

Perspective of Adolescent Girls on Gender Socialization

A Thesis

Brinda Bhattacharya

Department of Social Work, St. Xavier's College, Kathmandu University

Dhulikhel, Nepal

Research Methodology

Professor Krishna Thapa

June 17, 2021

This dissertation entitled *Perspective of Adolescent Girls on Gender Socialization* was presented by Brinda Bhattacharya on June 17, 2021 and approved by

Mr. Krishna Thapa
Thesis Supervisor

June 17, 2021

Ms. Lina Gurung
External Examiner

June 17, 2021

Mr. Jiwak Raj Bajracharya
External Examiner

June 17, 2021

Sr. Stella Davis
Head of Department, BSW

June 17, 2021

Fr. Jiju Vergese, SJ
SXC Director

June 17, 2021

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Kathmandu University Library. My signature below authorizes the release of my dissertation to any reader upon request for any scholarly purpose.

Brinda Bhattacharya

June 17, 2021

Brinda Bhattacharya,
Degree Candidate

© Copyright by Brinda Bhattacharya

2021

All rights reserved

Dedication

My mother Ms. Debanjana Bhattacharya has been with me throughout my life appreciating and making me feel that I am worth it by celebrating the most meager achievements that I have made. I feel happy to have been able to accomplish this paper and would wholeheartedly like to dedicate this to my support system my mother. I hope that this paper, if and when read by women, will empower each and every one to become a strong and independent lady like my mother and let their daughters grow up as one too.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for the candidature of any other degree,

Brinda Bhattacharya

June 17, 2021

Brinda Bhattacharya,

Degree Candidate

An Abstract of the dissertation of *Brinda Bhattacharya* for the degree of *Bachelor of Social Work* presented on June 17, 2021.

Title: *Perspective of Adolescent Girls on Gender Socialization*

Abstract Approved

Mr. Krishna Thapa

Dissertation Supervisor

This research has been conducted for the purpose of understanding the perceptions of adolescent girls from medium to low economic backgrounds on the concept of gender socialization. The research is qualitative in nature and is done using theoretical research design. The perceptions were collected through semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant/ non participant behavioral observations. The theory used in this study to analyse the data is given by Peter J. Burke in the 1990's named Identity Control Theory (ICT). Purposive sampling method was used to determine the 5 sample units constituting the sample size for the research. The collected data was transcribed and read thoroughly before analysis. Combined analysis that is thematically and theoretically has been conducted to deeply study the collected data. The findings reflected that gender socialization is prevalent and it gives rise to gender norms and stereotypes. The participants were found to be against these stereotypes and the meanings attached to particular genders. The adolescent girls are determined to change their identities as they didn't want to limit themselves within four walls as the norms wanted them to. These findings led the researcher to conclude that gender socialization has been recognized and due to this awareness it might lessen in the upcoming generations establishing gender equality.

Keywords: gender socialization, identity control theory, adolescent girls, gender role, gender stereotypes, identity change

Acknowledgement

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to many of the individuals who have helped me prepare and present this research paper because as said by Whitehead, A.N., “No one who achieves success does so without the help of others. The wise and confident acknowledge this help with gratitude.” I firstly extend my gratitude towards our Principal Fr. Augustine Thomas S.J. and Director Fr. Jiju Varghese S.J. for providing the fourth year students with this opportunity to prepare and present their research paper. I also express my deepest gratitude to our Head of Department (H.O.D) Sister Stella Davis for her support and well wishes for the research paper.

I am indebted to my research paper guide, Mr. Krishna Thapa for his continuous encouragement and words of wisdom without whom I would not have been able to complete this paper at times of such upheaval caused by the COVID 19 pandemic. I am equally indebted to our other faculty members who have always answered our queries.

In such times of pandemic also I was able to gather participants and get information from them for which I am immensely grateful to the participants for their responses and the parents for their consent through mediums made possible for them. Finally, I wish to specially express my gratitude to one and all who have in one way or another helped me during the study period.

Brinda Bhattacharya

Degree Candidate

Contents

Chapter I: Introduction..... 11

 Background.....11

 Statement of the Problem..... 12

 Rationale of the Study..... 13

 Objective of the Research..... 14

 Research Questions..... 15

 Operational Definition.....15

 Limitations..... 15

Chapter II: Literature Review..... 16

 Thematic Review.....16

 Theoretical Review..... 25

Chapter III: Research Methodology.....29

 Research Design.....29

 Area of Study..... 30

 Universe and Sample Size..... 30

 Data Sources..... 30

 Data Collection.....30

 Data Analysis..... 31

 Validity and Reliability.....31

 Ethical Considerations.....31

Chapter IV: Data Analysis and Interpretation..... 32

 Meaning of Being a Girl.....32

 Identity Verification and Gendered Concept of Self..... 35

 Gender as a Means to Resources.....37

Gender as a Master Identity.....	40
Willingness to Change Identity.....	43
Chapter V: Summary of Findings, Conclusions, Discussion and Implications.....	45
Major Findings.....	45
Conclusion.....	50
Discussion.....	51
Implications.....	53
References.....	55
Annex.....	62
Semi-Structured Interview Questionnaire.....	62
Focused Group Discussion Guideline Questions.....	64

Chapter I: Introduction

Background

My very first uprising question against gender socialization was when I was 15 years old. I could not understand why I would have to marry and go to some other household? Women being socialized to the various norms seemed so unfair to me and I even decided there will be no “KanyaDaan” in my marriage; because I felt I am not some possession to be handed away. The whole idea of changing my surname also bothered me and I felt why should I only undergo all the changes because of marriage, what changes will my husband go through after marriage? The 15 years old me was rebelling against the system and had no awareness of it being more deep rooted and tangled than that.

Then when I joined college and discussed these thoughts of mine with a friend she told me that it would make no difference if I didn't change my surname after marriage or didn't live with my in-laws after marriage because I already held my father's surname socially and legally. That day I realized that gendered socialization is an ancestral lineage passed down from generation to generation not only socially and culturally but legally and politically as well. The male ideologies and patriarchal attitudes have dominated females from occupying a status in the society making them inferior to men (Bhattacharya, 2006, p. 6). Socialization theories argue how the society reinforces stereotypical gendered socialization to shape appropriate gender based behaviors.

My experience of working with adolescent girls since my second year in college made me realize that gender socialization is not something that cannot be questioned or rebelled against. I still remember one of my students telling me that she and her family came to Kathmandu because her parents had different plans for her. Their plans did not align with the village they belonged to because instead of getting their daughter married by giving dowry they wanted her to study and become independent. Her understanding of gender bias was

quite complementary and her having strong views against it made me feel that we are moving forward to an equal society.

Through my conversations with many adolescent girls like above I have seen that there are some who align to my line of thinking but there are even girls whom I have seen taking these practices as normal and a part of the society. A clear example of this would be boys being asked not to cry and girls to handle all the household chores. Such observations rammed my curiosity to examine what are the perceptions of adolescent girls on gendered socialization.

Statement of the Problem

Gender socialization in our society enables men to gain a set of privileges and absents women from their basic needs as well if taken to two complete extremes. This shows how one gender is given the upper hand and that gender is of a man. Basically it is patriarchy that leads to gender socialization. As stated by Napikoski (2020), the concept of patriarchy has been discussed by many theories. These theories attempt to explain the stratification of power and privilege based on the grounds of gender. According to ancient Greek patriarchs as Napikoski (2020) puts it:

Power was held by and passed down through elder males; a “patriarchal society” as described by sociologist scholars means that men hold the positions of power and have more privilege like the head of the family unit, leaders of social groups, boss in the workplace, and heads of the government.

The society hence enforces the process in which people learn to behave in a way as dictated by the social belief, norms and attitudes on the basis of gender i.e. gender socialization. This is where individuals start developing their identity and roles based on their gender. This forces children to face the norms of “masculine” and “feminine” from a very

early age. This makes the girls vulnerable to face a set of discriminations in line of even basic needs like that of education, health and shelter.(UNICEF, 2007)

The ambiguous narratives of girls puts the path of our society leading to an egalitarian society into a huge risk. It is of utmost importance to recognize what girls of today want and introduce them to the outcomes of their line of thoughts. Women wanting to be treated fairly and with dignity within the system of this gender socialization will surely give a temporary fix to the problem but it would certainly not provide justice to the social movements and ideologies being enforced for liberation of women since the nineteenth century.

The perspective of adolescent girls today regarding gender socialization will have a direct impact on the society that we will refurbish for the upcoming generations. It is really important to explore their line of thought, analyse which way we want to lead our society and if the way is towards liberation or not. If it is not aligned with the idea of breaking gender roles, norms and stereotypes then we can confirm that the path our society is leading still requires much awareness and realization of the truth that individuals can't be boxed into groups and be asked to perform as per the requirements of the designated boxes. Whereas if the narratives are aligned with breaking these long followed sets of norms we will realize that our society with the rise of the new generation will take a step ahead in establishing an egalitarian environment neutral to all sexes and genders.

Rationale of the Study

When it comes to gendered socialization the path chosen can either be conformity to the gendered norms or challenging them. The research further elaborates on this statement referencing the Identity Control Theory (ICT) by Burke to study the collected perspectives of adolescent girls. The nature of gendered socialization is such that it begins even before birth where parents and families prepare the requirements of their children based on their genders. Moreover in most parts of our world knowing a girl is to be born encourages forced abortions

and lack of celebrations. We can see how children learn from their school books about role division when they see that in every picture the male is a doctor and the female is a nurse. The same children when they grow up and socialize observe and internalize the objective reality of our society where women are taken as household rearers and men as bread earners. This internalization of the social norms shut the subjective queries that boys and girls have against the system they have been brought up in. Moreover, if someone wants to speak up or take action against the system they are subjected to harassment and labellings questioning their masculinity and femininity.

As gender socialization has been a part of us since ages, questioning it will bring disturbances for sure but we cannot expect change if we do not question societal norms as well. Attaching each and everything with gender leads to discrimination which is not correct at all. The do's and don'ts in our society are more heavier when it comes to gender rather than when it comes to respecting and valuing others. I won't be wrong in saying that the gendered society of ours will raise a question on a man who chooses to be a stay at home dad rather than on that man who beats his wife daily. The former clearly has no negative impact on anyone around the man and is a personal choice but the latter in literal sense is a crime. This shows the need of our society to start recognizing how unfair gendered roles are and it is also high time for us to start evolving into a more gender neutral society. This being the case, the research will elucidate on the thoughts of girls regarding gender socialization and which way it is going to lead our society.

