Exploring the Dynamics of Negotiating Everyday Sexism in India: A Daily Diary Study

Sudha Shashwati
Jindal Institute of Behavioural Sciences, O.P. Jindal Global University, India, sudha10092@gmail.com

Parul Gupta
Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, India, parul.gupta75340@gmail.com

Preeti Kapur
Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi, India, preeti.kapur@gmail.com

Recommended APA Citation

Exploring the Dynamics of Negotiating Everyday Sexism in India: A Daily Diary Study

Abstract

This study was undertaken to investigate the negotiation of everyday sexism encountered by college going young adult women in India in an urban context. An open-ended daily diary form was constructed, and 185 such forms were filled by 58 women enrolled in various colleges of a central university located in Delhi, India. These were analysed by content analysis with the help of NVivo software with a focus on target and type of sexism reported as well as response to sexist incident faced. The findings of this study reveal that participants chose inaction (53%) more than confronting sexism (47%), and reasons were identified for both confronting and not confronting sexism. Of those who did engage in confronting sexism, most chose collective confrontation i.e. confronting prejudice on behalf of one's group. Confronting sexism appeared to be more difficult in the family context than with strangers, while there were no confrontations by bystanders, or men allies.

Exploring the Dynamics of Negotiating Everyday Sexism in India: A Daily Diary Study

Sudha Shashwati[1], Parul Gupta[2], and Preeti Kapur[3]
[1]Jindal Institute of Behavioural Sciences, O.P. Jindal Global University, India
[2]Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, India
[3]Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi, India

This study was undertaken to investigate the negotiation of everyday sexism encountered by college going young adult women in India in an urban context. An open-ended daily diary form was constructed, and 185 such forms were filled by 58 women enrolled in various colleges of a central university located in Delhi, India. These were analysed by content analysis with the help of NVivo software with a focus on target and type of sexism reported as well as response to sexist incident faced. The findings of this study reveal that participants chose inaction (53%) more than confronting sexism (47%), and reasons were identified for both confronting and not confronting sexism. Of those who did engage in confronting sexism, most chose collective confrontation i.e. confronting prejudice on behalf of one's group. Confronting sexism appeared to be more difficult in the family context than with strangers, while there were no confrontations by bystanders, or men allies.

Keywords: daily diary, prejudice, everyday sexism, sexism in India, confronting prejudice

Introduction

Indian society is deeply entrenched in inequalities of various kinds, but gender inequality pervades its very core. The footprints of patriarchy are everywhere, in every sphere of life, its impact on men and women cutting across classes, castes, religions and regions (Menon, 2012). In India, gender dynamically scripts lives; it is omnipresent and omnirelevant. Here, gender not just dictates the trajectories individual lives follow in terms of work and relationships, it also pervades the daily life in the form of norms around socialization, dressing, mobility, and so on (Narayan, 2018). Though sub-cultures in India are diverse, patriarchy is one thread that runs common in almost all of them. There are notable exceptions, like some communities in the Northeast that are matriarchal (Singh & Murray, 2019). In the rest of the country however, patriarchy is the way of life. As noted cultural commentators Sudhir and Katharina Kakar note "India was and continues to be a patriarchal society, with the general subordination of women and their disempowerment that patriarchy normally entails" (Kakar & Kakar, 2007, p. 41).

Having said that, the socio-cultural landscape of India is undergoing rapid change owing to globalisation and neo-liberal socio-political and economic forces. Because of increased and improved access to global discourses, blueprints of living are undergoing dynamic shifts for many (Nielsen & Waldrop, 2014). Yet it's important to note that India is a land of paradoxes, and that one of its characteristic paradoxes has to do with the co-existence of change along with tradition (Chaudhuri, 2012).

In such a context, what are the different forms that sexism takes in today's India for urban educated women? What are the ways in which sexism is navigated and contested by these women in various contexts? What are the crucial factors that determine whether sexism is contested or not by these women? These are some of the questions that gave rise to this study. Sexism here is understood as "individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men" (p. 407) as described by Swim and Heyers (2009). It is worth noting here that sexism became a word in 1965 when "sexist" was used by Pauline Leet in a student-faculty forum at her college, comparing a sexist to a racist, emphasising how in both the cases value judgements are made by referring to factors that should not be relevant (Shapiro, 1985). Sexism was used in print for the first time in a speech delivered by Caroline Bird in 1968, in which it was defined as involving sex in evaluation of people when sex doesn't and shouldn't matter (Shapiro, 1985). The word was popularised by the feminist movement in the 1970s.

Review of Literature

Beyond Conceptualising Prejudice as Antipathy

Increasingly, research on prejudices is showing a move towards ambivalent or subtle and "modern" prejudices that don't involve clear hostility, in opposition to the classic understanding of prejudice as stemming from antipathy advanced by Allport (1954) and carried forward in classic theories of prejudice formation and maintenance (Levine & Campbell, 1972; Stephan & Stephan, 2013; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). Perhaps in response to changing social mores, prejudice has morphed into being something much beyond antipathy. Sears (1998) has proposed that negative affect interacts with individualistic values to produce a variety of prejudices in the contemporary times. Jackman (1994) has proposed that prejudice can masquerade in the form of benign paternalism and perpetuate inequality in the guise of care. It has also been found that prejudice can be reflected in the form of disapproval for defiance of traditional stereotypic expectations by individuals, expectations that help maintain the status quo (Eagly & Diekman, 2005).

The Special Case of "Sexism"

Prejudice as antipathy is inadequate to explain gender prejudice or sexism, an area that Allport neglected in his treatise "The nature of prejudice" (Eagly & Diekman, 2005). Even though women elicit overall positive sentiments- the 'women are wonderful effect' (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994), they are also frequently subject to prejudice. Recent developments in "benevolent sexism," elaborated in a later section in this review, cannot be accommodated within Allport's (1954) framework. In addition to this, the fact that women themselves support the status quo also can't be explained by Allport's (1954) framework.

Sexism is defined as "individuals' attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, and organisational, institutional and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men" (Swim & Hyers, 2009, p. 407). Thus, sexism need not be based only within individuals; it can also stem from macro sources like culture. It also need not be rooted in antipathy- even positive attitudes can constitute sexism as long as they work to maintain gender inequality (Jackman, 1994; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Sexism also need not be based on intentionality; one can express sexism without being consciously aware of it or without having any intention to do so (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). In fact, one can hold egalitarian attitudes along with sexist beliefs (Tougas et al., 1995).

Contemporary approaches to understand sexism have also pointed out that sexism need not be an act of full blown hostility; it could comprise of what may appear to be minor, harmless incidents one experiences in everyday life, deemed micro-aggressions, which cumulatively have a significant negative impact on people who experience them, for instance affecting women's mental health, identity development and self-esteem in a negative way (Nadal & Haynes, 2012).

Different Faces of Sexism

Some of the most ground-breaking work in psychology with respect to understanding sexism has occurred in the last 25 years after the conceptualisation of sexism as ambivalent by Glick and Fiske (1996). They theorised that sexism is constituted of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism, the latter reflecting pro-women attitudes and having positive affective undertones but being firmly rooted in the camp of gender inequality. It is stealthy and insidious and is rooted in the belief that women are weak, fragile and childlike, and, hence need the protection of men. It is interesting that cross-culturally, benevolent sexism has been found to be strongly correlated with hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001), which stems from the belief that women are trying to gain too much power over men.

Benevolent sexism has been associated with a host of dangers like rape myth acceptance (Viki & Abrams, 2002), victim blaming in case of acquaintance rape (Abrams et al., 2003), endorsement of restriction of women's reproductive rights (Huang et al., 2016), giving low numeric ratings on performance appraisal to women while giving them good verbal feedback that doesn't count towards promotion (Biernat et al., 2012), decline in motivation and work performance of women (Dardenne et al., 2007), lower academic goals in girls (Montañés et al., 2012), undermining women's engagement and performance in STEM disciplines (Kuchynka et al., 2018), endorsement of occupational gender segregation in organisations (Hideg & Ferris, 2016), implicitly associating women with low authority positions in the workplace (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000), inclination to restrict pregnant women's choices (Sutton et al., 2011), decline in self-efficacy of women in mixed-sex interactions in the workplace (Jones et al., 2014), and assigning less challenging tasks to women as compared to similarly matched men (King et al., 2012). Thus, it is discouraging that all over the world women have been seen to score higher than men on benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000). Benevolent sexism can co-opt women by romantic ideologies that appear pro-women on the surface, but are usually based on the prototype of the agentic hero rescuing his love in a chivalric fashion, providing for her and protecting her, and she the picture of domestic bliss.

More Contemporary Social Psychological Research on Sexism

When it comes to sexism, there are multiple forms that one must contend with. Apart from the differentiation of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism discussed above that the Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) proposed, sexism has been categorised into several other forms by social psychologists: modern sexism vis-à-vis old-fashioned sexism, neo-sexism, and everyday sexism. Such multiplicity of sexist attitudes is a reflection of the non-monolithic nature of the expression of sexism, as well as a testament to the adaptation of prejudice to changing times. When much research in the late 1980s and 1990s in the West showed decline in sexism levels on traditional measures of sexism, psychologists had to develop tools that could assess sexism being expressed differently than before; it wasn't sexism that had declined, only its overt expression in blatant forms. As egalitarian attitudes had started exerting normative pressures on people in most Western, industrialised nations to not express sexism openly (in some cases it was illegal to do so), it was argued that sexism went

underground and found subtle forms of expression (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). Thus, sexism is expressed in contemporary times in not just overt but also covert and subtle ways.

