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**The Burden of Patriarchy: Is There  
A Geography of Patriarchy in India?**

Swati Dutta, Govind Kelkar and Dev Nathan



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## Abstract

The paper constructs a Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI) and applies it across the states of India. The BPI uses 20 indicators divided into 7 dimensions – endowments, voice, mobility, son preference, behaviour control, violence and political participation, which are the constituent dimensions of patriarchy. Following the UNDP methodology, all dimensions are given equal weight in the index. Data used are from the 2019-21 NFHS-5, supplemented with data on political participation from the Government of India. We divide the BPI for the states of India into three equal groups – High BPI, Intermediate BPI, and Low BPI. Putting this distribution of BPI by states onto a map allows us to ask: Are states just randomly distributed across High, Intermediate and Low BPI; or, does the distribution of BPI fall into a geographical pattern that both calls for and supports socio-historical explanation?





# The Burden of Patriarchy: Is There A Geography of Patriarchy in India?

Swati Dutta,<sup>1</sup> Govind Kelkar,<sup>2</sup> and Dev Nathan<sup>3</sup>

## INTRODUCTION<sup>4</sup>

This paper develops a Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI) for India, using 20 indicators which are categorized into seven dimensions. The BPI is applied across the states of India and divided into three equal groups, those with a High BPI, Intermediate BPI and Low BPI. Transposing these categories of the BPI to a map, allows us to ask the following question: Is there a geography of patriarchy in India? The components or dimensions of the BPI are then used to point to inter-state differences in priorities for interventions to reduce the burden of patriarchy in India.

After this brief introduction, we present the background for the construction of a burden of patriarchy index. This is followed by a definition of patriarchy and a related discussion of the dimensions of patriarchy, the indicators used in this analysis and the definitions of these indicators. The results of the calculations of the BPI for the states of India, are categorized as of High, Intermediate and Low burdens of patriarchy. We put these categorizations of states onto a map. The overall geographic pattern of patriarchy in India is then discussed to identify some features of the long, historical analysis of kinship systems and socio-cultural factors against current economic trends in creating the geography of the burden of patriarchy in India. The Annexes contain some of the detailed tables and analysis.

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## BACKGROUND

The UNDP introduced a measurement of gender inequality through the Gender Development Index (GDI) using three indicators: life expectancy, education and earned income (UNDP 2019). Life expectancy is a straightforward outcome measure. Education and earned income are outputs. Their dimensions both result from patriarchy and contribute to patriarchy. They, however, are too broad to support a policy analysis and, thus, require to be broken down into factors (inputs) leading to these outputs.

Other indices, such as Samarth Bansal's Women Empowerment Index (2017), have included indicators that could be said to be instrumental in enabling these outcomes. The WEI included indicators for women's experience of spousal violence, ownership of land, bank accounts, and mobile phones for their own use.

The UNDP's social norms index is based on the need to overcome biases, patriarchal biases that favour men over women. Not just men but also women may hold these biases. The biases dealt with are in the areas of political, educational, economic, and physical integrity (UNDP 2023). Biases in social norms are an essential area for intervention, mainly as social norms may well negate what are legal rights. For instance, after the amendment of the Hindu Succession Act in 2005, daughters have equal rights as sons in inherited land. But in practice, social norms may inhibit, even prevent, women from claiming these rights; as a result, actual ownership of land by women may be much less than by men.

While distinguishing outcomes, such as life expectancy, from outputs and inputs resulting in the outputs, such as earned income, we cannot maintain a strict distinction between these different levels of experience. There are feedback loops between the various levels and not a linear relationship from one level to the next. The extent of women's earned income both results from and, in turn, strengthens or weakens patriarchy. Lower income earned by women could strengthen patriarchy, while higher income earned by women could undermine patriarchy. Similarly, spousal violence both results from patriarchy and strengthens it. Consequently, the set of indicators could exist at various levels of relationships, with feedback loops rather than simple linear movements from one level to the next.

Singh et al. (2022), using National Family Health Survey (NHFS) data, identified patriarchy as the gender structure leading to inequality in gender relations. The authors calculated an India Patriarchy Index (IPI). Deriving their work from a calculation of a Patriarchy Index for European countries (Gruber and Szoltysek

2016), they retained its four dimensions: domination of men over women, domination of the older generation over the younger generation, patrilocality and son preference, adding a socio-economic dimension.

Why, then, this attempt at developing a new index, which we call the Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI)? The first reason is that we find the dimensions used by Singh et al. to be inadequate in identifying dimensions of patriarchy. Women's voice in household spending decisions, their mobility, men's attempts to control women's behaviour, women's experience of violence, and their political participation are dimensions that we think to be necessary in identifying the contours of patriarchy. Particularly when India's NFHS gives us data on all these indicators, there is no reason to exclude them from an index of patriarchy. The second reason is that the domination of the older generation over the younger generation does not seem to be a relevant factor in measuring patriarchy. It might be relevant for measuring generational inequality, one of the foci of the Gruber and Szoltysek paper (2016). However, it is not something we need to take into account in measuring patriarchy as a relation of the domination of men over women of their own generation.

In order to see what should be included in an index of patriarchy, it is necessary to first have a definition of patriarchy. Patriarchy can be defined as a gender structure in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Modifying Walby's elaboration (1989) and our use (Kelkar and Nathan, 2020), we identify seven dimensions of patriarchy - endowments, voice (in decision-making), mobility, son preference, behaviour control, violence, and political participation.

Patriarchy is a multi-dimensional concept. It cannot be represented or measured by a single dimension, such as endowments or violence. Some dimensions and their indicators may move in one direction within a state, while others move in the other direction. Thus, it is necessary to combine the various dimensions and their individual indicators and construct a composite index that can capture the overall picture of patriarchy in the geographical areas we are studying.

Later on, we will spell out the reasons for including these dimensions in which patriarchy operates. Here, we point out why we have named our index a Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI). The first point is that patriarchy is the basis of gender inequality. However, we wish to draw attention to the *burdens that* women have to bear because of patriarchy. Patriarchy has social, economic, and political dimensions. It results in social norms that condition women and men from childhood to accept men's superiority, whether in resource control or the right of men to discipline

women. Further, inequality in these various dimensions results in burdens in human development, such as due to lower education attainments than men.

Further, the movement towards gender equality will not come about without confronting the factors that impose burdens on women and constrain their human development. These burdens must be overcome or eliminated to move towards gender equality. We use the phrase “burden of patriarchy” to emphasize the necessity of agential, structure-transforming action.