Objective of the Research

- i. To know the perception of adolescent girls on gender socialization.
- ii. To understand the relation between collected perceptions of adolescent girls and Peter J. Burke's Identity Control Theory (ICT).

Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions of adolescent girls regarding gender socialization?
2. What experiences have adolescent girls faced and observed forcing them to abide by gender socialized norms?
3. What experiences have adolescent girls observed in terms of domination and subordination in a gendered society?
4. Do the perceptions on gendered socialization have a relationship with Peter J. Burke's Identity Control Theory (ICT)?

Operational Definition

Gender Socialization: A process by which individuals are taught to behave socially in accordance with their assigned gender, which is based on their biological sex. It is a belief that gender differences are mostly a result of socialization and not genetic.

Limitations

A few realizations with respect to implications that the researcher had was with respect to her own methodologies and designs as well. The observation tool could be utilized more fully by making a standard observation checklist. The researcher further felt that the research would have been more interesting if it had been a comparative study either between gender socialization processes in rural and urban areas for young adolescent girls or between the experiences within gender socialization of adolescent girls and boys. This is because in the discussions the responses included sharing of how the girls are differently treated in Kathmandu and back at their villages. The participants also shared how they see boys getting beaten up more in school as punishment because they are strong and how they thought boys should also learn to cook and clean.

This made the researcher feel that she has potential topics to further research upon similar to this study. Talking with regard to the theory the researcher believes that a more

deeper study on the idea on how individuals can stay adhered to their perceptions and wait for the meaning in the society to change instead of the other way around. Feminist theories would have added more depth to the topic as well. Other than that the researcher believes that the theory very well discusses the idea of identity based on gender socialization. Addition of the social construction theory to study this phenomena would also have been interesting and better.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Thematic Review

Historical insight to gender socialization. Gender socialization across the globe is revealed through the men and women in the legends of the origin of human beings. The plot, archetypal image of men and women along with their significance stems from gender socialization (Gascon, 2018). Oral and written stories and tales tend to have a huge impact on gender socialization as values are taught to the humans in alliance with these culturally rich tales. Analysis of such tales result in the creation of myths revealing men to be the primary being from whom women are created, male legendary characters are god-like and powerful while women are made from or for men and the gender socialization is depicted to superiority of men over women.

Carl (1948) mentions Jung's collective unconscious theory that asserts how myths through archetypes reveal the psyche of a group. Hence showing how historically prominent tales promote gender socialization based on oral and written mythical stories. Gascon (2018) does an impeccable job in analysing such mythical tales which historically show the insight of gender socialization in our society; here are the findings of the analyses of the tales. Many such stories explicitly show how gods have created the male species first and are given certain forms of tasks to perform. For instance, Adam worked to keep the Garden of Eden in order and men made by Punjil in Australia who breathed into men to make them alive.

Secondly, the tales portray how women are made from or for the pre existing males. For instance, Ethiopia's Wak was not content in living alone so a woman was created or India's Prajapati transforming his daughter into a doe so he could have sex with her. Not only are women being shown as secondary human beings; they are also being objectified as bodies of lust and humans created to fulfill demands.

The archetypal images of characters in such tales also enforce certain gender roles. Portraying men through an image of god-like, god's assistant, founders, omnipotent and powerful actually displays the status quo of the gendered society we live in where men are supposed to be on top and in power. Whereas women are signified as companions, sex slaves, creation of men, small and weak displaying the contemporary situation of women in the society showing what is expected of them. A clear example is of Zimbabwe's legend of Wahungwe where Mwuetsi, the man is polygamous but Massassi, the woman is just created for pleasure. These tales signify the low participation of women in politics, technology and management. It also highlights the present global scenario with high crime rates against women based on the objectification of their gender.

Historically with regards to power we know how only men were considered warriors and women were left behind in warfare. The England's Married Women's Property Act (until 1882) was discriminatory itself suggesting how women needed the consent of their husbands to get access to their bank accounts and properties (Kimball, 1997). Women since then could not be a part of capitalist growth as they could not ever own their own property. Let us talk about the laws in Nepal itself which reflect complications when it comes to obtaining citizenship or right to property. All these legal and political frameworks are made within the society implying it is also a part of gendered socialization. These creations of mythical characters and their significance in our cultures prominently assert the need for separate

gender roles and attitudes showcasing the importance of gender socialization being passed on from generation to generation.

Discrepancy between sex and gender. When we try and analyse any issue with regards to gender in certain occasions it is interchangeably referred to as sex which is extremely misleading. This often occurs as the idea of gender revolves around masculinity and femininity (Mehta, 2020). As put by Blackstone (2003) gender is a concept created socially by humans through interactions whereas sex is about the biological differences between males and females upon which gender is highly reliable. Sex is ascribed by biology whereas gender is an achieved active status (West and Zimmerman, 1987). The major reason for misinterpretation of sex and gender is usually because these concepts intertwine upon the masculine roles and feminine roles set aside for the humans on the basis of sex. For a layman as very well put by Mehta (2020) gender of a person is directly linked to sex and gender becomes a binary concept and by the time an individual realizes that gender is more than man or woman, the idea is so deeply engrained that the rigidity of perceptions cannot be broken.

To correctly understand the discrepancy between the two we can look into Furlong (2013) who explains that a person's masculinity or femininity is not innate, it is something learned and relearned over and over. These are active statuses meaning they are not what we are but mostly what we do and how we think of ourselves. It is how we identify ourselves and others. Let us take an example of baby showers where the child is still not born but the family might provide different colors for gender reveal; preferably pink for girls and blue for boys and theme their rooms with certain girl or boy appropriate items. The child will be taught what is appropriate for his sex meaning his/her/their gender is not innate but actually learnt and internalized.

Gender roles, stereotypes and discrimination. Gender is socially constructed whereby certain roles are expected to be played by women and certain by men (Hoominfar,

2019). Gender can be taken as a social system of differences based on norms and displayed through roles. Ridgeway and Correll (2004) explain this system to be multilevel involving cultural beliefs and distribution resources on the macro level, patterns of behavior and organizational practices in the interactional level and selves and identities at the micro level. So, basically gender socialization impacts the individual, society and even policies as it is the process that honors the multi tier system of gender based on biased binary norms enforcing roles that lead to stereotype formations and discriminations.

Millet (2005) notes that gender roles can be the main factors asserting domination of men over women in the patriarchal system. Gender socialization is a process where gendered norms are passed to ensure gender specific roles are played such as the man to be a provider and women a caretaker. Society defines roles for men and women which help to create stereotypes. Stereotypes are mostly based on what is expected of us. For instance women are expected to embrace fashion and make up but boys are mocked for the same. Men are expected to be interested in technology and sports but women are praised if they are aware of these streams. Heilman, Prentice and Carranza (2002) give a very appropriate example of how women are not taken to be suitable for managerial jobs because they are expected to be weak but men are because they are supposed to be born leaders. The norms, roles, stereotypes are created and passed down through gender socialization. The below discussed sub themes will provide more knowledge on this theme.

Gender shapes social relations in urban places. This sub theme is necessary for the reason that the area of study for this paper is an urban area. Huning (2015) states how genderization of spaces is being effectively witnessed when it comes to urban areas. It means that urban areas participate to reinforce gender differences. An example of this would be as observed by Raibaud (2015) on open air urinals in streets of French cities. None of the hygiene protections were present causing women not to be present at public places due to

discomfort and lack of resources. Moreover the traditional labour division demarcates the private and public spaces enforcing women to be actively part of the former (Aly, 2015).

This fact is argued by the marxist feminists who lay forward the fact that women are discriminated against because they are used as free labour and exploited by men rich or poor. In the contemporary society of Kathmandu we can also observe how women are expected to do household chores in addition to their work because it is a space they traditionally share i.e. private space. They are welcome to step in the public space not at the cost of giving up private space which is not the case for men.

Another notable fact is of “invisible walls” which is discussed by Di Meo (2012) who says that women are a victim to gender socialization in urban spaces as they have limited safety in public spaces. Men are more seen to roam around freely and own spaces rather than women. This can be proven to exist in forms of harassment against women in public spaces. 80% of girls and women in Kathmandu were found to be sexually harassed in public transport as of 2011 aged between 12-35 years (Taylor, 2011). There is news of public place crimes against women on a daily basis rebuilding the invisible wall and restricting women to be a part of the spaces.

Gender expectations for men. Nelson and Carter (2019) discuss how masculinity is usually defined as what is not feminine rather than femininity being defined as what is not masculine. We can also observe that a deviated gender based behavior is more punitive to boys than girls. The same authors interestingly discuss this fact prompting how femininity is seen to be weak for men whereas masculinity is seen strong for women establishing double standards to the process of gender socialization. Sawyer, Brewster and Breslow (2007) discuss how men are inundated with messages of ideal masculinity at home, school and by images of various stereotypical behaviors. If men are not traditionally masculine they are labeled in heterosexist ways such as being labeled gay or girly.

On the basis of research conducted by Edwards and Jones (2009) men displayed the need of wearing a mask i.e. presenting themselves on the basis of what is expected of them from the society and what is taken to be treated as masculine. For example african american men are more expressive than latino men based on the needs of their cultures (Sawyer, Brewster and Breslow 2007). Men also mentioned stereotypes based on intersectional characteristics like that of race and ethnicities. Men are usually prone to the fear of femininity because the threshold for society against feminine men is pretty low.

Gender and emotional display rules. We all know the age old phrases like “strong men do not cry” or “tears are for women” which has reinforced us to behave emotionally strong or weak depending on our gender. To be masculine is to be strong and tough whereas to be feminine is to have compassion, care and love. Researches have shown that males and females have similar regard to emotionality (Nelson and Carter, 2019) but still when we primarily socialize we come across such gendered rules on display of emotions. Females are negatively viewed for displaying anger whereas males are appreciated. Men and women are taught to react to their emotions differently as per the norms of our gendered society.

Gender socialization is also about how children observe and learn. A male child will be reinforced to behave like his father in anger which is mostly displayed in muted actions or violence whereas a girl will be reinforced to behave like her mother in anger which is providing words of encouragement or display worry for her child .

