression is. Moreover, participants' own backgrounds and the social categories they belong to can inform perceptions of what would happen if norms of performance are flouted. Together, this points to the power of the audiences in not just observing behaviour, but through their ability to enforce behaviour by using the threat of sanctions.

The findings in the final empirical study in Chapter 6 further reinforced that family exercises its influence intricately into the fabric of identity performance and endorsement of traditional norms associated with caste and gender. The evidence suggests that the family, whether immediate or extended, is a critical component of individuals' social context. This is reflected in the impact that family size, parents' education, the potential for family shame because of norm violations, and a concern for family obligation has on our behaviour. It also demonstrates that the performance of hierarchies like caste and gender through acts of *maryada* are continually and dynamically shaped by a complex network of familial, social, and sanction-related factors that are all in service of upholding these systems.

7.2.1 The Underpinnings of the Durability of Caste and Gender in India

In bringing the findings of the thesis together, I demonstrate how each study builds on the previous one to jointly address the research questions. On the topic of how social hierarchies permeate daily life, this thesis reveals that the durability of these hierarchies is often preserved through the endorsement of traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender hierarchies across multiple spheres of social life. This includes norms on what women can and cannot do or wear, delivering moral verdicts on romantic relationships that challenge the accepted norms of caste and gender, and expressing discomfort with neighbours who defy the caste and gender norms prescribed by the upper castes.

However, this narrative unveils only a fragment of the larger, more complex picture. I initially uncovered associations between participants' social category memberships and the endorsement of traditional caste and gender-related attitudes. Yet, as I delved deeper into participants' own meanings attached to caste and gender, the intricacies of these relationships become more apparent.

Participants discussed their performances of these hierarchies even while possessing critical views towards caste and gender. Furthermore, discussions revealed that their engagement with these social performances and endorsements is continuously being moulded by their immediate contexts and circumstances.

This intriguing paradox of why they perpetuate these norms despite their personal disavowal of them led me to dig deeper into the underpinning motivations. As I probed further, with added validation from quantitative methods, I discovered a rather complex labyrinth of contextual processes that collaboratively serve to sustain these social hierarchies. This can be best summarised as familial audiences within social settings that jointly constitute the context that determines the nature and severity of sanctions that may be meted out in case of transgression.

Notably, participants do not merely endorse or perform these norms and attitudes in their families' presence due to the anticipation of punitive threats, but they also enact these norms to shield their family's reputation and to prevent potential shame. This is likely to form a cyclical pattern, a self-sustaining loop, where the anticipation of punishment and the desire to prevent shame continuously feeds the performance and endorsement of these norms, reinforcing their place in society. Consequently, the perpetuation of social hierarchies is an intricate dance of tradition, societal pressure, personal beliefs, and contextual complexities, all intertwined in a cycle of endorsement, performance, and preservation.

Adopting the lens of the Social Identity Approach (Brown, 2020; Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010) has been crucial in uncovering these insights by enabling me to unpack complex dynamics using a tried-and-tested set of varied methods. However, I now turn the tables to more concretely discuss the ways in which my particular approach has contributed to the discipline of social psychology, and more specifically to applications within the Social Identity Approach.

In the next section, these findings are discussed more broadly in relation to relevant literature and theory, emphasising the contributions they make by way of a more nuanced approach to studying the endorsement and performance of hierarchies.

7.3 Towards a Framework for Understanding Social Hierarchies

7.3.1 Hierarchies as Made and Remade in Context

In this thesis, I study caste and gender as hierarchies that are intersectional, and as strongly rooted in historical, moral and social contexts. I pay particular attention to specific contextual processes - namely the micro social processes in terms of the social groups that actors orient to in a particular context (e.g. family / peers / etc., which change according to the setting they are in). I first find that these result in the identification of family, friends, extended family as relevant audiences within specific social settings namely home, college and native place (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). Next, I find that a combination of the two results in the prospect of a range of sanctions (Chapters 5 and 6) that could be dealt out for defying caste and gender norms.

I find that contextual processes play a role in the endorsement of traditional norms and attitudes tied to caste and gender. In Chapter 4, the concern for family obligation shapes traditional attitudes tied to caste and gender, but it is not so simple. For instance, even though being a woman is associated with more concern for family obligation, this group is more likely to reject attitudes. Such points of tension tell us that there is more to the story.

Delving deeper into the relationship between context, norms and behaviour, I find that granular contextual processes shape the meaning of hierarchy and theorisations of it, and do so dynamically. In Chapter 5, I examine participants' own understandings and experiences of *maryada* and caste and gender hierarchies through the norms enacted. I find that *maryada* is understood descriptively as representing the entrenched patriarchy within India. Analytically, it captures performative acts of hierarchical deference that are largely given in spite of participants' own reservations about caste and gender norms. The way participants discuss or define *maryada* is never without a discussion of the type of observer within a setting, and *maryada* is dynamically shaped by these aspects. The shape that *maryada* takes is inherently fluid since it is contingent on a combination of audience within a social setting that informs a perception

regarding sanction. This is seen in one of the results of Chapter 6 where, under imagined extended family scrutiny, participants' perceptions of sanctions is associated with a concern for family obligation and with self-reported performance of these norms at home. This only scratches the surface of a complex and dynamic set of contextual factors that continually shape behaviour.

Overall, these findings have implications, and address important gaps within current theories. The Social Identity Approach has always been concerned about context (Reicher, 2004), however, the de-contextualised approach continues to dominate (Hopkins, 2008). Reicher (2004) has helpfully clarified that the Social Identity Approach was always meant to take experimental designs as a starting point, and not the point of arrival. However, the study of hierarchies, in particular, sees the frequent use of artificial experimental manipulations. As they present their qualitative work on minority group's understandings of Islamophobia, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) discuss how the de-contextualised traditions within psychology, particularly in the study of hierarchies focus on stability, permeability in experiments, not leaving room for the divergent meanings-driven understandings that a more contextualised approach offers. Critiquing the dyadic aspects of these designs, a different set of authors Kerr et al. (2017) have also argued for moving beyond dyadic categorisations of hierarchy to more carefully consider the historical, moral and social aspects of hierarchies. Through the employment of real hierarchies and by focusing on its divergent meanings as shaped by contexts, I adopt an approach that brings context back to the study of hierarchy. Furthermore, I also demonstrate that bringing context into the study of hierarchies does not mean that we need to default to qualitative methods. While not the easiest to construct and implement, it is possible to create abstractions of the real world in a lab that respects contextual elements.

Next, what *context* means is often unclear (Cornish, 2004; Reddy & Gleibs, 2019). Within Self-Categorisation Theory, context is often reduced to the idea of whether an identity is salient or not (Rathbone et al., 2023). Reicher et al (2021) have criticised that by calling for a more careful consideration of the *social organisation* within a setting. In this thesis, the idea of context starts with an operational definition of the social groups that actors orient to in a particular setting, but gets

more specific as I begin to understand participants' own theorisations of hierarchy and norms.

The fact that context and the theorisations/meanings/contents of a hierarchy are in continual dialogue has been suggested by Hopkins and Reicher (2011) who argue that at the core of identity-behaviour relationship is contents and that contents are shaped by cultural processes. Furthermore, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) have demonstrated the divergence of meanings that are possible. However, not enough research acknowledges or tests the dynamic side to the making and remaking of hierarchies. For instance, in a study by Becker and Wagner (2009) on the relationship between identifying as a woman and the endorsement of sexist beliefs, the authors argue that it is important to consider divergent meanings of what it means to be a woman. They argue that this *meaning* (or gender role preference, in their terms) has to do with the gender roles women choose. While this acknowledgement of divergent contents is important, it treats meaning as a static process. I argue that how we understand and define hierarchies and their norms, too, are continually shaped by contextual factors. In the case of caste and gender norms, meanings are constantly being shaped by who is watching, where participants are and their continual assessment of possible sanctions and reputational fall out.

This fluidity does however pose a larger question on how we measure the definition or meaning of identities and hierarchies, and if there is any value and merit to doing so? Is there a true, baseline measure of participants' understanding of *maryada*, or is it in constant flux as a result of their immediate, more observable context coupled with being at the mercy of larger, more unobservable social-political-cultural phenomena? This is something that our discipline needs to grapple with.

7.3.2 The Role of Performance of Hierarchy-Relevant Norms

Focusing on the contents and meanings attached to caste and gender norms has revealed the crucial role that performance plays in upholding these hierarchies. The idea of *maryada* captures these intersectional performative acts of deference that are inherently fluid and dynamically shaped by context. As a result, *maryada*

serves as a strong real-world example of what we mean when we talk about contents and norms shaped by context and culture (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011).

When looking at current applications, the constructions and theorisations of hierarchies do not afford us the opportunities to extract these kinds of rich meanings from them. A number of quantitative studies treat performativity as reward allocation in laboratory experiments (Scheepers et al., 2006) or simply the endorsement of norms (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010). This does not tap into participants' divergent meanings attached to these norms or the embodied performances of hierarchies.

Contrastingly, the body of qualitative research on identity performance presents rich accounts of how intersecting and complex identities are performed, however understandings are still restricted to the performance of identities and not the performance of hierarchies. Studies that consider the perspectives of minority-group members (Amer, 2020; Hopkins & Greenwood, 2013) have often reflected on minority group members' ability to be heard. This reflection is quite telling as it captures something about hierarchical ordering and unequal power structures in the real world that are likely to trickle into how we understand and define these hierarchies and consequently, how we enact them. Through my study on the performance of hierarchies, I have unveiled the embodied forms of repression and humiliation that captures the subtle, yet omnipresent ways in which hierarchies are understood. Through a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches, I triangulate the complex set of factors that enforce the performative acts of deference that keep hierarchies alive in the everyday, and I end this thesis with a call to iterate on approaches that contextualise hierarchies and study their performances.

7.3.3 Constraints and Agency Tied to Hierarchy-Related Wishes

As I start by looking at the outward endorsement of traditional attitudes, I already find that there is a concern for tradition, with concern being the key operative word. As I dig deeper into the meaning of these hierarchies and their norms, I unveil a deeper set of stark realities that underlie the outward endorsement and performance of caste and gender. While there are positive motivations underlying

performative acts tied to caste and gender, the prospect of encountering a range of sanctions at the hands of the family, extended family and larger community were far more prominent in discussions. These sanctions come with individual and familial consequences, and range from causing disappointment to one's entire family to being ostracised by a community.

As participants traverse a range of social settings occupied by different members, they are in a constant process of assessing the prospect of sanctions (and a more general reputational fall-out) and negotiating their own performances of caste and gender. At times, especially in the intimate settings of their own homes, they are able to negotiate with parents and reject the obligation to perform deference. At other times, there is less scope of negotiation with the extended family and they give in to the performance. And there are also times where they willingly perform caste and gender out of a sense of pride and solidarity with their kin networks.

These findings constitute a discussion on two fronts: first, the existence of constraints in the real world and second, the agency to overcome those constraints. Constraints here come in the form of participants' perceptions of the sanctions they are likely to face if they defy behavioural rules of conduct. Agency refers to their ability to overcome any constraint and realise their cognitive wishes pertaining to the hierarchy.

When I position these findings against what findings within the Social Identity Approach suggests, the contrast could not be clearer. This largely stems from social psychology's preoccupation with constructing constraint-free worlds (Reicher et al., 2021) with agentic selves that have an obstacle-free path to translate their cognitive wishes into realities.

I find that I am not alone in this critique. Dixon and colleagues (2005) talk about the "utopianism" within our discipline and describe how:

> social psychologists interested in the positive effects of contact on inter-group relations have become increasingly distanced from the realities of everyday contact. This distance is limiting. The desire to identify the optimal conditions for contact has resulted in a discipline that routinely 'obscures and prettifies the starker realities of everyday

> interactions' and allows the realities of contact 'to slip beneath the threshold of scientific enquiry (p. 700).

By presenting an example of the lived experiences of individuals engaged in 'dirty work' in Pakistan, Zulfiqar and Prasad (2022) discuss how social psychology's conceptualisation of an agentic self is not a possibility in contexts where changing one's social position is not easy.

These conceptualisations and assumptions regarding agency and constraint have also spilt over into studies on identity performance as well. The sub-discipline only articulates *positive* motivations to perform identities where we do so to consolidate identities and mobilise audiences (Klein et al., 2007). Reicher et al (2021) does importantly criticise quantitative approaches that assume that we live in a world free of constraint and that identity wishes can be translated to realities. I further argue that it is not just about constraint, but also about our perceptions of our own agency to overcome constraints.

Studying real-world hierarchies as rooted within contexts and exploring their divergent meanings has given me the ability to understand how they are made and remade within context. This dynamic, fluid process gives me a lens into how participants navigate constraint in everyday life and how they reconcile with their own agency to overcome constraint and exercise their choice. I argue that constraints and agency are not binary in the sense that it is never the 'presence of' or the 'lack of' it. Individuals are in a continued process of assessing and perceiving real-world constraints and simultaneously making assessments regarding their own agency.

Tying this back to the Social Identity Approach, and the tradition's primary concern with social change (Reicher, 2004), I want to emphasise that questioning agency and treating it as something that is continually negotiated with is not the same as denying it entirely. It is merely acknowledging the pluralism of daily life where the path to social change and dismantling rigid hierarchies is different for everyone. In effect, grappling with these questions too is essential for the relevance of the Social Identity Approach and what it stands for.

7.4 Larger Implications and Future Directions

> But, powerful as such spectacular practices might be, they tend to be more powerful to the extent that they are more mundane and inscribed into the textures of everyday life. (Elcheroth & Reicher, 2017, p. 83)

It has been argued that it is not just that identification shapes the performance of identities, but also that performance can reinforce identification, creating a feedback loop (Klein et al., 2007; Rathbone et al., 2023). However, when thinking about this statement in light of my findings tied to the perpetuation of social hierarchies, such assumptions could be dangerously misplaced.

If we infer identification from performance without questioning its meaning and the systems that compel performance, we may dangerously infer the performance of rigid hierarchies as agentic and as an indication that individuals want to consolidate or strengthen their memberships. For instance, this would be akin to assuming that members of perceived lower caste groups who give up chairs for members of the upper caste do so because they internally endorse norms tied to caste. Elcheroth and Reicher (2017) write extensively about the meta-perceptions of rigid hierarchies, and how such perceptions are in service to the durability of hierarchical structures. They emphasise that we will misunderstand the nature of representations if we look at what people say to the exclusion of what they do.

> To see someone act requires us to infer their position without inviting a challenge. It draws on implicit assumptions which we have already seen to be so important to social representations and social identities. Take, for instance, Falasca-Zamponi's (1997) analysis of how the fascist salute operated in Mussolini's Italy. Her point is precisely that the impact of this practice did not primarily occur through the act of changing individual beliefs. Anyone who gave the salute could retain a sense that he or she was doing it reluctantly, pragmatically, without being a 'true believer'. However, each person, seeing everyone else give the salute, could not take the risk of believing (or acting on the belief) that they were insincere. They had to infer belief from the silent act. The salute was therefore a particularly powerful means of changing

> perceptions of shared beliefs; it created the illusion of a consensus and it thereby discouraged dissent. (Elcheroth & Reicher, 2017, p. 83)

The practice, making and remaking of hierarchies in everyday life therefore requires more attention to be paid to the performance of hierarchies. Drawing on the reflections presented in the earlier section, it is therefore imperative for social psychology to work towards building an understanding of how hierarchies are performed. This would first entail abandoning the *methodolatry* (Reicher, 2000) that separates the qualitative and the quantitative approaches, coupled with engaging with more fluid understandings of constraints and agency. This will then pave the way for more nuanced and pluralistic approaches to the study of hierarchy - one in which people from around the globe can recognise themselves within, and see as relevant to their own circumstances and lives.

7.5 Thesis Contributions

7.5.1 Theoretical Contribution

Following from the above, this thesis makes three main contributions:

1. I demonstrate the value gained from studying hierarchies as contextual and intersectional. I emphasise that context is not a static backdrop, but a contested domain where individuals actively participate in constructing meaning, suggesting that hierarchies are continually made and remade within their relevant contexts.

2. I highlight how hierarchies are understood through their contents, focusing not just on the endorsement of norms but on their context-dependent performances. I underscore how context shapes both the endorsement and the performance of norms, evolving the meanings, contents, and understandings tied to these performances.

3. I critique assumptions tied to agency and hierarchy-related wishes treated as realities by emphasising that hierarchies come with real-world constraints hindering individuals from realising their hierarchy-related wishes. Understanding meanings of hierarchies as dynamically shaped by context allows for a more nuanced view of how individuals comprehend, negotiate

and exercise their agency to overcome these constraints.

7.5.2 Empirical Contribution

This study presents a novel empirical examination into the lived experiences of young Indians, notably investigating their endorsement and performance of norms and attitudes tied to caste and gender hierarchies. While it is true that the subject of caste has been somewhat illuminated by scholars within our discipline (Bros, 2014; Parmar, 2020; Sankaran et al., 2017), their analyses tend to isolate caste from the intricate tapestry of other social identities. In a marked departure, my research uncovers the intricacies of performances tied to both caste and gender, giving particular emphasis to their intersections and their everyday reproduction.

7.5.3 Methodological Contributions and Considerations

Next, this thesis adopts a sequenced mixed-methods approach to study the endorsement and performance of hierarchies in a manner that is closely tied to context. Using a mixed-methods approach allows for a triangulation of a range of methods to establish the centrality of family, social setting, and sanctions in the study of performance.

Through this work, I have aimed to showcase the value in employing surveys, interviews, and experimental methods. Each approach brings its unique strengths to the table. Surveys provide an extensive overview and a means of mapping out the broader context, interviews delve into the deeper meaning, offering insights into the specific processes in context, and experiments offer isolation and precision. I bring these together in a carefully sequenced approach that builds on one another such that the final quantitative experiment (that usually tends to be de-contextualised within social psychological applications) directly stems from prior qualitative and quantitative work. Future research can consider alternative ways of integrating methods, by, for example, embedding qualitative methods into surveys or following up an experiment with qualitative interviews.

Bringing context to the fore, by default, respects and acknowledges cultural nuances. However, this does not negate the broader issues related the representation of diverse cultures and methodologies in research and the need to

decolonise our discipline (Brady et al., 2018; Fernández et al., 2021). This brings us to the critical need to include samples from non-WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic) or Global South contexts.

Dominant discourses steered by the Global North do not reflect the lived experiences of those in the Global South, thereby marginalising them. Furthermore, what we then know about human behaviour is based on a very specific (and small) sample of people in this world. The asymmetries of access further contribute to this disparity, emphasising the need for increased awareness in research practices. It becomes clear that studies, contexts, and methods are interconnected, often forming an echo chamber within the Global North, a situation further exacerbated by restricted access at academic spaces in general (e.g., conferences, academic publishing) (Remedios, 2022). However, more often than not, such calls to action stop at calls, and rarely translate into action. There is an urgent need to take steps towards inclusivity, and Puthillam and colleagues (Puthillam et al., 2023) have proposed valuable steps towards the internationalisation of the discipline that warrant serious consideration.

7.6 Critical Reflections

7.6.1 Limitations

One of the primary limitations of this work is its ambitious scope, covering a vast array of concepts across all chapters. This breadth, while enriching the research with diverse perspectives, potentially leads to a lack of depth in certain areas, risking a superficial exploration of complex themes such as sanctions and reputation. In particular, the examination of sanctions within the context of *maryada* in Chapter 6 could be perceived as cursory, warranting a more detailed analysis to fully grasp its nuances and implications. Despite these constraints, the expansive approach has undeniably opened numerous avenues for further research, particularly in the realm of understanding how Indian youngsters resist the performance of *maryada*. A critical question emerging from this exploration therefore concerns the conditions under which young individuals choose to resist or conform to hierarchical norms — a matter of practical and theoretical significance that calls for a deeper inquiry in future studies.

Another consideration has to do with whether the Social Identity Performance (Klein et al., 2007) and the broader Social Identity Approach (SIA) were the most apt frameworks for studying *maryada*. While these theoretical lenses provided valuable insights into the dynamics of social hierarchies, *maryada's* inherent flexibility and its multifaceted nature suggest that it could be effectively examined through various other theoretical frameworks. The choice of theory inevitably shapes the interpretation of data, raising the question of whether different connotations or implications would emerge had alternative concepts or terms been employed. Specifically, exploring *maryada* through the lenses of compliance (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) or honour (Smith et al., 2013, p. 234) might have offered distinct perspectives. Compliance could focus more on the external pressures to adhere to caste and gender norms, while an honour-based framework could emphasise the internalised values and the social stakes associated with maintaining or violating these norms.

Below, I discuss these two alternatives in further detail after justifying my choice to adopt social identity performance as the framework of choice.

7.6.1.1 The Suitability of Social Identity Performance

Maryada's inherent complexity, spanning across explicit statements, embodied practices, and subliminal beliefs, resists simplistic forms of analysis. By utilising the lens of identity performance, one can appreciate the ways in which these practices are lived out and perpetuated. The pervasiveness of *maryada* across Indian languages and its deep anthropological significance demand a theoretical perspective that is culturally resonant and malleable to its multifarious implications - the social identity approach is a prime example of such a theory.

Recognising that no theory can entirely encapsulate the complexities of social life, especially one as rich and varied as the Indian context, the goal was not to find a 'perfect' theory but rather one that provides meaningful insights into the phenomena under study. The choice to apply identity performance theory was deliberate; it serves as a tool to dissect and comprehend how *maryada* plays a critical role in maintaining caste and gender hierarchies, offering a conceptual handle to grasp the less tangible aspects of these social hierarchies.

The decision to employ social identity performance as the primary analytical lens in this study was grounded in its alignment with the Social Identity Approach (SIA), which offers substantial empirical flexibility. This approach accommodates a diverse range of data, enabling a seamless integration of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Also central to this choice was Klein's (2007) emphasis on the social dimension of identity performance, which diverges from traditional self-presentation theories that often focus on the individual's pursuit of personal recognition and benefit. Instead, social identity performance explores how individuals' actions are influenced by their affiliations with social groups, thereby highlighting performances that are reflective of collective identities rather than personal ones.

Identity performance explored using qualitative research allowed me to probe deeper, questioning not just what identities are presented but why and how they are constituted and the role they play within the broader social matrix. This theoretical approach facilitates an examination of both the functional aspects of *maryada* and its implications for individual and collective identity.

Maryada is not static; it adapts and transforms according to context. Empirical approaches within the study of identity performance accounts for this fluidity, recognising that the expression of *maryada* is context-dependent—shifting not only in terms of what is considered appropriate dress or behaviour but also in how these norms are interpreted and enacted based on varying social settings and types of audiences.

In summary, the choice to centre social identity performance in the study of *maryada* is a strategic one, offering a rich theoretical tapestry through which to view and understand the complex, fluid, and deeply ingrained nature of these social practices. The theory's adaptability to the subtlest realities of *maryada's* manifestations makes it a powerful lens for this research.

Compliance

In this thesis, the exploration of the pressures to adhere to and conform with societal norms has brought theories of social influence, particularly compliance (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004), to the forefront. Compliance, a concept deeply

ingrained in the history of social psychology, centers on understanding the causes and effects of individuals' acquiescence to external pressures. By conceptualising *maryada* through the lens of compliance, this work shifts towards a detailed investigation of how entities such as family and extended family exert control over behaviour, enforcing adherence to deeply rooted norms. This perspective offers a deeper dive into the mechanics of compliance, scrutinising the underlying reasons for conformity, with a particular emphasis on sanctions and reputation. Moreover, it opens up discussions around accountability for discriminatory actions, shedding light on the intricate blame dynamics often encapsulated in statements like "I am not casteist, but..." Here, compliance theory could reveal layers of justification and attribution related to adherence to *maryada*, providing insights into the social structures that perpetuate caste and gender hierarchies.

Compliance also brings with it important implications when looking at agency. In criticising social psychology's treatment of agentic assumptions, I argue that there are constraints in the real world that prevent people from realising their wishes. Specifically, there are pressures to comply stand in the way of people performing (or not performing) *maryada* in accordance with their wishes. However, there is a tension in that compliance does not mean that that individuals are blind actors or puppets in the hands of the family. There are also instance where individuals adhere to *maryada* to enable positive social consequences. Studying *maryada* through the lens of compliance allows for an exploration of this tension between being fully compelled by social pressure and still retaining one's own agency.

However, the focus of this thesis extends beyond mere compliance, seeking to unravel the nuanced ways in which *maryada* is performed and its adherence justified within the complex web of social expectations. The act of complying with *maryada* practices, pivotal for the reproduction of caste and gender hierarchies, necessitates a deeper understanding of performance itself. Performance elucidates the subtle, embodied ways in which individuals navigate and conform to a multifaceted system of expectations from parents, extended family, and the wider community, considering both real and imagined audiences. While compliance serves as a crucial precursor to understanding these dynamics, it is the performance of *maryada* that illuminates the intricacies of how these norms are

lived out daily. Therefore, I do not view performance and compliance as theories that are substitutes to one another - they are rather complementary, with the former setting the stage for a richer exploration of the latter.

Honour

The notion of *maryada*, while colloquially translating to honour, encompasses broader connotations of social distinction (Mines, 2005, p. 81) and is deeply intertwined with the fabric of family reputation within extended familial networks. This thesis ventured into the literatures looking at honour cultures (Smith et al., 2013, p. 234) and family honour (Cooney, 2014), attempting to contextualise *maryada* within these scholarly conversations. Honour, as conceptualised in these discussions, varies significantly across cultures, often associated with interdependent cultures where an individual's actions profoundly impact familial prestige. This literature (Smith et al., 2013, p. 234) primarily addresses the ramifications of honour code violations, with extreme instances such as honour killings highlighting the severe consequences of transgressions.

Recent explorations, including Uskul's work (Uskul et al., 2019), expand the scope beyond traditional East-West comparisons, investigating honour in a broader array of cultural contexts. This expanded view also presents approaches like the 'Culture × Person × Situation (CuPS)' approach (Leung & Cohen, 2011), suggesting that honour's relevance intensifies in cultures that embrace honour values, among individuals who endorse these values, and in situations where honour's maintenance is paramount. This framework echoes the ethos of *maryada*, which also significantly depends on social scrutiny and the specific settings in which it is enacted or challenged.

Despite its contributions, the honour culture literature remains in its infancy (Uskul et al., 2019), primarily focusing on conflict and violence rather than the nuanced, everyday practices that contribute to the perpetuation of social hierarchies. The exploration of how honour, and by extension *maryada*, subtly underpins the daily enactment and reinforcement of caste and gender hierarchies remains under explored. Herein lies an opportunity - where a study of *maryada* can perhaps unlock a new dimension of the understandings of honour beyond the

extreme cases in which it is typically studied (conflict, violence, or killings). Interpretations of *maryada* in Chapter 5 include references to the 'maintenance of honour', so it could be a portal into the study of honour in everyday life. As a concept, honour has a lot to offer in terms of its alignment with *maryada* and the widespread association between the two in common parlance. However, it risks equating *maryada*, an already slightly abstract concept, to yet another abstract concept.