The Modern Sexism scale was developed in order to distinguish between old fashioned sexism and modern sexism. Whereas its old-fashioned sexism sub-scale assesses belief in traditional gender roles, double standards for men and women, and beliefs about lower competence in women, modern sexism assesses the denial of ongoing discrimination, antipathy towards demands of equality by women, and resentment towards women being given special favours to assist them (Swim et al., 1995). On the surface modern sexism may seem innocuous, but one important reason why sexism continues to thrive in the present times is that a vast majority of us are convinced that it dwells in the past (Calder-Dawe, 2015). Modern sexism has been associated with apathy towards gender inequality (Benokraitis, 1997), attributing gender segregation in the workforce to biological differences between men and women (Swim et al., 1995), insensitivity to sexist language (Swim et al., 2004), and favourable attitudes towards individuals espousing male chauvinism (Swim & Cohen, 1997). The Neo-Sexism scale was developed to assess any residual negative feelings towards women that may be in conflict with an individual's egalitarian values (Tougas et al., 1995). This form of sexism is also expressed in terms of lack of support for policies/measures designed to encourage or support women. Neo-sexism has been associated with unfavourable attitudes towards female bosses (Delgado-Iglesias et al., 2019) and negative reaction to affirmative action programs designed for women (Tougas et al., 1995).

It has also been argued that the daily encounters with sexist hassles, deemed 'everyday sexism', need to be recognised for its psychological ramifications. Though on the surface they may appear non-consequential, they need to be taken seriously for two reasons: first, for people who belong to marginalised groups, daily encounters with prejudice are likely to make up a substantial subset of their experiences with prejudice, and second, though each incident on its own may appear insignificant, the toll such incidents can take cumulatively on a person could be detrimental (Swim et al., 2001).

Investigating Everyday Sexism

Sexism that is embedded in people's daily lives often remains unseen, and this is equally true for research conducted on sexism. Most of the studies that have been conducted on sexism have utilised measures that are best suited to elicit retrospective accounts of sexism (see Ballakrishnen, 2017; Sanchez Lozoya, 2022; Siddiqi, 2021). A logical pitfall of such an approach has been the neglect of the everyday accounts of sexism that are experienced in interpersonal contexts as they may be considered minor or isolated in nature and may not necessarily be recalled during the course of the research.

Even when specifically, everyday experiences of sexism have been studied, most research studieshave utilised retrospective recall methods (e.g., Chaudhuri, 2007; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1993. The danger inherent in such an approach is multi-fold: first, only blatantly sexist incidents may be recalled by the participants; second, because many incidents of everyday sexism may be ambiguous or subtle in nature and hence, they may not have been encoded as sexist in the first place; third, everyday instances of sexism may have come to be seen as insignificant over a course of time and hence may have been forgotten; and, lastly with changes in mood and context such incidents may be prone to distortion (Swim et al., 2001). To counter these sources of error, Swim and her colleagues (2001) utilised the daily diary method to obtain non-retrospective accounts of experiences with everyday sexism in which they found women reporting higher incidence of impactful sexist incidents. They found indicators of psychological well-being dropping for both men and women in response to encounters with everyday sexism. Becker and Swim (2011) adopted the daily diary method as an intervention

tool and successfully reduced endorsement of a variety of sexist beliefs viz., benevolent sexism, modern sexism, and neo-sexism in women just by facilitating "seeing the unseen" (p. 227). The change in their sexist beliefs was stable over a one-week period and was also positively associated with inclination to participate in collective action. The same was true for men as well except that no reduction was seen in their benevolent sexist beliefs. Becker and Swim (2011) suggested that this could be because the harmful nature of benevolent sexism may be less likely to be apparent to men.

Many more studies have been conducted on everyday sexism using a variety of methods. Lewis and colleagues (2018) utilised in-depth interviews and reported widespread experience of everyday sexism, calling it "the wallpaper of sexism" (p. 20), experienced by their sample of university students in the UK and the US. The students reported being pushed to collective action in response to their experience of everyday sexism, with the latter producing not just frustration and anger, but also enthusiasm for engaging in feminist activism to shape the world around them. The crucial role of universities facilitating such activism was brought out by the study as was the diversity of enactments of resistance in the face of everyday sexism. Calder-Dawe (2015) in her work with high school students in New Zealand used collaborative workshops and reported being able to bring the "white noise of everyday sexism into sharper focus" (p. 93) for the participants.

Those at the receiving end of prejudice and discrimination often engage in strategic negotiation of hostile situations, far from being just passive victims (Goffman, 1963). In fact, they can be seen as active stress managers who engage in a variety of internally and externally focussed responses to cope with the injustice they experience or witness (Fitzgerald et al., 1995). Thus, negotiating everyday sexism can take on varied forms, for example, active confrontation on one's own behalf, not confronting, confronting on behalf of one's group/community etc., and various factors may influence which strategy is adopted in the moment.

The Present Study

The present study attempts to investigate different strategies young adult, college going women in India use to deal with the everyday sexism they encounter. At present there are no studies in the Indian context that have utilised non-retrospective reporting to investigate the same. To reiterate, everyday sexism is sexism that emerges in everyday interactions or interpersonal exchanges, while sexism has been defined as "individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men" (Swim & Heyers, 2009, p. 407). Since the participants of this study are women, and the focus is on analysing sexism encountered by women, the term, sexism, heretofore will mean sexism towards women, unless specified otherwise.

The following research objectives guided the present study:

1. Explore everyday sexism encountered by college going young adult women in urban India.
2. Determine the dynamics of navigating everyday sexism by the participants.

Self-of-the-Researchers

It is important to be aware of one's positionality and theoretical leanings, since it is recognised that they invariably end up influencing the research, starting from what questions are asked, to which methods are used, how the data is interpreted and reported, and what

conclusions are made. As researchers, all three authors identify as feminists and are committed to producing scholarship that furthers the cause of gender equality. We all identify as cis-gender heterosexual women and we belong to urban, middle-class families from India. Admittedly, while we grew up in privileged contexts in every sense, all three of us have witnessed sexism in the family context, in everyday interactions outside the family, in episodes reported in the media, and even in our work in academia. These aspects have informed our perspectives and thinking in conducting the present study.

The study was primarily conducted by the first author, under the supervision of the third author, with the second author assisting in data collection and data entry for data analysis. More specifically, the present study was developed from the first author's doctoral research on masculinities and femininities in the Indian context (in press) in which the following observations were made: (a) Sexism or gender-based prejudice and inequality was pervasively experienced by women participants of/from all walks in India, while most men in the study believed that gender equality has been attained, (b) The banality of experiences with unwanted sexual attention and prospect of violation was common to women participants of all ages and class locations, and (c) While there were a wide array of responses to experiencing sexism, including choosing not to respond, the endorsement of engaging in collective coping (confronting prejudice on behalf of one's community) was quite high in case of young adult women, notable in its absence in case of older women. These observations made for a compelling case to further explore, using non-retrospective data, how everyday sexism is experienced and navigated by young adult women.

Methodology

This study was conducted using a qualitative approach rooted in constructivist paradigm because of a commitment to the following philosophical assumptions associated with the same. First, when it comes to ontology or the nature of reality, constructivism suggests that there are multiple realities, and that realities need to be understood as part of wholes keeping their context in mind and without trying to look for a uniform reality. This was an important choice because understanding gender related prejudice and the various dynamics of its navigation are likely to be different for different participants. Because of the acknowledgement of the existence of multiple realities, the qualitative approach allows for the possibility of finding new threads of perspective, arguments and strategies unanticipated by the researcher. Second, when it comes to epistemology or how reality is known and the relationship between the knower and the known, constructivism suggests that researchers may not stand outside as objective observers of the reality unfolding in front of them, rather they may attempt to understand realities as those experiencing those realities understand them. This was important for generating context-sensitive explanations for the navigation of everyday sexism in various ways. Methods borne out of such ontological and epistemological assumptions, typically qualitative in nature, allow engagement with human beings in their natural surroundings with an attempt to understand phenomena as wholes with all their complexity kept intact. While the outcomes may not lend themselves to generalisation, such methods are important for the rich, in-depth data they generate.

Within a constructivist paradigm and qualitative approach, the method of daily-diary was selected with content analysis being the choice for data analysis. Daily diary forms provide the scope of a wide range of experiences being reported in both open-ended and close-ended format, with the chief strength of "non-retrospective reporting." The following section provides a detailed account of the reasoning behind prioritising non-retrospective reporting. The choice of content analysis permitted analysis of the large volume of data that was expected, thus foregoing more time-consuming methods of analysing qualitative data such as thematic

analysis. Content analysis is also suitable for getting "a sense of numbers," in the form of percentages and frequencies, while working with qualitative data with large sample sizes.

Measures

This study used a daily diary tool to collect responses from young adult women on dynamics of negotiating everyday sexism. We adopted this method for the unique advantages it offers as opposed to other commonly used methods for studying sexism which utilise retrospective reporting. Swim et al. (2001) have pointed out that retrospective reporting suffers from several limitations including memory distortion, influence by one's existing beliefs (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997), reporting of only blatant incidents of sexism, and subtle incidents of sexism being ignored or forgotten.