Gendered activities. A very important role played in gendered activity is the differences on the basis of colors, toys, clothing, occupations and stories which are taught to children since early childhood. This process leads them to conduct or be a part of the pre existing normative gendered activities. Black (n.d.) explains how environmental influences like that of store toys, fashion magazines, comic books, media, advertisements, sports and social dynamics influence the gender roles of both the sexes. He also conducted a survey on

toy departmental stores where the toys were listed and rated according to the gender role reinforcement stimuli which best described the best impact of toys on gender roles. He concluded how toy manufacturers produce and store advice based on the expected gender roles. Boy toys were listed under arms, ammunations, robot and cars whereas girls toys were under kitchen sets, barbies and soft toys. This explains the gendered activities regarding play and fun based on gendered socialization.

Gendered activities are mostly supported by media which affect gender socialization. Liu (2006) mentions how the media communicates the ideas about what is gender appropriate behavior for boys and girls. The researcher stresses on studies which show that children who watch more T.V. have more gender-stereotypical views on men and women. Burns (1996) also adds that media influences choice of clothing, friends and career aspirations. Media also provides feedback and commenting especially social media where gender socialization comes into play. To be a part of the society girls and boys start to follow what they are asked to in the comments. Liu (2006) discusses how mostly men on social media are seen to be viewing video games and hacking tutorials and women are seen surfing social media, communicating and watching beauty tutorials. This is a clear demarcation between the gendered activities.

Advertisements such as that of the washing powder Nirma show women washing clothes and men wearing that shiny cloth while going to office which reinforces gender stereotypes which are highly sexist in nature. There are advertisements objectifying women and glorifying men as well. Such porters of gender socialization give rise to the gendered activities.

Gender and academic expectations. Teachers are also facilitators of gender socialization which can be seen by the example of girl versus boy games stating girls and boys are different to reinforce the gender norms. This shows organizational techniques in creating different gender roles and stereotypes. Females are socialized to receive high

behavior scores in school years enforcing teachers to expect more from female students than males. Male students are not expected to perform well and to be disruptive in nature. As girls are expected to perform better they usually do whereas boys don't feel like achieving academic credentials (Nelson and Carter, 2019).

Alder, Kless and Adler (1992) also explain how boys are usually negatively sanctioned by teachers rather than girls, thinking them to be strong and more resilient to pain. Boys end up thinking academic performance is not masculine and girls think the opposite. This norm sets up stereotypes expecting girls to perform better academically than boys.

Agents of gender socialization. Gender socialization is a process that starts even before any of us are born. Comments made such as "Hopefully it will be a boy!" proves this fact laying the foundation of gender socialization (Kim, 2007). Children start experiencing what to do and what not to based on preconceived gender norms and stereotypes of the society. Right from the beginning boys and girls are treated differently and different expectations are held from them based on their gender (Kim, 2007). As discussed by Hoominfar (2019) the major agents of gender socialization are described below.

Family. Girls and boys usually take on different identities as feminine and masculine because of the different treatment done to them by parents. Emolu (2014) along with Leaper and Farkas (2014) discuss how parents have different expectations based on their child's gender. Parents create a gendered world by purchasing gender specific toys, books, clothes and even decorations of the rooms. They behave differently with boys and girls even while showing emotions of disgrace and anger. Children get more dependent on gender roles and internalize them based on their parents' gendered ideologies (Hoominfar, 2019). Children internalize the behavior which is reinforced by the parents (Lawson et al. 2015). This can be so ingrained causing them to display discriminations based on gender. An example of this

agent would be a son being told by his father to stop playing with dolls because it is “girly” and the son internalizing it to be “wrong” because his father said so.

Peers. Leaper and Friedman (2007) have stated that peers have a strong impact on forming gender self-concepts and stereotypes through interactions and friendships. Girls and boys might be prohibited from creating friendships not acceptable by society. We all know the common saying that boys and girls can’t be friends which is also a stereotypical thing to say. Boys and girls segregate after pre school reinforcing gender roles and stereotypes to build their identities (Leaper and Farkas, 2014; Witt 2000). Hoominfar (2019) discusses how children do not just play but they try out behaviors with one another and if rewarded they continue to carry on with the same behavior. An example of this agent would be a girl being complimented on a lipstick shade making her confident to apply it regularly for praises.

School. Molla (2016) explains that children learn attitudes and behaviors at home which are reinforced by peers of the child and the school experience. The researcher also mentions how in certain cultures boy’s attendance is low as they are expected to earn for the family while in some cultures girl’s attendance is low because they are married off at a really young age. We sit in the same classroom, read the same texts and are guided by the same teachers but still education is gendered as boys are expected to participate more in technical subjects and girls in compassionate ones. Teachers expect girls to be more polite and boys more oblivious due to which boys are expected to get in trouble, suspended and even expelled (Molla, 2016).

Most of the girls take leadership roles in school as it is expected of them but not so many girls are in power in the real world as the society won’t accept that. These double standards are endorsed by women unconsciously and questions are not raised. Textbook analysis also shows how roles are internalized by boys and girls. Gender stereotypes are highly promoted through books as said by Kereszty (2009). An example of this would be

teachers asking boys to carry chairs to the auditorium for a function or girls reading fairy tales expecting boys to be knights in shining armors.

Theoretical Review

For the purpose of this research certain assertions of the Identity Control Theory given by Peter J. Burke in the 1990's has been reviewed to put forward a well studied theoretical research design. The Identity Control Theory hereafter ICT grows out of identity theory (Stryker, 1994; Stryker and Burke, 2000) and the symbolic interaction theory (Stryker, 1980). To commence with, these two theories that support the ICT with respect to gender socialization have been briefly explained below.

Identity theory. As per this theory identity is a set of self-meanings. When it comes to gender it would be the degree to which individuals see themselves as masculine or feminine which is the gender role identity and as controlling or not controlling to others which is a personal identity (Burke and Stets, 1996). When we say "doing gender" originated by Zimmerman in 1987 is an act which is unavoidable across situations as male/female are master identities that are meanings tied to roles shaping how our society is. In this theory the congruency between self perceptions and identity standard is maintained (Burke, 1991; Stets and Burke, 1994). This means that if our perception of the gender we belong to is similar to the standard set by our society for that gender there is no problem but if discrepancies arise an error signal is sent and we tend to align ourselves to the identity standards.

For example, if a woman who plays sports is deemed to be more masculine she will try to engage herself in feminine roles as per the theory. In our patriarchal society masculinity is defined as dominance, assertiveness, autonomy and competitiveness whereas femininity is defined as submissiveness, cooperativeness and sensitivity (Ashmore, Del Boca, and Wohlers, 1986; Deaux 1987). This shows how masculinity is taken in the negative manner and femininity in the positive manner.

Symbolic interaction theory. This theory explains that behavior is based on the names given to people and in terms of their position in society which are the symbols. These labels are internalized as identities of the people that help construct their “self”. These symbols or labels are in constant interaction with one another tying the individuals into various relationships. For example, with respect to the roles, the mother is tied to her children. Again we need to be mindful that the symbol “mother” comes with its own labels, positions and expectations in the society (Burke, 1990).

Below is the review of the assertions from the ICT theory relevant to this research to analyse the perspective of adolescent girls on gender socialization.

Meaning. According to Burke (1990) identities are formed around the concept of meanings. For example, what does it mean to be a Nepali? He also defines identity as a set of meanings which is applied in a social role that states who one is. The definition of meaning is a response to a certain stimuli (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957). Further it is exerted that symbol is the stimulus that generates response. For example, the stimulus girl brings up the set of meanings like need to play dress up or be a helping hand in household chores. The meaning is defining what it means to be a girl. These are common responses which lead to common expectations of the society that we are a part of. The theory distinguishes between two types of meanings (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1956):

Symbolic meanings: These are responses to the stimuli that are shared with others. For example, the symbol of a house is a space to live in.

Sign meanings: These are stimuli whose meanings are usually not shared with others but helps manipulate the resources in the situation. For example, a person might use a house to live in but feels the absence of other members in the house and doesn't enjoy loneliness so puts out a vacancy for a roommate.

Control of perceptions. According to Burke (1990) identity is taken as a control system with four components that are described below:

Identity standard: This is the set of meanings attached to a particular identity. Usually set by the society.

Perceptions/ meanings in situations: These are the self defining meanings to identities generated within the individuals.

Comparator: This compares the identity standard and perceptions in the situation to keep the congruence in check.

Discrepancy or error: This is the output function that represents the difference between the identity standard and perceptions. If this occurs it leads to change in behavior or situational meanings through modification of perception to match the identity standard or vice versa which is the longer process.

This urge of people to maintain congruence is known as identity verification as they keep verifying their perceptions with respect to the identity standard.

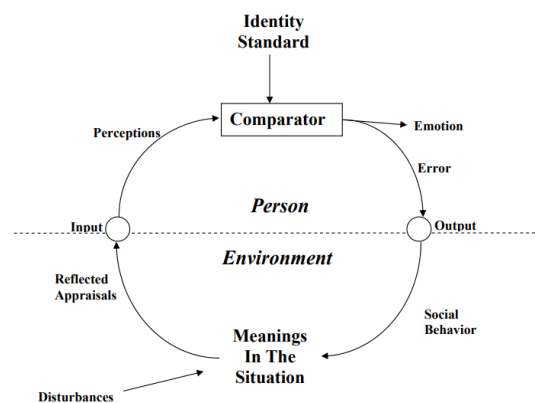


Figure 1. Identity Model

Adapted from New Directions in Identity Control Theory, Sets & Burke. (2005).

Advances in Group Processes. p. 45.

Resources. Here as per Burke (1990) resources are defined as what they do not what they are and they are of two types:

Actual: They are resources sustaining people or groups in the present to solve a certain problem. For example, the chair is supporting the person while sitting. This is controlled by sign meaning as we are using the resources.

Potential; These are resources that are not in use for the present but can be used later. For example, a chair that is not in use by anyone to sit. This is controlled by symbolic meanings through thinking, planning and action.

When it comes to resources the positions and master identities provide source to usage. For example, a man is respected and expected to use machines such as cars.

The bases of identity. The three bases of identity as per Burke (1990) are role identities, social identities and personal identities. The role identity would be associated with identities as a parent or a teacher, the social identity would state identities with respect to nationality or religion and personal identity is all about the uniqueness expressed through adjectives like smart, diligent, etc. The interesting part in this is that the identities in top of the hierarchy have outputs that set standards for the identities in the lower levels whose output leads to behaviour change. Higher level identities hence act like general principles to the lower level identities. Gender also is a master identity that falls in the higher level imposing how in our culture one is not just a child but a male child or a female child with a role and status of their own. The gender we own changes the roles we are expected to play.