One of the indicators we use in calculating this index brings out what is required for such agential, structure-transforming action. India’s National Family Health Survey (NFHS) has a question on whether women think that men’s use of violence against them is justified. So long as women think that such masculine violence is justified, they are unlikely to act to end such violence. It is the importance of such action by women (and men) to end such patriarchal practices that we wish to draw attention to by using the term Burden of Patriarchy. Burdens do not go away by themselves; they must be eliminated with changes in the structure of gender relations and associated behaviour, which requires a shift in the consciousness of women and men.

The BPI constructed in this paper tries to capture not only structural aspects, such as ownership of property, and economic capabilities, but also some behavioural (e.g. men’s control over women’s social interaction), cultural (son preference) and psychological (women’s acceptance of men’s right to spousal violence) aspects of patriarchy. However, other cultural and behavioural dimensions of patriarchy could be brought into an index. In addition, the NFHS data are from the COVID period, 2019-21; which would well affect the assessment of long-term trends. These are all factors to be considered in carrying forward the calculation of a patriarchy index.

## **DIMENSIONS OF PATRIARCHY**

We have clubbed together the 20 indicators into 7 dimensions – endowments, voice (in decision-making), mobility, son preference, behaviour control, violence, and political participation. They are the dimensions that constitute patriarchy. They can also be understood as the broad areas in which interventions could take place, though some could be understood to be causative while others are more effects of patriarchy. Son preference may be an effect of patriarchy. Violence, on the other hand, is both causative and constitutive of patriarchy. Violence is an effect of patriarchy; it also strengthens or makes patriarchy.

Endowments are the most crucial dimension constituting patriarchy. Land and house are a matter of the ownership of property. In ownership, we have been strict in using the indicators and do not include joint ownership as an assertion of women's agency in decision-making. Given the sticky norms about men's land rights (e.g. Gaddis, Lahoti and Swaminathan 2020), joint ownership often amounts to men's control. Education, and work participation (participation in income-earning work) are economic factors determining the independent income women can earn. Along with property ownership, education and work participation are important in women's fallback position, which, as Amartya Sen (1990) argued, is important in determining the outcome of household bargaining. While work participation is important for all women, for women with tertiary education, an indicator can be the women's share of managerial positions. We would expect this to be even more important for women's position in household bargaining.

The ability to use a mobile phone for personal use is an indicator of women's independent action. The use of unclean cooking fuel (neither LPG nor electricity) is a result of patriarchy. The use of solid biomass results in negative health consequences for women. These two indicators, mobile and fuel use, like many other indicators used, have a dual function, both resulting from and contributing to patriarchy.

Earning an independent income may not necessarily result in women's control over using that income. Women must also have a voice in the disposition of their own and household income. Consequently, we have used three indicators to signify women's voice in household decision-making – women's say in large purchases, the use of their own earnings, and the use of their husband's earnings. Here too, we have put the 'joint decision' as a negative factor since, as pointed out above, joint decision-making often masks men's control over decision-making.

Lack of mobility is more an effect of patriarchy, though it would also contribute to curtailing women's agency in decisions on employment, etc. Son preference is an effect of patriarchy. The NFHS question about women's preference for sons shows the extent to which women internalize this norm of patriarchy.

Behaviour control is an essential aspect of patriarchy. There are two aspects of men's control over women's behaviour that we have taken from the NFHS questions – that the husband is jealous of his wife meeting other men and that he also does not allow her to meet other women, with fear of the potential of the collective power of the underprivileged.

The next dimension we take is that of violence, a dimension that does not appear in Singh et al (2022). There are indicators for the incidence of physical and sexual violence. Importantly, there is also the indicator of whether women think their husbands' beating them is justified. Such justification is important in understanding the extent to which women have internalized the values of patriarchy or are willing to challenge a key aspect of patriarchy.

Gender-balanced political participation and power sharing between women and men in decision-making are internationally agreed upon goals set in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). Thus, we also take the dimension of women's participation in representative politics. For this we use two indicators. One is the share of women in local, village-level governance, measured by the percentage of women in panchayat raj institutions (PRI). The other indicator is the share of women in the state assemblies. Data on women in PRIs are not available for some states, such as Delhi, Meghalaya and Nagaland. In the first, being an urban region, there are no PRIs. In Meghalaya, the state does not apply the Indian PRI laws, following its traditional governance systems of village assemblies (dorbars) and headmen, from which women are excluded. In Nagaland, there is strong male opposition to the implementation of the reservation of village administrative posts for women. Nagaland did not pass the PRI laws until earlier this year (2024) and still has to implement them.

The indicators, grouped into dimensions, and the relevant definitions are given below in Table 1.

Table 1

**Dimensions, Indicators and Definitions for the Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI)**

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Endowments	1.Land	Percentage of women who do not own land
	2.House	Percentage of women who do not own house
	3.Mobile	Percentage of women who do not use mobile for own purposes
	4.Education	Deficit of women with 10-year education over men
	5.Fuel	Percentage of household with unclean cooking fuel (non-LPG, non-electricity)
	6.Women's employment	Deficit of women's employment in the last 12 months over men
	7.Work participation in managerial position	Percentage of women in managerial positions

Voice	8.Large purchases	Percentage of women who have no say
	9.Own earnings	Percentage of women who have no say
	10.Husband's earnings	Percentage of women who have no say
Mobility	11.Market	Percentage of women who do not go alone to market
	12.Outside village	Percentage of women who do not go alone to outside village
Son preference	13.More sons	Percentage of women who want more sons than daughters
Behaviour control	14.Husband jealous	Percentage of husband who are jealous if wife talks to other men
	15.Not allowed to meet other women	Percentage of husband who do not permit wife to meet other women
Violence	16.Physical violence	Percentage of women who faced physical violence
	17.Sexual violence	Percentage of women who faced sexual violence
	18.Violence justified	Percentage of women who think husband's beating is justified
Political Participation	19.Women's representation in State Assemblies	Percentage of women in State Assemblies
	20.Women representation in Panchayati Raj	Percentage of women in village government (PRI)

## METHODOLOGY

Using the above 20 indicators in 7 dimensions, we calculated the Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI) from NFHS-5 data for 2019-21. The political dimension is not covered in the NFHS, so that data was taken from the Government of India publication (GOI, 2022)

A multi-dimensional Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI) has been developed using the UNDP approach, where the dimensions are given equal weight, and indicators within each dimension are also given equal weight. The values of the dimensions have been scaled and normalized to ensure that they are unidirectional. The normalized values range from 0 to 1, where 0 represents the lowest burden of patriarchy, and 1 indicates the highest burden of patriarchy.