The Social Identity Approach and the concept of identity performance, as employed in this thesis, offer valuable lenses through which to examine these subtleties. They provide a more comprehensive framework for understanding not just the extremes of honour culture but the everyday manifestations of *maryada* and its role in sustaining social distinctions and hierarchies. This approach allows for a deeper investigation into how acts of *maryada*, driven by the desire to maintain family honour, are performed within a complex web of cultural, situational, and individual factors, thus contributing to the perpetuation of social hierarchies.

Despite my decision to move beyond the frameworks of honour and compliance in this thesis, it is clear that both concepts hold complementary value that future research should not overlook. The intricate dynamics of honour and the mechanisms of compliance offer rich theoretical avenues for further exploration into the subtleties of *maryada* and the maintenance of social hierarchies. Harnessing the insights from honour cultures and theories of compliance could enrich the dialogue on the perpetuation of caste and gender hierarchies, providing a more comprehensive view of the complex interplay between individual behaviours, family expectations, and societal standards.

7.6.2 Looking Ahead

Throughout this thesis, the concept of reputational concern emerged as a significant theme, albeit one that was not initially intended as a focal point of the research. The analysis posits that *maryada* is performed largely as a strategy for managing reputational concerns within the community, suggesting that the practices associated with *maryada* are instrumental in navigating the complexities of social standing and reputation. This positioning is a potential natural

progression of the work, drawing attention to the particular ways in which individuals engage in reputation management, particularly in contexts marked by social inequality. The findings indicate that the performance of *maryada*, and by extension the management of one's reputation, varies significantly depending on the audience, highlighting the dynamic interplay between individual actions and communal perceptions of social propriety.

Building on these findings, and informed by prior ethnographic work that underscores the acute awareness individuals have of their community standing and the efforts they undertake to maintain their good name (Power, 2015), a future research question emerges: How do Indian youngsters regulate or maintain their reputation through the performance of *maryada*? Furthermore, exploring how they understand the role of *maryada* in alleviating reputational damage becomes equally pertinent. These questions aim to delve deeper into the strategies employed by individuals, particularly those at the most marginalised intersections of gender and caste, as they navigate the varied demands of audience and setting. By focusing on these aspects, future research can further illuminate the ways in which acts of *maryada*, underpinned by concerns of reputation within hierarchical structures, perpetuate or challenge existing social norms and inequalities.

7.7 A Concluding Note

This thesis started with a quote on the omnipresence of rigid hierarchical structures like caste, but I choose to end on a hopeful note - a note of resistance. Hierarchies that live in the everyday are also resisted everyday. Underlying bigger acts of protest are daily resistances within the most intimate of settings. Therefore, as I conclude, I spotlight artwork by The Big Fat Bao. Bao's artwork for The Hundred Women project pictures Dakshayani Velayudhan, and the ways in which she resisted adhering to caste and gender norms.

> Dakshayani Velayudhan who was a member of Babasaheb's Constituent Assembly, the body that formulated the Constitution of India, was the only Dalit woman among the 15 women. In 1948, she had delivered a speech in the Assembly about untouchability but before she could finish, she was interrupted by Vice President of the

Constituent Assembly HC Mookherjee. He said that she had exceeded her time limit, and that he was letting her continue only because she was a lady. Dakshayani was the first Dalit girl to attend school wearing an upper cloth covering her chest. She was also the first Dalit woman to graduate in the science field in India and later become a member of the Cochin Legislative Council and eventually the Constituent Assembly of India. Even her name "Dakshayani" challenged the existing caste hegemony as it was a name believed to be reserved for the upper castes (Dakshayani is another name for the Hindu goddess Parvati). Simple but significant assertions that she made were to not walk with her shoulders crouched or to not make way for upper castes while walking on the streets. She created history as a child by covering the upper part of her body at a time when women from marginalised castes were not allowed to cover their breasts. It was only later that Kerala witnessed the Maru Marakkal Samaram for women's right to wear clothes to cover their upper body. (Bao, 2022)

Figure 7.1: The Big Fat Bao, 2022. Dakshayani Velayudhan for The 100 Women Project (image used with permission)

The tapestry of everyday life is the canvas where social hierarchies truly come to life, persisting, and permeating through daily interactions and experiences. To

fully comprehend this phenomenon, we must adopt a pluralistic approach that allows us to investigate the various forms of everyday life, exploring how these hierarchies survive and thrive within each unique context.

Movements against casteism and patriarchy in India are indicative that those in marginalised positions are striving and fighting for social change, suggesting that Henri Tajfel's vision for the Social Identity Approach as being a tool for societal transformation is not an unreasonable one. However, over the past few decades of applying these theories, we have often overlooked the fundamental element of context, something Tajfel emphasised as essential to the Approach. Incorporating context into the study of hierarchies is a challenging endeavour, one that requires constant iteration, refinement, time, and resources. Despite these complexities, it is likely to be a fruitful venture if it aids in identifying the elements that keep rigid hierarchies alive.

I conclude this thesis, not with an assertion that the Social Identity Approach has the solution on how to dismantle hierarchies. Such grand proclamations stand in the way of self-reflection and improvement in our discipline. However, I do propose that if we revisit the foundational principles and use these frameworks as points of departure rather than points of arrival, the Social Identity Approach has significant potential. The potential lies in its ability to challenge and interrogate the basic units and mechanisms that sustain these hierarchies. This is where its true power resides. All that remains is for us to harness this potential by adapting frameworks and methodologies to the context, instead of attempting to contort the context to fit into our predetermined frameworks.

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Chapter 8

Appendix

8.1 Study 1

8.1.1 Study 1 - Treatment of caste in the Lokniti-CSDS dataset

The Lokniti-CSDS report (Kumar, 2017a) discusses how caste was coded. From the information available, participants shared information about their *varna* or *jati*, which was later coded in the following manner:

Hindu Upper Caste - Brahmin, Bhumihar, Rajput, Kayastha, Vaish, Jain, Punjabi Khatri and Other Upper castes.

Hindu Peasant Proprietor/Dominant farming castes - Jat, Reddy, Kamma, Nair, Maratha, Patel, Patidar, Velama, Kapu, Telaga, Balija, Naidu and Other Peasant Proprietors. In some tables the Peasant Proprietors or the Dominant farming castes have been merged with Hindu Upper Caste.

Hindu Peasant OBC - Gujjar, Thevar, Yadav, Kurmi, Mudaliar, Gowda, Lodh, Vanniyar, Munnuru Kapu, Koeri, Kushwaha, Mutharayars, Mudiraj, Vokkaliga, Kalinga, Lingayat, Thurpu Kapu, Gaderia, Koppulu Velama, Kunbi, Maratha Kunbi, Koli, Charan, Rabari, Bharwad, Kshatriya-Thakore (Gujarat), Chaudhary (Gujarat), Nadar, Koch, Dhangar, Vanjari, Leva Patil, Gowari, Agri, Powar, Mali Saini, Kashyap and Other Peasant OBCs.

Hindu Artisanal and Service OBC - Darzee, Thatihar, Lakhera, Badhai, Kumhar, Lohar, Sunar, Kewat, Dhobi, Nai, Teli (oil pressers), Jogi, Newar, Dhimar, Bhat, Landless Labourers, Toddy tappers and Other Service OBCs.

Hindu SC - Jatav, Satnami, Balmiki, Pasi, Pano, Devendrakula Vellar, Dhobi/Kori, Khatiks, Rajbhanshis, Mala, Namasudras, Mahar, Boyar, Dom, Dhobi (non-OBC), Kewat (non-OBC), Dhanuk,, Kori, Adi Karnataka, Adi Dravida, Thiruvalluvar, Banjara, Bhovi, Holaya, Pulaya, Kuruva and Other SCs.

Hindu ST - Mina, Bhil, Gond, Oraon, Santhal, Munda, Kondh, Baiga, Kharia, Bhumij and Other STs.

In the raw data I was provided by the organisation, the categories for caste were ST, ST, OBC and Other. Given the coding scheme provided, The 'Other' category then largely represents 'Upper Caste' Hindus.

8.1.2 Study 1 - Data Cleaning

8.1.2.1 General data cleaning steps

First phase of data cleaning

1. Selection of Specific Columns: The data started with numerous columns. Only specific columns, like q1, q2, q3, and so on, were selected for further examination and analysis.
2. Handling Missing or Inapplicable Responses: For various questions like age (q2), education (q4), family tradition concerns (q13c), and more, certain responses were marked as not applicable or invalid. For example, a response of "98" for the age question was deemed invalid and was replaced with "NA", which means 'Not Available'.
3. Conversion and Labelling: Gender:
    1. The gender data (q1) was turned into categories. Specifically, a response of "1" was relabelled as "Male" and "2" was relabelled as "Female".
    2. Age: Age data was directly taken from the column q2 after any invalid responses were replaced with NA.
    3. Education (edu): The education level of the respondents was categorised into groups. For instance, "0" and "1" were both relabelled as "Below Primary or Illiterate", "2" and "3" as "Primary pass or Middle pass", and so on.
    4. Concern about Family Tradition (worry_fam_tradition): The level of concern people have about family tradition was labelled with terms like "Quite a lot", "Somewhat", "Very little", and "Not at all" based on numeric responses.
    5. Marital Status (married): Marital statuses were categorised, with "1" and "2" being grouped under "Married", and the rest being grouped under "Not married".
    6. Neighbour's Discomfort: There were several columns indicating whether a respondent believes their neighbours would be uncomfortable with certain behaviours. These were labelled as "Yes", "No", or "Maybe".

7. Pride in Caste and Religion: Responses related to how much pride individuals took in their caste (pride_caste) or religion (pride_religion) were ranked from 1 to 4.
8. Friendship across Boundaries: Several columns indicated whether respondents had friends of different religions, castes, or genders. These were simply labelled "Yes" or "No".
9. Caste Group: The caste of the respondents was categorised. For instance, "1" and "2" were labelled as "SC/ST", "3" was labelled as "Other Backward Classes (OBC)", and "4" as "Others".
10. Type of Area: Depending on the type of area they lived in, respondents were labelled as living in a "Village", "Town", "City", or "Metropolis".
11. Dietary Habits (veg): Respondents were categorised based on their dietary habits. For instance, "1" was labelled "Pure vegetarian", "2" as "Eggetarian", and "3" as "Non-vegetarian".
12. Household Size: The total number of members in the respondent's household was categorised as "Small", "Medium", or "Large", based on the number.
13. Overall Structure Change: After making all the transformations, the dataset structure was adjusted to reflect only the newly created and transformed columns. Any original column used for the creation of a new column was removed to avoid redundancy. In essence, the dataset was tailored to focus only on specific columns of interest, clean out any missing or inapplicable data, rename certain values for clarity, and categorise numerous responses for ease of interpretation and analysis.

Data preparation for the Structural Equation Models

After cleaning the data, here are the steps I further undertook for the structural equation modelling analysis.

1. Selection for SEM Analysis:
2. Selected specific columns from the cleaned data to form a dataset specifically for SEM analysis. The columns chosen were aspects like gender, type of area, size of the household, education, caste, marital status, and opinions on several socio-cultural issues.

3. Creating Dummy Variables:

4. To represent categorical data as numerical data for statistical analysis, I created several binary (dummy) variables:

- Type of Area
  - Town: Is 1 if the area is a Town, else 0.
  - City: Is 1 if the area is a City, else 0.
  - Metro: Is 1 if the area is a Metropolis, else 0.
- Household Size:
  - medium_fam_size: Is 1 if the household size is Medium, else 0.
  - large_fam_size: Is 1 if the household size is Large, else 0.
- Caste Group:
  - obc: Is 1 if the caste is OBC, else 0.
  - open_cat_caste: Is 1 if the caste is labeled "Others", else 0.
- Education:
  - primary_middle_edu: Is 1 if education is "Primary pass or Middle pass", else 0.
  - matric_edu: Is 1 if education is "Matric pass", else 0.
  - high_school_edu: Is 1 if education is "Intermediate/College no degree", else 0.
  - grad_edu: Is 1 if education is "Graduate or equivalent", else 0.
  - post_grad_edu: Is 1 if education is "Post Graduate or Professional Degree", else 0.

1. Reformatting the Dataset:

2. I reformulated the data for every SEM model to include only the columns I wanted, in the specific order I needed, using a mix of existing and newly created dummy variables.

3. Recoding Variables:
4. Some categorical variables were transformed into numeric forms for easier analysis:

- gender: Male was represented as 0 and Female as 1.
- married: Married was represented as 1 and Not married as 0.
- The levels of concern for family traditions and problems (worry_fam_tradition and worry_fam_prob) were recoded from descriptive labels to numeric values, ranging from 1 (Not at all concerned) to 4 (Quite a lot concerned).
- Opinions on women's roles and acceptable behaviour (women_no_jobs, wife_listen_hub, girl_no_jeans) were recoded from descriptive labels to numeric values, ranging from 1 (Fully disagree) to 5 (Fully agree).

1. Setting Variable Types:
2. Certain variables were set as ordered factors, which are categorical variables that have a meaningful order. This was done for the variables indicating levels of concern and opinions on women's roles and behaviour.

In summary, I readied my cleaned dataset for SEM by:

- Selecting the relevant variables.
- Creating dummy variables to numerically represent categorical data.
- Reordering and selecting columns.
- Recoding categorical variables into numeric format.
- Setting specific variables as ordered factors.

8.1.3 Study 1 - Structural Equation Model - Expanded Regression Results

Table 8.1: SEM expanded regression results - A Suitable Girl

Path	Coefficient	CI_Lower	CI_Upper	SE	Z	p_value
female to concern for family obligation	0.05	0.0180	0.078	0.015	3.163	0.002
married to concern for family obligation	0.10	0.0660	0.127	0.016	6.187	0.000
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.09	-0.1200	-0.055	0.017	-5.312	0.000
living in a city to concern for family obligation	-0.01	-0.0470	0.024	0.018	-0.651	0.515
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.09	-0.1190	-0.055	0.017	-5.260	0.000
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.0260	0.088	0.016	3.583	0.000
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.0220	0.090	0.017	3.248	0.001
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.04	-0.0030	0.091	0.024	1.819	0.069
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.02	-0.0320	0.067	0.025	0.699	0.485
high school to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.0070	0.109	0.026	2.240	0.025
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.07	0.0150	0.116	0.026	2.553	0.011
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.04	0.0004	0.086	0.022	1.978	0.048
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	-0.01	-0.0440	0.030	0.019	-0.370	0.712

open caste category to concern for family obligation	0.00	-0.0400	0.038	0.020	-0.060	0.952
concern for family obligation to gender norms applicable to women	0.14	0.1100	0.176	0.017	8.504	0.000
female to gender norms applicable to women	-0.24	-0.2630	-0.206	0.015	-16.083	0.000
married to gender norms applicable to women	0.09	0.0580	0.119	0.015	5.729	0.000
living in a town to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05	-0.0810	-0.019	0.016	-3.131	0.002
living in a city to gender norms applicable to women	-0.13	-0.1640	-0.094	0.018	-7.255	0.000
living in a metro to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05	-0.0860	-0.022	0.016	-3.295	0.001
medium family size to gender norms applicable to women	0.05	0.0150	0.077	0.016	2.884	0.004
large family size to gender norms applicable to women	0.05	0.0150	0.076	0.016	2.911	0.004
primary or middle education to gender norms applicable to women	0.03	-0.0170	0.081	0.025	1.292	0.197
matric education to gender norms applicable to women	-0.02	-0.0680	0.034	0.026	-0.656	0.512
high school to gender norms applicable to women	-0.10	-0.1470	-0.043	0.027	-3.558	0.000

graduate to gender norms applicable to women	-0.17	-0.2250	-0.122	0.026	-6.612	0.000
postgraduate to gender norms applicable to women	-0.22	-0.2590	-0.170	0.023	-9.442	0.000
OBC caste category to gender norms applicable to women	0.05	0.0130	0.086	0.019	2.680	0.007
open caste category to gender norms applicable to women	-0.05	-0.0860	-0.011	0.019	-2.530	0.011

Table 8.2: SEM expanded regression results - Bad Romance

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
female to concern for family obligation	0.05	0.015	0.078	0.016	2.917	0.004
married to concern for family obligation	0.10	0.069	0.133	0.016	6.189	0.000
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.10	-0.132	-0.065	0.017	-5.719	0.000
living in a city to concern for family obligation	-0.01	-0.048	0.027	0.019	-0.562	0.574
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.09	-0.126	-0.058	0.017	-5.348	0.000
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.023	0.088	0.017	3.343	0.001
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.05	0.017	0.088	0.018	2.892	0.004
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.05	-0.001	0.098	0.025	1.923	0.055
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.02	-0.029	0.075	0.027	0.863	0.388
high school to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.005	0.112	0.027	2.160	0.031
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.07	0.016	0.123	0.027	2.567	0.010
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.04	-0.002	0.088	0.023	1.857	0.063
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	0.00	-0.038	0.040	0.020	0.051	0.960
open caste category to concern for family obligation	0.01	-0.033	0.049	0.021	0.361	0.718

female to having a non-diverse friend group	0.15	0.122	0.181	0.015	9.994	0.000
living in a town to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.14	-0.170	-0.103	0.017	-8.037	0.000
living in a city to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.17	-0.205	-0.133	0.018	-9.262	0.000
living in a metro to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.09	-0.124	-0.058	0.017	-5.368	0.000
married to having a non-diverse friend group	0.11	0.081	0.145	0.016	6.877	0.000
matric education to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.16	-0.210	-0.117	0.024	-6.919	0.000
primary or middle education to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.08	-0.122	-0.036	0.022	-3.589	0.000
high school to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.25	-0.298	-0.201	0.025	-10.110	0.000
graduate to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.28	-0.331	-0.233	0.025	-11.247	0.000
postgraduate to having a non-diverse friend group	-0.25	-0.294	-0.198	0.024	-10.066	0.000
OBC caste category to having a non-diverse friend group	0.00	-0.040	0.032	0.019	-0.215	0.830
open caste category to having a non-diverse friend group	0.00	-0.038	0.039	0.020	0.046	0.964

medium family size to having a non-diverse friend group	0.00	-0.029	0.033	0.016	0.106	0.916
large family size to having a non-diverse friend group	0.04	0.012	0.072	0.015	2.772	0.006
having a non-diverse friend group to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.16	0.123	0.194	0.018	8.678	0.000
concern about family obligation to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.03	0.003	0.065	0.016	2.174	0.030
female to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.01	-0.041	0.012	0.014	-1.045	0.296
living in a town to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.03	-0.060	-0.004	0.014	-2.217	0.027
living in a city to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.20	-0.226	-0.167	0.015	-13.064	0.000
living in a metro to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.11	-0.134	-0.076	0.015	-7.115	0.000
medium family size to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.04	0.017	0.071	0.014	3.177	0.001
large family size to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.07	0.040	0.096	0.014	4.821	0.000

married to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.14	0.110	0.163	0.014	9.994	0.000
matric education to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.08	-0.128	-0.032	0.024	-3.272	0.001
primary or middle education to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.03	-0.079	0.013	0.023	-1.404	0.160
high school to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.15	-0.198	-0.100	0.025	-5.981	0.000
graduate to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.18	-0.226	-0.128	0.025	-7.127	0.000
postgraduate to moral judgements on romantic relationships	-0.20	-0.242	-0.159	0.021	-9.503	0.000
OBC caste category to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.07	0.037	0.102	0.017	4.166	0.000
open caste category to moral judgements on romantic relationships	0.04	0.003	0.070	0.017	2.132	0.033

Table 8.3: SEM expanded regression results - Your Friendly Neighbourhood

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
female to concern for family obligation	0.05	0.010	0.080	0.018	2.548	0.011
married to concern for family obligation	0.08	0.049	0.120	0.018	4.701	0.000
living in a town to concern for family obligation	-0.08	-0.115	-0.040	0.019	-4.082	0.000
living in a city to concern for family obligation	-0.01	-0.047	0.036	0.021	-0.259	0.796
living in a metro to concern for family obligation	-0.10	-0.135	-0.060	0.019	-5.055	0.000
medium family size to concern for family obligation	0.06	0.028	0.099	0.018	3.464	0.001
large family size to concern for family obligation	0.05	0.014	0.092	0.020	2.667	0.008
pure vegetarian to concern for family obligation	0.14	0.108	0.179	0.018	7.953	0.000
eggetarian to concern for family obligation	0.08	0.039	0.114	0.019	4.004	0.000
matric education to concern for family obligation	0.01	-0.054	0.081	0.034	0.391	0.696
primary or middle education to concern for family obligation	0.02	-0.040	0.088	0.033	0.729	0.466
high school to concern for family obligation	0.03	-0.036	0.103	0.035	0.952	0.341
graduate to concern for family obligation	0.05	-0.023	0.114	0.035	1.296	0.195
postgraduate to concern for family obligation	0.03	-0.033	0.083	0.029	0.850	0.395

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
OBC caste category to concern for family obligation	0.00	-0.040	0.049	0.023	0.197	0.844
open caste category to concern for family obligation	-0.01	-0.058	0.035	0.024	-0.475	0.635
concern for family obligation to caste pride	0.06	0.025	0.101	0.019	3.267	0.001
female to caste pride	0.02	-0.008	0.055	0.016	1.448	0.148
married to caste pride	0.05	0.019	0.083	0.016	3.125	0.002
living in a town to caste pride	-0.02	-0.059	0.013	0.018	-1.237	0.216
living in a city to caste pride	-0.09	-0.130	-0.058	0.018	-5.127	0.000
living in a metro to caste pride	-0.01	-0.049	0.022	0.018	-0.763	0.446
medium family size to caste pride	0.03	-0.007	0.060	0.017	1.535	0.125
large family size to caste pride	0.02	-0.015	0.052	0.017	1.078	0.281
pure vegetarian to caste pride	0.11	0.072	0.137	0.017	6.332	0.000
eggetarian to caste pride	0.06	0.031	0.096	0.016	3.853	0.000
matric education to caste pride	-0.07	-0.131	-0.011	0.031	-2.307	0.021
primary or middle education to caste pride	-0.02	-0.073	0.042	0.029	-0.529	0.597
high school to caste pride	-0.10	-0.166	-0.042	0.032	-3.283	0.001
graduate to caste pride	-0.08	-0.142	-0.019	0.031	-2.581	0.010
postgraduate to caste pride	-0.15	-0.206	-0.102	0.026	-5.807	0.000
OBC caste category to caste pride	-0.03	-0.067	0.015	0.021	-1.261	0.207

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
open caste category to caste pride	-0.02	-0.062	0.023	0.022	-0.908	0.364
concern for family obligation to religious pride	0.05	0.014	0.089	0.019	2.679	0.007
female to religious pride	-0.03	-0.059	0.005	0.016	-1.674	0.094
married to religious pride	-0.01	-0.046	0.020	0.017	-0.784	0.433
living in a town to religious pride	0.01	-0.021	0.046	0.017	0.739	0.460
living in a city to religious pride	0.08	0.041	0.116	0.019	4.101	0.000
living in a metro to religious pride	-0.03	-0.069	0.004	0.019	-1.740	0.082
medium family size to religious pride	0.07	0.035	0.102	0.017	3.992	0.000
large family size to religious pride	0.10	0.064	0.129	0.016	5.843	0.000
pure vegetarian to religious pride	0.07	0.038	0.103	0.017	4.256	0.000
eggetarian to religious pride	0.01	-0.023	0.041	0.016	0.535	0.592
matric education to religious pride	-0.05	-0.101	0.012	0.029	-1.554	0.120
primary or middle education to religious pride	0.01	-0.046	0.059	0.027	0.242	0.809
high school to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.09	-0.148	-0.030	0.030	-2.961	0.003
graduate to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.10	-0.156	-0.039	0.030	-3.273	0.001
postgraduate to concern for family obligation to religious pride	-0.07	-0.126	-0.022	0.026	-2.812	0.005
OBC caste category to religious pride	0.05	0.013	0.092	0.020	2.591	0.010

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
open caste category to religious pride	0.01	-0.032	0.052	0.021	0.448	0.654
concern for family obligation to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.09	0.044	0.126	0.021	4.059	0.000
caste pride to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.16	0.123	0.197	0.019	8.479	0.000
religious pride to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04	0.000	0.070	0.018	1.944	0.052
female to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.05	0.016	0.086	0.018	2.878	0.004
married to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.00	-0.033	0.039	0.018	0.176	0.860
living in a town to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.04	-0.077	-0.002	0.019	-2.074	0.038
living in a city to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.18	-0.217	-0.133	0.021	-8.135	0.000
living in a metro to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.16	-0.201	-0.126	0.019	-8.566	0.000
medium family size to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.00	-0.034	0.041	0.019	0.190	0.849
large family size to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.08	0.047	0.116	0.018	4.631	0.000

(*continued*)

Path	Coefficient	ci.lower	ci.upper	SE	Z	p.value
matric education to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.07	0.000	0.135	0.034	1.973	0.049
primary or middle education to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.06	-0.002	0.125	0.032	1.906	0.057
high school to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04	-0.032	0.108	0.036	1.068	0.286
graduate to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.06	-0.009	0.129	0.035	1.710	0.087
postgraduate to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.01	-0.051	0.069	0.031	0.295	0.768
OBC caste category to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	-0.01	-0.057	0.032	0.023	-0.555	0.579
open caste category to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.07	0.024	0.115	0.023	3.009	0.003
pure vegetarian to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.23	0.193	0.260	0.017	13.118	0.000
eggetarian to discomfort with norm-violating neighbours	0.04	0.010	0.079	0.018	2.503	0.012

8.2 Study 2

8.2.1 Study 2 - Interviews Informed Consent

Project: Indian Youth Social Identity

Researcher: Poorvi K. Iyer; p.Iyer1@lse.ac.uk

To be completed by the Research Participant

Please indicate the preferred choice for each of the 7 questions in the table below:

I have read and understood the study information. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	Yes/No
I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and that I can withdraw from the study at any point, without having to give a reason.	Yes/No
I agree to the interview being audio recorded, transcribed and stored securely	Yes/No
I understand that the information I provide will be used for Poorvi Iyer's dissertation and research publication, and that the information will be anonymised.	Yes/No
I agree that my (anonymised) information can be quoted in research outputs.	Yes/No
I understand that any personal information that can identify me (such as my name, neighbourhood, college) will be kept confidential and not shared with anyone	Yes/No
I give permission for the (anonymised) information I provide to be deposited in a data archive so that it may be used for future research.	Yes/No

For participant

I (enter full name) ________________________ give my consent to take part in this study.

Date:

Researcher: **Poorvi K. Iyer**

Signature:________________________________ Date ________________

If you would like a copy of the research report, please provide your email or postal address below:

8.2.2 Study 2 - Participant Information Sheet

Indian Youth Social Identity

Poorvi Iyer

Department of Methodology, LSE

Thank you for considering participating in this study. This information sheet outlines the purpose of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant, if you agree to take part.