Identity change. Yes it is true that the easiest way of acting against the discrepancy is change in the self perceptions or meanings in the situation to align with identity standards but as per Burke (1990) ICT recognizes the less obvious change i.e. the slow change of identity standard in the direction of situational meanings. In this it is also stated that the identities of people with less power came in alignment with the perception meanings provided by people in higher power. For instance the identity standard for children is set by their parents.

Changes in identity can also be taken as the change in meanings of identity standard. For example, a change in the meaning of being a wife. The rule is not always that only self perceptions change to match standard but also that due to higher level identities associated with master or personal identities the identity standard of that of the lower level changes of time to match the situations of the higher level identities.

There are two general sources of identity change as per the theory.

Problems in identity verification: This is the disturbance caused to the identity standard due to self perceptions which are not in alignment with the expected behavior. For example the identity standard of a husband is to be the bread earner but the husband chose to be a homemaker which is seen to create an error in the system.

Multiple identities conflict: When a person has various identities it causes internal conflict. For example, when a person is a student as well as a daughter there is conflict within her when the identity standard of being a daughter is to complete household chores and that of a student is to complete her assignments in time. The person is more likely to compromise on an identity which she perceives to be less important.

Chapter III: Research Methodology

Research Design

The research design used is theoretical in nature and is used to predict, explain and understand the phenomenon of gender socialization in adolescents in the realm of “Gender” within the Identity Control Theory (ICT). In this study the researcher used this design to critically examine one master identity i.e. gender of the Identity Control Theory (ICT) related to gender socialization to assert its prominence through the responses of participants which are concerned with the topic of the study. The researcher is inclined to understand the theoretical assumptions related to gendered socialization and collect data to observe if or not the theory is of relevance to the experiences of girls with relation to gender socialization.

Area of Study

The researcher's area of study is Kupundole, Lalitpur.

Universe and Sample Size

The universe for this research is the adolescent girls i.e. aged 10-19 years, enrolled in public schools of Kupondole. For the purpose of this research, economically the adolescent girls belong from families with annual income of Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 1,20,000 or less. They reside in a two room or one room low rent area and have a composition of more than three members in their families. The research used a purposive sampling method to select the sample as there were the above criterias set for the requirement of participants. The sample size consists of 5 participants who belong to the given criterias.

Data Sources

This research has used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was collected through open ended questions, observation (participant or non participant/ behavioral), semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions whereas secondary data was collected through newspaper articles, journals and various conversations.

Data Collection

Data collection was done through observation (participant or non participant/ behavioral), semi structured interviews conducted twice which consisted of open ended questions and three focus group discussions on issues related to gender socialization as discovered during the literature review. The anonymity of the participants was maintained upon their request.

Data Analysis

The data of interviews were recorded for the purpose of tabulation. Necessary data was edited and cited from the recorded interviews. Minutes were maintained from the focus group discussions and even those were recorded which were later tabulated and analysed.

Thematic analysis and theoretical analysis were used to gather a critical insight on the issues regarding gender socialization faced and observed by women. The analysis was done based on a mix of inductive and deductive coding using open and axial codes. Microsoft Word was used to maintain the transcribed scripts and Microsoft Excel was used for color coding both the codes. The analysis also helped to conclude the scale of reliability for the theory explaining gender socialization.

Credibility and Confirmability

The perspectives of the participants were recorded and transcribed. Before presenting them in this paper they were shared with the individual participants who affirmed to the analysis of their perceptions confirming it didn't give a different meaning other than the actual view points.

To establish the confirmability the researcher ensures that the study is based on the experiences of the participants and how those experiences have framed their perceptions regarding the matter at hand. The theory used was also the center point of the analysis with which the participants' perceptions and experiences were compared and contrasted. The conclusions reached by the research is solely based on the collected data through the aforementioned techniques.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics is one of the most important components of any research. Keeping this in mind, this research also went through the necessary ethical considerations. All the participants and their parents were asked for their consent in every step of their involvement beginning from if they wanted to be a part of this study up until the approval of transcribed data being used for the study. The confidentiality of participants has been respected as per their requests. The participants were given their right to withdraw as well. Even the secondary data collected has been cited in a correct and effective manner.

Chapter IV: Data Analysis and Interpretation

As already mentioned in the *Data Analysis* section, the collected data was analysed with the help of thematic coding using MS Word and MS Excel computer applications. The data has been theoretically interpreted and analysed as the research design aims to gather information aligned with the theory of identity control. The themes below have been induced as per the collected data and deduced with respect to the thematic and theoretical review. Hence both inductive and deductive approaches have been used to generate the analysis given below.

Meaning of Being a Girl

The data was collected based on Burke's statement under ICT which said that identity is constructed through a set of meanings. For the purpose of this study the meaning of being a girl was asked to the participants. For all the participants the meaning of girl was to wear makeup, dress up, do household chores, be emotional, caring and limit themselves within the houses. Whereas the meaning of being a boy was to be interested in sports, physically strong, interested in vehicles and working to earn for the family. An interesting observation was that the participants also said that pink color defines a girl and blue color defines a boy. Girls according to them are the smart and the academically great ones whereas boys are naughty and keep causing troubles. So, the responses show the stereotypes that are attached to belonging to a certain gender.

The responses elaborate that gender socialization includes the *role of individuals based on their genders*. As said by Hoominfar (2019), gender is socially constructed whereby certain roles are expected to be played by women and certain by men. It can be taken as a social system of differences based on norms and displayed through roles. From this study the researcher found out that the participants had an image in their heads which the society has had from history long with regard to being a “girl” or “boy”. Most of this meaning that they

gave was based on the role that they knew were expected of women in our patriarchal society. These responses confirmed the process of gender socialization to exist where the gendered norms are passed to ensure gender specific roles such as a man to be a provider and a woman to be the caretaker. These gendered roles are one of the main factors asserting domination of men over women (Millet, 2005). In the above paragraph we can see how “strength” in particular has been taken as a characteristic of a boy. This aligns with the example given by Heilman, Prentice and Carranza (2002) where women are not taken to be suitable for managerial jobs because they are weak and given to men because they are born leaders. The meaning of being a girl has not yet changed because it is being passed down from generation to generation through gender socialization.

The meaning given to men also supports the sub theme in the literature review of this research which is *gender expectations from men*. The respondents answered stating that the boys or men go out, have vehicles and earn for their families whereas females only work within four walls. Even if a woman works out of house her meaning as a woman puts the responsibility of the household chores on her. Masculinity has to be maintained by the boys in homes, schools and other institutions (Sawyer, Brewster and Breslow, 2007). The sub theme of *emotional display rules* that discusses women being emotional is also one of the important attached meanings to being a girl. Researches have shown that males and females have similar regard to emotionality but still the responses show that when we primarily socialize we come across such gendered rules on display of emotions.

Alder, Kless and Adler (1992) explain how boys are usually negatively sanctioned by teachers rather than girls, thinking them to be strong and more resilient to pain. This can be a reason to have boys deemed to be naughtier. Boys might not think academics is masculine or something important to them but on the other hand girls are conditioned differently. Females are socialized to receive high behavior scores in school years, forcing teachers to expect more

from female students than males showing *organizational role in gender socialization* (Nelson and Carter, 2019).

Analysing through the ICT we need to understand that the theory exerts response to a stimulus to define meanings (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957). The stimuli is usually a symbol where symbols are any universal behavior or object in the environment. The responses show that symbols related to being a girl are the color pink, emotions, cleaning, rearing children and cooking which are the stimuluses. This results in the meaning of a girl to be a weak individual with emotional needs whose responsibility is to do the household chores. Now, the two types of meanings can be analysed through the following responses:

Symbolic meanings: These are responses to shared stimuli. Let us see in the regard of a school whose symbol for a girl is that she has academic achievement and discipline because maximum research supports this based on a participant's response that girls study well and boys are always up to mischief.

Sign meanings: These are stimuli which aren't shared with others but help manipulate resources. Let us see with regard to the color pink which is only a stimulus to girls though it is a universal color. This is based on the response that girls like pink color.

After the sharing of the collected data and its justification with respect to the thematic and theoretical review let us look at its interpretation and analysis. It can be said the meaning of being a girl is based on the primary socialization of the participants to begin with. All the mothers of the participants are home makers which shows why the responses aligned to the above discussed meanings. All the participants also have male family members especially siblings which added to their experiences where they were discriminated against. They observed how they were treated as girls and their siblings as boys. This helped them to generate the above discussed meanings with respect to girls.

Their socialization in secondary aspects like friends and families also has an effect on their meanings. The symbols and signs with respect to being a girl are mostly due to the secondary socialization. The experiences where they saw boys getting badly punished in schools or asking to carry chairs and participate in sports helped them develop the meaning of boy and how they are taken to be strong. Their girl friends' interest in make-up and dressing up further confirmed their meanings which they developed in the family. So, the stimuli is received in their primary socialization which helps them form a meaning and then it is reconfirmed through their secondary socialization. This is how the meaning of being a girl is developed and communicated.

Identity Verification and Gendered Concept of Self

In the above theme the meaning of being a girl was explored which as per the Identity Control Theory is set by the society. The same theory states that an individual's self defining meanings to identities is their perception and the comparator compares these two. If there is a difference then discrepancy or error is seen which leads the people to minimize these differences. This urge of people to fill the gap is known as identity verification which was seen happening with the participants as well. The above meaning of girl is mainly to indulge in household chores and caring activities to which the participants try to match even if they individually want different things. They get guilty if they do not match the meaning of being a girl. Below a response is quoted which shows the process of identity verification:

“ One night my brother came home very late at 11:00 p.m. Everybody in the house was asleep. He was hungry and the food for him was already there in the kitchen. All he had to do was to warm the food and eat it. Still he started shaking me so that I woke up and warmed the food for him to eat. I got so angry because what he was doing was wrong. Just because I was a girl and as per the family my role was to deal with food why should I disturb my sleep? I didn't listen to him and slept. The next

morning I came to know that he warmed the food and ate it himself. Instead of feeling good that I slept and he did the work which he should have done anyways, I felt guilty. I felt why couldn't I do it for him and I didn't know where that guilt came from."

