Women are more likely to expect social sanctions for open defecation: field evidence from India

Jinyi Kuang¹, Sania Ashraf¹, Alex Shpenev¹, Maryann G. Delea², Upasak Das³, Cristina Bicchieri¹

¹The Center for Social Norms and Behavioral Dynamics, University of Pennsylvania; ² Rollins School of Public Health, Emory University; ³ University of Manchester

HIGHLIGHTS

- Majority perceived the risk of informal sanctions related to OD, such as verbal reprimand, advice, and gossip.
- People were more likely to expect social sanctions for OD when they believe that toilet use becoming more prevalent in their communities.
- This relationship is stronger for women than for men

BACKGROUND

Sanitation in India

- Open defecation (OD) in India has drawn global attention for its negative impacts on health, economics, and human rights.
- Having to OD is related to increased psychosocial stress due to decreased privacy, increased risk of sexual harassment, and potential social sanctions such as gossip, particularly among women¹⁻³.

Social Sanctions

- Social sanctions such as peer monitoring can effectively promote toilet use but could also induce psychosocial stress (e.g., shame, guilt, and fear) for those who did not have access to toilets^{4,5}.
- As toilet use gradually becoming a descriptive norm, individuals might internalize the norm abiding behavior as 'moral' and expect social sanction for deviating from the norm⁶⁻⁸..

RQ1: Does the perceived prevalence of toilet use is associated with the likelihood of perceiving the risk of sanctions for OD? **RQ2:** Does this relationship differs by gender?

MEASURES

Perceived risk of social sanctions

"If someone from your community" defecated in the open, would anyone do or say anything in response to that?"

Types of sanctions

"What would be done in response to someone who defecated in the open in your community?" (multiple-choice)

- Informal Advice verbal reprimand Gossip
- Formal For

Perceived prevalence of toilet use

"Think about ten members of your community. Out of them, how many do you think use a toilet every time to defecate?"

- 0 = no one -> not prevalent at all
- 10 = all -> extremely prevalent

Study area



RESULTS

Out of 2427 respondents from 75 communities in peri-urban Tamil Nadu India, 77% perceived a social sanction (79% women vs 74% men). Moderation analysis showed women were more likely to perceive the risk of social sanctions for OD when they believed more people used a toilet but not men.



DISCUSSION

- In India, it is often considered a dishonor to one's family if women are seen practicing OD. Having to OD could indicate absence or inadequate access to sanitation, which has overarching impacts on women's sanitation across life stages.
- These negative experiences, both external, such as shaming or gossip, as well as internal, such as guilt or shame, may have long-term impacts on mental health and well-being.
- Our findings emphasize the need to
 - improve toilet access for women especially given the changing scheme of national and regional initiative and toilet use is becoming prevalent in a community.
 - develop gendered sanitation programs when leveraging social influence

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & REFERENCE

- 1. Hirve S, Lele P, Sundaram N, Chavan U, Weiss M, Steinmann P, et al. Psychosocial stress associated with sanitation practices: Experiences of women in a rural community in India. J Water Sanit Hyg Dev. 2015;5: 115–126.
- Caruso BA, Clasen TF, Hadley C, Yount KM, Haardörfer R, Rout M, et al. Understanding and defining sanitation insecurity: Women's gendered experiences of urination, defecation and menstruation in rural Odisha, India. BMJ Glob Health. 2017;2: 414–414.
- 3. Saleem M, Burdett T, Heaslip V. Health and social impacts of open defecation on women: A systematic review. BMC Public Health. 2019;19.
- 4. Pattanayak S, Yang J-C, Dickinson K, Poulos C, Patil S, Mallick R, et al. Shame or subsidy revisited: social mobilization for sanitation in Orissa, India. Bull World Health Organ. 2009;87: 580–587.
- 5. Bartram J, Charles K, Evans B, O'hanlon L, Pedley S. Commentary on community-led total sanitation and human rights: Should the right to community-wide health be won at the cost of individual rights? J Water Health. 2012;10: 499–503.
- 6. Lindström B, Jangard S, Selbing I, Olsson A. The role of a "common is moral" heuristic in the stability and change of moral norms. J Exp Psychol Gen. 2018;147: 228–242.
- 7. Bicchieri C. Social Norms (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). 2011.
- 8. Morris MW, Hong Y, Chiu C, Liu Z. Normology: Integrating insights about social norms to understand cultural dynamics. Organ Behav Hum Decis Process. 2015;129: 1–13.



CENTER FOR Social Norms and Behavioral Dynamics University of Pennsylvania

BILL & MELINDA GATES foundation

KANTAR