What is this research about?

The research aims to gather an in-depth understanding of the lives of Indian students as a part of the various groups they belong to, and the nature of affiliation towards each of these groups.

Who is doing this research?

Poorvi Iyer, a second year PhD candidate at the Department of Methodology at LSE is the researcher.

You can contact her via email at p.Iyer1@lse.ac.uk or via WhatsApp at +44 7549693602.

Why have you asked me to participate?

Being an Indian college student is the primary criteria for participation in this study. Since you belong to this category, you have been chosen for participation.

What will participation involve?

Participation in this study involves taking part in a 90 minute – 2 hour one-to-one interview with the researcher, where you will be asked to talk about situations in your day-to-day life, and your identity as a part of various groups. The interview will take place via Zoom/Skype or any video calling platform that is suitable for the participant.

How long will participation take?

The interview will last for a duration of approximately 90 minutes.

What about confidentiality?

The records from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. Only the researcher will have access to the files. Her supervisors at LSE will have access to the interview transcript, which will not have your name. Your data will be anonymised – your name will not be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. All digital files, and summaries will be given codes and stored separately from any names, or other direct identification of participants.

How do I withdraw from the study?

You can withdraw from the study at any point, without having to give a reason. If any questions in the interview make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. Withdrawing from the study will have no effect on you. If you withdraw from the study, the researcher will not retain the information you have given thus far.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by the researcher's supervisors at the Department of Methodology at LSE and has undergone ethics review in accordance with the LSE Research Ethics Policy and Procedure.

What do I get out of this?

In addition to contributing to research, you will be paid a sum of INR 1000 for your time, and to account for the cost of Wi-Fi or Data spent during the 90 minute call.

What if I have a question or complaint?

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact the researcher, Poorvi Iyer, on email (p.Iyer1@lse.ac.uk) or via WhatsApp (+44 7549693602). If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the LSE Research Governance Manager via research.ethics@lse.ac.uk.

If you are willing to participate, please review and fill the consent form shared with you. You will then be required to provide written and oral consent.

8.2.3 Study 2 - Interview Topic Guide

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
Pre-interview conversation	How are you today? Are you comfortable? At home?	-	-
	How is the sound, can you hear me OK?	-	-
	I'm interested in understanding people's identity within different groups they are a part of... Does that sound OK?	-	-
	Are there any questions before we begin?	-	-
Group identity (chosen groups)	Why don't you give me an introduction to who you are...	-	-
	How do you feel about being a part of the _______ group/community?	I picked up on the fact that you mentioned groups like _______.	Would you say that being a _________ is an important part of who you are?
Family background and influence on identity ('imposed' groups)	Tell me a little bit about your family	-	What are your parents' backgrounds? Where did they grow up?

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	Do you still have ties to the village or your native place?	-	Do you have extended family there?
	Tell me about your life in the village, your interactions with people there...	-	-
	Are some aspects of your identity made important to you because they are important to your family...?	My mother keeps reminding me that I am an Indian... Are you told something similar by your family?	How do you feel about that?
	What about the importance your parents/family place on identities like caste and religion?	You mentioned that your mother or father is ___________ or emphasises the importance of ___________...	Do you re-prioritise the social groups important to you because of your family?
Mariyatai – Indirect	Can you think of times when you were obligated or expected to behave a certain way?	Can you describe the situations in greater detail?	Who made the rules on how you were supposed to behave?
	How did that make you feel?	-	What would be the consequences if you did not adhere?

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	When, or where do you find that you are free to behave as you please?	-	-
	Can you recall times when you gave up your chair for someone else, and sat at a lower level?	Can you describe these instances in greater detail?	Were you asked to do this, or did you do this of your own volition?
	How did this make you feel?	Has this happened in your village? Can you describe this situation?	-
	How about times when someone else has given up their seat for you. Has that happened?	Has this happened in your village? Can you describe this situation?	And how did you feel about someone else sitting at a lower position than you?
	Have there been times in your life where you have been made to feel inferior to someone else?	Can you describe a few such times in greater detail?	How have you reacted to such situations?

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	Can you think of a time when perhaps you inadvertently made someone feel inferior?	Most of us Indians have house help (bai's) that come to work at our homes every day. How does your 'bai' behave with you and your family?	-
	Have there been times in your life where you have been made to feel superior (or more important) to someone else?	Can you describe a few such times in greater detail?	How have you reacted to such situations?
	Are there times when you have made an effort to make someone else feel superior? Or to convey respect?	-	-

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	Have you ever felt organically superior or inferior to particular groups of students?	-	Have you ever felt any tension in how other students position you? Or in something you did to suggest another student was inferior or superior to you?
	Who are the members of your college that you give respect to, give deference to?	-	Why is that?
	Who are the members of your college life who give respect to you, or give deference to you?	-	Do you think this is justified? How does it make you feel?
Mariyatai (specific to caste and class) versus group affiliation	Can you describe the various relationships you have with members of your college? Let's start with your friends	-	What's your friend circle like? Describe what your friends are like? What are their backgrounds?

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	Speaking of the college student community, what are the general levels of awareness of a person's social class or their caste? Is it common to know what a person's caste is?	-	Have you ever noticed differences in how lower caste students (SC's) interact with non-SC students versus with members of their own caste?
	What do you have to say about your relationship with SC students? Is it any different to your relationship with open category ('Other' caste) students?	Would you call them classmates? Friends? acquaintances	And what about your positionality with regards to the SC student community? Do you feel a sense of superiority or inferiority there?
	Let us say that you are a student volunteer for an intercollege competition at your college. Your job is to hand tickets on a first come first serve basis... Who will you give the ticket to?	Can you please explain your answer?	What if the person belonged to a lower caste?

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	Now let us say that you're at home with your family around. Your friend of the same caste... is sitting on the one chair you have. Will you ask your friend to vacate the chair for the neighbor's son? Why?	-	ESPECIALLY IF THEY SAY NO. What if your friend vacated the chair on their own? How would you feel?
	What about your parents or family? Will they ask your friend to give up the chair? If so, how will you react, and why?	-	-
	Overall, has your caste influenced how you behave or carry yourself?	-	Can you give examples of when this happens?
	Can you share with me a few examples of things you have been asked to do (or not do) because of your caste?	-	Who asked you to do these things?
Mariyatai - Direct	What do you think about when you see this (image)?	-	-
	What does this image mean to you?	-	-

Phase	Question	Prompt	Probe
	What does this image symbolise for you?	-	-
	What feelings does this image evoke in you?	-	-
	How do you interpret this image?	-	-
	Who do you think should sit at the highest level? And who at the lowest? And why?	-	-
Demographics conversation	Can you please give me your full name?	-	-
	What's your father's occupation?	-	-
	Your mother's occupation?	-	-
	Siblings? If yes, then what are their details?	-	-
	What's your native place?	-	-
Wrapping up	Is there anything important to you or thoughts you have that you haven't expressed?	-	-
	Thank you for your time today. Your perspectives were truly valuable.	-	-

8.2.4 Study 2 - Example of Interview Transcript from Study 2

Note on anonymity: This interview transcript has been anonymised. P = Poorvi I = interviewee Duration: 01:45:22 Location of interview: Remote, Zoom

Female, Brahmin Middle, Class

Poorvi (P): Why don't you give me a little introduction to who you are. Please tell me as much as you can about yourself

Interviewee (I): Ok, I am 21 years old and I was born in x actually, so when it comes to social identity, not in terms of umm…my identity as a college student but even otherwise, it is a little complicated because my father was in the army. We are Mahahrashtrian but I was born in Jammu and we moved around quite a lot. But my father quit the army when I was 8 and since then we have been living in Hyderabad. Hyderabad which is again not in Maharashtra. So it is a really weird thing when it comes to family and relatives because my father's side is spread across North India even though we are Maharashtrian, my mother's side is based in Pune. We have never really stayed in one place like my cousins have, so that sort of connection that people form by being Maharashtrian or staying in Pune, staying in 1 place, that sort of hasn't happened with me. I had a sort of cosmopolitan upbringing. I have been staying in Hyderabad for 12 years now. I went to school…I changed a lot of schools as well. Another things I noticed even after my father left the army, even though we were living in one city, we changed 2 or 3 schools. SO that is also been there. So I have never like had one set group of friends. I look at all these people saying 'oh my childhood friend, my school friend'. I have had friends throughout my childhood but they never really stuck around. So for me, lifelong friendships and things like that, I'm sure other people have that but I don't. But friends for me, they keep changing, and I feel a lot of influenced by how I grew up. I went to college in Bombay. That's another thing. I don't live in Bombay, I live here. And for college undergrad, I went to Bombay. For 3 years I lived there. I lived in an army hostel again, which was co-ed. So there were boys and girls, together both. And, I am just telling you whatever in terms of social identity…if you think I'm going off track, let me know

P: No no don't worry about. Don't worry about the social identity part, we will

come to that. I don't know you at all, so this is really to learn about who you are...

I: Ok, yeah. So I'll keep it compact. I went to Bombay, studied at x for 3 years. Now I am pursuing public policy at college x in Bangalore. They started their session a month ago, so that's about it. I live in a nuclear family, always have. I have an elder sister that I am quite close to. But other than that when it comes to cousins as such, not really close.

P: Lovely, thank you for that introduction. When you were speaking, I want you to reflect on somethings you said and think about how you defined and described yourself. In that, did you refer to any particular social groups that come up in your life. By social group, I mean any group that more than 1 person with shared similar characteristics. So it can be a group of people in Mumbai or Hyderabad is another group. x is one group and y another. Do you think you mentioned any particular social groups

I: Yeah, so, when I was growing up and even after that, these Fauji (word for army in Hindi) and army kids have this sort of close knit group. They love calling themselves Fauji brats, I don't know for what joy, but they really like using that term. And I think had my father not left the army I would have identified with that much more. At this point I just call myself, I don't even actually bring it up in conversations, I have seen this weird thing with, even when I lived in a hostel, everyone there was an army kid. They constantly refer to themselves as Fauji brats. It's your father's profession, I get it. But don't draw so much pride from it, because you have done nothing about it. So, that's a very umm like on that identity I sit on the fence. I do acknowledge that my father being in the army did have impacts on me. It shaped my personality and it had an impact on how I come across, and my identity. But, I don't all in all call myself an army kid like a lot of these Fauji brats or kids do. So I'm somewhere on the fence with that thing. Other than that...family wise...so my family is...

P: So, as you were speaking, some things stood out to me. You definitely mentioned being an army kid. Even if it's not important, it's interesting that it isn't important. But you mentioned groups like Maharashtrian a couple of times, college came up a couple of times. You even mentioned Hyderabad. So let's look at these groups, like Hyderabad or college. So, can we dwell on these? Let's start

with Maharashtrian

I: Now that you've pointed it out, I've realised that I have my fingers in all the pies, so it's not like I completely identify with one single thing...but anyway, talking about Maharashtrian, my family circle and my family friends or whatever or the people that my parents know especially my mother because she was born and brought up in Pune, so my mother's side is extremely Maharashtrian. They're all like, they come from this Maharashtrian Brahmin setup, but I don't identify with this much, because a) I never lived there for that long b) I didn't have a Marathi medium education, which a lot my cousin's did, and I haven't lived in Pune and I've never lived around my cousins like the rest of my cousins did. So they share these similar characteristics by virtue of growing up together, speaking in Marathi, visiting each other so often. We didn't have the chance to do that. They've read Marathi literature and books and I never did that. So my sort of identity as a Maharashtrian person is sort of limited to knowing the language and knowing certain broad customs but I don't think it is as deep rooted. It is a very sort of cosmopolitan Maharashtra identity if you could call it that because...umm...if I'm talking to someone who is a proper Maharashtra, they will find out and be able to tell from my speech that this girl isn't a seasoned Marathi speaker because the only time when I use the lang is when I speak to my mother. Mostly with my sister it is Hindi or English because we have shared a sort of similar upbringing so we are more comfy with Hindi or English when talking to each other. It is mostly with my parents when I talk Marathi so, for the sake of it, if someone asks me what's your ethnicity, I will say I am Maharashtrian from language or customs but I wouldn't say I'm an all out Maharashtrian like the rest of my cousins or my family is

P: What about Hyderabad, where you've lived...

I: So, whenever someone asks me what my hometown is, for case of simplification I say it is Hyderabad but I don't associate the city with a feeling of belongingness or 'oh this is where I've lived for most of my life. For me, it is just a city. That's about it. Also, it has to do with how much you can explore the city. As a kid or when we were in school, I wouldn't blame it on my parents, even we didn't have an adventurous spirit to go out and explore. Even our parents were protective and let us out much, so I didn't really explore the city. Most of the time I was at home

and if I had to go out, I would go to school. There was very limited access to the city. That's why I don't feel for the city as much. Also, we have always lived in the outskirts, so access to the city is also difficult. We have to plan a trip for a day, it has to be a whole outing of sorts, you have to book a cab. So access to a city is tough because of living in the outskirts. I've had friends in school, in 11th and 12th was when we had a proper friend group in school. Even in that, I am in touch with one of my best friends. Everyone went their own ways when college started. I went to Bombay, another went to Bangalore, lot of them stayed back. The ones who stayed back are still very tight, but me and another friend who moved out aren't. That sort of association with the city also fizzled out in terms of friends. As of now, if tomorrow my parents were to leave and shift to Bangalore or Bombay, it wouldn't matter to me, because for me, it is just a place where home is. For me, home is the place confined to the 4 walls and nothing beyond that. I don't associate with this city as much.

P: And what about your college?

I: There too, it is an ambiguous thing because I joined in Degree College. And X has junior college as well. So most of the JC kids, they go on to join degree college as well and most of the kids who come from outside for degree college, they're really really less. Because first preference is given to Junior College students. So the kids who come from outside are really less in number and I was one of those. When I entered college, it was really difficult for me to find my footing in terms of friends, because people already had their friend circles. And it was difficult to go and meet friends. For the first two years, I was in a limo because I couldn't' figure out who to be friends with. I didn't have a proper proper friend...till...like I used to know people and say hi and bye to them but it was clear that for them, I wasn't a part of their individual group as such. So, it was third year...by third year, even kids who came from outside like me had found a group. But I somehow hadn't. But I don't know maybe I didn't make enough effort. Maybe they tried to involve themselves much more. I don't know. Never really thought about it that much. But yes, when I say I'm from x, what I associate x with is basically just a place where I went, studied, got a degree from, made a few good friends and that's about it. But the way in which other's assign meaning to it, I feel that's so much

more meaningful and I think I missed out on the whole college experience

P: That's interesting, other's assigning meaning…do you think that's mainly because maybe because they have the Junior College experience or is it something else that you felt didn't click.

I: So when I say other's assign meaning, I see that other's see x as more than just a place that they go to study. For them, it is a place where they met their friends and they have really tight friend circles ok. For them it is, might sound cliché, it is a feeling. For me, it wasn't like that. I think that happened with them because the jc factor obviously comes in. They've known these people for 2+ years, but, yeah I think that was there. Also, kids like me that came later…even they managed to find a new group or fit in somewhere. I don't know, I think they stayed back in college and tried to interact more. I'm not saying it is anybody's fault. It happened for them and not for me

P: Interesting. While you did touch upon some of the groups that you are a part of, none of them seem 'important' to you. But if you had to think about any group/groups that you see as important, or see your association with some group as important, is there any such group?

I: Not really, I am trying to think of it. But maybe in the next yr or 2, I've just joined a new college. Maybe at the end of it, I will be a part of a group that means a lot to me. But as of now, not really.

P: OK ok. Now let's move on to discussing family. You've mentioned your family a couple of times. Your parents, their being Maharashtra Brahmin, their background and then your life. And sometimes, In India, given the strong familial set up, there can be groups made important to you because your family says its important. So, Maharashtrian Brahmin, that came up. Is that something that your parents made more salient or important. How have they influenced that part of your identity?

(P brings up religion e.g. from topic guide)

I: So, my parents aren't that religious, but there are….they're not openly casteist…but there are moments when I can see that sort of identity. They've never tried to actively tell us that being a part of this community, we are Brahmin, we are Maharashtrian , this is what you should or shouldn't do, they've never spelt it out

like that but I can make out through certain things that they say or certain gestures or whatever. So there's this thing – I wasn't able to figure out what it meant till, I think, 5-6 years ago. When we were kids, my parents would always tell me and my sister to eat with our right hand. They always would say never use your left hand to even tear a roti. If you want to tear a roti, you should only be able to do it with your right hand. Never ever do this with your left because if we ever used to do that, they'd be like why are you eating like North Indians? Don't do that. Always keep 1 hand clean, keep it behind you. So I couldn't figure out why they would say that, I always used to think because oh, it must be because the other hand needs to be clean if you want to get a glass or get something else on the table. But now that I have looked at it, that's kind of Brahmanical? I don't know. Little things like that. We've never eaten non-veg in our house, eggs are the most. After I went to Bombay, I started eating chicken because of friends around me and all that. Although they have never explicitly said it that they don't like the fact that I eat chicken, they made it clear, they say things like ;oh when did you start eating it, why do you eat it, it is not really healthy, it can make you sick, tougher to digest…Veg is much better. They never made that sort of Brahmanical /Maharashtrian identity explicit or sat us down and told us this or that. But if we don't sometimes follow that, they do get irked and it does tick them off but, at the same time, they don't come out and say anything explicitly bc they know it isn't right. So, I think there was another instance…I'm forgetting…but, things like that. They often say that 'oh, you did something that North Indians do, don't do it. But other than that, I don't think they've ever…my maasi used to…So, my maasi is a proper proper casteist Maharashtrian woman. This one time my sister went to stay at her house and she was asking her 'oh tell me about my friends and this and that', and my sister told that she has this friend called Siddharth and she was like 'ok, what's his surname. My sister said 'Shyamsundar' and but she couldn't quite place the surname because it was a south Indian surname and she only knows Maharashtrian surnames. So, in the sort of friend circles we have, it is also very diverse. And our relatives, and more my mother, because my father was in the army and has a very very diverse friend circle. My mother's friend circle is very Savarna Maharashtrian (all upper caste Maharashtrians). But she's never imposed it on us, that we have to be friends with this sort of people, they've never explicitly

imposed it. But I find that in my extended family. So when she said Shyamsundar, my maasi couldn't place what his caste was, but that is something I have seen play out strongly in my extended family, and not in my immediate family. Does that make sense?

P: Absolutely. So, how do you feel about that? How does it impact you? Whether it is your parents indirectly showcasing their Brahmanical preferences or your maasi's explicit casteism, how do you feel when you encounter such instances?

I: When it comes to my extended family, I have just accepted the fact that they are Islamophobists and Casteist and bigots. I have just accepted it. So, I just find that it is pointless to put up a fight because in the Indian fam setting, kids can never win. It is pointless to put up a fight. So, I just..don't say anything. On the fam Whatsapp group, if there's a problematic…ohhh there's one thing I missed out that I have to really tell you…but yes, if there's something problematic that comes up, I just ignore it. Earlier, I might have put up a fight at 16/17, but nowadays, I just don't engage with it at all. And open confrontation that I really don't want to get into, especially in the fam. But otherwise outside, I am all for it. But within my family, you know it is going to be so taxing and that you can't win, so it is better that you don't confront at all. Whatever they're saying, just listen and don't pay any attention to it. So, a few days back, during the Ram Janmabhoomi puja, my mother actually went ahead and she made kheer because…and I asked her why are you making kheer and she was like you know they are laying the foundation stone for the Ram Mandir. She could see… I never said that I don't agree with her on this, but she knows. And, the fact that I didn't eat the kheer or the fact that I didn't approve of this behaviour first. She didn't like it obviously. But, there's this unsaid truth that if there's something that she's passionate about and we don't agree with, we just don't talk about. Because in this house, communication ends up in tears bc parents don't understand so it is pointless. We just don't say anything. Fine whatever. As long as she doesn't ask me to eat the kheer…till then its fine…do whatever you want. But she knows that I don't agree with this sort of thinking.

P: You've touched upon this a bit, but for you personally, because of this background influencing, have you found yourself re-prioritising the groups that are important to you. Like you've mentioned the Maharashtrian Brahmin identity

driven harder through the family. Has that caused a shifting of what's important to you?

I: Not really, I don't think so…

P: Ok…

I: Sometimes, I…now that I think if it, no. Like the most that comes from this identity for me that I know the language which is helpful if you're staying in Bombay or ever. It is helpful to know a regional language. If push comes to shove, I will be able to wriggle my way out because of knowing the language. But that's about it…but I see that this is coming from a place of privilege, that I am able to discard this identity saying, 'oh, you know, what I don't care about this identity and it doesn't influence me much' because I am privileged in that way

P: What do you mean by privilege? What type of privilege are you referring to?

I: Caste privilege! So, I am able to say all of this that you know what I don't care about this identity because I do have caste privilege. If I didn't have it, my caste identity would shape my choices and it would have a much more…I am able to reject it so freely, and that's a matter of caste privilege, which a lot of other people don't have!

P: That's interesting and we will touch upon some of this later as well…I now want to discuss a range of situations in your life and discuss your perceptions on them. Some of them can be abstract, so take your time to think about them… So, this may be related to some of what you said before, but have there been times when you have felt obligated or expected to behave a certain way…

I: I'll have to think about it…huh…not really…I can't think of anything. It is mostly in the family setting because you know the sort of authority there is, you can't challenge it. In other social groups, in college, I don't think I've ever had to behave in a certain way. In fact, the fact that I wasn't in a particular friend circle made it easier for me to not have to be a certain way. If you're a part of a group, politics comes in. And I wasn't a part of any single friend group. I had friends, but they were a part of their own friend circles, so I have one friend from here and another from there. So I don't think in college anything like that has propped up. And neither in Bombay neither in college. I think it is mostly in family set ups. That is a

different type of coercion...

P: But tell me about that. Because you have spoken about this maasi who is casteist....so what type of coercion are you talking about? Can you play out a situation for me that has happened with you

I: Yeah, so I'm giving you a situation in which I was asked to change my behaviour. This one time I had gone to Pune for my cousin's wedding and it was the first in the family. Regardless, we were to go to Pune to the place where the wedding was there. It was some 500-600 kilometres away so we had to undertake a road trip. Even for that road trip, I was wearing a Kurta with ripped jeans. And they took so much of offense – I don't know why. They were like 'we are going to a marriage, what is wrong with you'. Why are you wearing ripped jeans. It was a kurta, the rips weren't even showing. But, they were all so offended and I was forced to change out of my ripped jeans into pyjamas. That was one thing. And it is mostly in this sort of extended family setting, sort of forced to change my behaviour. It really bothers me. But, yeah most of it is along those lines, I don't know if it makes sense. I can recollect any instances...umm...

P: What about with the maasi (mother's sister)? Do you have any other memories (other than the sister example) where your behaviour around her, or your sense of obligation around people like that...

I: I really have to think...

P: Don't worry, we can come back to this if something comes to mind...

I: Ok cool

P: Generally speaking, I want to understand in what settings do you find that there's an obligation. Think about setting. You've said family...

I. Yes, family setting. I think also that played a much more imp role when I was in school. In the school setting, in that sort of friend group that I had, I wasn't as certain as I was now. It has a lot to do with being 16/17. You want to be cool and a part of a friend group. So I think, I am not saying that I'm sort of independent individual whose behaviour isn't influenced by any social group now., but it was more when I was younger and it was more when I was...just went to hostel and

there were so many ppl around me, and I didn't know how to fit in, or know what to do. Right now, I am more secure as an individual, so I really have to think about that. I think when I was back in school, I used to laugh at things I didn't quite find funny just because a joke was cracked and I didn't want to seem like the weird one…presently I can't think of anything as such…yeah but when I look back….right now I am in. much better position than 3 to 4 years back, but that's with everyone

P: Interesting, so sometimes in life, we are expected to show deference or give respect to others. One specific way I want to talk about is this idea of seating in India…giving up your chair for some and sitting on the floor…or someone giving up their for you…so, very specifically, think about times when you have assumed a position on a chair and have had to give it up for people

I: Oh yeah, that has happened a lot in extended family gatherings. I have these two instances in mind. This one time, it was, I think, my grandfather had passed away. The whole family had come and it consisted a lot of elders as well. Because like my grandmother has 7 sisters and all their husbands, so a lot of old people and I've never really been comfortable around old people and I don't know how to behave around or with them. I just show them respect, that's about it. But most of the time, I just have realised with time that old people are just old. Doesn't mean that necessarily they're right. And most of them are partial and bigoted anyway. So I'm not really someone that's had great experiences with old people...but that's not the point haha...this one time there were limited amt of chairs and I had to give up my seating for them...for my grandmother's sister and the sister's husband...because the men should be comfortable, they should be sitting. Whenever there's a limited amt of chairs, it is not just giving the chair up for elders, but even within the elders, who is getting to sit...so I don't know if this relates to the question...but another instance I had in mind was...another thing had happened when someone died...a lot of people had come over...this very specific elder...I have a cousin who was the same exact age as me...same exact age. But he's a boy. So this one time, there were 3-4 old people in the room and they were trying to set up this dining table...one of these wall dining tables that you have to prop up. So, he was doing that, and I had just entered the room. So my cousin was doing that already, and as soon as I entered the room, this old man, this old relative looks at me and says 'go go, help

him, help him'. And he was more than able to that by himself but just the fact I am expected to make sure everyone is comfortable by virtue of being a girl. Going beyond seating, bedding is important. Because in the house, there are a limited number of beds. We live in a 2 BHK so there are 2 seater beds...in all, 4 people can sleep. So, anytime, whenever someone else comes, relative or anything, it is a given that my sister and I will sleep on the floor. The elders will sleep on the bed and we will sleep on the floor. Also, whenever there's a lot of cousins, usually the hall is cleared, and a huge sort of bedding is put down and all the kids sleep there. The elders of the family, and the parents, might not necessarily, but the kids...there's no 2 ways about this. Whatever ok it is a family...so they'll put the bed down and sleep. So more than seating, I've observed this when it comes to sleeping....

P: So some of this you've been asked to do this...when you're asked to do that, how do you feel about it? Like when the old relative asked you to help your cousin

I: Obviously, I couldn't say anything. Back then, I was young, so I knew something was wrong but I couldn't place my finger on why I was feeling the way I was feeling. But it surely didn't feel nice. And even today I think, maybe tomorrow if we have some other extended family thing, the men will always be served first. That might not happen necessarily in everyday scenarios. But if there's a huge sort of things, the woman take it upon themselves to go into the kitchen and make sure everything is fine. And the men and kids will be served first. And I think it is this privilege I gave up... as a child I was made to eat first, but now that I am not a child, I will be made to go into the kitchen and help the women, that kinds of feels unfair...

Obviously, didn't feel nice. But there's not much you can say or do any ways/ If you say something, which would take a lot of courage. If we say anything, our parents will take out case later. It's not worth it.

P: why is then, when there are these gatherings, that there is this understand that women go into the kitchen and serve the men first? What drives that? Is it the way things have been?