The BPI is constructed in the following way:

$$BPI_i = \frac{X_i - MinX}{MaxX - MinX}$$
 in case of negative traits (Indicators where higher values signify a worse position)

$BPI_i = 1 - \left[ \frac{X_i - Min X}{Max X - Min X} \right]$  in case of positive traits (Indicators where higher values signify a better position)

where  $X_i$ : Value of the dimension

Min X: Minimum value of X in the scaling

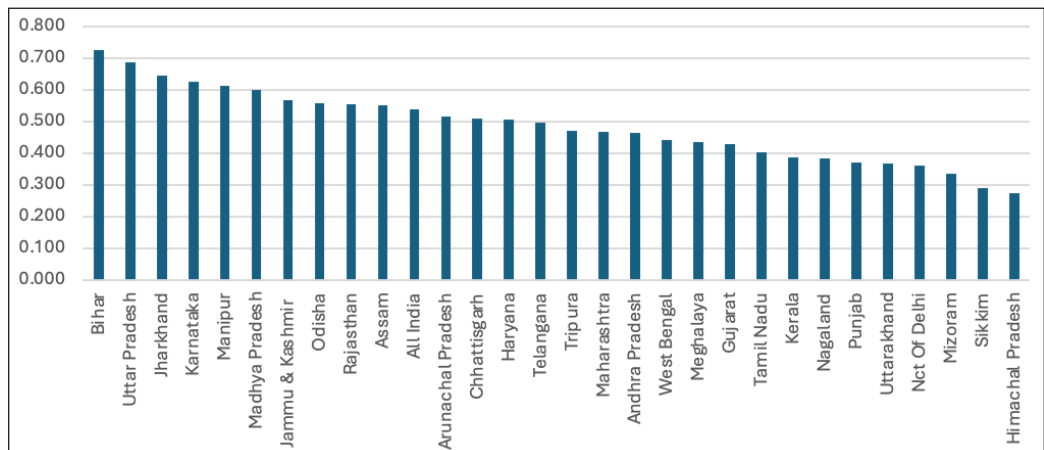
Max X: Maximum value of X in the scaling

In addition to calculating the BPI using the UNDP methodology, we also used Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to compute the factor loadings and weights of various indicators or variables, which help to understand their importance in the patriarchy index. Initially, variables were converted into a unidirectional format to obtain the weighted score for each dimension. In the subsequent step, weights derived from PCA (as factor loadings) were multiplied with each indicator within a particular dimension. Following this, a weighted average score was calculated for each of the seven dimensions. Finally, the average of these seven-dimension scores was taken to derive the weighted Burden of Patriarchy Index. The purpose of this PCA-based analysis is to check the robustness of our BPI.

### RESULTS OF BPI

The overall BPI provides insight into the negative effects of patriarchy as a burden on women. The BPI is relative, measuring the relative strength of patriarchy across the states of India. It does not identify any state as ‘non-patriarchal’ but only compares the relative strength of patriarchy in different states.

Figure 1  
Rank of States in the Burden of Patriarchy Index (BPI)





Dividing the states into three groups – High, Intermediate and Low BPI - allows an analysis of the geographical distribution of the BPI. The High BPI states are the 10 states above the All-India BPI; the next 10 are the Intermediate BPI category; and the last 9 are the Low BPI category.

In the High BPI category are states of North India (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir); states of central India (Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Odisha). Two states of North-east India, Assam and Manipur, and one state of South India, Karnataka, also form part of this group with the highest burden of patriarchy.

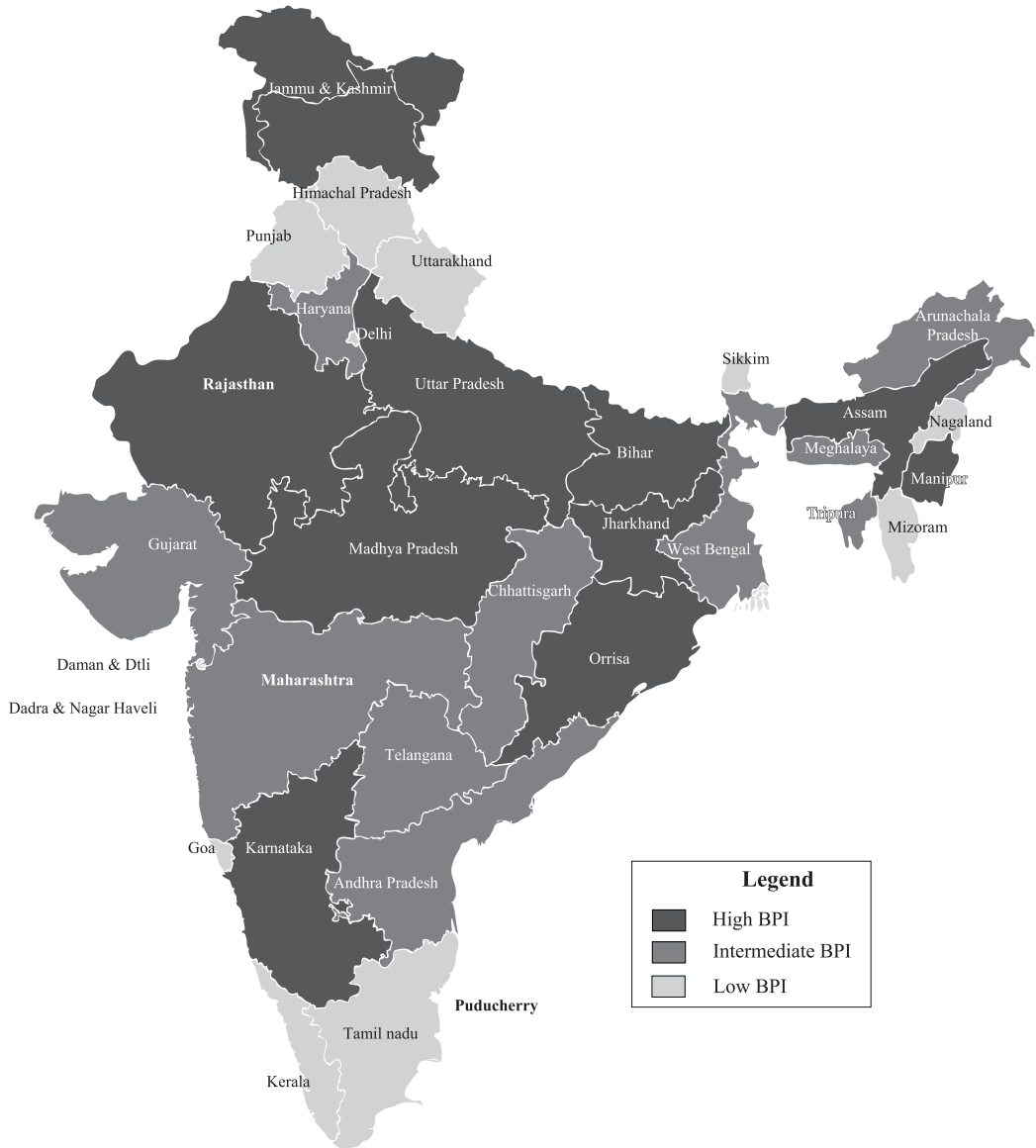
In the Intermediate BPI category are 10 states: Tripura, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh from North-east India; West Bengal from East India; Uttarakhand and Haryana from North India; Chhattisgarh from Central India; Maharashtra and Gujarat from West India; and Andhra Pradesh and Telangana from South India.