The participant felt this way because she was trying to verify her identity. Though her perception of the situation was asking her to prioritize her sleep which she did and it did not match the meaning of being a girl. Due to this discrepancy she felt the guilt which she didn't want to feel at all. There is another response from a participant as well which explains the process of identity verification:

"I do not like to wear makeup or dresses which girls normally wear. I feel like I am putting too much effort into how I look. I also don't want to dress up to get the attention of boys because I am not interested in that. I say that I am a tomboy but my friends who are girls make fun of me. They say that I look ugly and that I should use makeup. If I sometimes put eyeliner on, they get shocked and tell me I should wear it daily. I don't understand why they like me on the basis of if or not I am looking like a girl. It frustrates me because I feel I have done nothing wrong to be made fun of."

Here the participant is praised and accepted by her friends when she wears eyeliner which matches the meaning of being a girl that is doing makeup. She is mocked when she doesn't dress up or do make up which is because of her own perception which states that what you wear or how you look doesn't define if you are a girl or not. There is a discrepancy between her perception and the meaning of being a girl that is the cause of her frustration.

Moving on to the thematic analysis, through the first response we can see the role of her family which has led to gender socialization and through the second response we can see the role of her friends which has led to gender socialization. These experiences support the *agents of gender socialization* given by Hoominfar (2019) reviewed in the second chapter of

this study where *family* and *peers* are two of the major agents. In the experience of the participant where she felt guilty of not warming the food for her brother, Kim's (2007) explanation that right from the beginning boys and girls are treated differently and different expectations are held from them based on their gender is very suited. Here the girl and boy have been treated differently in their family which made her brother call her in the middle of the night just to prepare and serve food to him. As highlighted by Lawson et al. (2015) children internalize the behaviors reinforced by parents which explains why she felt guilty when she didn't behave and act as a "girl".

The frustration caused to the participant due to her friends' idea of being a girl shows that peers have a strong impact on forming gender self-concepts and stereotypes through interactions and friendships (Leaper and Friedman 2007). She did not conform to the concept and stereotypes of being a girl that is why she got mocked by her friends. When she conformed to the concepts then she was praised and motivated to repeat that behavior. When it comes to the ICT by Burke (1990's) the discussion of how the participants were seen to have different self perceptions than the meanings of being a girl has already been conducted above. The comparator compared these differences and then when there is a discrepancy the participants reported feeling bad which they don't think they need to feel.

Gender as a Means to Resources

Burke (1990) defines resources to be what they do and not what they are. So, basically with respect to gender socialization resources are items that enforce "doing gender". The meanings attached to gender differentiates the access to resources to the different genders. The participants unanimously agreed that based on what the society says girls and boys have access to different resources since childhood. Three of the participants with elder brothers responded saying that they never got to play with their brothers because playing football, cars and running on the street was not a girl's game. One participant explained how

badly she wanted a remote control helicopter for her birthday but instead she got a barbie doll. She continuously cried but her mother laughed it off saying, "Play with the barbie, you are not a boy!" The fifth participant shared how in the school the boys were given balls and bats to play football, basketball and cricket but girls were given skipping, ludo and badminton in the sports period. They shared how their mothers didn't like it when they stayed out for long periods of time. One participant shared that she couldn't wear pants because it is not respectful. She was sad that she always had to wear kurta suruwal. The participants shared how their relatives in the village backbited about them with their parents because they were studying or wearing pants.

Let us begin to interpret and analyse the above discussed data. Due to society's idea of what a girl should do and what a boy should do, the resources available are also divided in that way. This idea of availability of resources to girls and boys for completion of the expected outcomes is known as *gendered activities*. Black (n.d.) explains how environmental influences like that of store toys, fashion magazines, comic books, media, advertisements, sports and social dynamics influence the gender roles of both the sexes. The responses show how resources of sports, pants, urban spaces, cars and helicopters are used by boys whereas that of barbies, house, kurta suruwal and ludo are used by girls. This differentiation can be seen in Black's research in toy stores and the differentiated toys for genders also shows how resources for the genders are defined.

The researcher believes that the separation of resources is also reinforced by various forms of media. Burns (1996) adds that media influences choice of clothing, friends and career aspirations. There are many instances in the media where women wearing traditional clothes are shown to be good and decent but those wearing modern clothes are shown to be the vamps. This portrayal of decent women in media defines the participants' experiences of getting scolded and tabooed when she wears pants. The resource of modern urban clothing

like pants is not something respectful for a girl to wear. When it comes to the shared experiences of only getting dolls to play at home and skipping, badminton or ludo to play at school, Hoominfar (2019) discusses how children do not just play but they try out behaviors with one another and if rewarded they continue to carry on with the same behavior. The responses of the participants who wanted to play with their brothers but were quietened by their mothers is a perfect example for this citation.

The researcher believes that a major reason for resources that can be used by girls and boys is internalized through textbooks discussed in *school as an agent of gender socialization*. Gender stereotypes are highly promoted through books as said by Kereszty (2009). Out of curiosity the researcher had thrown one question in the focused group discussion and it became an interesting question to the participants. The responses were affirmative and there was one instance where a participant said that she thought she could never be a doctor as in her books males were doctors and females were nurses. Then when she visited the hospital and got treated by a female doctor she realized that girls can also be doctors. So, even media and books are sources of the cause of gendered socialization.

A very interesting response was upon mothers having to worry when their daughters stay out of the house late but it is not the same for boys. This is related to how *gender shapes relations in urban places*. Di Meo (2012) discusses “invisible walls”; he says that women are a victim of gender socialization in urban spaces as they have limited safety in public spaces. So, when girls are not allowed to go outside late at night or expected to complete work within the house it means that they are not freely allowed to use the resources out of their “invisible walls”. If we look at it, this fact is argued by the marxist feminists who lay forward the fact that women are discriminated against because they are used as free labour and exploited by men rich or poor. As seen by the experiences of these participants, they are welcome to step in the public space not at the cost of giving up private space which is not the case for men.

Burke has given two types of resources and the responses show that in the case of gender socialization there are very minimal potential resources. This means that the resources are already assigned and available to a particular gender based on their sign meanings. Like the participant had potential to use the helicopter but couldn't because her sign meaning was to play with dolls and she got a Barbie as her actual resource. It is surprising to see that most meanings are sign meanings when it comes to gender leading up to only actual resources to the girls and boys. Basketball is a potential resource because it can be used by girls or boys but gender socialization has made it an actual resource in schools which is only available to boys.

Gender as a Master Identity

Gender is one of the master identities because when we are born we are not just a human being but a girl or boy similar to religion or caste which is also a master identity. Master identities hold great power as it comes into action since our birth or in this case before birth itself. Parents do gender reveals with blue color for boys and pink for girls even before the children are born. Master identities also have meanings passed down from generation to generation. The identities of girls can be interpreted and analysed from the following responses of the participants:

“A girl doesn't have her own identity, when she is born she is taken as *phalano ko* (*someone's*) daughter and once she is married she becomes *phalano ko* (*someone's*) wife.”

“A girl's identity doesn't matter because no matter how many daughters you have, a son is always needed. I myself am the eldest daughter with 3 younger brothers. I see how no matter how bad they do they are the *chirags* (lights) of the house whereas I am nothing no matter how good I do.”

“When I refused to wash the dishes once my mother told me that if I don’t do the household chores well in my in-laws house and they kick me out she will not let me come back. For her this is not my home and it is her duty to teach me how to survive in my real home after marriage.”

“I hear my relatives back in the village suggesting my parents to get me married because a young girl gets spoiled if not married. All my friends back in the village are married. When my parents say that I am studying they say not to spend money on my education and save it for dowry. According to them, education will take me nowhere but dowry will help me get a good husband and in-laws who won’t abuse me.”

“I want to cut my hair short and wear a jeans t-shirt because that is what I want but my father told me that long hair defines a girl’s beauty and kurta suruwal defines a girl’s character.”

“My sister jokingly asks my brother if he has a girlfriend but scolds me if she sees me walking with boys. Being a girl it is *chada (immodest)* to hang out with boys.”

The above responses show that gender defines who they are and what they should do as girls and nothing is based on their potential and wants. This shows how gender is a huge master identity because it puts individuals into boxes of dos and don'ts just based on society’s idea of gender. As discussed in *gender roles, stereotypes and discrimination*, the culture that we follow also has a huge effect on gender to make it a master identity and a catalyst to gender socialization. Ridgeway and Correll (2004) explain this system to be multilevel involving cultural beliefs. There is a policy with respect to child rights and dowry system which clearly prohibits child marriage and dowry. There are punishments for those who don’t follow but still the responses of participants show how prevalent child marriage and dowry is. So, basically gender socialization impacts the individual, society and even policies as it is the process that honors systems of gender based on biased binary norms.

Under *gender and emotional display* we discussed the statement of Nelson and Carter (2019) which suggested that a male child will be reinforced to behave like his father in anger which is mostly displayed in muted actions or violence whereas a girl will be reinforced to behave like her mother in anger which is providing words of encouragement or display worry for her child. This shows how the identity of a boy and a girl is being passed down by members of the family older than them. The behaviour of the parents under the emotion of anger is becoming the standard meaning for the child to behave accordingly when they are angry. This conforms to the ICT of Burke where identities in the top of the hierarchy have outputs that set standard for the lower levels. In this case parents stating standards for their children; the response where the father explains how long hair is the idea of beauty and *kurta suruwal* is the idea of modesty for a girl to her daughter when she argues to cut her hair and wear jeans is aligned with this assumption of the theory.

Comments made such as “Hopefully it will be a boy!” proves this fact laying the foundation of gender socialization (Kim, 2007) discussed within *agents of gender socialization*. The participant who shared how a girl doesn’t have an identity because she is either someone’s daughter or wife and no matter what a family always requires a son aligns to this foundation. The sons in the house of the respondents are celebrated, allowed to do whatever they want and adored which shows how elite the identity of a boy is. When it comes to them they are scolded if they don’t want to do household chores, go out with friends who are boys and wear modern clothes. The girls become immodest if they do that.

Family is one of the most important agents of socialization and so is believed by the researcher. Emolu (2014) along with Leaper and Farkas (2014) discuss how parents have different expectations based on their child’s gender. They behave differently with boys and girls even while showing emotions of disgrace and anger. The participants are expected to prepare themselves for marriage by getting all the household chores done. If they try to

become rebellious they are scolded and shut down by their parents. Even when their parents try to be supportive their other family members suggest getting them married because younger the age lowers the dowry and more childbirth capacity. The identity of the girls is limited to being a wife and a mother based on how their family looks and behaves with them. This makes children get more dependent on gender roles and internalize them based on their parents' gendered ideologies (Hoominfar, 2019).