I: No, it is the usual patriarchal set up. I can't attribute anything more to it. No man in the family would even think that he should help out. No, it is just...it has been

drilled in my head ever since I was a child. My mother used to say that whenever you go to a house or whenever someone is hosting u always ask the woman if she neds help in the kitchen. So now that's second nature to me. So if tom if I were go go to someone else's house, even if they were hosting me, I would always go up to the woman and ask if she needs help. It is something that has been drilled into me since I was a child. But the fact that men are made to sit...I can't really do anything. It is because of plain and simple patriarchy and there's no other reason...

P: Now to reverse the seating situation. Can you think of times when someone else has given up their seat for you or sat at a lower position to you?

I: Not really...maybe...umm...I was not well or something. My mother would give up a seat, or my father or sister would. Only if I couldn't stand or something like that. If I were ill or something like that

P: What about house help? Has that been something that you had? some Indians have bai's come home for sweeping. Has that been something you've experienced?

I: About bai's, very interesting thing. In my house, we're jinxed. Even if a bai comes, she only stays for a month, I don't know for what reason. So we never have constant, one single maid for a long time. So we have taken to doing the sweeping and cleaning on our own...we have a dishwasher...but I do remember this one time when we just shifted here and my father hadn't come and we had just shifted to Hyderabad...and my mother was like we shouldn't have a house help till for the next 2 months my father comes. Because my father knows Telegu and the 3 of us don't. so for the next months, till my father comes, we shouldn't have house help because she might say something to the other woman and they might plan to take away all our stuff. We might not even know, we just shifted here and we don't know what the situation is like. There's an outsider who is coming and the outsider is a house help and she might speak in Telegu and we won't understand what she says or what she is trying to do. She might try to conspire and take away our stuff. We have just come here and wait till your dad comes. Also the fact that the 3 of us are just woman and someone will try to steal something. What will happen then? Other than that, not really. Very brief association with house help, so we have made peace with it and do our own cleaning

P: Generally in life, I want to understand times when you have been made to feel inferior to someone else?

I: Oh yeah, definitely

P: Are you willing to talk about such times

I: Yeah sure. This is very, very recent. So the thing is that I get really flustered and when I get flustered and angry, some ppl don't show it but I do. And I do tend to stomp and talk rudely to ppl and bang doors and all of that and my father was just like you know what…you just have to change this attitude of yours or you'll have a real problem when you grow up. That really enraged me all the more, because when he goes around being pissed for some reason, the entire fam, 3 women, all of us are on tender hooks…why is he pissed? What happened? Entire house mood is spoilt. For some little thing he's pissed off about and it rubs off on the entire family. But when I am angry for a legit reason, I am told that 'your misbehaviour is going to cost you later and you really need to learn how to deal with situations'. Being angry…I think if I were a man, I wouldn't have been reprimanded for that. So I think being angry is one thing where I'm told that you need to change your behaviour and you need to stop being like this. Other than that, from what I can think of, it comes to that fact that you're a woman and you shouldn't express your anger this way or shouldn't be assertive and wear these sort of clothes…that's another ballgame altogether…can you repeat your question, I think I'm straying

P: Oh, sure. SO generally, when have there been times when you have been made to feel inferior? How has that made you feel?

I: So yeah, its mostly that. When you realise that you have been treated a certain way because you're a woman and you wouldn't be treated that way if you were a man. Oh yeah also, another thing, when we were kids, my sister and I, talking about the Maharashtrian cousins group. My sister and I couldn't speak Marathi quite well because we were taught in English medium schools and have never lived there. And my cousins used to make a lot of fun of both of us for that. They used to make a lot of fun. I remember that they'd even, on purpose ,bring up these difficult Marathi words and ask us what it means. Wed obviously say no and they'd laugh about it…looking back, it's a really shitty thing to feel…its not even

my fault that I don't' have a good grip on the language like you do. But now the tables have turned because our English is better than theirs because obviously circumstance and how we've been brought up and now we don't really give much thought about and now we've kind of gained, my sister and I have kind of figured out why we don't know Marathi as well and why don't know English as well. But back then, as kids, we didn't quite understand, and we were made to feel really bad about the fact that we didn't know Marathi as well. Right now I'm dine and I'm like whatever, it is more a matter of utility but back then, I remember that one instance I felt really bad, I was made to feel really really bad. And I didn't quite do anything about that, I just 'hehe'd' and laughed awkwardly and that was about it. But…yeah…

P: So, what about times on the opposite side of the spectrum when you've been made to feel superior, or felt superior to someone else?

I: I really have to think about this…Can't quite think about it. Oh yeah, we had this college fest of sorts, and in that I had the position of an organiser, so we had this core team and I was one of the organiser. And in interactions that would play out with volunteers, obviously I ended up feeling superior because of the position and there was a clear hierarchy. Not that we disrespected the volunteers or that there was a division, but I did feel quite superior compared to the volunteers. Because as a part of the core group, I could call the shots. So that was something…

P: You spoke about language, about somewhere being able to speak better English than your cousins…do you think that caused a feeling of superiority once that kicked in

I: I think initially yes when I realised but then I had to check myself and I was like its fine and it's not a matter of pride and it's just a consequence of being…of reading things other than what they're reading and being brought up in a diff environment and diff schooling. When I did realise, when I was 13/14, they didn't have a grasp on English like we did, I did feel superior about it. I think it was also sort of, felt like retribution for what they had done to us when we were kids. But now that I think of it, no I don't feel superior about knowing better Eng. But when I did realise, I did feel that way. Now it's more like whatever…they have better control over one language and we have better control over one…whatever

P: going back to the MB identity, has that ever bred a feeling of superiority in the way you carried yourself, even if that has happened inadvertently?

I: I don't think it has..I've never felt superior or displayed a sense of superiority just because of that identity. But I do realise that when I do take my surname, people, like most Indians who recognise caste by their surname, whenever I do take my surname, it gives me a form of protection and immunity of sorts. I rem this one instance, I had gone to do fieldwork somewhere and I was talking to the lady in Marathi and she asked me what's your name and I told her. My first name is also a giveaway that I am a Maharashtrian because instead of ri, it is a ru, so you can figure it out. Then she asked me what's your surname and I told her my surname. And she was like, oh ok. So like, I did realise that yes, caste determination does play a factor and the fact that mine is an upper caste surname must have given me some sort of immunity an put me in a better spot than I would be in if it was not an upper caste name.

P: I am interested in what happened once you told her your surname…did that dynamic change…what do you mean by protection?

I: It didn't. She was fine with me. I don't; know what exactly she was trying to gauge. Obviously it was what caste I was. I don't know if she identified with me, or I don't know what perception of me changed, but she pretty much was nice to me throughout, before and after and I think her niceness could've changed if I was not upper caste, I'm not sure. But that's something I have noticed. That my surname is a dead giveaway to people who know how to categorise based on signs, obvs does put me in a better position.

P: Hmm…have you noticed, because of the obvs nature of the surname, whether it is with you or your fam, has that ever elicited a different dynamic with the opposite person? Maybe with someone else who has found out you're a Joshi?

I: Umm…no that I can, but not that I can recollect. At the most, there's just like there's jokes with my friends like you're Maharashtra, can I crack a shiv senna joke around you. But they are just joking. There's nothing…

P: you know, sometimes we are sometimes expected to make other people feel superior. You have touched upon some of this…conveying respect. So again, to

reiterate, has that happened? From what you've told me about men and women at a dinner party…any other things like that where you've had to make someone else feel superior?

I: I really have to think about this. Umm…

P: take your time…

I: I don't know if this is exactly related, but we had this HOD, so she was my pol teacher as well as my head of department and she is known to be very vindictive and she's a vindictive woman and she will remember grudges and she will take it out personally on you and she's that sort of woman. So, first 2 years you can take…3 sub…and 3rd year you major. So, the application depends on the head of department. So, I think, a lot of times, I never sucked up to her, but, I never explicitly said that, you know what prof, I don't agree with this, or you know what ma'am, I don't think this is right. Or you know what, actually it is completely wrong, this is xyz, this is what I think or this is not the reality. A lot of the times I had to bite my tongue bc I knew that she was a vindictive woman and she is the one who determines whether you get the subject you want in your third year or not. So, you have to be really careful about that and I think that's why, holding back, I did. And by not expressing what I wanted to express, I did pander to her liking. And I think that was…even after I got the subject actually, you were always scared that she might give you less marks, she's plain vindictive. You had to walk on eggshells around her. So I think that by holding myself, I did give her superior treatment. I knew that if I didn't, she would make sure that I paid for it. And I had seen that happen to kids around me. So there was definitely…that I had to actively make sure that I didn't offend her.

P: got it, got it. And on the other end, sometimes we inadvertently make someone feel inferior to us. Again, do some of those instances come to mind, where you've unknowingly made someone feel inferior?

I: I can't recollect anything as of now.

P: ok, if this comes up later, let me know. So, let's go back to some of the identity groups you've mentioned, do you feel the sense of caste propriety that you've brought up? That may have spilled over in other interactions?

I: I don't think it has ever come up in a academic settings…umm…no not when it comes to any sort of college interactions. College interactions with profs hasn't happened, with friends in college hasn't happened. But I also realise that the sort of institution I did study in were quite liberal if you would say so. They didn't quite pay attn to any of this. But I don't think it has trickled into my friendships or in any sort of college interaction.

P: So, speaking of college life, college tends to place where people from different sec backgrounds and diff preferences end up being under the same roof…(from topic guide) Have you ever felt organically superior or inferior to a particular group of students?

I: Ok, so something that I realised, and it is going to sound really bitchy when I say this, but there was this grp of girls and they were like all very very Maharashtrian. So for Maharashtrian, they have this own circle of friends and they did laugh over really silly things. And they just…I would consider them to be quote unquote lame back in 2nd yr or so. And I just organically felt…don't know for what reason…but I did feel it. But also there were times when I did feel inferior because every college has this cool clique of sorts, so whenever I see them I'd always just automatically feel uncomfortable, I don't know for what joy but I just feel uncomfortable around them. But you would always feel they would judge you, for some reason or the other. The cool rich kids, their little nice group…whenever id see them I'd try to…I'd just feel uncomfortable…I wouldn't want to be friends with them, not like they were asking to be friends with them…but these are sorts of people you wouldn't want to be friends with and I just tried to not be around them as much, and not interact with them as much and just leave when they'd be there because I'd just feel so uncomfortable. I talked to a friend about this and I was like dude, when you see them, do you feel like uncomfortable? And she was like yes I do. So I think that's some place I did feel sort of inferior to someone…

P: 2 things were interesting. Speaking about the Maharashtrian girls group, do you know about their background as in where they're from, where they live, their upbringing? Why is it they are the way they are, or have a clique of sorts. What do you surmise about their backgrounds?

I: I think it is also because they came from one particular area so they knew each

other. They came from Vasai or Virar or somewhere, so they knew each other. I think they studied together and knew each other, and take the same train every day. Also the cool gang either live in South Bom or Worli or places like that. And one friend of theirs lived in Goregaon. He was pretty rich but he lived in Goregaon and they made fun of him internally. It was all in good humour, but they'd say things like 'oh Goregaon, that's so far away, bro what is this?'

I remember that where you live in Bombay also does matter a lot like it does in any other place where you live determines a lot of things. So, yeah, the cool ones were from South Bombay...

P: Generally speaking, if you had to sum up things, has your caste specifically influence how you behave or carry yourself?

I: I don't..Obviously it has shaped and socialised me in ways I don't know or don't acknowledge but I don't think I explicitly play it out myself in real life. Certain things like the way I talk. Like there are different dialects in any language and in Marathi, a certain dialect is associated with a certain castes as with any sort of language. The more 'purer' form is usually used by the ones that have more caste and class privilege. So the way I speak Marathi is definitely influenced by what my parents have taught me, which is related to caste. Other than that, I don't think I explicitly go out to express my identity. Although I do reap the benefits that it does give me

P: And do you feel that because of your caste, whether society or family subjects you to certain assumptions or restrictions on things you can or cannot do. You spoke about eating with a specific hand...

I: Yeah yeah, non-veg...there is a clear thing that you shouldn't be non-veg and it is not spelt out is that you shouldn't eat non-veg because that is something that people from lower castes eat. That's never explicitly spelt out. It is always other reasons like you know it's tougher to digest or the possibility to give you some flu or making you fall sick...not healthy, not sure how restaurants cook it. Food is one place where I've noticed. Other than that, the language or the way you speak. If you adopt or say things using the village dialect, my mother judges it and asks me to pronounce the right way. My mother has a way of pronouncing things the right

way and the right way is obviously the pure form of the language, so she doesn't like it when we don't use the pure words or things like that...Other than that, I can think about my cousin who is a proper casteist and sexist person...when he told me he was going to get married, he told us about his bride, he mentioned how she proposed and he rejected her initially because she was not Brahmin. But later, they somehow agreed to get married. But he explicitly said that and my sister and I were annoyed about it and were like 'look at his gall saying this'

P: I will now show share my screen and show you something. I would like you to react to it and talk me through it. Please remember that there is no right or wrong answer. I want to simply understand your thoughts. (Poorvi shares screen)

I: they're 4 different women right? Seems like a Hindi serial posters. Seems like a soap opera about married women and honour and family. Also there's a barbed wire, so there's definitely some sort of lakshman Rekha (Ramayan reference for boundary) that's being crossed

P: What does the word maryada mean to you?

I: Maryada...honour, pride, something that must be kept, something that can't be crossed. Hmm...honour

I: think it's more used in and specific to women because the entire families and society's honour resides in women for some reason. That's what comes to mind...a sort of limit that shouldn't be crossed. If you cross that limit, you're endangering honour, respect, virtue. It is mostly the family and society's virtue and not your individual virtue.

P: Last time you heard someone use that word...

I: Maybe it was in Ramayan somewhere...not in daily conversation. I don't remember anyone using it in daily conversation. TV and soap opera dialogues. I don't remember anyone using it in daily conversations

8.2.5 Study 2 - Thematic Map

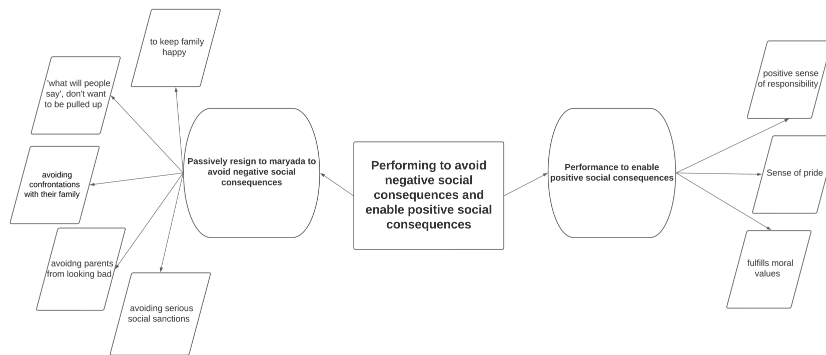

Figure 8.1: Global theme - Performance to avoid negative social consequences and enable positive social consequences

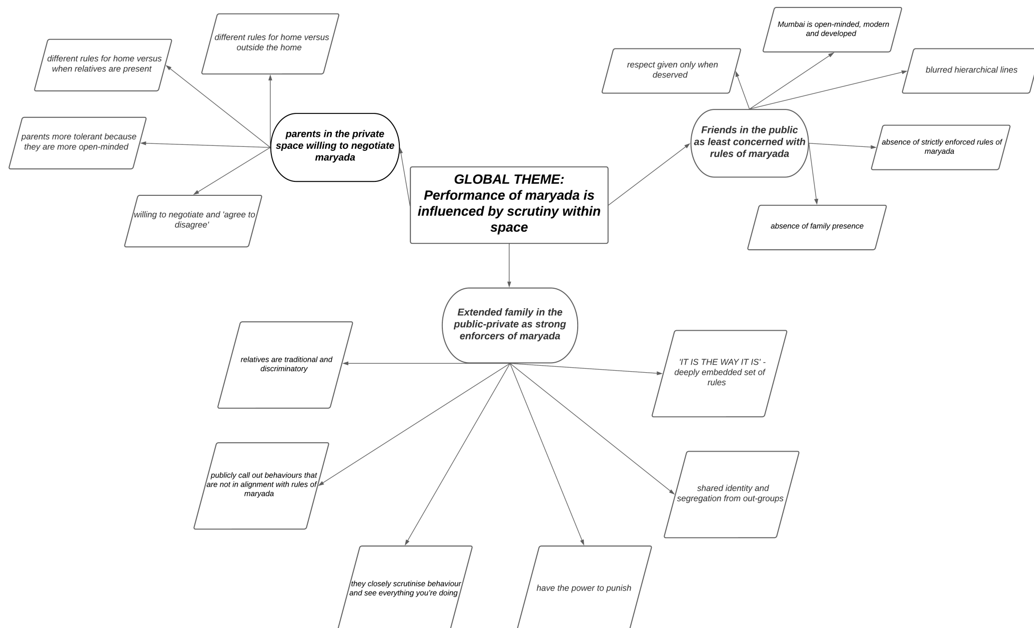

Figure 8.2: Global theme - Performance of maryada is influenced by scrutiny within space

8.3 Study 3

8.3.1 Study 3 - Social Media Ads

Figure 8.3: Twitter ad for participant recruitment

Figure 8.4: Facebook ad for participant recruitment

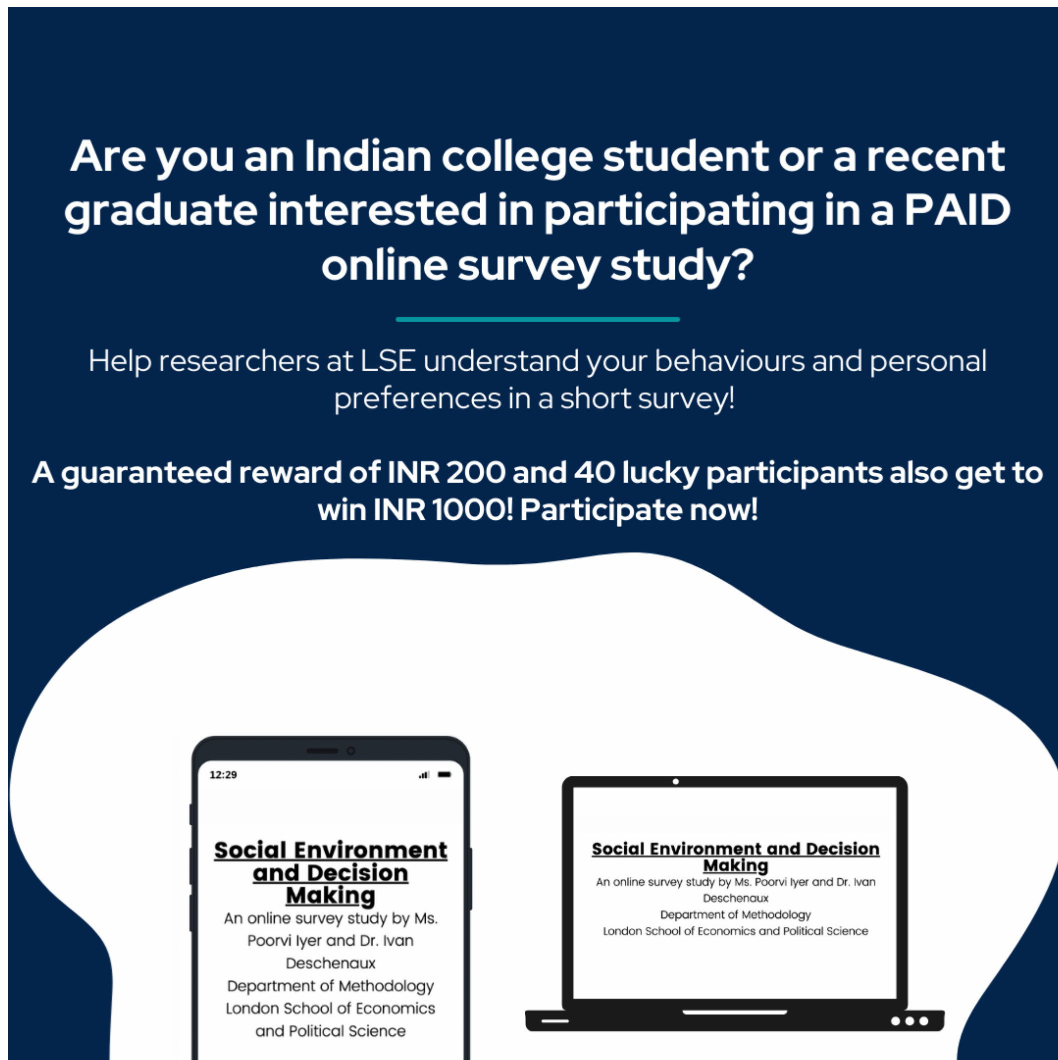

Figure 8.5: Social media flyer ad for participant recruitment

Social Environment Decision Making

An online survey study for Indian college students

Are you an Indian college student or a recent graduate interested in participating in a paid online survey study?

Eligibility:

- **Indian citizen *AND***
- **Indian college student or recent graduate from a college in India who is 18 or above 18 years of age**

- Help Poorvi Iyer and Dr. Ivan Deschenaux at the London School of Economics by completing this 20–30-minute anonymous survey.
- The survey asks you about your behaviours and personal preferences and aims to understand how they are shaped by the people around you.
- You will receive a reward of INR 200 if you complete our survey. Over and above that, you could also be one of 40 participants who wins an additional reward of INR 1000!
- Your voice is important, so please participate in our survey if you think you are eligible.
- Please click on the link below to access the survey and participate. Thank you!

https://lse.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_2mZF40C0WcxJrcq

This project has received ethical approvals from the LSE and Monk Prayogshala in India.
Please contact Poorvi at p.Iyer1@lse.ac.uk for any questions or concerns.

Figure 8.6: Social media detailed flyer ad for participant recruitment

8.3.2 Study 3 - Survey Instrument

8.3.2.1 Survey - Screening questions

Please answer all the questions in this section. All information that you share with us here will be kept confidential.

What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Non-binary / third gender

How old are you?

- ☐ under 18 (not 18 years yet)
- ☐ 18
- ☐ 19
- ☐ 20
- ☐ 21
- ☐ 22
- ☐ 23
- ☐ 24
- ☐ 25
- ☐ 26
- ☐ 27
- ☐ 28
- ☐ 29
- ☐ 30
- ☐ Over 30 years old

When you were a child, were you raised by your mother and father?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What religion were you assigned to at birth?

- ☐ Hindu
- ☐ Buddhist

- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Christian
- ☐ Sikh
- ☐ No religion/Atheist
- ☐ Other

What religion best describes you now?

- ☐ Hindu
- ☐ Buddhist
- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Christian
- ☐ Sikh
- ☐ No religion/Atheist
- ☐ Other

Which caste category do you belong to?

- ☐ Vaishya
- ☐ Dalit
- ☐ Brahmin
- ☐ Kshatriya
- ☐ OBC
- ☐ SC
- ☐ ST
- ☐ Prefer not to say

What is your current country of residence?

- ☐ India
- ☐ Other

What is your current city of residence?

[Text box for the city name]

Do you have a native place on your mother's side or father's side or both sides?

- ☐ I have a native place on both sides that is different to where I live right now

- ☐ I have a native place only on my mother's side that is different to where I live right now
- ☐ I have a native place only on my father's side that is different to where I live right now
- ☐ My native place is the same as where I currently live
- ☐ No, I don't have a native place

What is the name of the native place you visit most often, or have visited most often?

[Text box for native place name]

If you visit both your native places the same amount, name either one of them.

[Text box]

Which one of the following best describes your native place?

- ☐ It is a big metropolitan city
- ☐ It is a small town or city
- ☐ It is a village

How often do you visit your native place?

- ☐ Once a month
- ☐ Once in 2 months
- ☐ Once in 3 months
- ☐ Once in 4 months
- ☐ Once in 6 months
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Once in 2 years
- ☐ Once in 5 years
- ☐ Once in 10 years
- ☐ I have never visited my native place

What is your current occupation?

- ☐ I am working for a company, organisation, or the government
- ☐ I am currently a college student in India
- ☐ I recently graduated from a college in India in the last 6 months

☐ I am currently a college student outside India

☐ I am self-employed

☐ Prefer not to say

Please specify how many months ago you graduated from college. Pick the number that is closest to the actual duration

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4

☐ 5

☐ 6

Are you married?

☐ Yes, I am married

☐ No, I am not married and have never been married

☐ No, I am not married now, but I was married before

☐ Prefer not to say

Do you have at least one uncle (on your mother or father's side) and one aunt (on your mother or father's side)?

☐ Yes, I have at least one uncle and aunt

☐ No, I do not even have one uncle and one aunt

8.3.2.2 Survey - Information for Participants

Thank you. You are eligible for taking part in this survey.

Before we get started, here is a little bit of information about this study. We ask that you read this very carefully, as you will need some of this information to give your consent to participate on the next page.

What is this research about?

This research project aims to understand how a person's social environment can influence them. We are particularly interested in how people answer questions about their behaviour and personal preferences when they think that they are being observed by various others.

Who is doing this research?

Two researchers at the **London School of Economics (LSE) Department of Methodology**:

- Poorvi Iyer, a third-year PhD candidate
- Dr. Ivan Deschenaux, an LSE fellow.

You can contact the researchers via email (Poorvi and Ivan's emails) if you have any further questions.

Why have you asked me to participate?

Being an Indian college student or a recent graduate is the primary criterion for participation in this study. Since you belong to this category, you have been chosen for participation.

What will participation involve?

Participation in this study involves taking part in one online survey (which you can do via your mobile, tablet or laptop) that will take you a total of 20-30 minutes. In this survey, you will have the opportunity to answer various questions on your preferences that involve your interactions with other people.

How long will participation take?

Participation in this survey will require approximately 20-30 minutes, if you

respond to every question.

What about confidentiality?

The records from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. The only individuals who will have access to the raw data files will be the researchers and the academic supervisors of both researchers. Even the raw data files will not contain any personal data that can identify you or be tied back to you. Moreover, to ensure that this data is protected, all digital raw data files, and meta-data will be given codes and stored separately from any emails, or other direct identification of participants.

How do I withdraw from the study?

You can withdraw from the study by closing the webpage at any point, without having to give a reason. If any questions in the survey make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. Withdrawing from the study will have no effect on you.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by the researchers' supervisors at the Department of Methodology at LSE and has undergone ethics review in accordance with the LSE Research Ethics Policy and Procedure. Additionally, this study has also undergone ethics review by Monk Prayogshala.

What do I get out of this?

In addition to contributing to research, you will receive an Amazon voucher worth INR 200 (or will be paid a sum of INR 200) for your time. Additionally, 40 participants will be randomly chosen at the end of this study to win an additional INR 1000.

What if I have a question or complaint?

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact the researcher, Poorvi Iyer, on email. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the LSE Research Governance Manager via (LSE email) or Monk Prayogshala at (Monk email).