Non-retrospective accounts on the other hand have several advantages (Schwarz & Sudman, 2012). They are far less likely to have been subject to distortions of memory. They are also less likely to be influenced by revision of perception of the events encountered and/or being downplayed/exaggerated. Particularly when individuals are asked to report on certain events/behaviours over an extended period of time, say a few days or weeks or months, several sources of bias can affect the accuracy of what is reported. Sometimes, we may actually even be asking people what they can't tell us. This is particularly true when respondents are asked about frequent behaviours as opposed to rare and important behaviours. The former is unlikely to have detailed representations stored in memory, and instead one is more likely to depend on global representation that lacks specific markers (Linton, 1982). Thus, individual incidents might get "lost" because of being indistinguishable from the rest, and thus may not be retrieved at the time relevant information is being elicited for research. Thereby, concurrent, or real time reports are highly preferable. Getting real-time, non-retrospective accounts was also prioritised in order to make original contribution to the field in the Indian context where abundant studies already exist on the issues of gender that have been done using interviews, surveys, questionnaires, focus group discussions etc.– all eliciting retrospective information/narratives, but none exist on everyday sexism that have utilised non-retrospective reporting.

Swim and colleagues have pointed out that one limitation of the daily diary method is that end-of-the-day mood could influence one's perceptions regarding the incidents of the day reported (Swim et al., 2001). This limitation was taken care of by sending the forms to participants each day via email in addition to hard copies of the forms, also accompanied by a reminder to fill the form daily. Thus, participants were encouraged to fill the form as soon as possible after they witnessed the incident they wished to report, and this was facilitated by allowing filling of the forms on their phones.

Once the method was finalised, we constructed an open-ended form to be filled in the form of a daily diary by the participant. We adapted, modified and translated into Hindi the daily diary form used by Swim and colleagues (Swim et al., 2001). While Swim et al.'s (2001) form was created to understand the nature and prevalence of everyday sexism, we modified it for the present study in order to include the dynamics of confronting the sexism. We requested each participant to take part in the study for a period of 15 days and fill the form every time they encountered a "gender related incident." Participants are identified in this paper with a serial number (ranging from 1 to 58), along with their gender signified by F, and their age. For example, P21.F22 signifies participant number 21 who is a woman of age 22 years.

Participants were instructed to report the nature of the incident/s they faced and how they dealt with the incident. The type and target of prejudice was of interest to this study, as were participants' negotiations with the incident, particularly the factors that were responsible for deciding whether to confront the prejudice. Participants were asked to report gender related incidents directed at themselves or at other men/women and/or men/women in general. They

were asked to exclude any observations in the media in order to keep the study strictly focused on sexism encountered via interpersonal exchanges. Owing to the commitment to the constructivist paradigm, participants' perceptions of what constitutes gender-based prejudice was privileged over the researchers' understanding of the same.

Ethical Considerations, Sampling and Process of Data Collection

Convenience sampling ensued to reach potential participants, and the study was conducted after taking a written informed consent. Confidentiality was ensured by making no participant write their name in any of the forms; instead, codes were assigned to each participant which were used throughout the study. Since the local context does not involve IRB approvals, best practices for ethical research by APA were adhered to in order to ensure the protection of participants' rights.

The first and second author invited participation of college going women from various colleges of a central university located in Delhi (University of Delhi) that attracts students from all states of India. These women are largely from middle class households, with educated parents, often studying subjects that involve an examination of gender issues. To find out how such women negotiate sexism in their relationships, women of college going age were invited via social media posts as well as the second author, an undergraduate student in the same university at the time, approaching them in their respective college campuses.

The daily diary form was provided to participants in two forms: as a physical copy, one for each day, for fifteen days, and as a soft copy sent via email that could be opened on any device, like a smartphone. This was done to encourage filling up of the form soon after a 'gender related incident' was encountered by the participant. The form was kept short and bilingual (English and Hindi) to encourage real time reporting. Every morning, an email (containing a copy of the form) as well as a text message was sent to each participant to remind them to fill the form if they came across a gender related incident that day. They were encouraged to fill multiple forms a day if required, a separate form for each gender related incident encountered. On the seventh day of the fifteen-day data collection period, stock taking occurred. More physical copies of the forms were given to participants who required them, and doubts, if any, were cleared.

Fifty-eight women out of the 150 who had initially expressed interest ended up participating, filling up the daily dairy form for a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 15 consecutive days. Filled daily diary forms were submitted by depositing the forms in a sealed box with an open slit on top that was taken to the participants by the second author. This protected participants' identity since names were not asked for in the forms that were to be taken out later from the box. Those who did not mind their names being attached to the forms they were submitting, were free to submit via email.

Data Analysis

We developed the following working model (refer to Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c) for content analysis of the responses. It draws from the work of Swim and colleagues on the incidence, nature and impact of everyday sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011; Swim et al., 2001) and that of various researchers who have worked on the dynamics of confronting prejudice (e.g., Becker et al., 2015). Such a framework attempts to ground the analysis in a consolidated understanding of the existing literature on confronting prejudice.
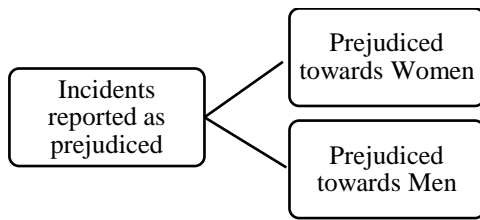
Figure 1(a)
Target of Prejudice

```
                              ┌──────────────────┐
                              │    Prejudiced    │
                       ┌──────│ towards Women    │
┌──────────────────┐   │      └──────────────────┘
│    Incidents     │   │
│   reported as    │───┤
│    prejudiced    │   │      ┌──────────────────┐
└──────────────────┘   │      │    Prejudiced    │
                       └──────│ towards Men      │
                              └──────────────────┘
```

Figure 1(b)
Type of Prejudice

```
                              ┌──────────────────┐
                              │  Overt Prejudice │
                       ┌──────└──────────────────┘
┌──────────────────┐   │      
│    Prejudiced    │───┤
│  towards Women   │   │      ┌──────────────────┐
└──────────────────┘   │      │   Covert and     │
                       └──────│ Subtle Prejudice │
                              └──────────────────┘
```
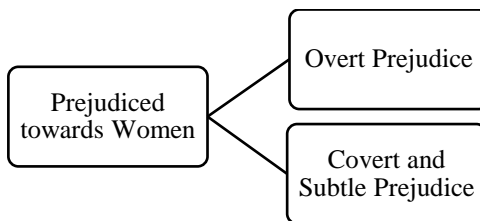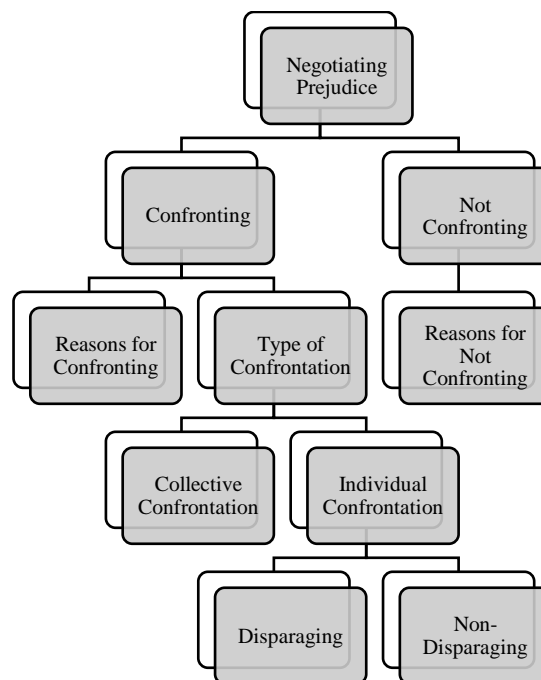
Figure 1(c)
Negotiating Prejudice

The following six steps of analysis led to the development of the working model:

1. Separating responses in which incidents have been reported as prejudiced
2. In each of these responses, determining the target of prejudice (men vs. women)
3. Determining the type of prejudice present in the above incidents directed at women
4. For the incidents involving prejudice against women, separating responses involving confrontation from those involving no confrontation

5. For responses involving confrontation, categorisation to be done based on whether the confrontation is a form of collective coping or individual coping (further categorised into individual disparaging coping and individual non-disparaging coping), and

6. Additionally, for responses involving confrontation as well as responses involving no confrontation, reasons to be identified.

Once the working model was developed, analysis of responses began. NVivo 12 Plus software, a software intended for qualitative data analysis, was utilised in order to make qualitative analysis of a large data set possible in a short duration of time.

Trustworthiness and Rigour

The usual tests of validity that are employed to evaluate quantitative research are not applicable to qualitative research. While different researchers propose different parameters for judging the quality of qualitative research, the following are common to most lists: credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability, and reflexivity (Stenfors et al., 2020). In the present study, we approached these five parameters in the following way. We have aligned our research questions with method of data collection and analytical steps, as well as with various theoretical frameworks on gender-based prejudice (credibility). We have provided adequate information at each stage for future researchers to follow our steps (dependability). We have elucidated our findings with detailed explanations and excerpts (confirmability) and attempted to provide context sensitive explanations (transferability). We have also clarified our positioning and documented the context of the research as well as our influence wherever possible (reflexivity).

Findings

Findings are organised along the lines of the 6-step analysis framework outlined previously. Following step 1, of the 185 filled daily diary forms received, 25 were discarded because of being marked "uncertain" or "definitely not prejudiced." Thus, 160 forms became a part of the final analysis. Figures 2a and 2b summarise the findings with respect to the categories identified in the working models presented above, as well as with additional categories that emerged during analysis. Of the 160 incidents reported as prejudiced, 134 were reported to be prejudiced towards women and 26 towards men.