Talking about the Identity Control Theory further, there are three bases of identity namely role identities, social identities and personal identities. The above response which was with respect to not being able to cut her hair and wear jeans is from an adolescent girl belonging to a Muslim family. So, in the given response her role identity is daughter, social identity is Muslim and personal identity is modest. Her father is justifying that what she wants should align to what is her role, religion and personality. The sad part is that she is not free to define her role as a daughter, her perception on being a Muslim and defining her own personality. All of it is done by a person at a higher level and that is her father. This proves how persistent gender socialization really is.

Willingness to Change Identity

The participants did not seem happy with their identities and gave the following responses when asked what would they want their identities to be:

“I don't agree with cooking and cleaning because boys should learn to do it for themselves. Girls should have their own profession and freedom. Girls should learn and grow.”

“I want to be like a boy. Boys don't need restrictions. I can freely talk to who I want. There will be no image problem based on what I wear. I can go for night outs with friends. The main thing is I can wear jeans. I will also not have to reply to cat calls on the street.”

“I don’t want to be taken as a burden on anyone. I want to work as soon as possible so that I can leave my house and live independently. Then only I will have my own home and identity.”

These responses show how badly the participants want to change their identities. The responses highlight how they want to align themselves to the identities of boys who are free to do what they want. Let us get into the interpretation and analysis of the above. In their families they are taught to behave in a certain way but once they grow up they start questioning what they have learnt and want to change it but it is difficult. The reason is boys and girls segregate after pre-school, reinforcing gender roles and stereotypes to build their identities (Leaper and Farkas, 2014; Witt 2000). Even if they want to change their identities in each stage due to secondary socialization and reinforcement their identities get difficult to modify as discussed under how *schools* are agents of gender socialization.

None of the participants want their identities to be confirmed according to what their families or friends say even though Molla (2016) explains that children learn attitudes and behaviors at home which are reinforced by peers of the child and the school experience. The researcher also mentions how in certain cultures boy’s attendance is low as they are expected to earn for the family while in some cultures girl’s attendance is low because they are married off at a really young age. Though this was discussed in the section where *peers* influence their identity the participants do not want to get married young. The identity they want is to be independent and based on their potential not on marriage or motherhood.

The Identity Control Theory (ICT) by Burke explains that the easier way to change identity is to change the perception to match the standard meaning but the theory recognizes the slower and harder way which is when standard meaning changes aligned to perceptions that then become standard meaning for the lower level that is next generation. It gave the researcher immense happiness to note through observations, interviews and focused group

discussions that none of the participants wanted the easier way out. They were ready to fight the standard meaning of being a girl by staying true to their own perception. Above we can see how they didn't want to change themselves into "being a girl" as per their family or friends but instead they want to be independent and make their own identity. Yes that will take time and effort but once they do that the standard meaning of being a girl will completely change for the better when the next generation girls are raised.

The theory gives two sources for identity change of which one is error in identity verification and the other is multiple identities conflict. The responses show a desire to change identity due to both. Their perceptions don't match the meaning that is why they want to change and generate their own meanings. Similarly, they get frustrated while having to adhere to a daughter's role of cooking and cleaning in addition to the student's role of studying or child's role of playing. This also wants them to change their identities into those where there is synthesis between the roles.

Chapter V: Summary of Findings, Conclusions, Discussion and Implications

Major Findings

Demographic data. All the participants are girls. Three participants lie between the age group 10 to 13 years and two of them are 14 to 16 years. This shows that all the participants are adolescents. All the participants are from Kupondole area's public schools.

Socio-economic status data. Four participants have family members between 3 to 5 and one has between 6 to 10. Two participants live in one room with their family and 3 participants live in 2 rooms. Two participants each have 50,000 to 80,000 and 80,000 to 1,20,000 annual income where one has below 50,000.

Semi-structured interview data. The major findings are explained below.

Difference between sex and gender. The very first finding was upon if the beneficiaries know about the difference between sex and gender. They were shown a diagram

to see if they knew the differences and all the participants knew the difference between sex and gender. When asked about the differences, the participants replied that sex is about physical differences like sexual organs and hormones whereas gender is about who we are and what we like to do. They also said that our society defines our gender because it tells us what to do as a girl or boy but nowadays that is changing. For example boys wear makeup and girls play sports.

Gender roles and stereotypes. Next the participants were shown pictures where roles for girls and boys were traditionally separated. By looking at the pictures they stated that girls like color pink, cook, play with dolls, like flowers and are emotional whereas boys like color blue, play sports, are strong and work to earn a living. All of them disagreed with these roles. They said that these norms discriminate against girls and boys. The participants wanted these roles to change and not be like duties assigned to girls and boys. The participants said how girls play sports, like gadgets and have blue as their favourite color. They are challenging these gender norms and stereotypes.

Sharing experiences. The participants shared their experiences based on the if or if not they have faced any discrimination in their families, friend groups and school. When asked about family then out of five four participants confirmed to have faced discrimination based on their expected gender roles. The participants shared how they were expected to wash the dishes, cook food and clean the house whereas nothing of the same sort was expected of their male siblings. In a friends group one of the participants was mocked because she didn't wear dresses or make up. The participants shared how in schools the boys were hit more as a punishment because they are stronger. Culturally the participants didn't follow any sort of restrictions associated with menstruation in the valley but had to follow it in their villages. All their friends were married in the villages and their relatives wanted to get

them married as well. Three of the participants were from the Terai region and dowry was still very prevalent.

Challenging discriminations. The participants were found to be vocal about their opinions and when they couldn't be vocal they used other ways to dodge the discriminations. They didn't give attention to their relatives in the village because they didn't live with them. Yes they are asked to clean the dishes and cook but they are vocal about it. They tell their parents that it is a life skill and it doesn't depend on their gender. Both girls and boys should learn to do household chores. As they had to follow their rituals with respect to menstruation in their villages they never told anyone if they were menstruating. They just avoided the hassles that they would have to face. These small but important steps show that patriarchy is being challenged and gender socialization might not be as rampant in the near future.

Focused group discussions. For the purpose of this research two focus groups discussions were conducted in the intervals of two weeks. The participants were informed about the discussions but were unaware of the questions and themes before the first FGD. The same questions were asked in the second FGD as well so they knew what the discussion was about and participated comfortably. The discussions were mostly based on assumptions of the Identity Control Theory and the findings are as follows:

What does being a girl mean to you all?. The findings showed that all the participants had females in their surroundings who primarily engaged themselves in doing household chores and caring for the family. This led them to know what being a girl means but as they had employed women like their teachers or various youtubers as their role models their meaning was different. First we all discussed what is to be expected of a girl in the family and society. The discussion resulted in meaning attached to homes, makeup, beauty and rearing kids. Then we discussed what being a girl meant to them. For them girls are no one different, they are human beings. All human beings should be allowed to do what they

want. Just because they saw women around them acting in some way they accepted that it is ok not to be the same. Being a girl to them was being strong, playing, studying, hanging out with friends and getting a good job in the future. So, they stand up against the stereotypical meanings.

Do you feel guilty when you don't match the expected meaning of girl? Yes, the participants admitted feeling guilt which they didn't want to feel when they stood against the meaning of being a girl and tried to be different. This has been explicitly analysed in the previous chapter as well. The responses show that guilt arises when they fight back with their mothers for not doing household chores or having friends who are boys. Guilt also arises when they challenge their brothers to do the tasks which they can do themselves but ask their sister's to do it because it is not a "man's" job. They feel guilt in wearing a type of clothing or not wearing a type of clothing of their choice which doesn't match with their families. All these make them feel weird but they don't let themselves get affected because they also feel strong and happy when they stand up for themselves. They said they do not want to sacrifice and it is ok to be selfish and speak up if it is for the right reasons. So, basically they don't change themselves to identify with the meaning of the society and use the longer process of verification.

As girls what are the resources easily available to you? Here the first ice breaker was when one participant said "*kadai*" (Frying pan). Then the discussion took over and responses like utensils, brooms, pretty lehengas, sarees, kurta suruwal, makeup, dresses, etc started to come. Then the interesting finding was that the participants discussed how older people controlled what they could get and what not. They wanted other resources like balls and helicopters but weren't given because they were girls. Technically in the case of gender socialization it was found that in our society how sign meanings lead to actual resources so easily and very few people care to generate symbolic meanings that lead to potential

resources. These participants were adamant to be older so that they could control their resources as they wanted.

What is your identity as a girl and do you want to change it? The participants were asked about their role identity, social identity and personal identity where most of the participants had a daughter as their role identity with one as student and the other as dancer. Three of them used nationality to give social identity, one used ethnicity and the other religion. Everybody gave different personal identities to themselves.

After this they were asked if they wanted to change their identities and there was a good discussion about how changing role identities would make their worlds easier. The researcher found out that role identity was strongly influenced by gender. They, being a girl, had defined roles. In case of religion also the participant said she would want to change because of the restrictions. It was found that most were appealed by the roles of boys which had freedom and independence. They are ready to redefine their roles and reestablish their identities.

Observation. In the year 2019, the researcher had taken a session on “Sex and Gender” in which these 5 participants had also participated. That time through non-participating observation the researcher thought that it is needed to conduct a research on gender socialization and how deeply it is rooted in patriarchy. The researcher knows these participants since the year 2018 and through reflection she decided that based on their comfort level with the researcher and a bond built in the last 2.5 years rich information can be gathered on the topic using purposive sampling. So, though the anecdote defines how through personal experiences the researcher wanted to do this study, she also got reinforced through non-participant observations of the participants.

During the interviews and focused group discussions the participants knew that their behaviours were being observed and answers were being listened to by the researcher but

there was no consciousness to act differently as the researcher had known them for years. This made the observation technique more reliable. Most behavioral participant and non participant observation found out that the adolescent girl had aggression and pain against gender socialization. During an interview few participants cried while sharing about their mother's getting angry because they are not "wife material" which has been explained in the above chapter. There were participants whose eyebrows flinched and knuckles formed when they talked about their experiences which showed anger. All of these observations were supporting data to the researcher's transcribed interviews and focused group discussions. It helped the researcher to understand the participants and make the analysis even more rich by interpreting their behaviors.