8.3.2.3 Survey - Informed Consent

Social Environment and Decision-making

Please indicate your choice for each of the 5 questions below.

Please read and answer these questions carefully, as they will determine your ability to participate.

You are required to answer all questions to proceed to the survey.

Please do not press the back button, as all your responses will be lost and you will no longer be able to participate.

1. **I have read and understood the study information in the previous section**
    - Yes
    - No
2. **I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and that I can withdraw from the study at any point, without having to give a reason.**
    - Yes
    - No
3. **I understand that the information I provide will be used for Ms. Poorvi Iyer's and Dr. Ivan Deschenaux's research project, and that the information will be anonymous.**
    - Yes
    - No
4. **I understand that any personal information that can identify me (such as my email) will be kept confidential and not shared with anyone.**
    - Yes
    - No
5. **I give permission for the (anonymised) information I provide to be deposited in a data archive so that it may be used for future research.**
    - Yes
    - No
6. **I consent to taking part in this study.**
    - Yes

- No

8.3.2.4 Survey - Questions on sanctions

You have now reached the third, and final part of the survey

In these final sections, you will be asked to answer some general questions. In the first and second part of this survey, we asked you to imagine that someone was reading your answers and to answer the questions accordingly.

In this third and final part, you no longer have to imagine anyone reading your answers anymore.

Again, please answer the next set of questions without imagining anyone reading your answers.

We now want to present you with a few situations and understand what would happen if the following were to occur in the presence of your college friends.

1. **What would happen if you dress inappropriately (e.g., revealing clothing) in front of your college friends? Select all options that would apply.**

   ☐ Nothing bad would happen
   ☐ I would get shouted at by my friends
   ☐ My friends would not want to hang out with me
   ☐ I would physically be hit by my friends
   ☐ I would be asked to leave my friend group permanently
   ☐ My friends would look bad in the eyes of my peers
   ☐ My peers/people in college would cut all connections with my friend group

2. **What would happen if you don't use pronouns of respect when addressing other older people in front of your college friends? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

3. **What would happen if you use swear words in front of your college friends? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

4. **What would happen if you use casteist and/or homophobic slurs in front of your college friends? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

5. **What would happen if your college friends find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different caste? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

6. **What would happen if your college friends find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different religion? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

7. **What would happen if your college friends find out that you are pregnant/made someone pregnant without being married? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the same options as above)

We now want to present you with a few situations and understand what would happen if the following were to occur in the presence of your parents.

8. **What would happen if you dress inappropriately (e.g., revealing clothing) in front of your parents? Select all options that would apply.**

   ☐ Nothing bad would happen
   ☐ I would get shouted at by my parents
   ☐ My parents will stop talking to me
   ☐ I would physically be hit by my parents
   ☐ I would be asked to leave my house permanently
   ☐ My parents would look bad in the eyes of my community
   ☐ People in my community would cut all connections with my parents

9. **What would happen if you don't use pronouns of respect when addressing other older people in front of your parents? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the parent-related options as above for the remaining questions)

10. **What would happen if you use swear words in front of your parents? Select all options that would apply.**

11. **What would happen if you use casteist and/or homophobic slurs in front of your parents? Select all options that would apply.**

12. **What would happen if your parents find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different caste? Select all options that would apply.**

13. **What would happen if your parents find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different religion? Select all options that would apply.**

14. **What would happen if your parents find out that you are pregnant/made someone pregnant without being married? Select all options that would apply.**

We now want to present you with a few situations and understand what would happen if the following were to occur in the presence of your relatives (e.g., aunts and uncles) in addition to your parents.

15. **What would happen if you dress inappropriately (e.g., revealing clothing) in front of your relatives? Select all options that would apply.**
    - ☐ Nothing bad would happen
    - ☐ I would get shouted at by my relatives
    - ☐ My family and I will no longer invited by our relatives
    - ☐ I would physically be hit by my relatives
    - ☐ I would be asked to leave my relative's home permanently
    - ☐ My parents would look bad in the eyes of my community
    - ☐ People in my community would cut all connections with my parents and relatives
16. **What would happen if you don't use pronouns of respect when addressing other older people in front of your relatives? Select all options that would apply.** (Repeat the relative-related options as above for the remaining questions)
17. **What would happen if you use swear words in front of your relatives? Select all options that would apply.**
18. **What would happen if you use casteist and/or homophobic slurs in front of your relatives? Select all options that would apply.**
19. **What would happen if your relatives find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different caste? Select all options that would apply.**
20. **What would happen if your relatives find out that you have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a different religion? Select all options that would apply.**
21. **What would happen if your relatives find out that you are pregnant/made someone pregnant without being married? Select all options that would apply.**

8.3.2.5 Survey - Final background questions

Please answer these final set of questions about your general background.

What is your mother's highest level of education?

- ☐ My mother did not receive any formal education
- ☐ My mother had some schooling, but did not finish her 10th grade
- ☐ 10th pass
- ☐ 12th pass
- ☐ Bachelor's degree level (e.g. BA/BSc/BCom)
- ☐ Master's degree level (e.g. MA/MSc/MBA)
- ☐ PhD

What is your father's highest level of education?

- ☐ My father did not receive any formal education
- ☐ My father had some schooling, but did not finish his 10th grade
- ☐ 10th pass
- ☐ 12th pass
- ☐ Bachelor's degree level (e.g. BA/BSc/BCom)
- ☐ Master's degree level (e.g. MA/MSc/MBA)
- ☐ PhD

Are your parents from different religions?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Are your parents from different castes?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Who do you live with currently?

- ☐ In a joint family with my parents as well
- ☐ Only with my parents
- ☐ With a friend/friends

☐ With my life partner and in-laws

☐ Only with my life partner

☐ In a hostel

☐ I live alone

☐ Other (please specify below)

[Your response here]

What is the total number of family members living in your house?

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4

☐ 5

☐ 6

☐ 7

☐ 8

☐ 9

☐ 10

☐ Over 10 members

How many rooms does your house have excluding kitchen and bathrooms?

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4

☐ 5

☐ 6

☐ 7

☐ 8

☐ 9

☐ 10

☐ Over 10 rooms

What type of degree are you currently pursuing?

☐ Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA/BSc/BCom)

☐ Master's degree (e.g. MA/MSc/MBA)

☐ Other. Please specify below

[Your response here]

Since you mentioned that you recently graduated from college, what type of degree did you complete?

☐ Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA/BSc/BCom)

☐ Master's degree (e.g. MA/MSc/MBA)

☐ Other. Please specify below

[Your response here]

Which city is your college located in?

[Your response here]

Is the college that you went to or currently go to, a government college or a private college?

☐ Government college

☐ Private college

☐ Other. Please specify below

[Your response here]

Are any of your close friends from another religion than yours?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Are any of your close friends from another caste than yours?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Are any of your close friends from the opposite gender?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Have you ever lived with your aunt,

${q://QID59/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry}?

☐ No, never.

☐ Yes, but only for short periods (for example a visit, vacation or holiday).

☐ Yes, for extended periods (one year or more) or on a permanent basis.

Have you ever lived with your uncle,

${q://QID57/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry}?

☐ No, never.

☐ Yes, but only for short periods (for example a visit, vacation or holiday).

☐ Yes, for extended periods (one year or more) or on a permanent basis.

8.3.2.6 Survey - Experimental manipulations

Survey: Part I

---

1. **Please write down the first names of two of your close college friends.** (The order does not matter.)
   - **Friend 1:**
   - **Friend 2:**
2. **Describe your friend, (friend 1), in a few sentences.**
3. **Describe your friend, (friend 2), in a few sentences.**

Your responses to questions are anonymous.

We now want you to imagine that your friends, (friend 1) and (friend 2), are reading your answers to questions in this section.

Therefore, you must now answer these questions as if your friends, (friend 1) and (friend 2), are reading your answers.

Survey: Part II (Parent condition)

---

1. **Please write down the first names of your mother and father.** (The order does not matter.)
    - **Mother:**
    - **Father:**
2. **Describe your mother, (mother name), in a few sentences.**
3. **Describe your father, (father name), in a few sentences.**

Your responses to questions are anonymous.

We now want you to imagine that your mother, (mother name) and father (father name), are reading your answers to questions in this section.

Therefore, you must now answer these questions as if your mother, (mother name) and father (father name), are reading your answers.

Survey: Part II (*Extended family condition*)

---

1. **Please write down the first names of your aunt and uncle** (The order does not matter.)
    - **Aunt:**
    - **Uncle:**
2. **Describe your aunt, (aunt name), in a few sentences.**
3. **Describe your uncle, (uncle name), in a few sentences.**

Your responses to questions are anonymous.

We now want you to imagine that your aunt, (aunt name) and uncle (uncle name), are reading your answers to questions in this section.

Therefore, you must now answer these questions as if your aunt, (aunt name) and uncle (uncle name), are reading your answers.