Figure 2(a)
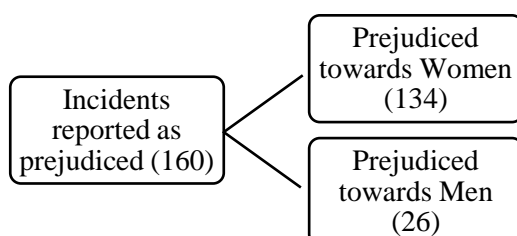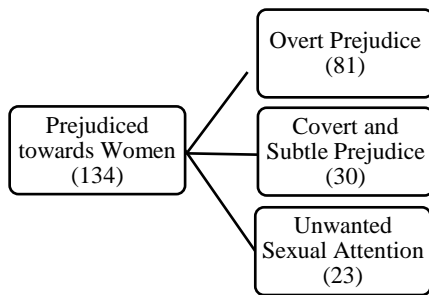*Content Analysis for Target of Prejudice*

Figure 2(b)
Content Analysis for Type of Prejudice

```
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │ Overt Prejudice │
                          │      (81)       │
                          └─────────────────┘
┌─────────────────┐       ┌─────────────────┐
│   Prejudiced    │       │   Covert and    │
│ towards Women   │───────│ Subtle Prejudice│
│     (134)       │       │      (30)       │
└─────────────────┘       └─────────────────┘
                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │    Unwanted     │
                          │ Sexual Attention│
                          │      (23)       │
                          └─────────────────┘
```

The following sections discuss the incidents labelled "prejudiced towards women," followed by those labelled "prejudiced towards men," followed by a discussion on negotiation of everyday sexism faced by women.

Prejudice Towards Women

For incidents towards women, responses were categorised in terms of whether they reflected "overt prejudice" or "covert and subtle prejudice."

Figure 3
Analysis of Responses for "Prejudiced Towards Women"
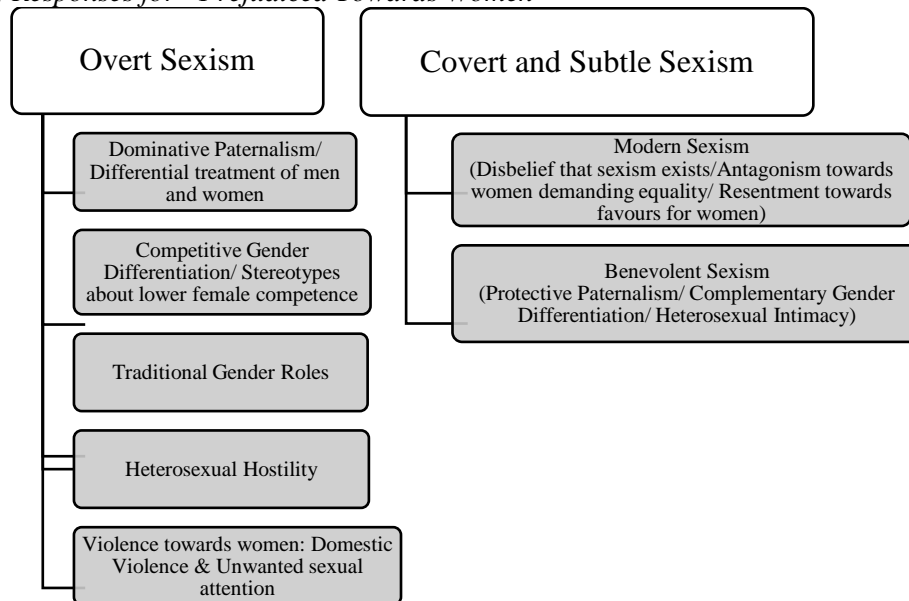
Overt Sexism

Overt sexism refers to incidents that are blatantly sexist and usually recognised as such including specific forms of sexism like "old-fashioned sexism" and "hostile sexism." Old fashioned sexism is characterised by "traditional gender roles, differential treatment of women and men, and stereotypes about lower female competence" (Swim et al., 1995, p. 201). Hostile sexism was conceptualised by Glick and Fiske (1996) based on the belief systems: Dominative Paternalism, Competitive Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexual Hostility. There are significant overlaps between old fashioned sexism and hostile sexism, hence they were combined to create the first four codes under the sub-theme "overt sexism" (Figure 3). The fifth code "violence against women" emerged from the data.

The first code under "overt sexism" was Dominative Paternalism/Differential treatment of men and women. Some responses were explicitly regarding "women's place" in the society and others were regarding differential treatment of men and women in the workplace as well as in the family: "… we had to organise an event for which we had to test different kinds of beer, my company had only invited the men to taste…" (P55.F20); "… how my parents consciously or unconsciously treat me differently than my brother..." (P56.F20).

The second code under "overt sexism" was Competitive Gender Differentiation/ Stereotypes about lower female competence: "... where she clarified that CA is just for boys and girls are not able to cope up with the vast syllabus" (P13.F19). The phenomenon of individual women's actions taken as representative of their entire gender was evident in a number of responses as well.

The third code under "overt sexism" was Traditional Gender Roles. Most responses were about only women being engaged in household chores or being criticised when not adhering to the expected gender roles with regards to household chores. Some responses brought out the starkly different life trajectories men and women are supposed to undertake: "Recently I observed my aunt and uncle not allowing my cousin sister to join the army whereas her real brother was aiming at becoming the head officer in air forces…" (P15.F21). Such differential treatment of men and women is due to the continuing legitimation of traditional gender roles in society. Many talents may be left undiscovered because they don't fit within the mould of "expected duties" of a man/woman and are ultimately given up.

The fourth code under "overt sexism" was Heterosexual Hostility. It refers to men associating sex with power and resenting women who are perceived as controlling men by using sex (Glick & Fiske, 1996). There were no responses for this code.

The fifth code "violence against women" was specifically created for domestic violence and unwanted sexual attention. Sexual harassment and domestic violence can be considered manifestations of overt prejudice (Lewis, 2018). In the present study there were 4 references of domestic violence and 23 of unwanted sexual attention. In 3 out of the 4 incidents, domestic violence was the punishment for failing to maintain "emphasized femininity" (performance of femininity that maintains the subordination of women by men). For example, earning more than one's husband and giving birth to a girl child. There was one instance in which the trivialisation of domestic violence was made clear: "… because being an Indian married woman you should be tolerating every wrong of your husband and in laws..." (P17.F21). Such trivialisation is in the service of the "intact family" that Indians take pride in, a reflection of the phenomenon of "family over women."

Of the 23 references of unwanted sexual attention, eight were for passing lewd comments, six were for staring, four were for inappropriate touching, two for stalking, two for playing/singing derogatory songs, and one for flashing. All of the instances were from first hand experiences of the participants while the study was under way. What is evident from such banality of women being harassed by unwanted sexual attention is the lack of substantial normative pressures against acting in such a manner. It is interesting, however, that there is recognition of the crimes against women and often starting from a very young age, girls grow up with "the suffocation of protection." It was a prominent feature in the present study, with 11 references being coded as "suffocation of protection" under Benevolent Sexism discussed below.

Covert and Subtle Sexism

The second sub-theme under "prejudice towards women" was "covert and subtle prejudice." Covert and subtle prejudice towards women refers to incidents of prejudice expressed in much less obvious forms than overt sexism. Such prejudice includes specific

forms of sexism like "modern sexism" and "benevolent sexism." Modern sexism was conceptualised by Swim and her colleagues (1995) on three basic tenets that people may reject blatant discrimination and stereotypes, while at the same time (a) believing discrimination against women no longer exists, (b) feel antagonistic toward women making political and economic demands, and (c) feel resentment about special favours for women. Benevolent sexism, according to Glick and Fiske (1996), is based on the belief systems of Protective Paternalism, Complementary Gender Differentiation, and Heterosexual Intimacy. Several studies have reported the insidious dangers of benevolent sexism for women (e.g., Good & Rudman, 2010). One study in fact found "benevolent sexism to be worse than hostile sexism for women's cognitive performance," reducing their self-esteem and increasing mental intrusions during tasks (Dardenne et al., 2007). Its danger lies in the fact that the intrusion is not recognised as sexist by its targets or perpetrators.

The first code under "covert and subtle sexism" was Modern sexism. If the responses coded "prejudiced towards men" also were to be considered for analysis again, all the 12 responses that were coded as "special favours for women" can be coded as "modern sexism." The sentiment expressed in those statements was of "resentment towards favours for women" which includes affirmative action policies and reservation in public transport, and it can be argued that they express modern sexism:

> It makes me feel ridiculous to the fact that one portion of society for whatever reason is given some sort of privilege over the other... sort of feels like a woman is weaker or considered to be minority to be given special treatments... (P51.F21)

The second code under "covert and subtle sexism" was Benevolent sexism. 54 references of prejudice towards women were coded as Benevolent sexism. Most responses reflected either Protective Paternalism or Complementary Gender Differentiation. An example of Benevolent Sexism (Complementary Gender Differentiation) is: "… their school offers Karate/Dance as extracurricular activities, but here is the catch, girls have to learn dance and boys have to learn Karate, they are not allowed to choose which one they want to learn…" (P40.F21). An example of Benevolent Sexism (Protective Paternalism) is: "...My sister who is approximately 32 and lived 10 minutes away from our home was leaving on her Scooty when my Uncle stopped her and asked my younger cousin of 24 to accompany her till her house…" (P23.F19).