In the Low BPI category are 9 states: Nagaland, Mizoram, and Sikkim from North-east India; Tamil Nadu, and Kerala from South India; NCT of Delhi, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand from North India.

## **THE GEOGRAPHY OF PATRIARCHY**

The geographical pattern becomes clearer when we place BPI positions of states on a map in Figure 2. In a broad sense, India north of the Satpura range is the region of strong patriarchy. Then, south of this belt is a region of intermediate patriarchy; with a region further south of low patriarchy, along with parts of North-east and North-west India. There are some exceptions, which would require further analysis. For instance, Assam and Manipur the two states in North-east India to fall in the High BPI category are both Hindu-dominated states.

Figure 2  
**States in Categories of the Burden of Patriarchy Index**



The above map shows that patriarchy has a broad geographic pattern. States with different levels of patriarchy are not randomly distributed across the map of India. One would expect contiguous states to have similar scores because their cultures could be more similar than those of non-contiguous states. These cultures also go back a long time in history.

Geography is not just a matter of physical features like plains, valleys and hills. It should also relate to, or, is even made by, societal culture and history and that too over a long duration. There are differences of economic systems, such as agricultural production systems, with wheat using less female field labour than rice or swidden cultivation; accumulative and non-accumulative economies; and later, universal education, industrialization and modern services. These economic developments are inter-twined with cultural systems often related to languages.

Kinship systems and their transformation are part of the societal culture and history. Kinship systems not only relate to the way lineages are identified and continue, but they also impact various aspects of gender relations. For instance, a system of patrilineal kinship would privilege sons over daughters in order to continue the lineage. Patrilineal lineage is also related to land and other property inheritance in the male line. In contrast, matrilineal kinship would privilege daughters and inherit land in the female line. Another system, such as that of Dravidian kinship, identified by Thomas Trautmann (1981), might vary in marriage patterns among related families from that of village exogamy in North India. All of these kinship systems would have different implications for the inheritance of land. There is then much merit in relating the strengths of patriarchy to kinship systems and changes in them.

North India, north of the Satpura range, is a zone of patrilineal kinship and of strong patriarchy, as seen by the High BPI. The core of this region is across the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh with contiguous states of Rajasthan on the west, and Jharkhand and Odisha on the east. They fall within our High BPI zone. Later we will see why some historically patrilineal states in North-west India, like Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, and Punjab, do better in the BPI.

On the other hand, Kerala and Tamil Nadu are two states within what was identified as the Dravidian kinship system as contrasted to that of the patrilineal Indo-European kinship system (Trautmann 1979), with an intermediate zone between the two. The southern states, with the exception of Karnataka, fall within either Intermediate or Low BPI scores. Our BPI map (Figure 2) has an uncanny resemblance to Trautmann's map of the three zones of kinship (1979: 163), with the exception of Karnataka. When compared to Trautmann's Dravidian kinship zone, the zone of Intermediate BPI has expanded southwards.

One contrast between the strong patrilineal Indo-European kinship and Dravidian kinship is visible. Caste endogamy is part of both. But village exogamy

is essential in North India. Caste panchayats in Haryana are known for having taken action against couples, even if not related, within a village. On the other hand, in Dravidian kinship marriage is often between relatives. The difference this makes to patriarchy is that an in-marrying woman in North India moves into a stranger's home and village with no social network of her own, while an in-marrying woman in South India will not lose her social network on marriage. Social networks can make a lot of difference in women's ability to assert themselves.

A third type of kinship is that of the Mundari, or Austro-Asiatic language group, including that of matriliney in Meghalaya. Sikkim, too, is a state with substantial matriliney. That matriliney does not equal matriarchy is clearly seen in the case of Meghalaya which does not fall in the Low BPI, but in the Intermediate BPI Zone. Mundari kinship has features of both Indo-European and Dravidian systems (Trautmann 2000). However, it is not as important as the two main kinship systems, Indo-European and Dravidian, in the structure of patriarchy in India.

## NORTH-WEST INDIA PULLS AWAY FROM THE REST OF NORTH INDIA

A detailed socio-historical analysis of kinship zones and how they have evolved could help us understand how patriarchy has been formed, reinforced or changed. For instance, it is necessary to explain why North-west India', comprising Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, does much better than the rest of North India.

Below, we examine the dimensions of patriarchy to see where these four states fare better (B) or worse (W) than the all-India average.

Table 2  
Ranking of States of North-west India in BPI Dimensions

	<i>Himachal Pradesh</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>Haryana</i>	<i>Uttarakhand</i>	<i>UP</i>	<i>Bihar</i>
Endowments	B	B	W	B	W	W
Voice	B	W	W	W	W	B
Mobility	B	B	B	B	W	W
Son Preference	B	B	B	B	W	W
Behaviour Control	B	B	B	B	W	W
Violence	B	B	B	B	W	W
Political Participation	W	B	W	B	W	B

Source: From Tables 5 to 10.

Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, and Uttarakhand fare better than the all-India average in 6 out of 7 dimensions, while Haryana fares better in 5 dimensions. On the other hand, Uttar Pradesh fares worse than the all-India average in every dimension, while Bihar fares worse in all except two dimensions. This is a broad explanation of why the North-west does better than the culturally central states of North India, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

When we take individual indicators (see Appendix Table 3), Punjab and Haryana perform worse in terms of land and house ownership and household decision-making. Haryana does better in both labour force participation and managerial positions, while Punjab does better only in the latter economic variable. Punjab does better in women's education, a performance that has a decades-long history (Dyson and Moore 1983). Both Punjab and Haryana do well in women's mobility and social interactions. All four states are better than the all-India average with respect to violence.

We see that Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand have done well in modern economic and social activities and interaction, such as economic activities, education and mobility. Punjab and Haryana remain behind all-India averages in ownership of property. In Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, too, women are not much better than the all-India property ownership averages. But overall, in North-west India, women's roles in modern economic and social activities and interaction seem to have outweighed the continued impact of traditional burdens of non-ownership of property.