8.3.3 Study 3 - Stacked bar charts for responses under friend-parent and friend-extended conditions

8.3.3.1 Stacked bar charts for responses under imagined friend scrutiny and imagined parental scrutiny

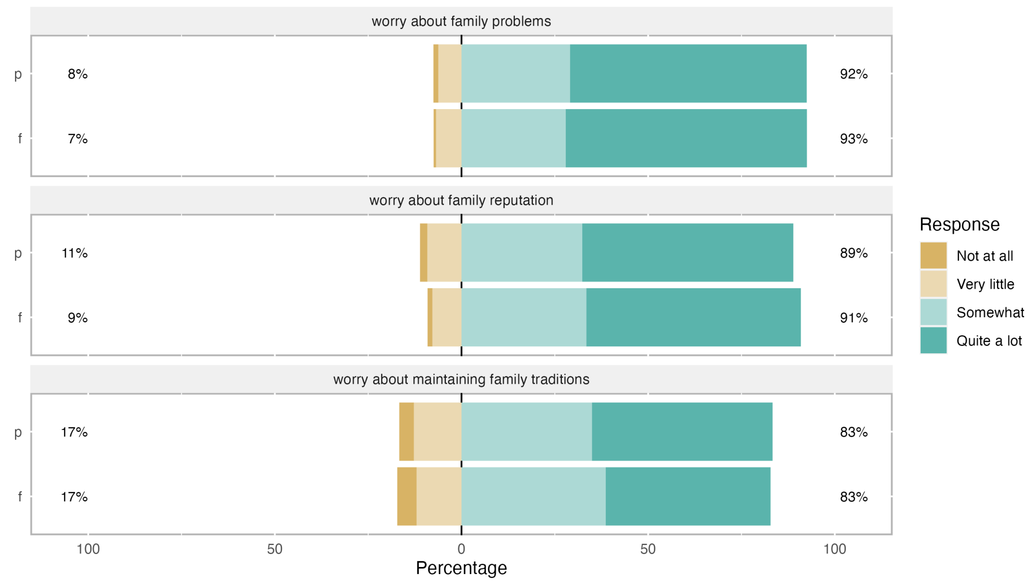

Figure 8.7: Family obligation - under friend and parent scrutiny

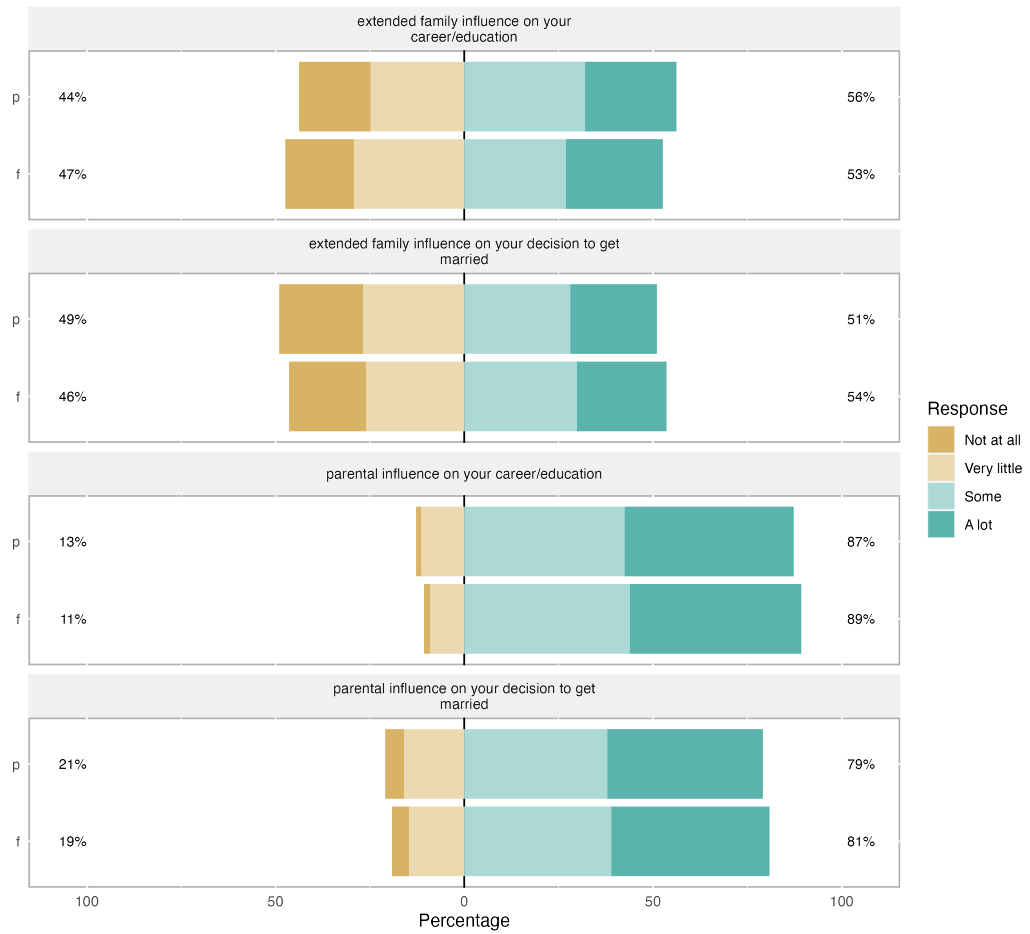

Figure 8.8: Family influence - under friend and parent scrutiny

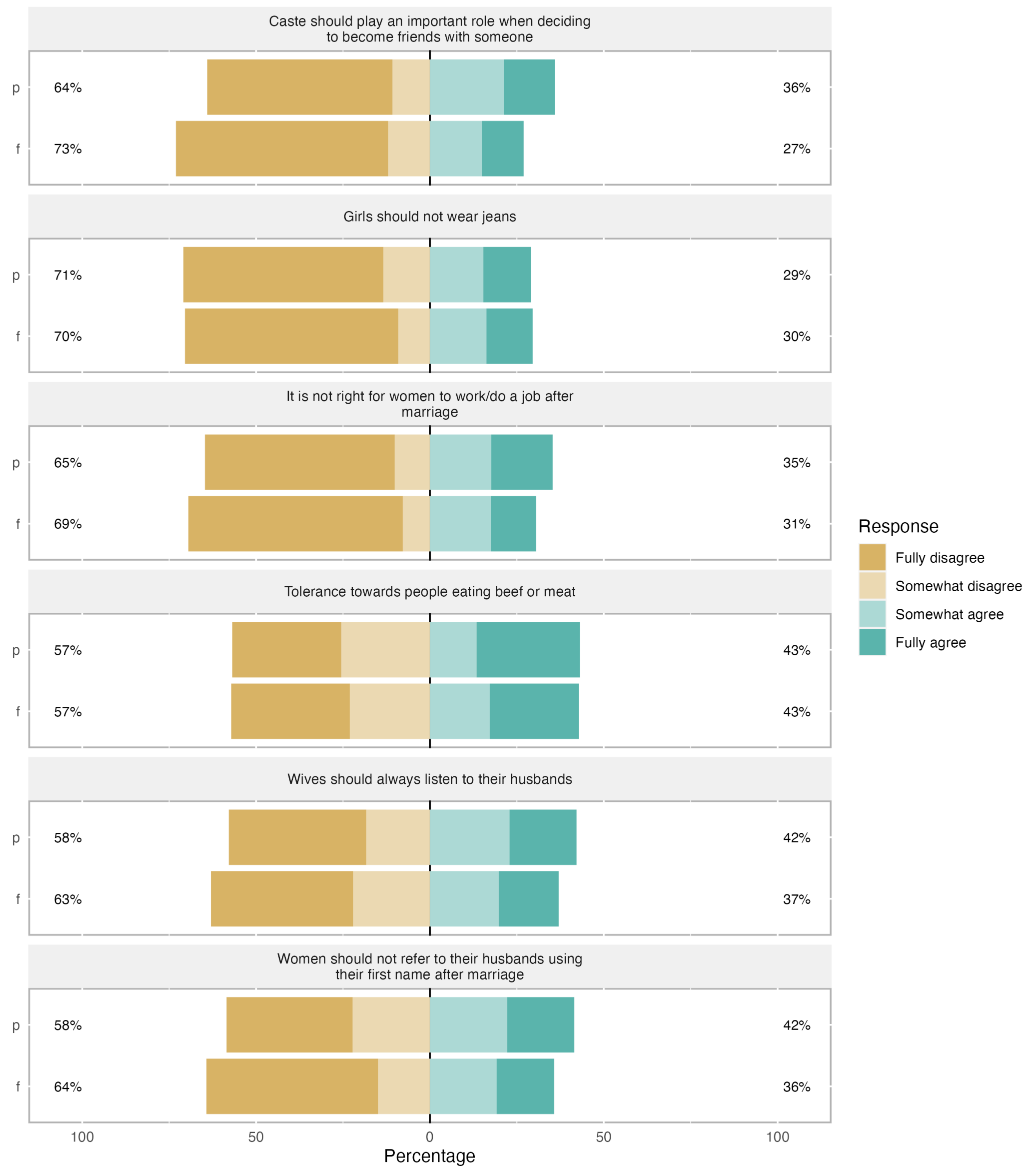

Figure 8.9: Caste and gender norms - under friend and parent scrutiny

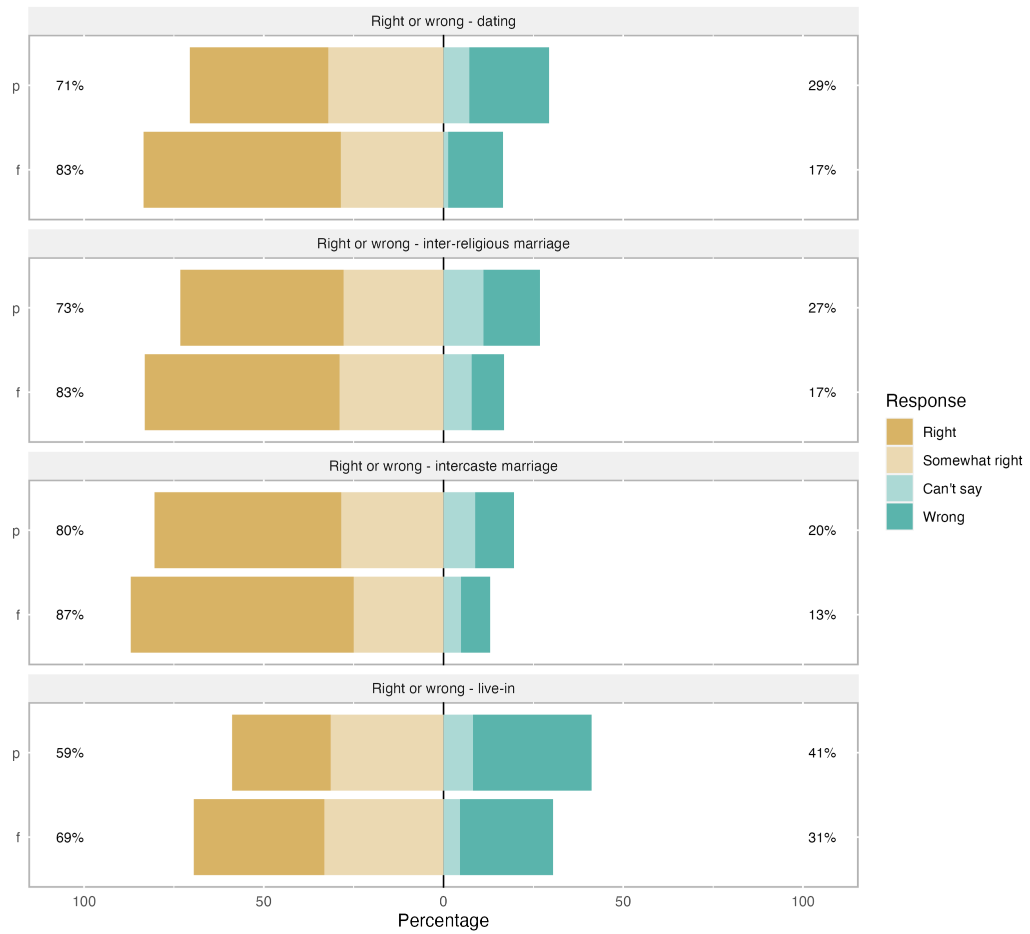

Figure 8.10: Moral judgement - under friend and parent scrutiny

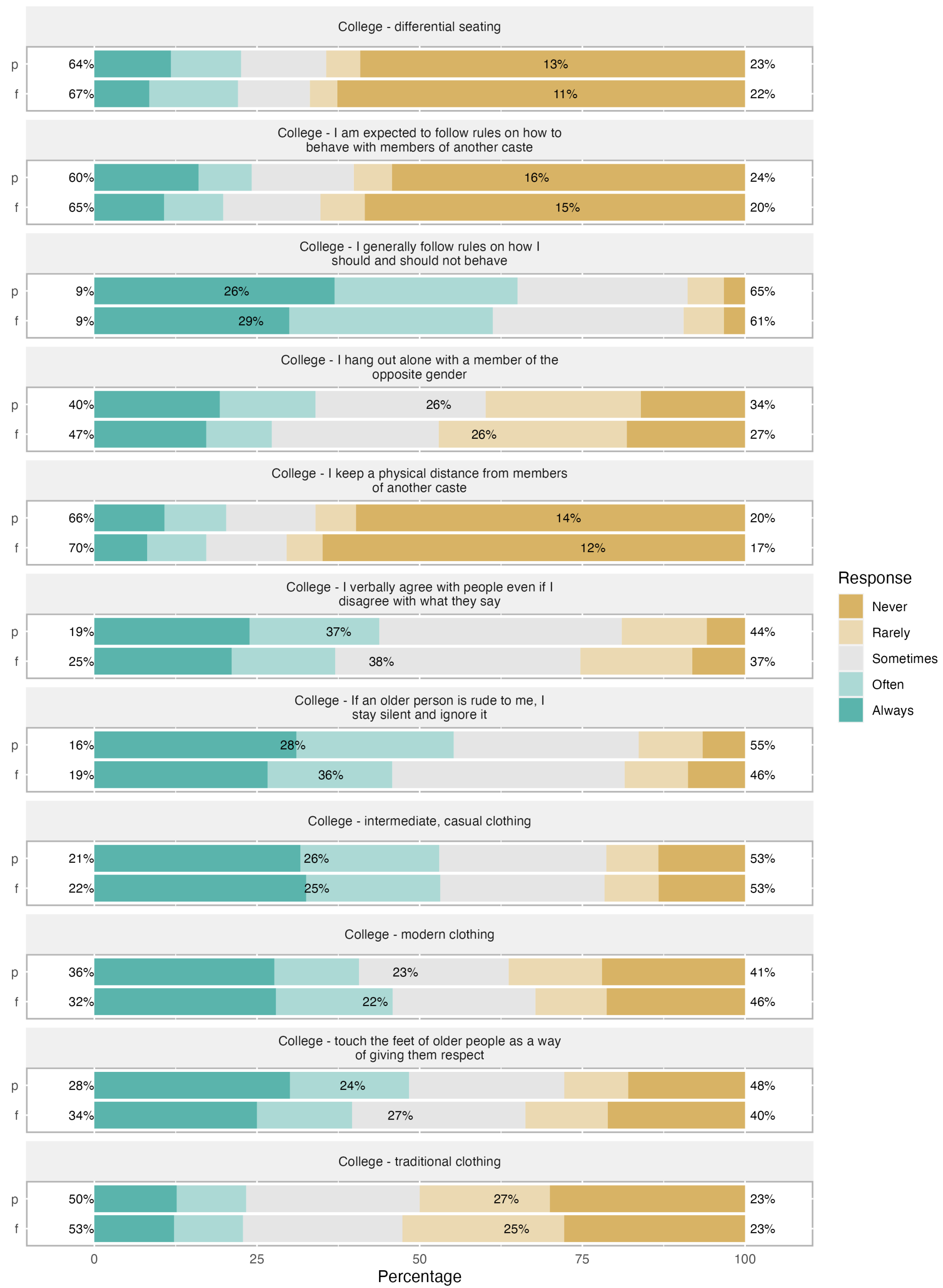

Figure 8.11: Maryada in college - under friend and parent scrutiny

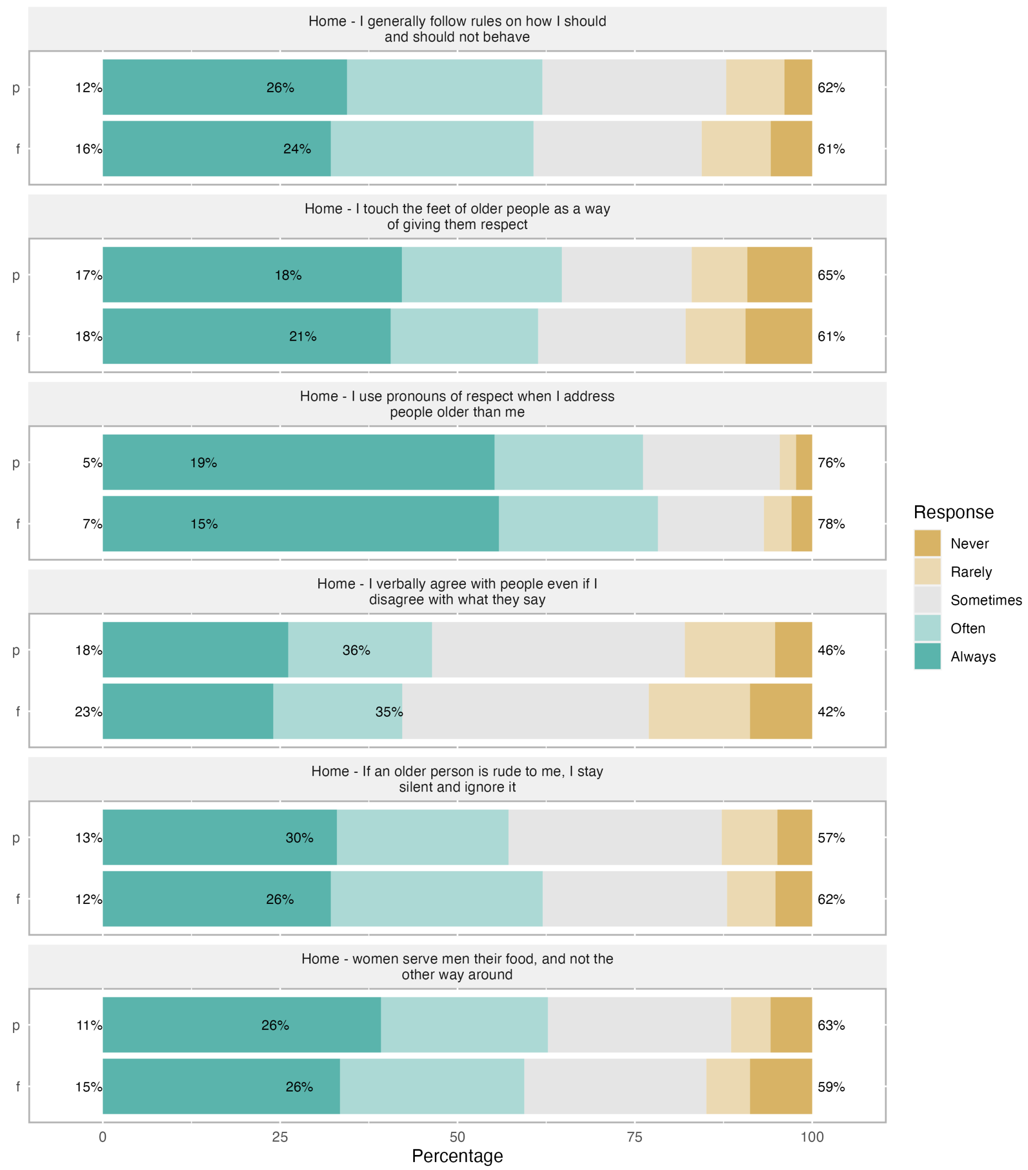

Figure 8.12: Maryada at home - under friend and parent scrutiny

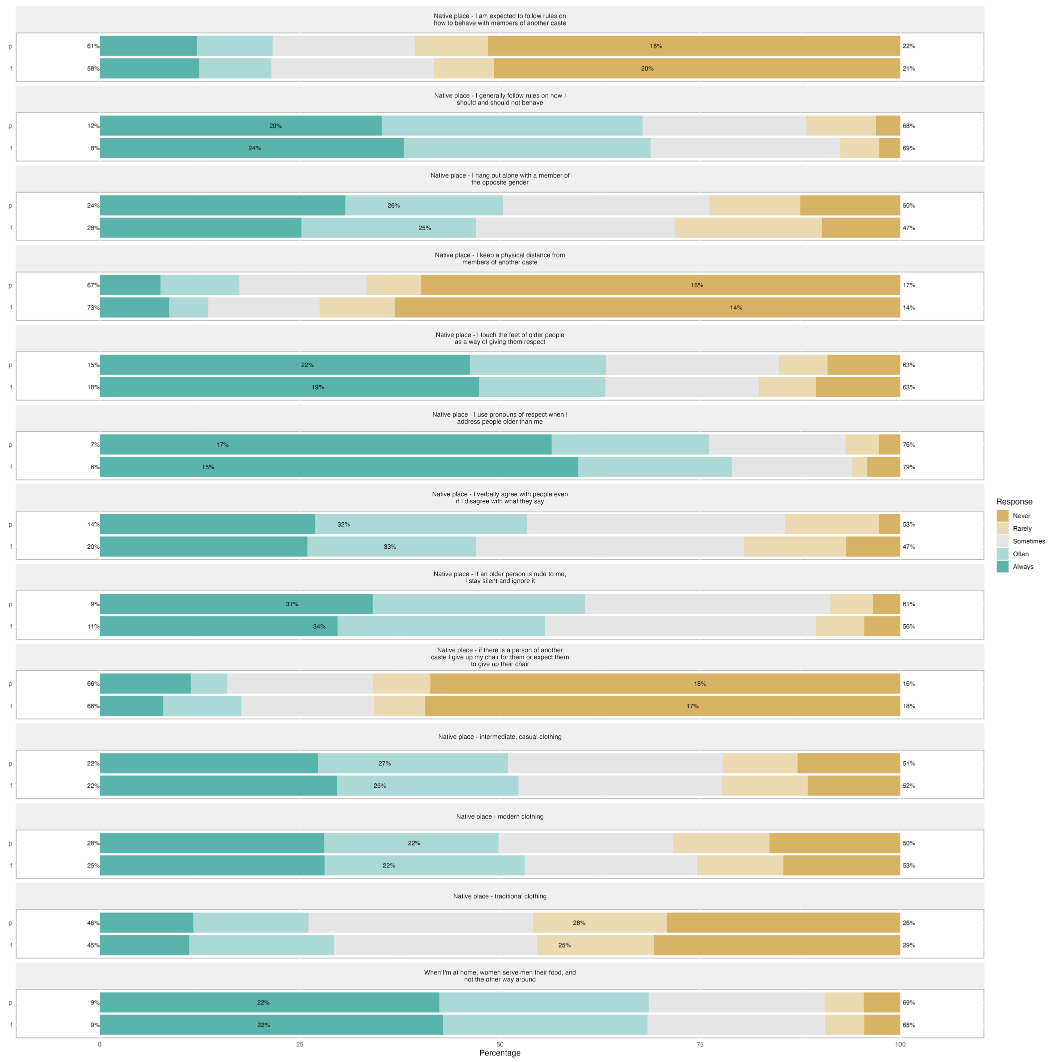

Figure 8.13: Maryada in the native place - under friend and parent scrutiny

8.3.4 Study 3 - Stacked bar charts for responses under imagined friend scrutiny and imagined extended family scrutiny

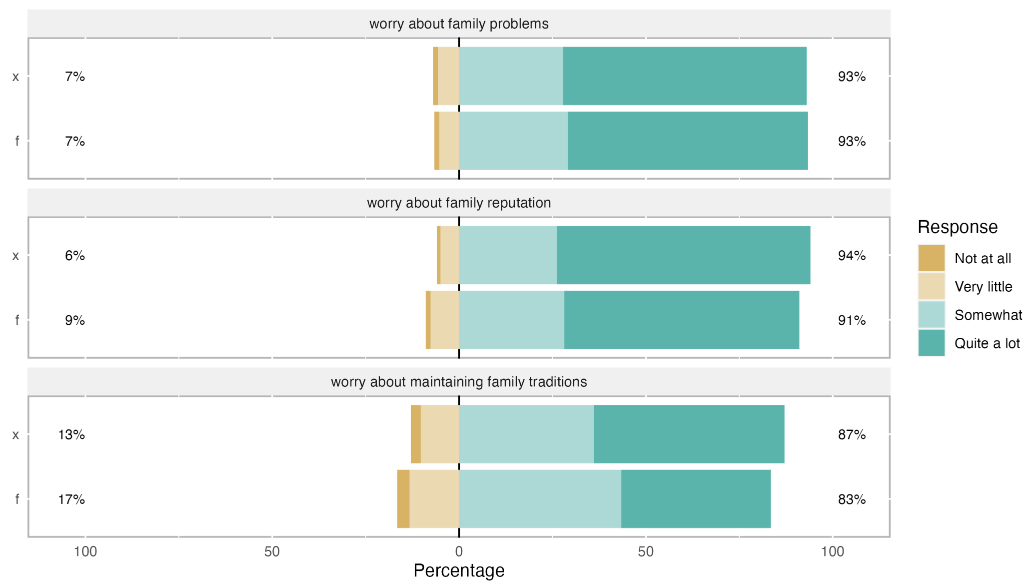

Figure 8.14: Family obligation - under friend and extended scrutiny

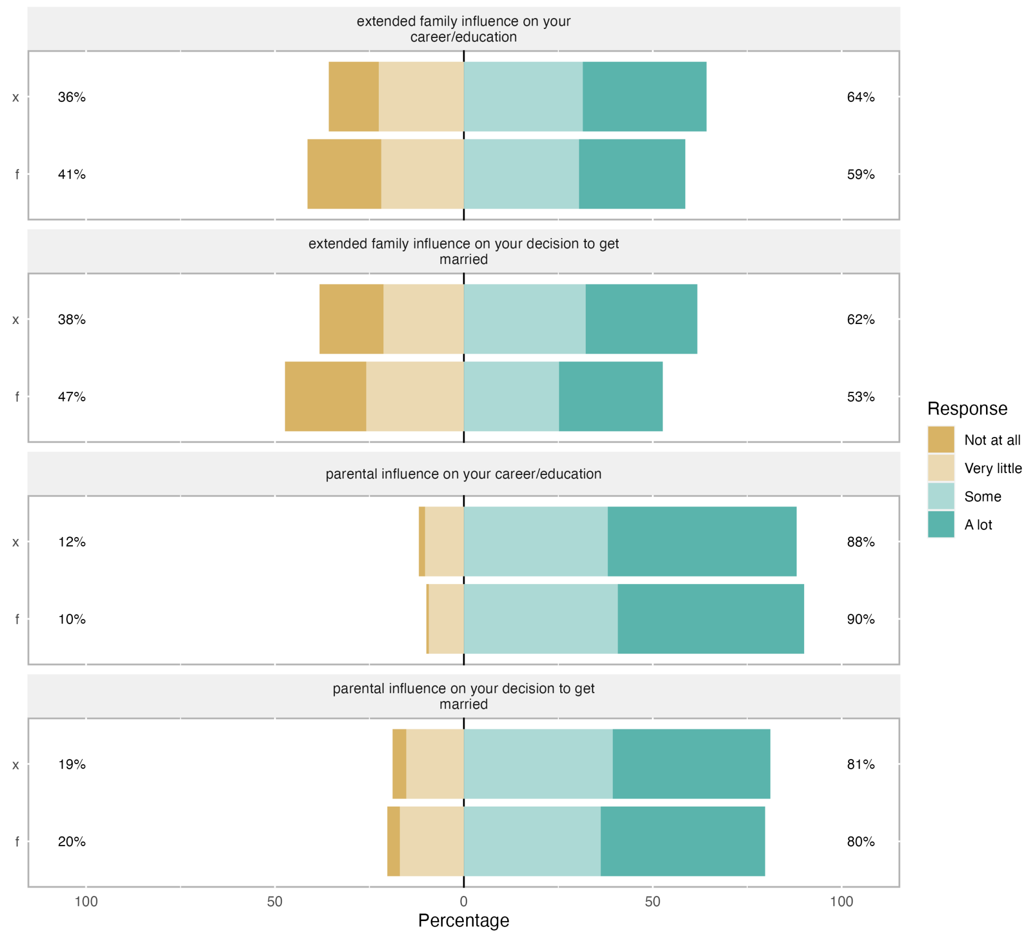

Figure 8.15: Family influence - under friend and extended scrutiny

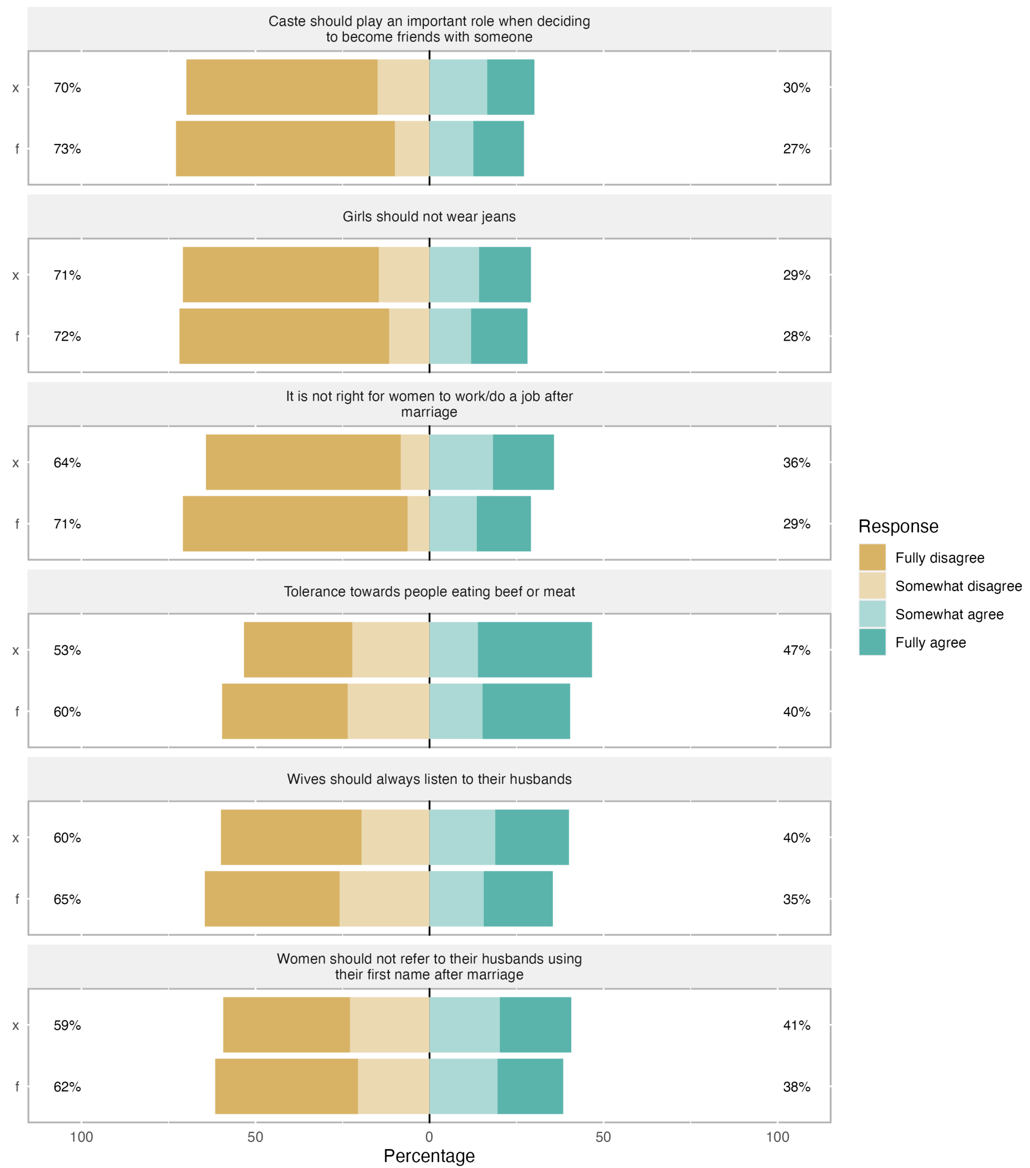

Figure 8.16: Caste and gender norms - under friend and extended scrutiny

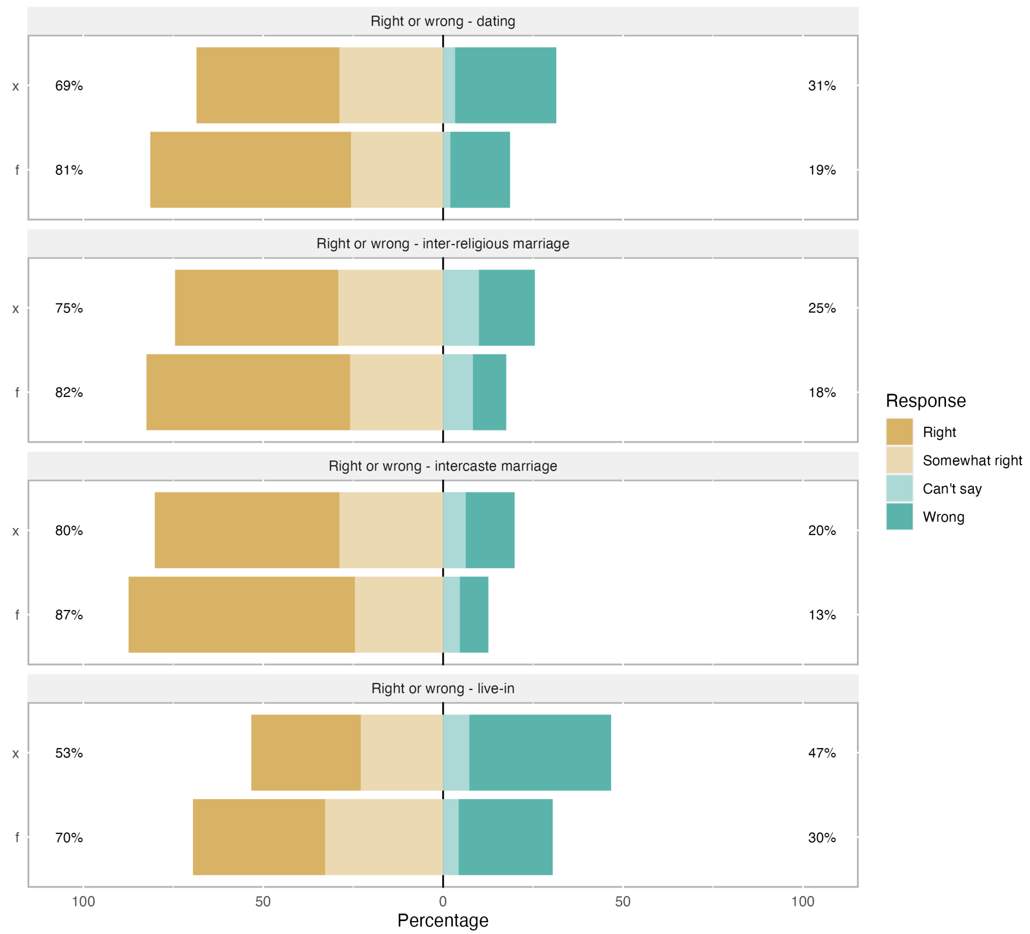

Figure 8.17: Moral judgement - under friend and extended scrutiny

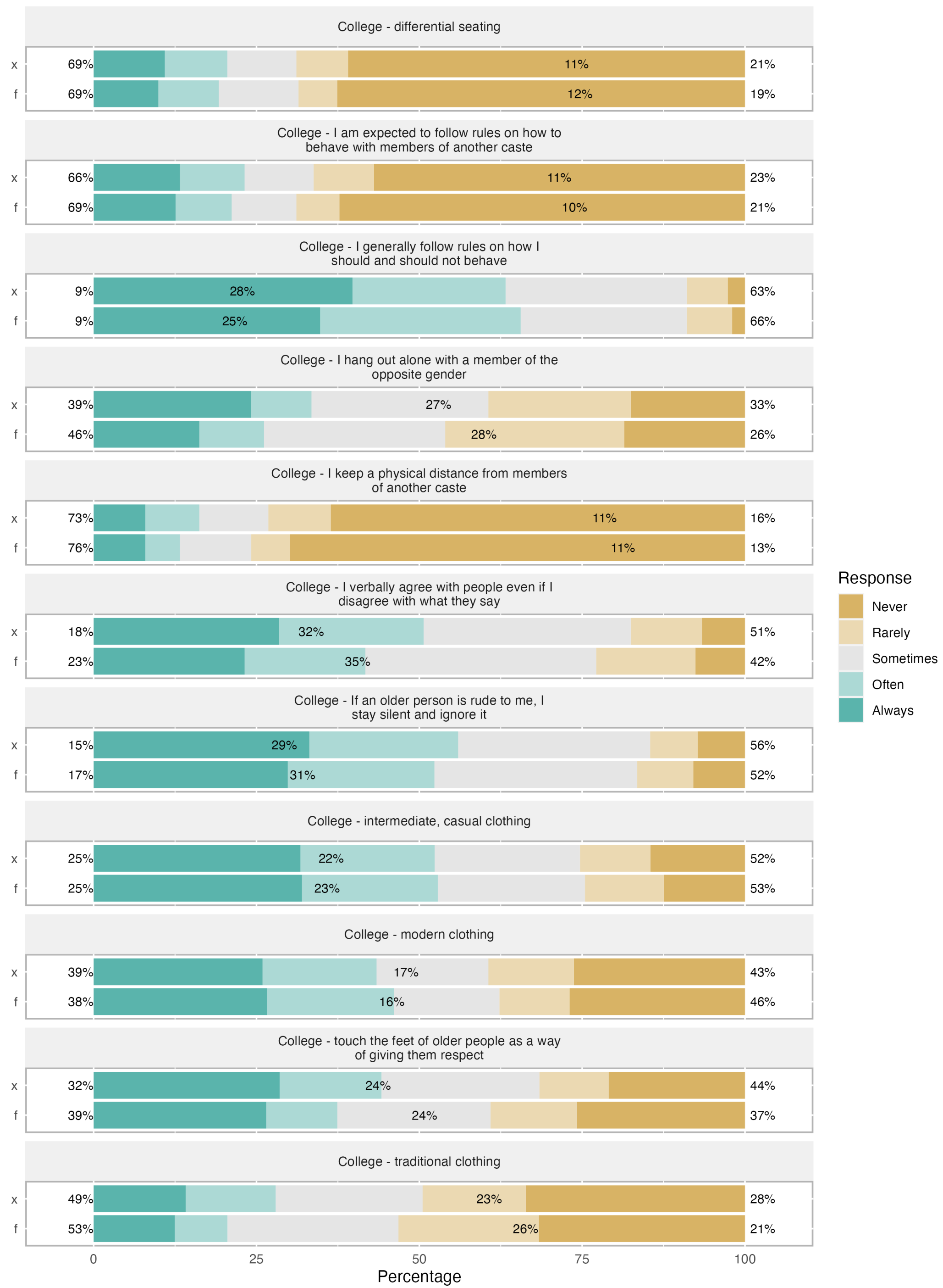

Figure 8.18: Maryada in college - under friend and extended scrutiny

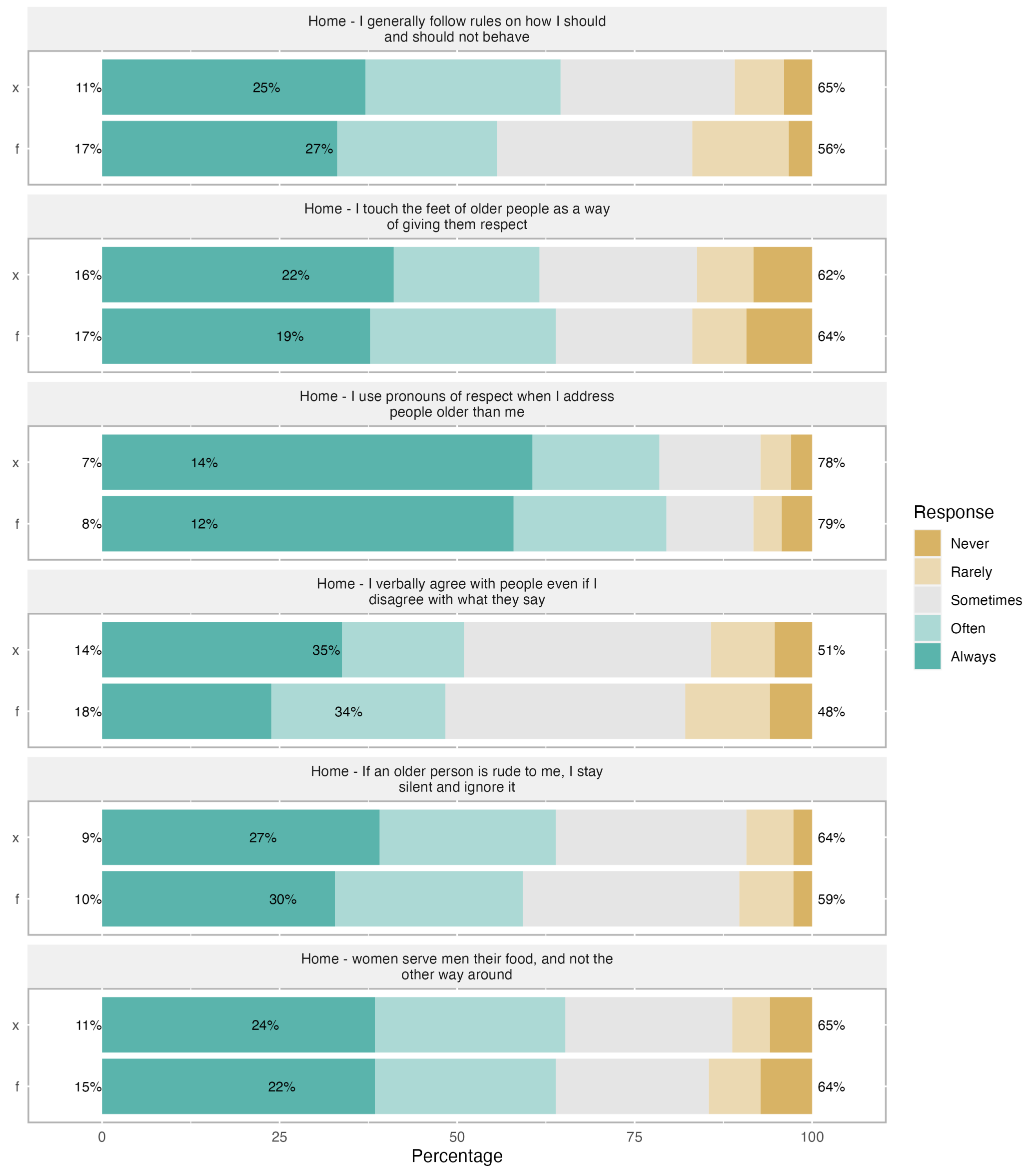

Figure 8.19: Maryada at home - under friend and extended scrutiny

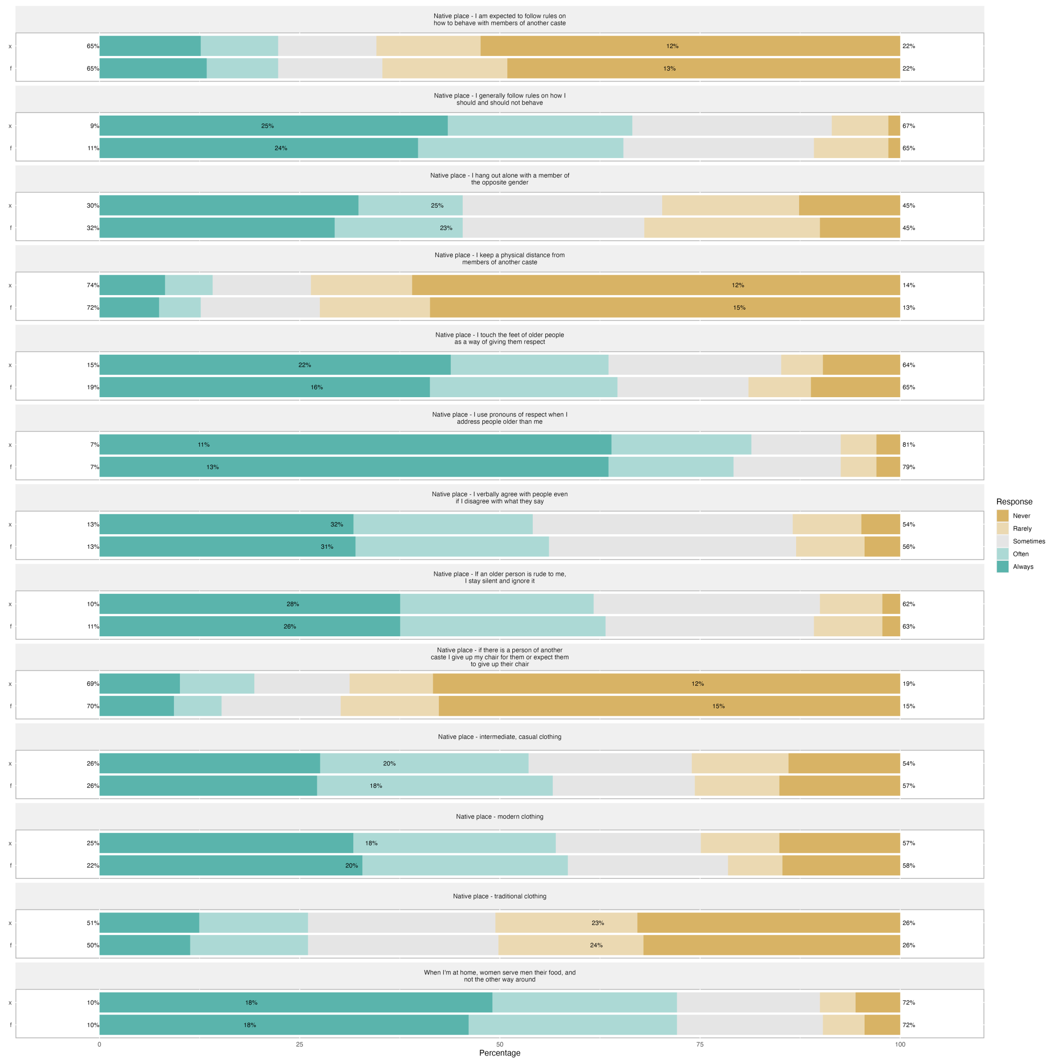

Figure 8.20: Maryada in the native place - under friend and extended scrutiny

8.3.5 Study 3 - Descriptive shift in participant responses between baseline friend and family conditions

Table 8.6: Shift in participant responses - Family obligation

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
How much do you worry about maintaining family traditions?	0.06	0.15
How much do you worry about family problems?	-0.02	0.00
How much do you worry about family reputation?	-0.03	0.08