Several responses (11, coded as "the suffocation of protection") were specifically about the restriction on mobility experienced by a number of women, significantly, imposed with good intentions by their parents, for their own safety. It is debatable how much of these protections arise from true benevolent sexism (women need men's protection) and how much as a legitimate reaction to the slew of crimes against women, particularly rape, that Delhi has come to be infamous for. What is clear though is that these measures substantially decreased women's sense of freedom and even opportunities after a certain hour in the evening:

> it was related to my sister that she wanted to go for under 17 FIFA but her school principal said that girls are not allowed to go as it will be held at night whereas the boys of her class were allowed to go. (P27.F21)

It appears that while a slew of measures are adopted by people in India to protect women from violation, the same cannot be said about protecting men from becoming violators. The ongoing epidemic of crimes against women India is staring at is perhaps a result of that.
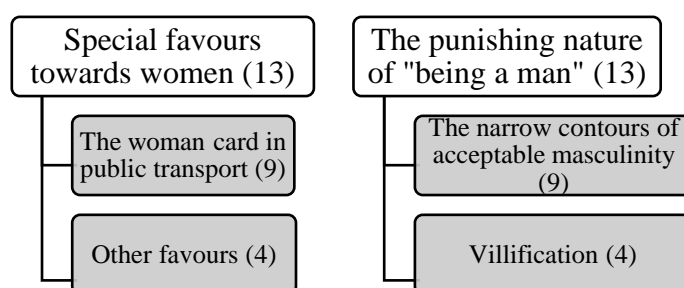
As can be seen in Figure 2, for 134 references of "prejudice towards women," 108 reflected overt prejudice (of which 27 were for violence against women alone), and 30 reflected covert and subtle prejudice (of which 11 was for "suffocation of protection" alone). Though this is not a quantitative study and it certainly lacks the controls that would have made it possible to compare the frequencies of "overt prejudice" and "covert and subtle prejudice," it is still telling that the frequency of overt prejudice exceeded that of covert and subtle prejudice.

Prejudice Towards Men

It emerged from the analysis that of the 160 incidents reported as "prejudiced" on the basis of gender, 26 expressed about prejudices against men (see Figure 4). These 26 incidents were broadly categorised into two types: "special favours towards women" and "the punishing nature of being a man."

Figure 4
Analysis of Responses for Prejudice Towards Men

Special favours towards women (13)	The punishing nature of "being a man" (13)
The woman card in public transport (9)	The narrow contours of acceptable masculinity (9)
Other favours (4)	Villification (4)

What's in a Metro Seat? Gender Games in Public Transport

Thirteen responses expressed resentment towards women who seemed to play the "woman card" in public transport like metro trains and buses. Most of the responses were around how it was unfair of women getting men to give up their seats in the Delhi Metro trains. As one participant put it:

> …a man had to leave his seat because of a woman (neither it was inside the ladies' compartment, nor it was reserved for women). And surprisingly they were of the same age. The reason for him leaving the seat … was the pressure from other passengers just because of the "Gender" of the other person. (P41.F20)

Some also expressed their disappointment with the women who asked for such non-reserved seats and believed it went against the larger demand for gender equality in the country. In none of these incidents reported was there any confrontation.

This presents the picture of a world in which women appear to exploit their gender, in which men are victims, from whom their rightful property can be appropriated anytime by a woman. There seems to be a lack of empathy towards women's concerns that is evident here; no participant seems to assume here that the woman in question asking for a seat had a genuine need though it is entirely plausible that some women riding the metro maybe menstruating or are pregnant. We wonder if there is an increasing pressure for women to be un-women like, particularly women belonging to a cohort that is vocal in its demand for gender equality. To make demands for concessions based on gender is likely to appear hypocritical, even if that demand stems from a different biological reality stemming from a female body. It is also worth

noting here that seats and compartments being reserved for women often offer protection from sexual harassment in public transport.

Public Spaces Versus Private Domain

According to some participants, the choice for women seems to be between being confined to the private domain or to take on a man's existence when in the public domain, shedding inconvenient truths like her body demanding certain concessions sometimes. These participants' disdain for reservation was not limited to public transport. Five references were for "other special favours" that included disapproval of affirmative action, other institutional advantages like no queues for women, privileges accorded to women in places like nightclubs and organisations working only for women. Disdain for affirmative action given to women and disapproval of "special favours" being given to women is also a form of sexism, called modern sexism. Though it may stem from the understandable reason that one is simply not aware of the extent of prejudice against subjugated identities that still exists, it could also be a sign of incongruence between one's egalitarian attitudes and residual beliefs in women's inferiority to men. This would also count as sexism, a contemporary form called neo-sexism. Such attitudes may aid in the distortion of reality and much worse, for believing that the gender inequality problem no longer exists, and in fact can very well prevent participation in collective action for social justice (Becker & Swim, 2011).

Being a Man: Walking a Tightrope

Some participants also spoke of the narrow contours of acceptable/appropriate masculinity. Starting from how one walks ("…The man said "yeh ladka hai ya ladki, mei yehi dekh raha tha hahahaha…" or "I was wondering whether he is a boy or girl hahahaha…" ; P16.F20), to how one sits (..as a boy commented, "Aise hijro ki tarha kyu baitha hua hai?" or Why are you sitting like a eunuch?…; P36.F20), how one dresses (A boy was made fun of for wearing a Hannah Montana T-shirt; P18.F21), and being financially successful ("she said 'you can't introduce a loser to someone. Hi meet my boyfriend, he does nothing and just lives on my money'…"; P49.F19) one needs to be "adequately and appropriately masculine" according to societal norms. Participants also spoke of the constraints on emotional expression for men: "…hey come on champ. You are a strong boy, why are you crying?…" (P42.F20).

There were also 4 references from a couple of participants about men being unfairly doubted and feared. It is indeed unfair when one is perceived in a biased way because of stereotypes, but then we wonder, how does a potential victim screen potential harassers?

Navigating Everyday Sexism: Confrontation, Inaction and More

Figure 2(c) summarises the analysis of responses under the theme "negotiating prejudice." This theme revolved around confrontation and non-confrontation of prejudice, and the dynamics regulating them. Confrontation has been recognised as one of the ways to reduce prejudice effectively (Blanchard et al., 1994; Czopp et al., 2006), and is therefore of interest in the present research. As evident in Figure 2(c), only in 140 forms out of the 160 initially selected for analysis, responses regarding negotiating sexist incidents were given. Out of the 140 responses coded for "negotiating prejudice," 67 responses were for confronting and 73 for not confronting. Of the 67 responses for confronting, the type of confrontation could not be discerned for 24 responses that did not provide enough details. Reasons for confronting and non-confronting were also analysed. The reasons for not confronting are summarised in Figure 4. and those for confronting are summarised in Figure 5.
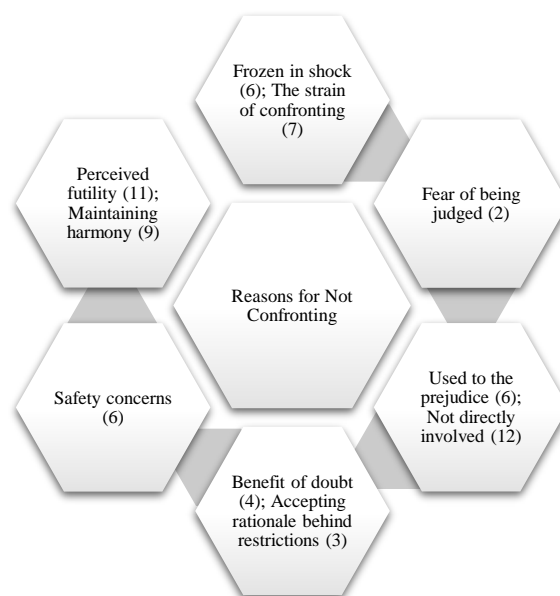
Figure 2(c)
Content Analysis for Negotiating Prejudice
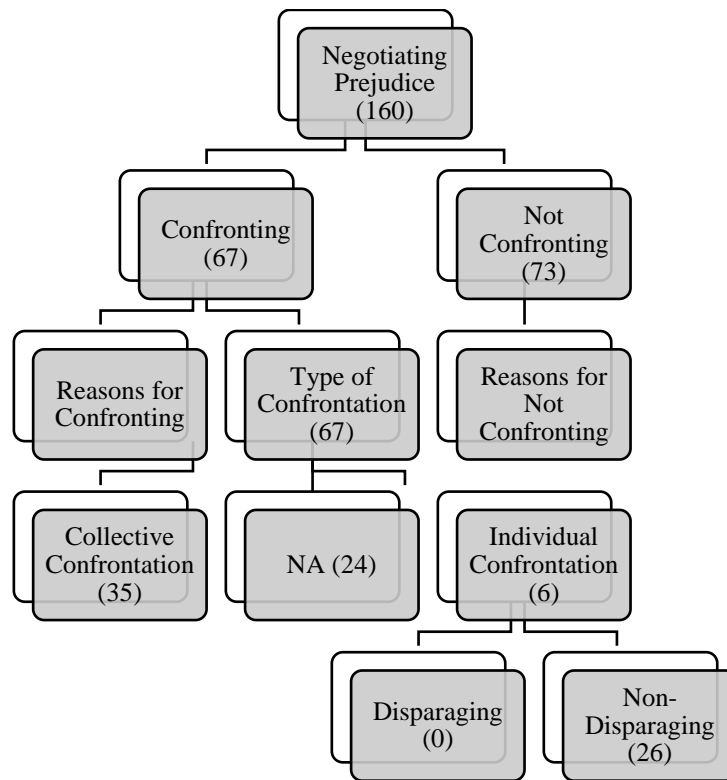
Not Confronting Sexism

As evident from Figure 4, the highest number of responses for not confronting are owing to "not being directly involved," followed by perceiving confrontation as futile.

Figure 4
Reasons for Not Confronting Sexism

Participants also refrained from confronting with deference to their elders or other family members, so as to not create conflict. India is a country that could be said to be loyal to collectivism. Group harmony, a defining priority of collectivistic cultures, gains all the more importance in India when gender and age enter the picture and expand upon the notion of gender sexism and arising expectations. Children in India are expected to obey their elders, and unquestioning acquiescence by children of parents' wishes is highly appreciated. Obeying one's parents/elders and avoiding family conflict at any cost are taken a lot of pride in. Challenging one's parents is frowned upon, making confronting prejudice even more difficult when one's family is involved.