## **PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS (PCA)**

We now turn to principal component analysis (PCA) to conduct a robustness check on the BPI. PCA is used to see which variables diverge more. Based on the factor loadings, the following variables are listed in order of their importance in explaining the Burden of Patriarchy Index

Decision on 'Large purchases by women' emerges as the most important variable in constructing BPI. A higher factor loading suggests that women's involvement in major household financial decisions is crucial for reducing patriarchy. Further, access to safe fuel sources represents an important aspect of women's empowerment, as it often correlates with better living conditions and reduced time spent on household chores, allowing for more opportunities for education and income-earning work for women. The third important variable is 'Husband jealous if wife talked with

other men'. A high factor loading indicates that positive attitudes and trust from husbands are significant in reducing patriarchal control and empowering women. Housing ownership is a strong indicator of women's economic empowerment and security, significantly reducing patriarchy. Land ownership is another critical asset for women, reflecting their economic independence and ability to generate income, thus reducing patriarchal constraints. In a contemporary context, access to mobile phones is a critical factor in women's empowerment, facilitating communication, access to information, and economic opportunities.

Using factor loadings, a Weighted Women Patriarchy Index was constructed. The results show that Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Jharkhand are the states with the highest burden of patriarchy. In contrast, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland are the states with the best status for women (Figure 10). Notably, the rank correlation between the UNDP method and the PCA weighted score is 0.97, indicating a strong agreement between the two methods (Table 3) and, thus, confirming the robustness of the calculation of the BPI. Dimension-wise scores and weighted scores are given in Appendix Table 1 and Table 2

Figure 3:  
Importance of Variables in Explaining BPI

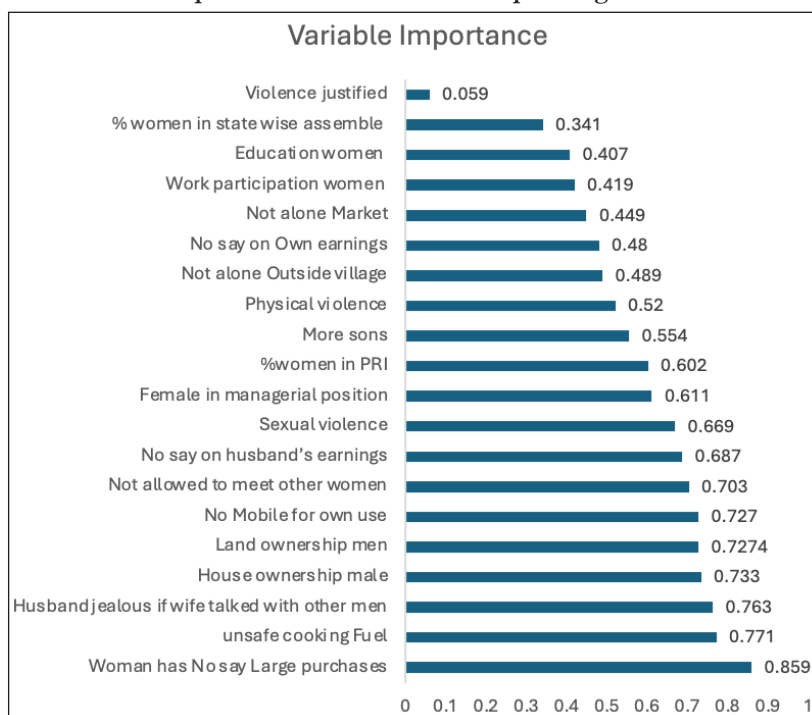


Table 3  
**Comparing Rank of States in the Two Methods**

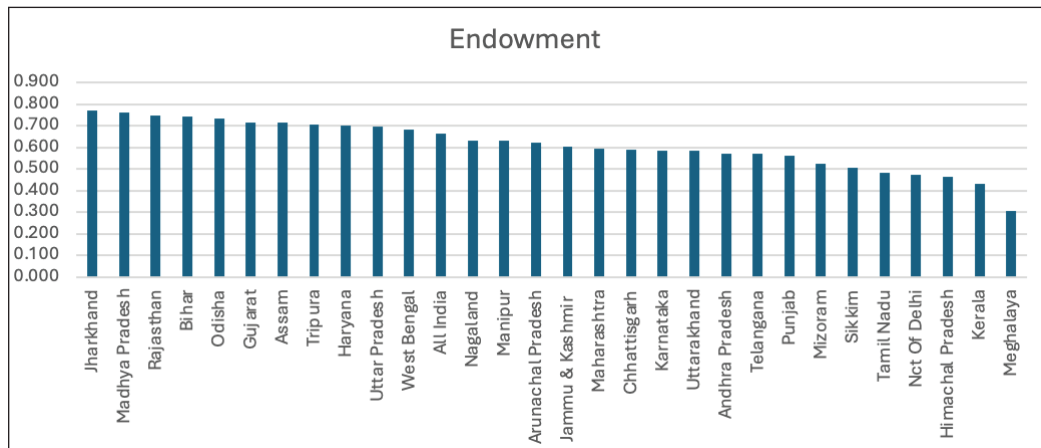
<i>State</i>	<i>UNDP Method</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>PCA Weighted Score</i>
Bihar	0.725	Bihar	0.43
Uttar Pradesh	0.688	Uttar Pradesh	0.402
Jharkhand	0.644	Jharkhand	0.387
Karnataka	0.624	Madhya Pradesh	0.353
Manipur	0.613	Karnataka	0.34
Madhya Pradesh	0.601	Manipur	0.334
Jammu & Kashmir	0.568	Rajasthan	0.326
Odisha	0.558	Assam	0.315
Rajasthan	0.554	Odisha	0.315
Assam	0.551	Jammu & Kashmir	0.313
All India	0.538	Chhattisgarh	0.308
Arunachal Pradesh	0.516	All India	0.308
Chhattisgarh	0.508	Haryana	0.296
Haryana	0.505	Arunachal Pradesh	0.285
Telangana	0.495	Tripura	0.274
Tripura	0.470	Maharashtra	0.269
Maharashtra	0.468	West Bengal	0.266
Andhra Pradesh	0.464	Telangana	0.254
West Bengal	0.442	Gujarat	0.244
Meghalaya	0.435	Andhra Pradesh	0.243
Gujarat	0.428	Meghalaya	0.243
Tamil Nadu	0.404	Uttarakhand	0.219
Kerala	0.386	Punjab	0.218
Nagaland	0.384	Nct Of Delhi	0.217
Punjab	0.372	Kerala	0.197
Uttarakhand	0.367	Mizoram	0.197
Nct Of Delhi	0.362	Tamil Nadu	0.196
Mizoram	0.335	Nagaland	0.195
Sikkim	0.289	Himachal Pradesh	0.17
Himachal Pradesh	0.273	Sikkim	0.167
Median	0.482	Median	0.272
Mean	0.485	Mean	0.271
Rank Corr	0.969		

## POLICY PRIORITIES FOR STATES

Breaking up the analysis of BPI into its various dimensions, and even individual indicators, would help in framing gender polices for states. For each state, one could identify the dimensions, such as endowments, voice, etc., in which they are more deficient. This would provide a guide to policies to reduce the burden of patriarchy. Below, we present the results in terms of the main dimensions – endowments, voice, mobility, son preference, behaviour control, violence and political representation.