Table 8.7: Shift in participant responses - Family influence

Question	**Mean shift (p-f)**	**Mean shift (x-f)**
How much influence did your/will your parents have on your career/education?	-0.02	-0.02
How much influence did your/will your relatives have on your career/education?	0.01	0.16
How much influence did your/will your parents have on your decision to get married?	-0.03	-0.01
How much influence did your/will your relatives have on your decision to get married?	-0.05	0.16

Table 8.8: Shift in participant responses - Endorsing caste and gender norms

Question	**Mean shift (p-f)**	**Mean shift (x-f)**
Eating beef/cow meat is part of people's personal eating habits and nobody should have an objection to this.	-0.08	-0.18

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
It is not right for women to work/do a job after marriage	0.16	0.18
Wives should always listen to their husbands	0.07	0.03
Girls should not wear jeans	0.04	0.03
Women should not refer to their husbands using their first name after marriage	0.22	0.09
Caste should play an important role when deciding to become friends with someone	0.20	0.10

Table 8.9: Shift in participant responses - Moral judgements

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different castes	0.19	0.23
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Marriage between girl and boy belonging to different religions	0.25	0.26
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Girl and boy living together without marriage	0.28	0.35
Do you consider this right or wrong? - Girl and boy meeting/dating each other before getting married	0.37	0.39

Table 8.10: Shift in participant responses - *Maryada* in college

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing	0.01	0.11
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing	-0.01	-0.03
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing	-0.11	-0.04
When I'm in college, I hang out alone with a member of the opposite gender	-0.19	-0.23
When I'm in college, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)	-0.06	-0.07
When I'm in college, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair	0.10	0.04
When I'm in college, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste	0.15	0.12
When I'm in college, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste	0.19	0.10
When I'm in college, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.24	0.21
When I'm in college, If an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	0.20	0.10
When I'm in college, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.18	0.20

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm in college, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	0.12	0.02

Table 8.11: Shift in participant responses - *Maryada* at home

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm at home, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. '*aap*' or '*ji*') when I address people older than me	0.01	0.04
When I'm at home, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.08	0.04
When I'm at home and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	-0.04	0.12
When I'm at home, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.16	0.18
When I'm at home, women serve men their food, and not the other way around	0.14	0.06
When I'm at home, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)	-0.00	-0.06
When I'm at home, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	0.09	0.19

Table 8.12: Shift in participant responses - *Maryada* in the native place

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing	-0.02	0.00

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing	-0.06	-0.02
When I'm in my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing	-0.09	-0.06
When I'm in my native place, I hang out alone with a member of the opposite gender	-0.11	-0.02
When I'm in my native place, I eat non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.)	-0.04	-0.03
When I'm in my native place, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair	0.02	0.04
When I'm in my native place, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste	0.12	-0.02
When I'm in my native place, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste	-0.03	-0.05
When I'm in my native place, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. 'aap' or 'ji') when I address people older than me	-0.04	0.02
When I'm in my native place, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.05	0.06
When I'm in my native place and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	0.13	-0.02

Question	Mean shift (p-f)	Mean shift (x-f)
When I'm in my native place, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.18	-0.03
When I'm in my native place, women serve men their food, and not the other way around	-0.02	0.02
When I'm in my native place, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	-0.08	0.07

8.3.6 Study 3 - Parent scrutiny vs extended family scrutiny - regression results

Table 8.13: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - worry about family reputation

	Dependent variable:
	g_famrep
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.114^{**} (0.052)
Constant	-0.033 (0.037)
Observations	597
R^2	0.008
Adjusted R^2	0.006
Residual Std. Error	0.635 (df = 595)
F Statistic	4.826^{**} (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.14: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - extended family influence on career

	Dependent variable:
	g_r_careerinf
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.145^{**} (0.064)
Constant	0.013 (0.045)
Observations	597
R^2	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.784 (df = 595)
F Statistic	5.102^{**} (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.15: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - extended family influence on career

	Dependent variable:
	g_r_marriageinf
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.205*** (0.062)
Constant	−0.050 (0.043)
Observations	596
R^2	0.018
Adjusted R^2	0.017
Residual Std. Error	0.751 (df = 594)
F Statistic	11.143*** (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.16: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - staying silent when an old person is rude at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_oldrude
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.161** (0.069)
Constant	−0.040 (0.049)
Observations	597
R^2	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.847 (df = 595)
F Statistic	5.403** (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.17: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - staying silent when an old person is rude in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_oldrude
Extended Family Scrutiny	-0.154^{**} (0.066)
Constant	0.132^{***} (0.047)
Observations	523
R^2	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.008
Residual Std. Error	0.756 (df = 521)
F Statistic	5.462^{**} (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.18: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - agreeing despite disagreement in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_agree
Extended Family Scrutiny	-0.205^{***} (0.078)
Constant	0.178^{***} (0.055)
Observations	522
R^2	0.013
Adjusted R^2	0.011
Residual Std. Error	0.891 (df = 520)
F Statistic	6.898^{***} (df = 1; 520)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.19: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - following general rules of behaviour in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_generalrules
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.149^{**} (0.071)
Constant	-0.081 (0.050)
Observations	523
R^2	0.008
Adjusted R^2	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.810 (df = 521)
F Statistic	4.439^{**} (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.20: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - agreeing despite disagreement in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_agree
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.012 (0.081)
Constant	0.183*** (0.057)
Observations	597
R^2	0.00004
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.989 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.022 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.21: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - maintaining physical distance from other caste groups in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_caste_distance
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.035 (0.070)
Constant	0.153*** (0.049)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.852 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.259 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.22: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - practicing differential seating in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_caste_giveupseat
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.063 (0.071)
Constant	0.100** (0.050)
Observations	597
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.0004
Residual Std. Error	0.871 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.780 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.23: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - following general norms of caste in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_caste_rules
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.082 (0.082)
Constant	0.187*** (0.058)
Observations	597
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	-0.00001
Residual Std. Error	1.007 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.997 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.24: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - touching the feet of older people in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_feet
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.037 (0.085)
Constant	0.243*** (0.060)
Observations	596
R^2	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	1.036 (df = 594)
F Statistic	0.193 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.25: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - following general rules of behaviour in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_generalrules
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.097 (0.078)
Constant	0.117** (0.055)
Observations	596
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.956 (df = 594)
F Statistic	1.530 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.26: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - hangout with members of different gender in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_hangout
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.039 (0.078)
Constant	−0.190*** (0.055)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.957 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.247 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.27: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing regular clothing in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_interimclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.017 (0.059)
Constant	−0.013 (0.041)
Observations	595
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.717 (df = 593)
F Statistic	0.084 (df = 1; 593)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.28: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing modern clothing in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_modernclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.070 (0.067)
Constant	-0.114^{**} (0.047)
Observations	596
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0001
Residual Std. Error	0.821 (df = 594)
F Statistic	1.081 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.29: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - eating non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.) in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_nonveg
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.011 (0.059)
Constant	−0.060 (0.041)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.715 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.033 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.30: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - staying silent when an old person is rude in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_oldrude
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.099 (0.091)
Constant	0.197*** (0.064)
Observations	597
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0003
Residual Std. Error	1.115 (df = 595)
F Statistic	1.177 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.31: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing traditional clothing in college

	Dependent variable:
	c_traditionalclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.098 (0.066)
Constant	0.010 (0.047)
Observations	597
R^2	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.807 (df = 595)
F Statistic	2.189 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.32: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - Caste matters in friendships

	Dependent variable:
	g_castefriend
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.102 (0.070)
Constant	0.200*** (0.050)
Observations	597
R^2	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.860 (df = 595)
F Statistic	2.114 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.33: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - Women should not use husband's first name

	Dependent variable:
	g_firstname
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.129* (0.078)
Constant	0.217*** (0.055)
Observations	597
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.948 (df = 595)
F Statistic	2.769* (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.34: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - agreeing despite disagreement at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_agree
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.022 (0.079)
Constant	0.157*** (0.056)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.969 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.075 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.35: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - touching the feet of older people at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_feet
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.040 (0.066)
Constant	0.080* (0.046)
Observations	597
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.805 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.361 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.36: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - women serve men food at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_foodserve
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.076 (0.068)
Constant	0.140*** (0.048)
Observations	597
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0004
Residual Std. Error	0.836 (df = 595)
F Statistic	1.234 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.37: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - following general rules of behaviour at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_generalrules
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.098 (0.079)
Constant	0.087 (0.056)
Observations	596
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.966 (df = 594)
F Statistic	1.540 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.38: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - eating non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.) at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_nonveg
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.055 (0.055)
Constant	−0.003 (0.039)
Observations	586
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	-0.00003
Residual Std. Error	0.671 (df = 584)
F Statistic	0.985 (df = 1; 584)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.39: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - using pronouns of respect to address older people at home

	Dependent variable:
	h_pronouns
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.030 (0.059)
Constant	0.007 (0.041)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0005
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.715 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.269 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.40: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - tolerance towards eating beef

	Dependent variable:
	l_beef
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.102 (0.070)
Constant	−0.077 (0.050)
Observations	597
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.861 (df = 595)
F Statistic	2.087 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.41: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - is dating right or wrong

	Dependent variable:
	l_dating
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.022 (0.082)
Constant	0.370*** (0.058)
Observations	596
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.997 (df = 594)
F Statistic	0.072 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.42: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - worry about family problems

	Dependent variable:
	l_famproblems
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.023 (0.052)
Constant	−0.023 (0.037)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.636 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.201 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.43: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - Girls should not wear jeans

	Dependent variable:
	l_girljeans
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.010 (0.066)
Constant	0.040 (0.047)
Observations	597
R^2	0.00004
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.808 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.022 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.44: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - are live-in relationships right or wrong

	Dependent variable:
	l_livein
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.077 (0.092)
Constant	0.277*** (0.065)
Observations	597
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.0005
Residual Std. Error	1.118 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.705 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.45: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - are intercaste relationships right or wrong

	Dependent variable:
	l_marriagecaste
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.042 (0.071)
Constant	0.190*** (0.050)
Observations	597
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.867 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.356 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.46: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - are inter-religious relationships right or wrong

	Dependent variable:
	l_marriagerel
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.013 (0.078)
Constant	0.247*** (0.055)
Observations	597
R^2	0.00004
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.957 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.026 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.47: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - parental influence on career

	Dependent variable:
	l_p_careerinf
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.0002 (0.051)
Constant	−0.023 (0.036)
Observations	597
R^2	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.627 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.00002 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.48: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - parental influence on marriage

	Dependent variable:
	l_p_marriageinf
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.020 (0.060)
Constant	−0.027 (0.042)
Observations	596
R^2	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.731 (df = 594)
F Statistic	0.110 (df = 1; 594)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.49: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - worry about tradition

	Dependent variable:
	l_tradition
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.091 (0.060)
Constant	0.057 (0.042)
Observations	597
R^2	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.731 (df = 595)
F Statistic	2.341 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.50: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wives should always listen to their husbands

	Dependent variable:
	l_wifelisten
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.040 (0.066)
Constant	0.073 (0.046)
Observations	597
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.803 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.364 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.51: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - women should not work after marriage

	Dependent variable:
	l_womenwork
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.022 (0.075)
Constant	0.160*** (0.053)
Observations	597
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.919 (df = 595)
F Statistic	0.084 (df = 1; 595)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.52: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - maintaining physical distance from other caste groups in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_caste_distance
Extended Family Scrutiny	-0.135^{*} (0.078)
Constant	0.120^{**} (0.055)
Observations	523
R^2	0.006
Adjusted R^2	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.888 (df = 521)
F Statistic	3.030^{*} (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.53: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - practicing differential seating in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_caste_giveupseat
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.022 (0.081)
Constant	0.019 (0.058)
Observations	523
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.929 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.074 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.54: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - following general norms of caste in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_caste_rules
Extended Family Scrutiny	−0.022 (0.088)
Constant	−0.027 (0.063)
Observations	523
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	1.010 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.062 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.55: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - touching the feet of older people in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_feet
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.018 (0.076)
Constant	0.047 (0.054)
Observations	523
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.873 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.053 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.56: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - women serve men food in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_foodserve
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.034 (0.065)
Constant	−0.019 (0.046)
Observations	523
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.742 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.282 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.57: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - hangout with members of different gender in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_hangout
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.090 (0.074)
Constant	−0.109** (0.053)
Observations	523
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.845 (df = 521)
F Statistic	1.472 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.58: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing regular clothing in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_interimclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.043 (0.061)
Constant	−0.062 (0.044)
Observations	522
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.699 (df = 520)
F Statistic	0.503 (df = 1; 520)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.59: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing modern clothing in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_modernclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.025 (0.069)
Constant	−0.089* (0.049)
Observations	522
R^2	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.783 (df = 520)
F Statistic	0.137 (df = 1; 520)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.60: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - eating non-vegetarian food (e.g., eggs, chicken, fish, etc.) in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_nonveg
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.009 (0.053)
Constant	−0.039 (0.038)
Observations	523
R^2	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.603 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.026 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.61: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - using pronouns of respect to address older people in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_pronouns
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.054 (0.075)
Constant	−0.039 (0.054)
Observations	523
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.860 (df = 521)
F Statistic	0.512 (df = 1; 521)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.62: Linear regressions on the effect of imagined scrutiny - wearing traditional clothing in the native place

	Dependent variable:
	np_traditionalclothing
Extended Family Scrutiny	0.019 (0.063)
Constant	−0.019 (0.045)
Observations	522
R^2	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	-0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.724 (df = 520)
F Statistic	0.094 (df = 1; 520)
Note:	*p$<$0.1; **p$<$0.05; ***p$<$0.01

8.3.7 Study 3 - Latent Trait Curves

Across all three observer types the latent trait curves for getting shouted at are often very different. Sometimes they are essentially flat, indicating that responses to this item are essentially uncorrelated with the other items. Sometimes it has a negative slope, indicating that shouting is mentioned essentially as a substitute for the other punishments ("real" punishments). It may also be that the respondents only mention it when they think that there would be nothing else (but if there was, shouting would be part of it even without having to mention it separately). That being the case, I leave out the shouting item from the analysis and the factor score.

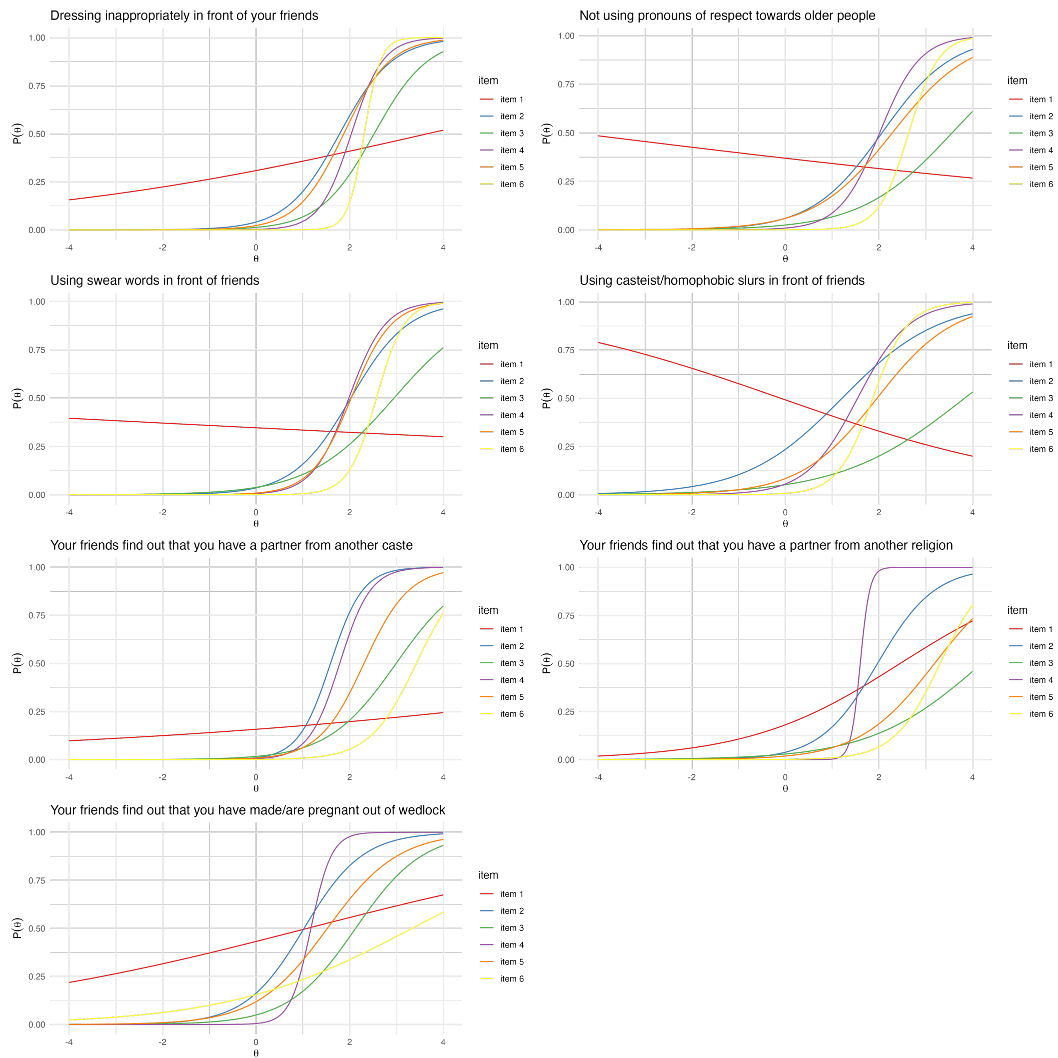

Figure 8.21: Latent Trait Curves - Transgressions in Front of Friends

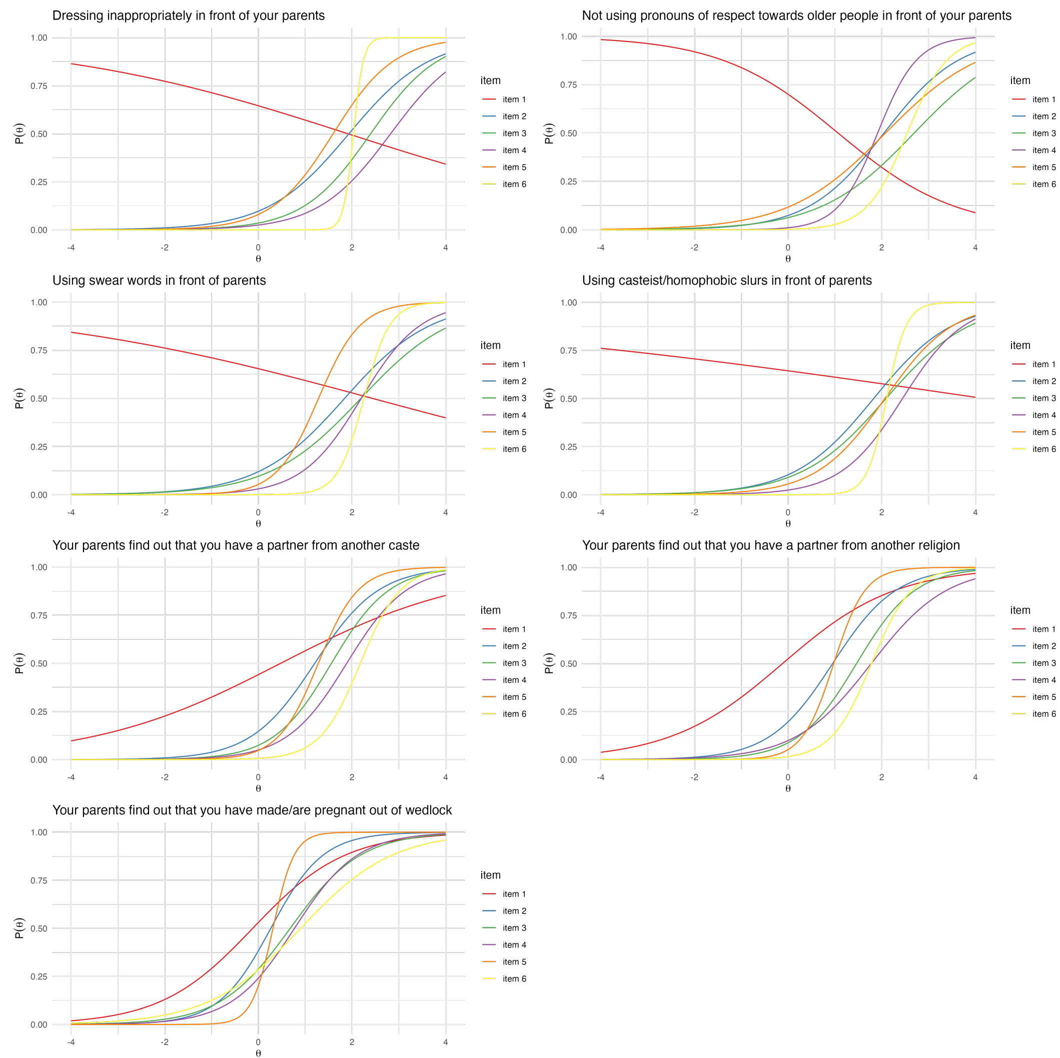

Figure 8.22: Latent Trait Curves - Transgressions in Front of Parents

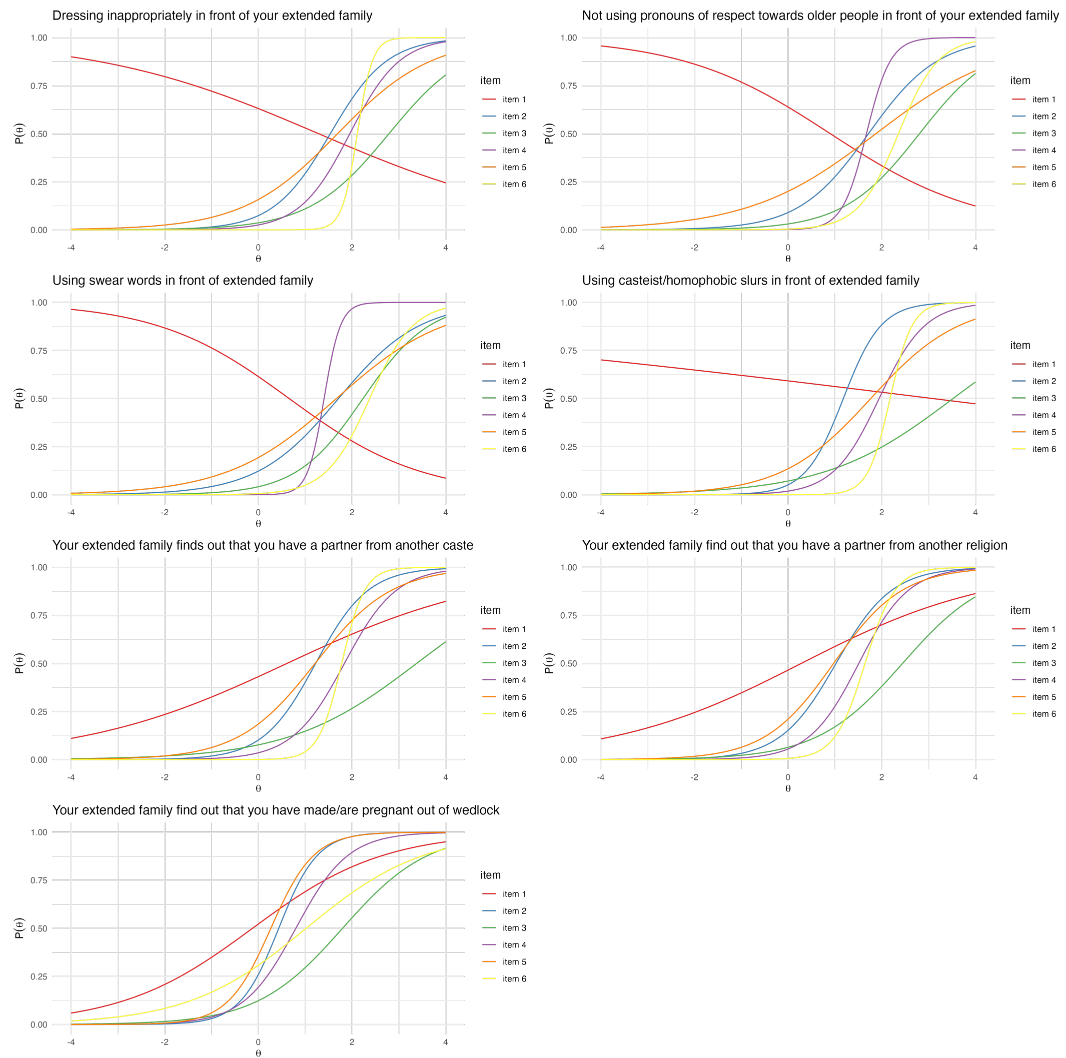

Figure 8.23: Latent Trait Curves - Transgressions in Front of Extended Family

8.3.8 Study 3 - What shapes the perceptions of transgressions - regression results

Table 8.63: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends and inappropriate dressing