A host of explanations for not confronting the perpetrator were put forward. Several participants also did not confront the perpetrator/s owing to fears that matters could escalate and it could become unsafe for them, such as, provoking hostility from the perpetrator. A significant number of them also did not confront because they have "become used to it." Banality of anything possibly has the power to desensitise human beings to it. Several participants were also keen to give the benefit of doubt to some people, stating that their sexism may be outside their conscious awareness or that they may have no intention to be sexist. Some also understood the rationale behind some of the restrictions their parents imposed on their lives, knowing that their mobility didn't have to come at the cost of being victim of a crime.

Some participants alluded to the effort that was required of them for confronting, and lamented being unable to expend it at the required time as the reason they didn't confront some sexist incidents. Half a dozen responses, in fact, made references to being "frozen in shock" and being unable to confront and expressed disappointment in themselves because of not knowing how to react when they were exposed to various forms of sexism. A few responses pointed to the fear of judgement as the motive behind not confronting sexism. This fear can be traced to points discussed above: the importance of upholding harmony, the banality of sexism and the fact that calling out sexism has not become socially desirable yet.

The last three reasons for not confronting discussed above viz. "the strain of confronting," "frozen in shock," and "fear of judgement" also need to be seen in the context of the highly benevolently sexist upbringing most women in India go through, with an emphasis on being submissive, non-assertive and "nice." Such upbringing may make the actual act of confronting difficult even if intellectually one is all for it.

Confronting Sexism

As evident from Figure 5, most of the instances of confrontation stemmed from the belief that they could change prejudiced beliefs and attitudes, and a desire to do that: "to change their behaviour or attitude and thinking related to all this by making them allow me to go out" (P15.F21). No change can take place without the necessary ingredients of persistence and hope, and, though there are many players in keeping an unjust social hierarchy stable, there can be no denying of the power of individuals' dissent in the history of women's liberation. It is thus encouraging that of the limited incidents in which participants engaged in confronting sexism, in most of them the motivation was to change the beliefs of the perpetrator.

The second most common reason for confronting was the idea that defending one's group in the face of prejudice is important ("Yes. As I felt it was my duty to raise my voice as something unjust had been said about my community"; P45.F21). Identification with our social identities varies from person to person and from social identity to social identity, and this response is likely to have been made by women who identify highly with their gender. Social construction states that gender is a category that is ever present in social life, constructed by social expectations and interactions, and, we are judged according to the norms, roles and behaviour associated with being and becoming a girl/woman. Gender construction is the

process whereby society shapes manages both men and women. Therefore, prejudice and discrimination arise and give rise to stereotypical beliefs and perspectives.

Figure 5
Reasons for Confronting Sexism
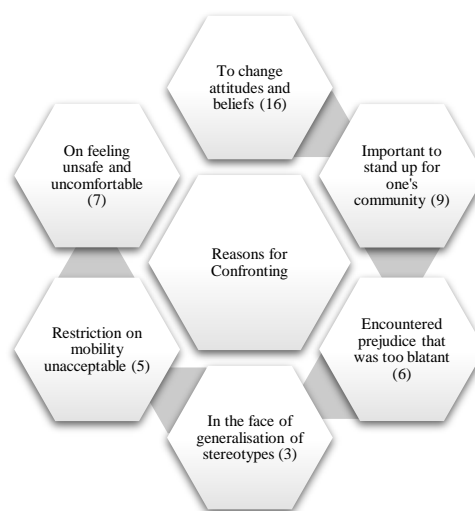
Some participants confronted the perpetrator because they were in an environment which made them feel uncomfortable or unsafe, or the prejudice was too blatant ("after a while when she realised she cannot do any more wrong to herself, she left her husband"; P17.F21) while others did in the face of generalisation of stereotypes that they found really unfair ("I was kind of irritated, even though I found it funny because it was mainly for me, but generalising such a thing is not nice"; P28.F20) or because their mobility was being restricted ("Yes, because I also want to go outside and enjoy my life"; P47.F20). These were examples of confronting when tolerating the prejudice was no longer possible.

Confrontation was done in broadly two forms- collective and individual. When one invokes their group while confronting a prejudice, it is called collective confronting. For example, "Immediately I opposed and said that girls should study for themselves, not for getting eligible for marriage" (P22.F18). When one confronts the prejudice for oneself, not on behalf of the group, one is engaged in individual confronting. One way of engaging in individual confrontation is by distancing oneself from the group- the in-group-disparaging confrontation type. The other type of individual confrontation is the in-group non-disparaging confrontation in which one only defends oneself as not deserving the prejudice, without taking down other members of the group towards whom the prejudice may have been directed. All references of individual confrontation in the present study are for the individual group non-disparaging confrontation type, e.g., "I would most definitely stand up for myself and do a field job because I love working on field" (P55.F20).

Discussion

This study was conducted to explore young adult women's encounters with everyday sexism i.e., sexism in daily interpersonal exchanges. In particular, these women's perceptions and experiences of what was considered sexist, to whom it was directed, and, whether they confronted it or not and why, were explored. Of the responses indicating prejudice towards women, most were overt in nature while some were covert and subtle. Violence towards women, in forms like domestic violence and unwanted sexual attention, formed a sizeable

chunk of overt sexism. While the present study is not quantitative, thus prohibiting comparisons and probabilistic generalisation, it is still important to note that contrary to what one would expect, more instances of overt sexism were observed by the participants rather than those of a covert nature.

In most industrialised nations, sexism has "gone underground" (Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995), and overt displays of sexism are rare, or at least rarer than displays of covert and subtle sexism (Plant & Devine, 1998). It is telling that in a study conducted on a fairly privileged sample in India's capital city, the extent of overt sexism was found to be far more than that of covert and subtle sexism. While this could be because of a bias in detecting and reporting, if one were to be less optimistic, this could be a reflection of the fact that overt sexism is still very much prevalent in India, and the trend of subtle forms of sexism being more predominant over overt sexism is not here yet. Further research is needed comparing traditional forms of sexism and contemporary forms of sexism in the Indian context. Yet one can certainly say that even though patriarchy very much exists in most parts of the world, it has lost much of its legitimacy in the West. In India it's difficult to claim even that evident from a large number of responses that expressed outright male preference, normalisation/trivialisation of domestic violence against women, and "the suffocation of protection." These could be considered indicators of patriarchy's continuing stronghold in the Indian context.

What do women do when they are faced with sexism? Some women confront while some choose inaction. More participants chose inaction than confronting the sexism in the present study. There are several reasons for making one choice over the other. It was found that participants confronted sexism mostly because of the following reasons, in descending order of frequency: to change prejudiced beliefs, to stand up for one's community, in the face of restriction on mobility, feeling unsafe and uncomfortable, prejudice being too blatant, and being provoked by generalization of unfair stereotypes. The reasons for not confronting were believing that it won't make any difference, to maintain harmony, because confronting could be dangerous, used to it happening, not directly involved, giving benefit of doubt, frozen in shock, understanding restrictions as measures for own safety, the strain involved in confronting, and fear of judgement.

Most participants seemed to imply that because they were not the actual targets of sexism their confrontation was unwarranted. Bystanders' responses to prejudice have been widely studied and several barriers to confronting have been identified by the Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) model, viz. detecting discrimination (e.g., Devine, 1989), labelling the act of discrimination as harmful enough so that confrontation is deemed necessary (e.g., Critchlow, 1985), assuming personal responsibility to confront (e.g., Swim & Heyers, 1999), deciding an appropriate way to confront (e.g., Stone et al., 2010), and finally acting upon one's intentions to confront (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001), any of which could have been at play here. Most of the instances of non-confrontation also stemmed from a belief that it was pointless. The responses reflected a sense of "learned helplessness" (Seligman, 1972), likely borne out of a series of previously unsuccessful confrontations. When one fails repeatedly at influencing the conditions of one's life, one can develop a sense of resignation and believe that nothing they do can possibly bring about any change.

The high magnitude of inaction in the face of sexism observed in the present study might have several cultural underpinnings other than those discussed in the findings section, a prominent one being "face." Face or face concern, i.e., preoccupation with presenting a positive social image (Goffman, 1955), and the imminent risk of face loss might be relevant factors in the Indian context. In a largely collectivistic culture like India, face loss would be interpersonal (Choi & Lee, 2002; Lin & Yamaguchi, 2011). It can be reasonably expected on the basis of existing literature (e.g., Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003) that concern for saving other people's face would be high in the Indian context, thus leading to inaction when it comes to confronting

prejudice or discrimination. This might be behind participants' responses like "maintaining harmony" and "fear of being judged." This could also explain why participants confronted more when around strangers as compared to family members.

In sum, it appears that there are significant social and psychological costs associated with confronting sexism in the Indian society, even in a metropolitan city, with the targets of sexism being educated, articulate college going women who have in all likelihood discussed issues of gender in classroom spaces or at least on social media.