In terms of the endowment dimension of BPI, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, exhibit a high burden of patriarchy, indicating significant gender disparities in access to land, house, employment, education and mobiles. Conversely, Meghalaya, Kerala, and Himachal Pradesh show better status for women, reflecting more favorable conditions regarding women’s property rights and empowerment (Figure 5). Punjab, too, is somewhat favourably placed with regard to women’s endowments.

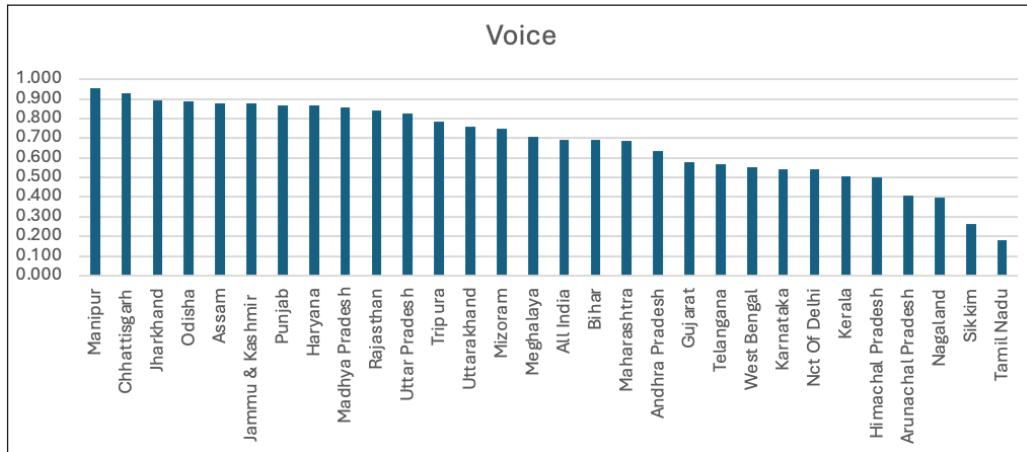
Figure 5  
Rank of States in Endowment



In terms of the voice dimension of the BPI, Manipur, Chhattisgarh, and Jharkhand have the highest burden of patriarchy, indicating significant restrictions on women’s ability to influence household decisions. Conversely, Tamil Nadu, Sikkim and Nagaland show the most favorable conditions, reflecting a greater degree of women’s autonomy and decision-making power in these regions (Figure 6).

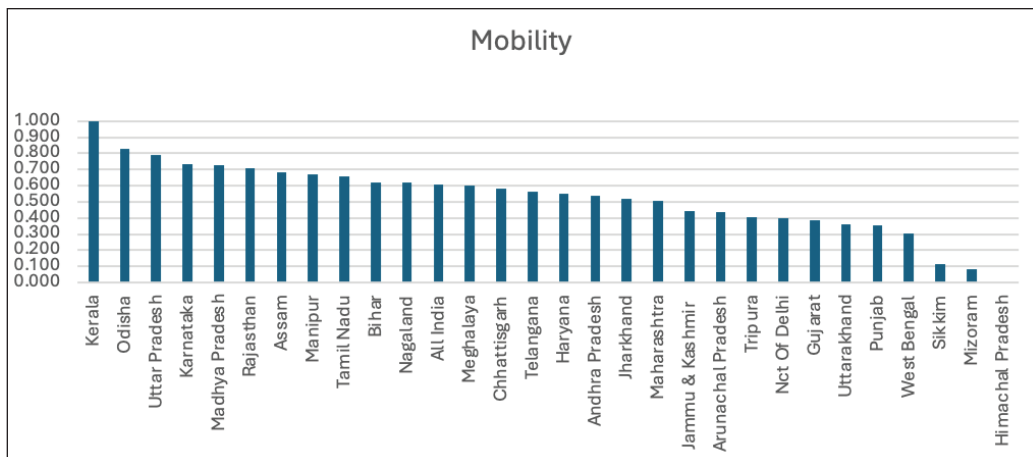


Figure 6  
Rank of States in Voice



In terms of the mobility dimension of the Women Patriarchy Index, Kerala, Odisha, and Uttar Pradesh exhibit a high burden of patriarchy, indicating significant restrictions on women’s ability to move freely and independently. Conversely, Himachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Sikkim show the most favorable conditions, reflecting greater freedom and autonomy for women regarding their mobility in these regions (Figure 7).

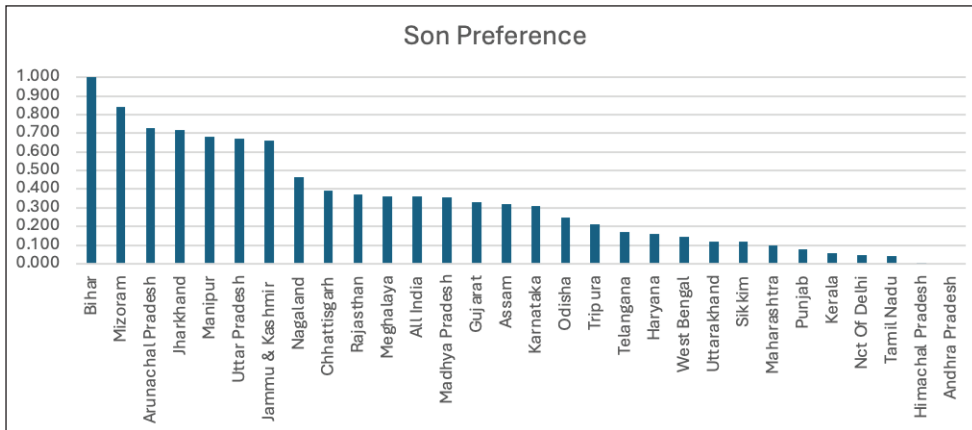
Figure 7  
Rank of States in Mobility



In terms of the son preference dimension of the BPI, Bihar, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh exhibit a high burden of patriarchy with scores, indicating a strong preference for sons over daughters. Conversely, Andhra Pradesh, Himachal