Conclusion

This research was conducted to understand the prevalence of gender socialization in our society and how the adolescent girls from lower economic backgrounds studying in public schools perceive it. As gender socialization is a phenomena passed down from generations, the perceptions of the girls helped the researcher to picture the life of girls in the next generation. These adolescent girls were seen to be aware of the process of gender socialization. They didn't believe what they were asked by the society to do is the only thing that they had to do. The adolescent girls seemed to be motivated to break the so-called gender norms and make a life for themselves. They are likely to be empowered role models for their children and the girls of the next generation.

This research was theoretical in design because it analysed the responses with regards to the Identity Control Theory (ICT) given by Burke in the 1990's. The researcher read his theory and also the studies done by him. Most of the theory was seen to be based upon quantitative studies done on married couples. Seeing that the theory had no significant qualitative study and neither any study done in the collective culture driven societies the

researcher thought to go ahead and conduct this study. Yes the theory lacks to mention the effect that culture might have on identity formation but through this research and its findings it can be concluded that gender socialization is highly caused by what is taken to be culturally correct or incorrect.

The analysis and findings lead to the conclusion that there is hope for gender equality in the future. Girls are becoming more aware day by day. They are understanding their true worth and believing that they can do more than just becoming a wife or a mother. They want to challenge the meaning of being a girl in society and change their identities for the better. All this doesn't mean that they do not want to marry or have children but it just means that they are aware that they have the right to choose to do what they want and when they want.

This research does show a ray of light for the girls and promise a better world to them. May the girls be able to fulfill their aspirations and lead an independent life. The research also hopes that the meaning of girls and boys changes in the society making it a more inclusive place to live.

Discussion

The research also analyzed that though most of the literature defined patriarchy as enforced by men in the society, women can also be torch bearers of patriarchy. This is being discussed here because the mothers of the adolescent girls were the ones asking them to stay at home and learn to work so that there will be no complaints from their in-laws when they get married. So, it is not only the mindset of the men or women but a social structure that is reinforced by each member of the family. Due to the access to media and awareness on women empowerment the adolescent girls were seen not ready to reinforce this social structure of patriarchy.

The theory used discusses that there is discrepancy when an individual's perception doesn't match the society's meaning and the person tries to change their perception to align

with what the society feels is correct. It does recognize that there is the other way round also which is when the individual waits for the meaning in the society to change to match the person's perception. The theory says that this way is long and slow, usually not motivating the people to take this path. But through this research we can state that adolescent girl's believe in their perceptions and are ready to wait so that they can be the change makers.

Through their responses we could discuss that they found it unfair and unjust. The family or friends didn't seem to respect their wants and desires. During the second focused group discussion one of the participants broke down in tears because she was not able to understand why her value was less than her brothers. These girls were seen to have so many unanswered questions like why are all their friends back in their villages married, why are we expected to get married when we want to study, why does wearing jeans make me a bad girl and so on.

The girls admitted that based on gender resources are distributed. The background of three participants showed that they belonged from the terai region where child marriage and dowry system is rampant. The girls shared that their parents left the village and brought them here so that they could prosper and not have the faith like the girls in the village. Still, neither one of the parents wanted their daughter to get married after finishing education. They passed comments like, "You want to study, so, we are sending you to school but once you finish you need to do what we say." This motivated the girls to try and stand on their feet as soon as possible and get out of the house so they don't need to do what their parents want them to do.

During the focused group discussion the adolescent girls also shared how they could do many things in the valley like asking parents to treat them right, arguing with their brothers and trying to wear what they like but it was completely opposite in the village. In the village they had to do all the household chores, wear kurta suruwal and avoid roaming around

outside. If they did otherwise their relatives would complain to her parents and shame them. This made them not like their hometowns at all.

Implications

Socialization process is very much true and its effect on gender is more prominent. This shows that gender is a product of socialization. The research elaborates more on the effect primary and secondary socialization has on gender roles, stereotypes and norms. It is seen that the participants were taught to behave like a girl since their childhood when they followed what they were told. This was because primary socialization plays a major role in developing a child's identity. Even the ICT stated that parents who are at a higher level have a huge influence on how their children behave or act. From their primary source of information i.e. family, the girls developed the image of them being responsible to work at home, wear only certain clothes and plan to get married soon.

This image that they learnt got reinforced in their secondary socialization structure especially by peers and the school. The interest of their peers in makes and of teachers in expective them as girls to perform well academically supported the image that they learnt in their families. Then they were introduced to the idea of gender equality, differences between sex and gender and the existence of discrimination through social media and various awareness programs. They started to form their own perceptions and are trying hard to follow them but the responses show that they do feel the guilt sometimes when they don't do what they are expected to do by their parents.

Now, through the above explanations the researcher would imply that the idea feeded to girls and boys about their roles and responsibilities should be changed from the primary socialization stage. It is true when people say that your family is your first school because that is where the basis of your thoughts lie. A child is like clay that can be molded into any form. Children should be molded by teaching what is right and wrong, how to behave politely

and not hurt anybody. It is not important for them to learn what to do if you are a girl and what to do if you are a boy. So, the researcher strongly believes in the implication of awareness that can be given to expecting parents or parents in general about such topics of gender socialization and how it affects their children which is usually not done.

The next area for implication would be the secondary agents of socialization like schools and reading materials. Teachers in school should be taught to recognize their biases and try not to act on them. It can be taken into consideration that resources are equally available to all the students despite their gender. Any kid should be allowed to play any game regardless of their gender. A girl should be allowed to learn from her mistakes if she fails and a boy should be celebrated if he is good in studies. Similarly, the course books should be gender neutral. Teaching what a father does and what a mother does should not be enforced because then the girls and boys think according to what they learn. Even if they want to do something different they fear they can't. The participant who wanted to be a doctor realized she can be one only when she saw a female doctor. If she would never have seen a female doctor she would agree to the picture in her book where only the male was a doctor. Therefore to create positive role models the researcher finds required implication of the above changes in schools and reading materials.

The researcher believes that the above interventions can bring a change in our gender based biased society. It can be easily implied to identify the stereotypical meanings to gender, biased resource distribution and illogical gender norms. Then more potential resources and symbolic meanings can be generated which will lead to gender equality.

References

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender and Society*, 4, 139–58.

- Acker, J. (1992). Gendered Institutions: From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, 21, 565–69.
- Adler, P.A., Kless J.S., & Adler, P. (1992). Socialization to Gender Roles: Popularity among Elementary School Boys and Girls. *Sociology of Education*, 65 (3), 169–187.
- Aly, R.M.K. (2015). Going for Shisha: Doing Ethnicity, Gender and Class. Becoming Arab in London: Performativity and the Undoing of Identity. *Pluto Press*, 104-132.
- Bhattacharya, B. (2006, September). Female Protagonist in Anita Desai's Fiction. *Institute of Advanced Communication Education and Research*, 1-10.
- Black, M.N. (n.d.). *Examination of gender role development through socialization*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/4686096/Examination_of_gender_role_development_through_socialization
- Blackstone, M.A. (2003). Gender Roles and Society, *Human Ecology: An Encyclopedia of Children, Families, Communities, and Environments*, 335-338.
- Bordo, S. (1993). *Feminism, Post Modernism and Gender Scepticism*. Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Burke, J.P., Stets, J.E. & Maureen P.G. (1988). Gender Identity, Self-Esteem, and Physical and Sexual Abuse in Dating Relationships. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 51, 272-285.
- Burke, J.P. (1989). Gender Identity, Sex, and School Performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 52, 159-169.
- Burke, J.P. (1990). Identity Control Theory. *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1-7.
- Burke, J.P. (1991). Identity Processes and Social Stress. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 836-849.
- Burke, J.P. (2006). Identity Change. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 69 (1), 81-96.

- Burke, J.P. & Donald C.R. (1981). The Linkbetween Identity and Role Performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 44, 83-92.
- Burke, J.P. & Donald C.R. (1991). An Identity Theory Approach to Commitment. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 54, 239-251.
- Burke, J.P. & Harrod, M.M. (2005). Too Much of a Good Thing?". *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68, 359-74.
- Burke, J.P. & Stets, J.E. (1996). Gender, Control, and Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59 (3), 193-220.
- Burke, J.P. & Stets, J.E. (2005). New Directions in Identity Control Theory. *Advances in Group Processes*, 22, 43-64.
- Burke, J.P. & Tully, J. (1977). The Measurement of Role/Identity. *Social Forces*, 55, 880-897.
- Burke, P. J. (1991). Identity Processes and Social Stress. *American Sociological Review*, 56 (6), 836-849.
- Carl, G.J. (1948). The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 9, 207-254.
- Carter. J.M. (2014, May). Gender Socialization and Identity Theory. *Soc. Sci*, 3, 242-263.
doi:10.3390/socsci3020242
- Cassano, M., Carisa, P., & Janice, Z. (2007). Influence of Gender on Parental Socialization of Children's Sadness Regulation. *Social Development*, 16 (2), 210-231.
- Cast, A.D. & Burke J. P. (2002). A Theory of Self Esteem. *Social Forces*, 80, 1041 – 1068.
- Condon, S., Lieber, M. & Maillochon, F. (2005). Insécurité dans les espaces publics : comprendre les peurs féminines. *Revue française de sociologie*, 46 (2), 265-294.
- Connell, R. (1987). Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics. *Stanford University Press*.

Deswelle, E. (2020, February). *How does gender shape social relations in urban spaces?*.

Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341160701>

Di Méo, G. (2012). Éléments de réflexion pour une géographie sociale du genre : le cas des femmes dans la ville. *L'Information géographique*, 76 (2), 72-94.

Drass, K.A. (1986). The Effect of Gender Identity on Conversation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 49, 294-301.

Duxbury, L., Higgins, C., & Lee, C. (1994). Work-family conflict. *Journal of Family Issues*, 15 (3), 449–466. doi: 10.1177=019251394015003006

Edwards, K. E., & Jones, S. R. (2009). Putting My Man Face On: A Grounded Theory of College Men's Gender Identity Development. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50 (2), 210-228.

Emolu, E. (2014). Play, toys and gender socialization. *J Plus Educ*, XI (2), 22-30.

Ferber, M. & Nelson, J. (1993). *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*. University of Chicago Press.

Fobes, C.V. (2004). Maintaining the Gender Order: Preferring Men, Using Women in an Episcopal Campus Chapel, 1927–1949. *Review of Religious Research*. In press.

Freese, L., and Burke, P. J. (1994). Persons, Identities, and Social Interaction. *Advances in Group Processes*, 11, 1-24.