Of those who did engage in confronting sexism, most chose collective confrontation. This is one of the most encouraging findings of the present study- a considerable number of references were made to collective confrontation (35), higher than that for individual confrontation (6). Though the frequencies cannot really be meaningfully compared as the present study is exploratory and qualitative in nature, it is still telling that a significant proportion of all confrontations were collective confrontations. This is encouraging because collective confrontation is exactly the kind of confrontation that predicts engagement in politicised collective action in quest of social justice, and therefore has the potential to bring about social change (Becker et al., 2015). All reported instances of individual confrontation, the other kind of confrontation, were of the non-ingroup disparaging manner. Collective confrontation derives from a dissatisfaction with the existing social order, which is seen as illegitimate, impermeable and unstable, and people engaging in it believe that their personal mobility cannot improve much without social change. Individual and collective confrontation are not necessarily totally incompatible though. Studies have reported that women endorse either of these forms of confrontation as compared to inaction (Becker et al., 2015). Similar research is needed in the Indian context since the normative context of confrontation in India appears to be starkly different from Western industrialised nations according to the present study with more incidences of inaction than of confrontation.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations of the study which provide areas of improvement for future research in everyday sexism in India. Firstly, the sample comprises of a somewhat homogenous group viz. young women who were college going, middle class, largely English speaking, and living in a metropolitan city in India. Secondly, their engagement in the study also spanned a maximum of only 15 days. Future research can explore everyday sexism with more diverse groups, in varied contexts like workplace, educational institution, family etc. with a more prolonged engagement for an in-depth understanding of how everyday sexism is navigated.

While the study has limited scope for probabilistic generalisation (which in any case is not a goal of qualitative research) because of not having engaged in random sampling, it does have the potential of other forms of generalisation- generalisations that are provisional and contextual. It is worth noting here that generalisation is understood differently in quantitative research and qualitative research, and in the latter, there are several ways in which generalisation may be approached viz. naturalistic generalisation, transferability, analytical generalisation and more (Smith, 2018). Naturalistic generalization refers to the research resonating with the reader's personal experiences, transferability to research findings overlapping with the reader's own situation, and analytical generalisation to new conceptual understandings being generated which are generalizable (Smith, 2018). Such forms of generalization, naturally, depend on readers' evaluation of the research.

Moving on, we believe that our study adds to the knowledge base of gender studies and social psychology of gender-based prejudice in India because of being the first study of its kind (gathering non-retrospective data through daily diary forms for understanding the navigation of everyday sexism). However, it does remain a single method study and therefore suffers from

various limitations associated with the daily diary method. For instance, participants not capable of responding by reading and filling out forms were automatically excluded, thus restricting the diversity of the sample. Daily diary forms may be complemented with other methods in future research endeavours for a more holistic understanding and/or probabilistic generalisation to a wide population. Also, experience sampling may be attempted to eliminate retrospective recall; in our study there was no way we could confirm that participants actually filled out forms soon after they witnessed a "gender related incident." Since most participants chose to fill out the hardcopies, it is possible that most forms were filled out at the end of the day at one's convenience, or even multiple forms were filled out together. Future research can attempt digital daily diaries so that each entry is accompanied by timestamp.

It would also be interesting to conduct in-depth exploration of bystander confrontations to sexism. In the present study, not a single incident of bystander confrontation to sexism was observed. This is a discouraging observation, particularly because it is widely documented that allies confronting prejudice are exposed to significantly less social costs. Not all confrontations by allies are in the direction of social change though. Some confrontations of prejudice by men could be in a paternalistic-protective manner (benevolently sexist) instead of a feminist manner (Radke et al., 2016), in which case it would in fact reinforce traditional gender stereotypes. This could also be a direction of future research, to investigate Indian men's likelihood of and preferences for engaging in various kinds of confrontation of prejudice that women face.

A few interesting observations are worth highlighting here. Confronting sexism appeared to be more difficult in the family context than with strangers, and there were no confrontations by bystanders, or men allies. These disappointing findings highlight an enormous opportunity for research and practice on gender sensitisation- enhancing men's role as allies in the gender equality project and roping in the family instead of only focussing on young children in schools. This can easily be done by leveraging different forms of entertainment media. For example, existing literature points to the enormous potential of movies, TV shows, radio, theatre and literature to contribute to the social acceptance of non-normative patterns of living and prejudice reduction (Murrar & Brauer, 2018; Paluck, 2009), for instance in facilitating more positive attitudes towards gay and African Americans (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Schiappa et al., 2006). "Entertainment education," which is the embedding of messages on desirable behaviors in entertainment media, has been reported to increase the number of South Africans willing to protest domestic violence and improve the treatment of women in several South Asian countries (Singhal et al., 2004), increase the approval of family planning among Pakistanis (Lozare et al., 1993) and self-efficacy in seeking treatment for depression and cervical cancer screenings among Latinas (Hernandez & Organista, 2013; Sharf et al., 1996). Positive media portrayals of confronting sexism, including those by allies and in the family context, can thereby contribute significantly to shifts in cultural mindsets. Popular Indian TV show Anupamaa, which has been called "Indian feminism's Rang De Basanti moment" (Vidha, 2021) could be a step in that direction with its brand of culturally accessible feminism, positive male role models who function as allies, and frequent confrontations of everyday sexism by the protagonist, both individual and collective in nature.

We also need to go beyond empowering women within the mould of the patriarchal imagination; we must work towards gender equality and for that we must take boys and men and entire families into the fold. Being an ally needs to be promoted and taught to young boys. Values like gender equality must be incorporated into our curriculums through multicultural education so that being an ally becomes increasingly normative. Additionally, gender sensitisation programs must focus on applying the knowledge instead of just working on a heightened gender consciousness. For example, not everyone who recognises an incident as sexist would also have the required skills to confront the sexism, be it as the target or a bystander/ally. For example, how does one speak up against sexist comments made by a

classmate towards another classmate or against sexist practices towards a family member by adults in one's family?

Therefore, in light of the observations in this study we recommend that existing gender sensitisation programs be revamped to include social scripts for being a good ally, and that they incorporate experiential exercises like role plays that teach young boys and men how to be one. Young women, similarly through role plays, need to be given opportunities to practice, how they would confront sexism for themselves and when they are bystanders. Just developing a high gender consciousness is not enough; it is high time we normalise confronting sexism.

References

Abrams, D., Viki, G. T., Masser, B., & Bohner, G. (2003). Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism in victim blame and rape proclivity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*(1), 111-125

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Addison-Wesley.

Ballakrishnen, S. S. (2017). 'She gets the job done': Entrenched gender meanings and new returns to essentialism in India's elite professional firms. *Journal of Professions and Organization, 4*(3), 324-342.

Banaji, M., & Greenwald, A. G. (1994). Implicit stereotyping and prejudice. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium* (Vol. 7, pp. 55–76). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Becker, J. C., Barreto, M., Kahn, K. B., & Oliveira Laux, S. H. (2015). The collective value of "me" (and its limitations): Towards a more nuanced understanding of individual and collective coping with prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues, 71*(3), 497-516.

Becker, J. C., & Swim, J. K. (2011). Seeing the unseen: Attention to daily encounters with sexism as way to reduce sexist beliefs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *35*(2), 227-242.

Benokraitis, N. V. (1997). *Subtle sexism: Current practice and prospects for change.* Sage.

Benokraitis, N. V., & Feagin, J. R. (1995). *Modern sexism: Blatant, subtle, and covert discrimination* (2nd ed.). Prentice-Hall.

Biernat, M., Tocci, M. J., & Williams, J. C. (2012). The language of performance evaluations: Gender-based shifts in content and consistency of judgment. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 3*(2), 186–192.

Blanchard, F. A., Crandall, C. S., Brigham, J. C., & Vaughn, L. A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *79*, 993-997.

Calder-Dawe, O. (2015). The choreography of everyday sexism: Reworking sexism in interaction. *New Formations*, *86*, 89-105.

Chaudhuri, M. (2012). Indian "Modernity" and "Tradition": A gender analysis. *Polish Sociological Review, 178*(2), 281-293.

Chaudhuri, P. (2007). Experiences of sexual harassment of women health workers in four hospitals in Kolkata, India. *Reproductive Health Matters, 15*(30), 221-229.

Choi, S. C., & Lee, S. J. (2002). Two-component model of chemyon-oriented behaviors in Korea: Constructive and defensive chemyon. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *33*, 332-345.

Critchlow, B. (1985). The blame in the bottle: Attributions about drunken behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *11*(3), 258-274.

Czopp, A. M., Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2006). Standing up for a change: Reducing bias through interpersonal confrontation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 784–803.

Dardenne, B., Dumont, M., & Bollier, T. (2007). Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*(5), 764-779.

Delgado-Iglesias, A. J., Ortiz-López, M., Monteoliva-Sánchez, A., Aguilar-Luzón, M. D. C., & Calvo-Salguero, A. (2019). Moderating role of the experience of having had a female boss in relationship between neosexism and unfavorable attitudes toward female leaders. *The Journal of Psychology*, *153*(4), 436-461.

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *56*(1), 5-18.

Eagly, A. H., & Diekman, A. B. (2005). What is the problem? Prejudice as an attitude-in-context. In Dovidio, J. F., Glick, P., & Rudman, L. A. (Eds.) *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 19-35). Blackwell Publishing.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., & Glick, P. (2002). Emotions up and down: Intergroup emotions result from status and competition. In Mackie D. M. & Smith E. R. (Eds.) *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 247–264). Psychology Press.

Fitzgerald, L. F., & Ormerod, A. J. (1993). Breaking silence: The sexual harassment of women in academia and the workplace. In F. L., Denmark & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Psychology of women: A handbook of issues and theories* (pp. 553-581). Greenwood Press.

Fitzgerald, L. F., Swan, S., & Fischer, K. (1995). Why didn't she just report him? The psychological and legal implications of women's responses to sexual harassment. *Journal of Social Issues*, *51*, 117–138.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*, 491–512.

Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., ... & López, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *79*(5), 763.

Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry*, *18*(3), 213-231.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Prentice Hall.