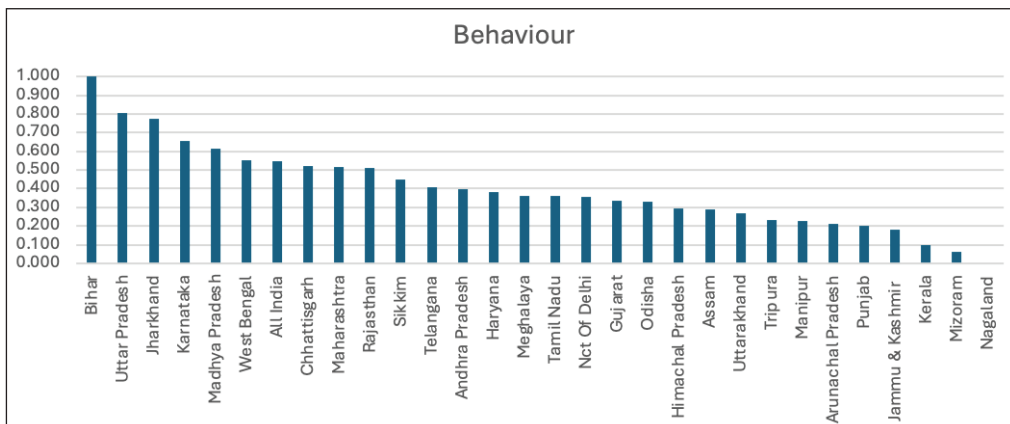
Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu show the most favorable conditions, reflecting a more balanced or lesser preference for sons over daughters in these regions (Figure 7).

Figure 7  
Rank of States in Son Preference



Further, Nagaland stands out with the lowest reported level of husbands’ behavioural control over women, followed by Mizoram and Kerala, indicating relatively favourable conditions of husbands’ behaviour against wives. Conversely, states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Jharkhand demonstrate higher levels of husbands’ behavioral control, such as jealousy and restrictions on women meeting other women (Figure 8).

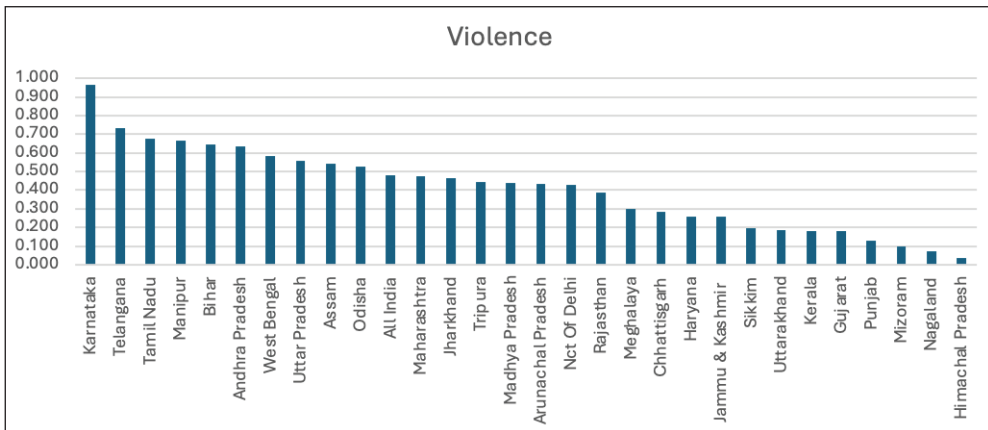
Figure 8  
Rank of States in Husband’s Behavioural Control



Violence against women remains a critical issue, with significant disparities evident across states. Karnataka, Telangana, and Tamil Nadu report the highest

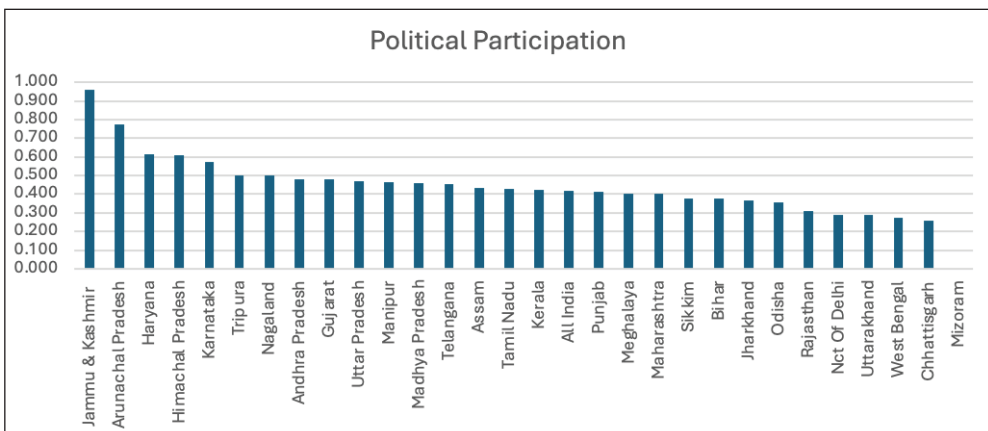
scores, indicating a higher burden of violence against women. Conversely, states like Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Mizoram exhibit lower scores, suggesting a relatively better status for women in terms of violence (Figure 9).

Figure 9  
Rank of States in Violence Against Women



States like Mizoram, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal have comparatively higher levels of political engagement and representation of women. In contrast, states such as Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh and Haryana report the lowest political representation of women (Figure 10).

Figure 10  
Rank of States in Political Participation of Women



Note: Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Delhi do not have data on women representation in Panchayati Raj or village government organizations. We only consider women’s representation in state assemblies in those states.

## CONCLUSIONS

The BPI calculation not only shows how states rank in this multi-dimensional index of the burden of patriarchy, but also reveals a broad geography of patriarchy in India. In this geography, a contiguous region of North and Central India, north of the Satpura range, is that with a high burden of patriarchy, with the states of North-west and the hill states of North-east India not falling within this belt of High BPI. Then there is a belt of Central India along with East and West India comprising the Intermediate BPI region, followed by a much smaller South Indian region in the Low BPI region.

This identification of the geography of patriarchy in India can be the beginning of a socio-historical analysis of patriarchy in India, bringing in factors like kinship and marriage systems, the evolution of property, economic relations, and so on. Along with this, one can also analyse how the BPI has evolved over a decade or more, depending on the period over which NFHS data is available. Thus, a long-duration socio-historical analysis and a decadal dimensional analysis could be the next steps in analysing the geography of patriarchy in India.