Gascon, D.O. (2018, April). Gender Socialization in Creation Myths. *International Journal of Culture and History*, 2 (2), 83-86. DOI: 10.18178/ijch.2016.2.2.043

Gerson, K. (2002). Moral Dilemmas, Moral Strategies, and the Transformation of Gender: Lessons from Two Generations of Work and Family Change. *Gender and Society*, 16(1), 8–28.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press.

- Green, F. J. (2005). Feminist mothering: Challenging gender inequality by resisting the institution of motherhood and raising children to be critical agents of social change. *Socialist Studies*, 1, 83–99.
- Hanci, Z. (2020). *Gender Roles, Socialization and Social Media*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/33622298/Teens_Gender_Roles_Socialization_and_Social_Media
- Hart, R. P. (1984). Verbal style and the presidency: A computer-based analysis. *Academic Press*. Retrieved from [Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis \(researchgate.net\)](#)
- Heilman, M.E. (2001). Description and prescription: how gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *J Soc Issues*, 57 (4), 657- 674. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00234>
- Hoominfar, E. (2019, January). Gender Socialization. *Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-70060-1>
- Huning, S. (2015) . Deconstructing space and gender? Options for « gender planning ». *Lescahiers du CEDREF [Enligne]*, 21. Retrieved from <http://journals.openedition.org/cedref/973>
- Kereszty, O. (2009). Gender in textbooks. *Practice and Theory in Systems of Education*, 4(2), 17.
- Kim, J.R. (2007). Early Gender Socialization. Retrieved from https://sites.unicef.org/earlychildhood/index_40749.html
- Kimball, J.D. (1997). Warrior women of Eurasia. *Archaeology Magazine*, 50 (1).
- Kuiper, Edith and Sap, J. (1995). *Out of the Margin: Feminist Perspectives on Economics*. Routledge.

- Lawson, K.M., Crouter, A.C., McHale, S.M. (2015). Links between family gender socialization experiences in childhood and gendered occupational attainment in young adulthood. *J Vocat Behav*, 90, 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2015.07.003>
- Lawson, T. (1997). *Economics and Reality*. Routledge.
- Lawson, T. (2007). *Gender and Social Change*. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511619205.008
- Leaper, C. & Farkas, T. (2014). The socialization of gender during childhood and adolescence. *Guilford Publications, New York*, 541–566. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Leaper, C. & Friedman, C. (2007). The socialization of gender. *Guilford Press, New York*, 561–587. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2006-23344-022>
- Ling, E.S., & Rao, N. (2011). Gender Socialization in Chinese Kindergartens: Teachers' Contributions. *Sex Roles*, 64 (1–2), 103–116.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. Yale University Press.
- Lorber, J. (1996). Beyond the Binaries: Depolarizing the Categories of Sex, Sexuality, and Gender. *Sociological Inquiry*, 66, 143–59.
- Lorber, J. (1999). Crossing Borders and Erasing Boundaries: Paradoxes of Identity Politics. *Sociological Focus*, 32, 355–70.
- Lorber, J. (2000). Using Gender to Undo Gender: *A Feminist Degendering Movement*. *Feminist Theory*, 1, 101–18.
- Mack-Canty, C., & Wright, S. (2004). Family values as practiced by feminist parents: *Bridging third-wave feminism and family pluralism*. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25, 851–880.
- Martin, Y.F. (2004, June). Gender As Social Institution. *Social Forces*, 82 (4), 1249-1273. DOI: 10.1353/sof.2004.0081
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. (1952). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Progress Publishers.

- McAdams, D. P., de St. Aubin, E., & Logan, R. L. (1993). Generativity among young, midlife, and older adults. *Psychology and Aging, 8*, 221–230.
doi:10.1037/0882-7974.8.2.221
- McDowell, L. (1983). Towards an Understanding of the Gender Division of Urban Space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 1* (1), 59–72.
- Mehta, P. (2020). *Analysing the link between gender and socialization*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/44133692/Analysing_the_Link_Between_Gender_and_Socialization
- Messner, M. A. (2000). Barbie Girls versus sea monsters: Children constructing gender. *Gender & Society, 14*, 765–784. doi: 10.1177/089124300014006004
- Millett, K. (2005). Theory of sexual politics. *Blackwell Publishing, Oxford*, 37-59.
- Molla, E. (2016, March). The Role of School In Gender Socialization. *European Journal of Educational Sciences, 3* (1), 1-7.
- Napikoski, L. (2020, January) *Patriarchal Society according to Feminism*. Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/patriarchal-society-feminism-definition-3528978>
- Nelson, J.A. & Carter, J.M. (2019, August). Gender Socialization. *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Families, Marriages, and Intimate Relationships*, 404-406.
- Paula, E. & Jonathan, B. (2014). The Sexual Double Standard and Gender. *Differences in Attitudes Toward Casual Sex Among U.S. University Students, 30* (46). Retrieved from <http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol30/46/>
- Peterson, G.W., & Boyd, C. R. (1987). Parent-Child Socialization. *Plenum*, 471–507.
- Peterson, G.W., and Della, H. (1999). Socializing Children and Parents in Families. *Plenum Press*, 327–370.
- Ridgeway, C.L. & Correll, S.J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system, a theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gend Soc, 18*(4), 510-531.

- Risman, B. (1998). *Gender Vertigo*. Yale University Press.
- Rittenour C.E. , Colaner, C.W. & Odenweller K.G. (2014). Mothers' Identities and Gender Socialization of Daughters. *Southern Communication Journal*, 79 (3), 215-234. DOI: 10.1080/1041794X.2014.895408
- Sawyer, S.J., Breslow, S.A & Brewster, E.M. (2017, January). *Gender Socialization in Men*. Retrieved from [\(PDF\) Gender Socialization in Men \(researchgate.net\)](#)
- Spelman, E.V. (1990). *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*. The Women's Press.
- Stets, J. E., and Burke, P. J. (2005). New Directions in Identity Control Theory. *Advances in Group Processes*, 22.
- Stryker, S., and Burke, P. J. (2000). The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly Special Issue: The state of sociological social psychology*, 63 (4), 284-297.
- Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings.
- Stryker, S. (1994). Identity Theory: Its Development, Research Base, and Prospects. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*.
- Tsushima, T., and Burke, P. J. (1999). Levels, Agency, and Control in the Parent Identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62 (2), 173-189.
- Turner, R. H. (1962). Role-Taking: Process Versus Conformity. *Human Behavior and Social Processes*, 20-40.
- Unal, H. (2004). The Role of Socialization Process in the Creation of Gender Differences in Anger. *Kadin/Woman*, 5(1-2), 25-41.
- UNICEF, (2007, August). *Early Gender Socialization*. Retrieved from https://sites.unicef.org/earlychildhood/index_40749.html

Weisner, T. S., & Wilson-Mitchell, J. E. (1990). Nonconventional family life-styles and sex typing in six-year-olds. *Child Development*, 61, 1915–1933. doi:

10.1111=j.1467-8624.1990.tb03575.x

West, C. & Zimmerman, H.D. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gend. Soc*, 125–151.

Witt, S.D. (2000). The influence of peers on children’s socialization to gender roles. *Early Child Dev Care*, 162(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0300443001620101>

Annex

Semi-Structured Interview Questionnaire

Section 1 - Written consent of parents and verbal consent of participants.

This interview is being conducted for the purpose of the researcher’s academic requirement as a final year student of Bachelor in Social Work, St. Xavier’s College affiliated to Kathmandu University. The interview will be kept confidential and the transcripts will be provided before finalizing the analysis of the interview. The participant at any time can refuse to continue or ask for a break during the interview. The information gathered will solely be used for the purpose of academic research. If willing to let your child be a part of the interview please sign below.

.....

Section 2 - Basic Information

1. Name -
2. Age -
3. School’s location -

Section 3 - Socio-economic Information

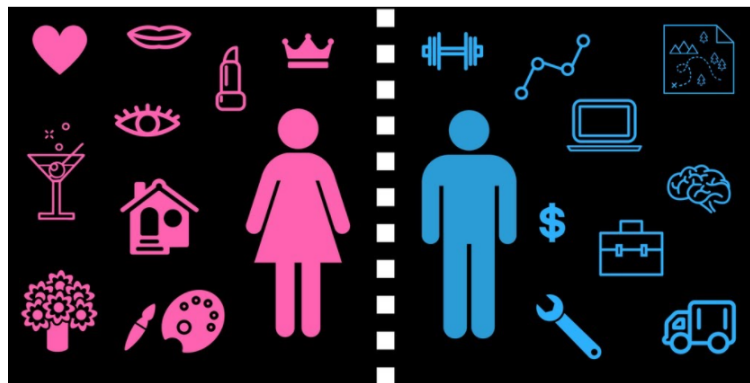
1. Number of family members -
2. Residence -
3. Annual income of family -

Section 4 - What do you see?

1. Which picture do you think is defining sex and which gender?



2. Why do you think what you chose is correct?
3. What do you think is the difference between them?
4. What roles do you see a "girl" having and a "boy" having in the given picture?



5. Do you agree to the roles? If yes, why?/If no, why?

Section 5 - Let us share!

1. Do you feel that you are given certain roles in your family based on if you are a girl or a boy?
2. Being a girl what are the specific roles given to you by your family members? Do you agree to those roles?
3. Do you try to behave like a "girl" when your friends ask you to? What does "behaving like a girl" mean to you?
4. In schools do you feel different than boys on the basis of how your teachers treat you?

Can you share an incident if yes?

5. Do you observe any customs in the society specifically for women? (e.g.: dowry).

What are your views on them?

6. Do you feel a person should be treated and expected to perform roles on the basis of if they are a "girl" or "boy" (gender)?

Section 6 - Actions

1. Do you ignore people when they ask you to behave like a girl should? If yes, why?/ If no, why?

2. Do you feel guilty when you do not behave like you are asked to by your family and society? If yes, why/ If no, why?

3. Do you think being a girl is an important identity to you? i.e. defining who you are and what you do?

4. Any discriminations that you face because you are a girl and how do you deal with them?

5. What is your personal idea behind being a "girl" and what do you think is the society's idea on being a "girl"?

6. Would you chose to change your idea on being a girl to match the society's idea? or Would you believe in your idea and try to bring change in the society? Why?

Focused Group Discussion Guideline Questions

1. What does being a girl mean to you all?
2. Do you feel guilty when you don't match the expected meaning of girl?
3. As girls, what are the resources easily available to you?
4. What is your identity as a girl and do you want to change it?