Good, J. J., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). When female applicants meet sexist interviewers: The costs of being a target of benevolent sexism. *Sex Roles, 62*, 481–493.

Hernandez, M. Y., & Organista, K. C. (2013). Entertainment-education? A fotonovela? A new strategy to improve depression literacy and help-seeking behaviors in at-risk immigrant Latinas. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 52*, 224–235. DOI:10.1007/s10464–013–9587–1

Hideg, I., & Ferris, D. L. (2016). The compassionate sexist? How benevolent sexism promotes and undermines gender equality in the workplace. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *111*(5), 706.

Huang, Y., Davies, P. G., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2016). Benevolent sexism, attitudes toward motherhood, and reproductive rights: A multi-study longitudinal examination of abortion attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *42*(7), 970-984.

Jackman, M. R. (1994). *The velvet glove: Paternalism and conflict in gender, class, and race relations.* University of California Press.

Jones, K., Stewart, K., King, E., Botsford Morgan, W., Gilrane, V., & Hylton, K. (2014). Negative consequence of benevolent sexism on efficacy and performance. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *29*(3), 171-189.

Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2004). A stress and coping perspective on confronting abstract sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 28,* 168–178.

Kakar, S. & Kakar, K. (2007). *The Indians: Portrait of a people*. New Delhi: Penguin Books

India.

King, E. B., Botsford, W., Hebl, M. R., Kazama, S., Dawson, J. F., & Perkins, A. (2012). Benevolent sexism at work: Gender differences in the distribution of challenging developmental experiences. *Journal of Management*, *38*(6), 1835-1866.

Kobrynowicz, D., & Branscombe, N. R. (1997). Who considers themselves victims of discrimination? Individual difference predictors of perceived gender discrimination in women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *21*, 347–363.

Kuchynka, S. L., Salomon, K., Bosson, J. K., El-Hout, M., Kiebel, E., Cooperman, C., & Toomey, R. (2018). Hostile and benevolent sexism and college women's STEM outcomes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *42*(1), 72-87.

LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior*. John Wiley.

Lewis, J. A. (2018). From modern sexism to gender microaggressions: Understanding contemporary forms of sexism and their influence on diverse women. In C. B. Travis, J. W. White, A. Rutherford, W. S. Williams, S. L. Cook, & K. F. Wyche (Eds.), *APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and battlegrounds* (pp. 381–397). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-019

Lewis, R., Marine, S., & Kenney, K. (2018). I get together with my friends and try to change it. Young feminist students resist 'laddism,' 'rape culture' and 'everyday sexism.' *Journal of Gender Studies*, *27*(1), 56-72.

Lin, C. C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2011). Under what conditions do people feel face-loss? Effects of the presence of others and social roles on the perception of losing face in Japanese culture. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, *42*(1), 120-124.

Linton, M. (1982). Transformations of memory in everyday life. In U. Neisser (Ed.), *Memory observed* (pp. 77-91). Freeman.

Lozare, B. V., Hess, R., Yun, S. H., Gill-Bailey, A., Valmadrid, C., Livesay, A., Khan, S. R., & Siddiqui, N. (1993, October 24-28). *Husband–wife communication and family planning: Impact of a national TV drama* [Paper presentation]. 121st Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association [APHA], San Francisco, California.

Menon, N. (2012). *Seeing like a feminist*. Penguin UK.

Montañés, P., de Lemus, S., Bohner, G., Megías, J. L., Moya, M., & Garcia-Retamero, R. (2012). Intergenerational transmission of benevolent sexism from mothers to daughters and its relation to daughters' academic performance and goals. *Sex Roles*, *66*(7-8), 468-478.

Murrar, S., & Brauer, M. (2018). Entertainment-education effectively reduces prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *21*(7), 1053-1077.

Nadal, K. L., & Haynes, K. (2012). The effects of sexism, gender microaggressions, and other forms of discrimination on women's mental health and development. In P. K. Lundberg-Love, K. L. Nadal, & M. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Women's psychology: Women and mental disorders* (pp. 87-101). Praeger/ABC-CLIO.

Narayan, D. (2018). *Chup: Breaking the silence about India's women*. Juggernaut Books.

Nielsen, K. B., & Waldrop, A. (2014). *Women and gender in a changing India. In women, gender and everyday social transformation in India*. Anthem Press.

Oetzel, J. G., & Ting-Toomey, S. (2003). Face concerns in interpersonal conflict: A cross-cultural empirical test of the face negotiation theory. *Communication Research*, *30*(6), 599-624.

Ortiz, M., & Harwood, J. (2007). A social cognitive theory approach to the effects of mediated intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 51*, 615–631. DOI:10.1080/08838150701626487

Paluck, E. L. (2009). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: A field

experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*, 574–587. DOI:10.1037/a0011989

Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(3), 811-832.

Radke, H. R., Hornsey, M. J., & Barlow, F. K. (2016). Barriers to women engaging in collective action to overcome sexism. *American Psychologist*, *71*(9), 863-874.

Rudman, L. A., & Kilianski, S. E. (2000). Implicit and explicit attitudes toward female authority. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*, 1315–1328.

Sanchez Lozoya, Z. R. (2022). Working with "monstrous men": Ambivalent sexism in the Bombay film industry. *Feminist Media Studies, 22*(6), 1295-1310.

Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., & Hewes, D. E. (2006). Can one TV show make a difference? Will & Grace and the parasocial contact hypothesis. *Journal of Homosexuality, 51*, 15–37. DOI:10.1300/ J082v51n04_02

Schwarz, N., & Sudman, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Autobiographical memory and the validity of retrospective reports*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 53–84). Plenum Press.

Seligman, M. E. (1972). Learned helplessness. *Annual Review of Medicine*, *23*(1), 407-412.

Shapiro, F. R. (1985). Historical notes on the vocabulary of the women's movement. *American Speech*, *60*(1), 3-16.

Sharf, B. F., Freimuth, V. S., Greenspon, P., & Plotnick, C. (1996). Confronting cancer on thirty something: Audience response to health content on entertainment television. *Journal of Health Communication, 1*, 157–172. DOI:10.1080/108107396128121

Siddiqi, N. (2021, May). Gender inequality as a social construction in India: A phenomenological enquiry. *Women's Studies International Forum, 86*, 102472. Pergamon.

Singh, V., & Murry, B. (2019). Headship influence on population structure in Khasi Matriarchal Society. *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 10*(2), 665-668.

Singhal, A., Cody, M. J., Rogers, E. M., & Sabido, M. (Eds.). (2004). *Entertainment-education and social change: History, education, and practice*. Routledge.

Smith, B. (2018). Generalizability in qualitative research: Misunderstandings, opportunities and recommendations for the sport and exercise sciences. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 10*(1), 137-149.

Stenfors, T., Kajamaa, A., & Bennett, D. (2020). How to… assess the quality of qualitative research. *The Clinical Teacher, 17*(6), 596-599.

Stephan, W. S., & Stephan, C. W. (2013). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 33-56). Psychology Press.

Stone, D., Heen, S., & Patton, B. (2010). *Difficult conversations: How to discuss what matters most*. Penguin Books.

Sutton, R. M., Douglas, K. M., & McClellan, L. M. (2011). Benevolent sexism, perceived health risks, and the inclination to restrict pregnant women's freedoms. *Sex Roles*, *65*(7-8), 596-605.

Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *68*(2), 199-214.

Swim, J. K., & Cohen, L. L. (1997). Overt, covert, and subtle sexism: A comparison between the attitudes toward women and modern sexism scales. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 103-118.

Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me, what did you just say?! Women's public and

private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 35*, 68-88.

Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (2009). Sexism. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 407–430). Psychology Press.

Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., & Ferguson, M. J. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(1), 31-53.

Swim, J. K., Mallett, R., & Stangor, C. (2004). Understanding subtle sexism: Detection and use of sexist language. *Sex Roles*, *51*(3-4), 117-128.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 94–109). Brooks/Cole.

Tougas, F., Brown, R., Beaton, A. M., & Joly, S. (1995). Neosexism: Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *21*(8), 842-849.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.

Vidha, S. (2021, October 11). *The accessible feminism of Anupama*. Guftagu Therapy. https://guftagutherapy.in/blog

Viki, G. T., & Abrams, D. (2002). But she was unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate traditional gender role expectations. *Sex Roles*, *47*(5-6), 289-293.

Author Note

Sudha Shashwati is an Assistant Professor at the Jindal Institute of Behavioural Sciences (JIBS), O.P. Jindal Global University. Additionally, she is a trauma informed, queer affirmative psychotherapist in private practice and conducts behavioral trainings for groups and organizations. She is trained in clinical psychology from Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai and has a doctorate in Psychology from University of Delhi. Her doctoral research on masculinities and femininities in India gave rise to the current paper. Correspondence regarding this paper can be sent to her at sudha.shashwati@gmail.com.

Parul Gupta completed her undergraduate studies in Psychology from Jesus and Mary College at the University of Delhi. She went on to pursue her Post Graduate studies and earned an M.B.A. from Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad (IIM A). She currently works as a management consultant in Delhi, India where she brings her passion for social impact, her knowledge of psychology, and her business acumen to bear, striving always to make a difference in the world around her in all her endeavors. Please direct correspondence to parul.gupta75340@gmail.com.

Preeti Kapur is a retired Associate Professor from Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi, Delhi, India. She has special interests in social psychology, cultural psychology, gender studies, religious studies, and community outreach programs. Her post-retirement work with NGOs is in the areas of sexual health and hygiene, mental health awareness, safety and online protection for youth. Please direct correspondence to preeti.kapur@gmail.com.

Article Citation