	Dependent variable:
	f_dress_composite
SC/ST	−0.058 (0.122)
Kshatriya	−0.182 (0.137)
OBC	−0.069 (0.124)
Vaishya	0.232 (0.183)
Female	−0.146 (0.141)
Medium family size	0.018 (0.069)
Large family size	0.140 (0.107)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.010 (0.060)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.187*** (0.070)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.234*** (0.079)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.043 (0.102)
College in non-metro	−0.005 (0.072)
Cities Y	0.042 (0.077)
Cities Z	0.002 (0.078)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.227*** (0.066)
Native place in a village	−0.196*** (0.075)
SC/ST*Female	−0.071 (0.163)
Kshatriya*Female	0.074 (0.191)
OBC*Female	−0.063 (0.174)
Vaishya*Female	−0.067 (0.251)
Intercept	0.125 (0.140)
Observations	514
R^2	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.084
Residual Std. Error	0.574 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.351*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.64: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends and not using pronouns of respect

	Dependent variable:
	f_pronoun_composite
SC/ST	-0.208^{*} (0.113)
Kshatriya	-0.231^{*} (0.127)
OBC	-0.132 (0.115)
Vaishya	-0.272 (0.170)
Female	-0.250^{*} (0.131)
Medium family size	0.011 (0.064)
Large family size	0.132 (0.099)
Living with family beyond parents	0.110^{*} (0.056)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.146^{**} (0.065)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.144^{**} (0.073)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.119 (0.095)
College in non-metro	0.114^{*} (0.066)
Cities Y	0.016 (0.071)
Cities Z	-0.053 (0.072)
Native place in a small town or city	-0.207^{***} (0.062)
Native place in a village	-0.251^{***} (0.069)
SC/ST*Female	0.067 (0.152)
Kshatriya*Female	0.164 (0.177)
OBC*Female	0.084 (0.161)
Vaishya*Female	0.543^{**} (0.233)
Intercept	0.164 (0.129)
Observations	514
R^2	0.132
Adjusted R^2	0.096
Residual Std. Error	0.533 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.737^{***} (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.65: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends and using swear words

	Dependent variable:
	f_swear_composite
SC/ST	−0.174 (0.118)
Kshatriya	−0.195 (0.133)
OBC	−0.126 (0.120)
Vaishya	0.026 (0.177)
Female	−0.249* (0.136)
Medium family size	−0.005 (0.067)
Large family size	0.050 (0.104)
Living with family beyond parents	0.071 (0.058)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.211*** (0.068)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.080 (0.076)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.005 (0.099)
College in non-metro	0.038 (0.069)
Cities Y	0.082 (0.074)
Cities Z	−0.094 (0.075)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.231*** (0.064)
Native place in a village	−0.217*** (0.072)
SC/ST*Female	0.103 (0.158)
Kshatriya*Female	0.172 (0.185)
OBC*Female	0.063 (0.168)
Vaishya*Female	0.484** (0.242)
Intercept	0.220 (0.135)
Observations	514
R^2	0.133
Adjusted R^2	0.098
Residual Std. Error	0.556 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.774*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.66: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends and using caste slurs

	Dependent variable:
	f_casteslur_composite
SC/ST	−0.020 (0.127)
Kshatriya	−0.125 (0.142)
OBC	−0.080 (0.129)
Vaishya	0.035 (0.191)
Female	−0.029 (0.147)
Medium family size	0.118 (0.072)
Large family size	0.208* (0.111)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.015 (0.063)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.194*** (0.073)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.417*** (0.082)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.451*** (0.106)
College in non-metro	−0.034 (0.074)
Cities Y	−0.032 (0.080)
Cities Z	−0.045 (0.081)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.038 (0.069)
Native place in a village	−0.061 (0.078)
SC/ST*Female	−0.246 (0.170)
Kshatriya*Female	0.022 (0.199)
OBC*Female	−0.053 (0.181)
Vaishya*Female	−0.067 (0.261)
Intercept	−0.156 (0.145)
Observations	514
R^2	0.141
Adjusted R^2	0.106
Residual Std. Error	0.597 (df = 493)
F Statistic	4.051*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.67: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends find out about partner from another caste

	Dependent variable:
	f_partnercaste_composite
SC/ST	0.099 (0.119)
Kshatriya	−0.048 (0.133)
OBC	−0.102 (0.121)
Vaishya	−0.016 (0.178)
Female	−0.175 (0.137)
Medium family size	−0.048 (0.067)
Large family size	0.164 (0.104)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.006 (0.059)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.156** (0.068)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.148* (0.076)
Mother education - Postgraduate	−0.002 (0.099)
College in non-metro	0.071 (0.070)
Cities Y	0.067 (0.075)
Cities Z	0.059 (0.075)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.264*** (0.064)
Native place in a village	−0.221*** (0.073)
SC/ST*Female	−0.172 (0.159)
Kshatriya*Female	0.054 (0.186)
OBC*Female	0.080 (0.169)
Vaishya*Female	0.367 (0.243)
Intercept	0.090 (0.136)
Observations	514
R^2	0.152
Adjusted R^2	0.118
Residual Std. Error	0.558 (df = 493)
F Statistic	4.417*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.68: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends find out about partner from another religion

	Dependent variable:
	f_partnerrel_composite
SC/ST	0.025 (0.119)
Kshatriya	−0.142 (0.133)
OBC	−0.158 (0.121)
Vaishya	−0.027 (0.178)
Female	−0.163 (0.137)
Medium family size	−0.035 (0.068)
Large family size	0.043 (0.104)
Living with family beyond parents	0.010 (0.059)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.086 (0.068)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.103 (0.076)
Mother education - Postgraduate	−0.012 (0.100)
College in non-metro	0.076 (0.070)
Cities Y	0.068 (0.075)
Cities Z	0.056 (0.076)
Native place in a small town or city	-0.216^{***} (0.065)
Native place in a village	-0.192^{***} (0.073)
SC/ST*Female	−0.182 (0.159)
Kshatriya*Female	0.180 (0.186)
OBC*Female	0.059 (0.169)
Vaishya*Female	0.137 (0.244)
Intercept	0.158 (0.136)
Observations	514
R^2	0.108
Adjusted R^2	0.072
Residual Std. Error	0.559 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.987^{***} (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.69: Linear regressions for trangressions - friends find out about pregnancy

	Dependent variable:
	f_preg_composite
SC/ST	−0.197 (0.147)
Kshatriya	−0.100 (0.164)
OBC	0.027 (0.149)
Vaishya	−0.314 (0.220)
Female	−0.308* (0.169)
Medium family size	−0.012 (0.083)
Large family size	0.290** (0.128)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.008 (0.072)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.182** (0.084)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.178* (0.094)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.083 (0.123)
College in non-metro	0.149* (0.086)
Cities Y	−0.021 (0.092)
Cities Z	−0.044 (0.093)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.031 (0.080)
Native place in a village	−0.230** (0.090)
SC/ST*Female	0.086 (0.196)
Kshatriya*Female	0.186 (0.229)
OBC*Female	−0.048 (0.208)
Vaishya*Female	0.699** (0.301)
Intercept	0.053 (0.167)
Observations	514
R^2	0.112
Adjusted R^2	0.076
Residual Std. Error	0.689 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.095*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.70: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents and inappropriate dressing

	Dependent variable:
	p_dress_composite
SC/ST	0.017 (0.123)
Kshatriya	0.048 (0.138)
OBC	0.126 (0.125)
Vaishya	0.325* (0.185)
Female	−0.001 (0.142)
Medium family size	0.048 (0.070)
Large family size	0.159 (0.108)
Living with family beyond parents	0.003 (0.061)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.156** (0.070)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.177** (0.079)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.231** (0.103)
College in non-metro	−0.039 (0.072)
Cities Y	0.073 (0.077)
Cities Z	−0.022 (0.078)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.066 (0.067)
Native place in a village	−0.069 (0.075)
SC/ST*Female	−0.166 (0.164)
Kshatriya*Female	−0.073 (0.192)
OBC*Female	−0.126 (0.175)
Vaishya*Female	−0.388 (0.252)
Intercept	−0.147 (0.140)
Observations	514
R^2	0.072
Adjusted R^2	0.034
Residual Std. Error	0.578 (df = 493)
F Statistic	1.913** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.71: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents and not using pronouns of respect

	Dependent variable:
	p_pronoun_composite
SC/ST	0.018 (0.120)
Kshatriya	−0.013 (0.135)
OBC	0.167 (0.122)
Vaishya	0.226 (0.180)
Female	−0.035 (0.139)
Medium family size	−0.070 (0.068)
Large family size	0.149 (0.105)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.034 (0.059)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.169** (0.069)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.172** (0.077)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.133 (0.101)
College in non-metro	0.019 (0.070)
Cities Y	−0.015 (0.076)
Cities Z	−0.076 (0.076)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.162** (0.065)
Native place in a village	−0.092 (0.073)
SC/ST*Female	−0.111 (0.161)
Kshatriya*Female	−0.058 (0.188)
OBC*Female	−0.268 (0.171)
Vaishya*Female	−0.079 (0.247)
Intercept	0.029 (0.137)
Observations	514
R^2	0.088
Adjusted R^2	0.051
Residual Std. Error	0.565 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.388*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.72: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents and using swear words

	Dependent variable:
	p_swear_composite
SC/ST	−0.091 (0.131)
Kshatriya	−0.200 (0.147)
OBC	0.135 (0.133)
Vaishya	0.445** (0.197)
Female	−0.066 (0.151)
Medium family size	−0.083 (0.074)
Large family size	−0.017 (0.115)
Living with family beyond parents	0.011 (0.065)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.250*** (0.075)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.320*** (0.084)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.208* (0.110)
College in non-metro	0.066 (0.077)
Cities Y	−0.096 (0.082)
Cities Z	−0.137* (0.083)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.041 (0.071)
Native place in a village	0.063 (0.080)
SC/ST*Female	−0.180 (0.175)
Kshatriya*Female	0.075 (0.205)
OBC*Female	−0.319* (0.186)
Vaishya*Female	−0.441 (0.269)
Intercept	−0.019 (0.150)
Observations	514
R^2	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.084
Residual Std. Error	0.616 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.360*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.73: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents and using caste slurs

	Dependent variable:
	p_casteslur_composite
SC/ST	−0.098 (0.124)
Kshatriya	−0.234* (0.139)
OBC	−0.126 (0.126)
Vaishya	0.038 (0.187)
Female	−0.312** (0.143)
Medium family size	−0.010 (0.071)
Large family size	0.212* (0.109)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.091 (0.061)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.156** (0.071)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.220*** (0.080)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.146 (0.104)
College in non-metro	0.055 (0.073)
Cities Y	−0.103 (0.078)
Cities Z	−0.079 (0.079)
Native place in a small town or city	0.036 (0.068)
Native place in a village	−0.010 (0.076)
SC/ST*Female	−0.050 (0.166)
Kshatriya*Female	0.154 (0.194)
OBC*Female	0.088 (0.177)
Vaishya*Female	0.030 (0.255)
Intercept	0.137 (0.142)
Observations	514
R^2	0.108
Adjusted R^2	0.072
Residual Std. Error	0.584 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.983*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.74: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents find out about partner from another caste

	Dependent variable:
	p_partnercaste_composite
SC/ST	−0.172 (0.138)
Kshatriya	−0.256* (0.155)
OBC	−0.128 (0.140)
Vaishya	0.082 (0.207)
Female	−0.099 (0.159)
Medium family size	0.159** (0.078)
Large family size	0.263** (0.121)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.063 (0.068)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.226*** (0.079)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.244*** (0.089)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.209* (0.115)
College in non-metro	0.098 (0.081)
Cities Y	0.006 (0.087)
Cities Z	−0.110 (0.088)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.026 (0.075)
Native place in a village	−0.062 (0.084)
SC/ST*Female	−0.174 (0.184)
Kshatriya*Female	0.296 (0.216)
OBC*Female	0.050 (0.196)
Vaishya*Female	−0.026 (0.283)
Intercept	−0.147 (0.157)
Observations	514
R^2	0.103
Adjusted R^2	0.067
Residual Std. Error	0.648 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.839*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.75: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents find out about partner from another religion

	Dependent variable:
	p_partnerrel_composite
SC/ST	−0.134 (0.148)
Kshatriya	−0.010 (0.166)
OBC	−0.027 (0.150)
Vaishya	−0.039 (0.222)
Female	0.063 (0.171)
Medium family size	0.070 (0.084)
Large family size	0.224* (0.130)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.105 (0.073)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.225*** (0.085)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.229** (0.095)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.223* (0.124)
College in non-metro	0.048 (0.087)
Cities Y	−0.007 (0.093)
Cities Z	−0.121 (0.094)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.007 (0.080)
Native place in a village	0.095 (0.090)
SC/ST*Female	−0.339* (0.198)
Kshatriya*Female	−0.101 (0.231)
OBC*Female	−0.181 (0.210)
Vaishya*Female	−0.136 (0.304)
Intercept	−0.129 (0.169)
Observations	514
R^2	0.091
Adjusted R^2	0.054
Residual Std. Error	0.696 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.463*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.76: Linear regressions for trangressions - parents find out about pregnancy

	Dependent variable:
	p_preg_composite
SC/ST	-0.410^{**} (0.160)
Kshatriya	-0.055 (0.179)
OBC	-0.050 (0.162)
Vaishya	-0.344 (0.239)
Female	-0.069 (0.184)
Medium family size	0.022 (0.091)
Large family size	0.191 (0.140)
Living with family beyond parents	-0.136^{*} (0.079)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.313^{***} (0.091)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.367^{***} (0.102)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.426^{***} (0.134)
College in non-metro	0.134 (0.093)
Cities Y	-0.125 (0.100)
Cities Z	-0.286^{***} (0.101)
Native place in a small town or city	0.261^{***} (0.087)
Native place in a village	0.070 (0.097)
SC/ST*Female	-0.015 (0.213)
Kshatriya*Female	0.402 (0.249)
OBC*Female	-0.105 (0.227)
Vaishya*Female	0.404 (0.327)
Intercept	-0.160 (0.182)
Observations	514
R^2	0.196
Adjusted R^2	0.164
Residual Std. Error	0.750 (df = 493)
F Statistic	6.026^{***} (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.77: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family and inappropriate dressing

	Dependent variable:
	x_dress_composite
SC/ST	0.016 (0.132)
Kshatriya	−0.044 (0.148)
OBC	0.012 (0.134)
Vaishya	0.051 (0.198)
Female	0.008 (0.152)
Medium family size	0.028 (0.075)
Large family size	0.103 (0.115)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.013 (0.065)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.110 (0.075)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.161* (0.085)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.294*** (0.110)
College in non-metro	−0.023 (0.077)
Cities Y	−0.021 (0.083)
Cities Z	−0.055 (0.084)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.041 (0.072)
Native place in a village	−0.121 (0.081)
SC/ST*Female	−0.185 (0.176)
Kshatriya*Female	−0.040 (0.206)
OBC*Female	0.108 (0.187)
Vaishya*Female	0.031 (0.270)
Intercept	−0.045 (0.150)
Observations	514
R^2	0.061
Adjusted R^2	0.023
Residual Std. Error	0.619 (df = 493)
F Statistic	1.597** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.78: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family and not using pronouns of respect

	Dependent variable:
	x_pronoun_composite
SC/ST	−0.057 (0.128)
Kshatriya	−0.061 (0.143)
OBC	−0.051 (0.130)
Vaishya	0.137 (0.192)
Female	−0.253* (0.147)
Medium family size	0.002 (0.073)
Large family size	0.099 (0.112)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.013 (0.063)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.182** (0.073)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.205** (0.082)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.182* (0.107)
College in non-metro	0.011 (0.075)
Cities Y	0.007 (0.080)
Cities Z	−0.035 (0.081)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.086 (0.069)
Native place in a village	−0.144* (0.078)
SC/ST*Female	−0.016 (0.171)
Kshatriya*Female	0.206 (0.200)
OBC*Female	0.276 (0.182)
Vaishya*Female	0.204 (0.262)
Intercept	0.034 (0.146)
Observations	514
R^2	0.087
Adjusted R^2	0.050
Residual Std. Error	0.600 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.362*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.79: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family and using swear words

	Dependent variable:
	x_swear_composite
SC/ST	−0.185 (0.135)
Kshatriya	−0.344** (0.151)
OBC	−0.188 (0.137)
Vaishya	0.222 (0.202)
Female	−0.339** (0.156)
Medium family size	0.041 (0.077)
Large family size	0.206* (0.118)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.081 (0.067)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.174** (0.077)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.269*** (0.087)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.297*** (0.113)
College in non-metro	−0.008 (0.079)
Cities Y	−0.045 (0.085)
Cities Z	−0.085 (0.086)
Native place in a small town or city	−0.040 (0.073)
Native place in a village	−0.026 (0.082)
SC/ST*Female	0.100 (0.180)
Kshatriya*Female	0.420** (0.211)
OBC*Female	0.310 (0.192)
Vaishya*Female	0.002 (0.277)
Intercept	0.100 (0.154)
Observations	514
R^2	0.100
Adjusted R^2	0.064
Residual Std. Error	0.634 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.753*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.80: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family and using caste slurs

	Dependent variable:
	x_casteslur_composite
SC/ST	-0.279^{**} (0.137)
Kshatriya	-0.509^{***} (0.153)
OBC	-0.312^{**} (0.139)
Vaishya	-0.234 (0.205)
Female	-0.418^{***} (0.158)
Medium family size	-0.031 (0.077)
Large family size	0.122 (0.120)
Living with family beyond parents	-0.146^{**} (0.067)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.122 (0.078)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.344^{***} (0.088)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.320^{***} (0.114)
College in non-metro	0.082 (0.080)
Cities Y	-0.009 (0.086)
Cities Z	0.018 (0.087)
Native place in a small town or city	-0.065 (0.074)
Native place in a village	-0.100 (0.083)
SC/ST*Female	0.064 (0.182)
Kshatriya*Female	0.419^{*} (0.213)
OBC*Female	0.244 (0.194)
Vaishya*Female	0.297 (0.280)
Intercept	0.297^{*} (0.156)
Observations	514
R^2	0.131
Adjusted R^2	0.095
Residual Std. Error	0.642 (df = 493)
F Statistic	3.708^{***} (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.81: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family find out about partner from another caste

	Dependent variable:
	x_partnercaste_composite
SC/ST	−0.092 (0.140)
Kshatriya	−0.185 (0.157)
OBC	−0.091 (0.142)
Vaishya	−0.079 (0.210)
Female	−0.107 (0.162)
Medium family size	0.096 (0.079)
Large family size	0.146 (0.123)
Living with family beyond parents	0.010 (0.069)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.155* (0.080)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.276*** (0.090)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.160 (0.117)
College in non-metro	0.060 (0.082)
Cities Y	−0.007 (0.088)
Cities Z	−0.134 (0.089)
Native place in a small town or city	0.134* (0.076)
Native place in a village	0.078 (0.086)
SC/ST*Female	−0.080 (0.187)
Kshatriya*Female	0.313 (0.219)
OBC*Female	0.220 (0.199)
Vaishya*Female	0.331 (0.287)
Intercept	−0.229 (0.160)
Observations	514
R^2	0.075
Adjusted R^2	0.037
Residual Std. Error	0.658 (df = 493)
F Statistic	1.990*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.82: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family find out about partner from another religion

	Dependent variable:
	x_partnerrel_composite
SC/ST	−0.301** (0.144)
Kshatriya	−0.254 (0.161)
OBC	−0.291** (0.146)
Vaishya	−0.368* (0.216)
Female	−0.287* (0.166)
Medium family size	0.127 (0.082)
Large family size	0.283** (0.126)
Living with family beyond parents	−0.106 (0.071)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.163** (0.082)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.234** (0.093)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.212* (0.121)
College in non-metro	−0.0003 (0.084)
Cities Y	0.051 (0.091)
Cities Z	−0.112 (0.091)
Native place in a small town or city	0.056 (0.078)
Native place in a village	0.073 (0.088)
SC/ST*Female	0.087 (0.193)
Kshatriya*Female	0.374* (0.225)
OBC*Female	0.393* (0.205)
Vaishya*Female	0.579* (0.295)
Intercept	−0.009 (0.164)
Observations	514
R^2	0.095
Adjusted R^2	0.058
Residual Std. Error	0.677 (df = 493)
F Statistic	2.591*** (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8.83: Linear regressions for trangressions - extended family find out about pregnancy

	Dependent variable:
	x_preg_composite
SC/ST	-0.430^{***} (0.159)
Kshatriya	-0.120 (0.178)
OBC	-0.058 (0.161)
Vaishya	-0.335 (0.238)
Female	-0.177 (0.183)
Medium family size	0.032 (0.090)
Large family size	0.242^{*} (0.139)
Living with family beyond parents	-0.055 (0.078)
Mother education - 10th or 12th complete	0.261^{***} (0.091)
Mother education - Undergraduate	0.352^{***} (0.102)
Mother education - Postgraduate	0.540^{***} (0.133)
College in non-metro	0.193^{**} (0.093)
Cities Y	-0.141 (0.100)
Cities Z	-0.229^{**} (0.101)
Native place in a small town or city	0.157^{*} (0.086)
Native place in a village	-0.031 (0.097)
SC/ST*Female	0.099 (0.212)
Kshatriya*Female	0.388 (0.248)
OBC*Female	0.086 (0.225)
Vaishya*Female	0.706^{**} (0.325)
Intercept	-0.156 (0.181)
Observations	514
R^2	0.177
Adjusted R^2	0.143
Residual Std. Error	0.745 (df = 493)
F Statistic	5.284^{***} (df = 20; 493)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

8.3.9 Study 3 - Structural Equation Modelling Supplementary Materials

8.3.9.1 SEM factor loadings - Weighted composites

Table 8.84: Factor loadings associated with the weighted composite for maryada in college

Variable	Value
When I'm in college, I hang out alone with a member of the opposite gender	0.371
When I'm in college, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair	0.827
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing	0.607
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing	0.211
When I'm in college, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing	
When I'm in college, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste	0.845
When I'm in college, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste	0.821
When I'm in college, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.482
When I'm in college, If an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	0.317
When I'm in college, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.403
When I'm in college, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	0.205

Table 8.85: Factor loadings associated with the weighted composite for maryada in college

Variable	Value
When I'm at home, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. 'aap' or 'ji') when I address people older than me	0.587
When I'm at home, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.633
When I'm at home and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	0.791
When I'm at home, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.797
When I'm at home, women serve men their food, and not the other way around	0.393
When I'm at home, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	0.677

Table 8.86: Factor loadings associated with the weighted composite for maryada in the native place

Variable	Value
When I'm at my native place, if there is a person of another caste I give up my chair for them or expect them to give up their chair	0.229
When I'm at my native place, I keep a physical distance from members of another caste	0.233
When I'm at my native place, I am expected to follow rules on how to behave with members of another caste	0.336
When I'm at my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - traditional clothing	0.158

Variable	Value
When I'm at my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - intermediate, casual clothing	
When I'm at my native place, I have worn the following when the members of the opposite gender are present - modern clothing	-0.181
When I'm at my native place, I use pronouns of respect (e.g. 'aap' or 'ji') when I address people older than me	0.600
When I'm at my native place, I touch the feet of older people as a way of giving them respect	0.625
When I'm at my native place and an older person is rude to me, I stay silent and ignore it	0.810
When I'm at my native place, I verbally agree with people even if I disagree with what they say	0.785
When I'm at my native place, women serve men their food, and not the other way around	0.517
When I'm at my native place, I generally follow rules on how I should and should not behave	0.668

Table 8.87: Factor loadings associated with the weighted composite for parental sanctions for a number of transgressions

Description	Value
Dressing inappropriately	0.728
Not using pronouns of respect	0.726
Swearing	0.736
Intercaste relationship	0.778
Inter religious relationship	0.776
Pregnancy	0.589

Table 8.88: Factor loadings associated with the weighted composite for extended family sanctions for a number of transgressions

Description	Value
Dress	0.764
Pronouns	0.765
Swearing	0.576
Intercaste relationship	0.833
Inter religious relationship	0.814
Pregnancy	0.643

8.3.9.2 SEM factor loadings - Latent construct

Table 8.89: Factor loadings for SEM latent variable - concern for family obligation

Outcome	Item	Coefficient
concern for family obligation	worry about family tradition	1.000
concern for family obligation	worry about family problems	0.981
concern for family obligation	worry about family reputation	1.060

Table 8.89 presents the significant factor loadings for the latent variable concern for family obligation. The loadings for both parent and extended family conditions were held constant across both groups.

8.3.9.3 SEM full regression models

Table 8.90: SEM regression results

Condition	Path	Standardised_coefficient	CI_lower	CI_upper	SE	Z	p_value
parent	expected sanctions from parents to concern for family obligation	0.131	-0.055	0.318	0.095	1.377	0.168
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to concern for family obligation	-0.094	-0.282	0.094	0.096	-0.981	0.327
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.049	-0.065	0.163	0.058	0.843	0.399
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.008	-0.188	0.204	0.100	0.082	0.935
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.252	-0.456	-0.048	0.104	-2.424	0.015
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.372	0.251	0.492	0.061	6.053	0.000
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.035	-0.121	0.190	0.079	0.437	0.662
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada at home	-0.079	-0.249	0.092	0.087	-0.905	0.365
parent	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.070	-0.081	0.222	0.077	0.912	0.362
parent	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	-0.115	-0.299	0.069	0.094	-1.224	0.221
parent	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.113	-0.091	0.317	0.104	1.088	0.277
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to concern for family obligation	-0.218	-0.447	0.010	0.117	-1.873	0.061
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to concern for family obligation	0.255	0.011	0.499	0.124	2.050	0.040
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in college	0.048	-0.097	0.194	0.074	0.649	0.516
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.016	-0.378	0.347	0.185	-0.084	0.933

extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in college	-0.120	-0.457	0.217	0.172	-0.699	0.485
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.367	0.240	0.494	0.065	5.677	0.000
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada at home	-0.132	-0.374	0.109	0.123	-1.074	0.283
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada at home	0.064	-0.182	0.311	0.126	0.509	0.611
extended family	concern for family obligation to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.082	-0.064	0.228	0.075	1.095	0.273
extended family	expected sanctions from parents to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	-0.223	-0.503	0.058	0.143	-1.557	0.119
extended family	expected sanctions from extended family to self-reported performance of maryada in the native place	0.265	-0.015	0.544	0.143	1.856	0.063