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Appendix Table 1  
**Status of Major States In Different Dimensions of BPI**

	<i>Endowment</i>	<i>Voice</i>	<i>Mobility</i>	<i>Son preference</i>	<i>Behavioural control</i>	<i>Violence</i>	<i>Political participation</i>	<i>BPI</i>
Andhra Pradesh	0.570	0.635	0.537	0.000	0.397	0.633	0.478	0.464
Arunachal Pradesh	0.621	0.405	0.434	0.727	0.212	0.435	0.777	0.516
Assam	0.713	0.876	0.680	0.317	0.290	0.543	0.435	0.551
Bihar	0.745	0.690	0.619	1.000	1.000	0.643	0.376	0.725
Chhattisgarh	0.592	0.929	0.579	0.394	0.524	0.283	0.257	0.508
Gujarat	0.714	0.576	0.385	0.329	0.333	0.181	0.478	0.428
Haryana	0.703	0.866	0.549	0.161	0.383	0.260	0.613	0.505
Himachal Pradesh	0.465	0.503	0.000	0.004	0.294	0.037	0.610	0.273
Jammu & Kashmir	0.603	0.875	0.443	0.659	0.180	0.256	0.962	0.568
Jharkhand	0.771	0.891	0.517	0.719	0.776	0.465	0.366	0.644
Karnataka	0.586	0.543	0.736	0.309	0.658	0.967	0.572	0.624
Kerala	0.431	0.506	1.000	0.056	0.100	0.182	0.425	0.386
Madhya Pradesh	0.760	0.856	0.728	0.353	0.613	0.439	0.459	0.601
Maharashtra	0.594	0.686	0.508	0.096	0.514	0.475	0.401	0.468
Manipur	0.630	0.957	0.668	0.679	0.229	0.666	0.462	0.613
Meghalaya	0.305	0.710	0.603	0.361	0.361	0.299	0.404	0.435
Mizoram	0.523	0.748	0.079	0.839	0.061	0.097	0.000	0.335
Nagaland	0.634	0.395	0.617	0.466	0.000	0.074	0.500	0.384
Nct Of Delhi	0.472	0.539	0.400	0.048	0.358	0.426	0.288	0.362
Odisha	0.736	0.887	0.826	0.245	0.330	0.529	0.356	0.558
Punjab	0.561	0.867	0.355	0.076	0.200	0.128	0.415	0.372
Rajasthan	0.749	0.841	0.710	0.369	0.512	0.388	0.311	0.554
Sikkim	0.507	0.261	0.115	0.116	0.448	0.195	0.378	0.289
Tamil Nadu	0.482	0.183	0.655	0.040	0.360	0.675	0.431	0.404
Telangana	0.570	0.570	0.565	0.169	0.409	0.731	0.455	0.495
Tripura	0.708	0.786	0.407	0.213	0.231	0.445	0.500	0.470
Uttar Pradesh	0.698	0.823	0.787	0.671	0.807	0.559	0.472	0.688
Uttarakhand	0.584	0.756	0.362	0.120	0.269	0.187	0.288	0.367
West Bengal	0.682	0.552	0.306	0.145	0.551	0.584	0.272	0.442
All India	0.662	0.693	0.605	0.361	0.548	0.478	0.420	0.538

Appendix Table 2  
**Status of Major States in Different Dimensions of Weighted BPI (W-BPI)**

	<i>Endowment</i>	<i>Voice</i>	<i>Mobility</i>	<i>Son preference</i>	<i>Behavioural control</i>	<i>Violence</i>	<i>Political Participation</i>	<i>W-BPI</i>
Andhra Pradesh	0.370	0.402	0.254	0.000	0.286	0.188	0.197	0.243
Arunachal Pradesh	0.395	0.260	0.205	0.403	0.154	0.215	0.362	0.285
Assam	0.463	0.601	0.319	0.176	0.211	0.277	0.156	0.315
Bihar	0.477	0.480	0.290	0.554	0.733	0.322	0.151	0.430
Chhattisgarh	0.419	0.631	0.272	0.218	0.382	0.139	0.095	0.308
Gujarat	0.452	0.378	0.181	0.182	0.244	0.070	0.197	0.244
Haryana	0.445	0.597	0.257	0.089	0.279	0.117	0.288	0.296
Himachal Pradesh	0.321	0.390	0.000	0.002	0.214	0.024	0.242	0.170
Jammu & Kashmir	0.375	0.586	0.208	0.365	0.132	0.064	0.458	0.313
Jharkhand	0.499	0.605	0.243	0.398	0.566	0.245	0.150	0.387
Karnataka	0.373	0.364	0.347	0.171	0.482	0.414	0.229	0.340
Kerala	0.278	0.355	0.469	0.031	0.072	0.011	0.166	0.197
Madhya Pradesh	0.500	0.585	0.341	0.196	0.449	0.208	0.191	0.353
Maharashtra	0.380	0.479	0.239	0.053	0.373	0.208	0.151	0.269
Manipur	0.398	0.638	0.314	0.376	0.171	0.249	0.188	0.334
Meghalaya	0.216	0.453	0.286	0.200	0.269	0.143	0.138	0.243
Mizoram	0.341	0.480	0.038	0.465	0.044	0.011	0.000	0.197
Nagaland	0.413	0.214	0.293	0.258	0.000	0.020	0.171	0.195
NCT Of Delhi	0.295	0.391	0.192	0.027	0.262	0.253	0.098	0.217
Odisha	0.486	0.607	0.386	0.136	0.237	0.221	0.129	0.315
Punjab	0.363	0.582	0.166	0.042	0.146	0.055	0.175	0.218
Rajasthan	0.480	0.590	0.334	0.205	0.379	0.181	0.117	0.326
Sikkim	0.328	0.190	0.055	0.065	0.324	0.066	0.142	0.167
Tamil Nadu	0.316	0.090	0.308	0.022	0.263	0.218	0.154	0.196
Telangana	0.349	0.360	0.266	0.093	0.298	0.245	0.168	0.254
Tripura	0.456	0.557	0.191	0.118	0.169	0.231	0.196	0.274
Uttar Pradesh	0.454	0.566	0.368	0.372	0.590	0.252	0.214	0.402
Uttarakhand	0.376	0.531	0.171	0.067	0.198	0.090	0.098	0.219
West Bengal	0.456	0.397	0.142	0.080	0.398	0.288	0.103	0.266

Appendix Table 3  
**Status of Major States in Individual Indicators of BPI**

	Table 3.1 Endowment						
	<i>Land_m</i>	<i>House_m</i>	<i>women do not have own Mobile</i>	<i>Deficit of women with 10-year education over men</i>	<i>uncleaned cooking fuel</i>	<i>Women % in managerial positions</i>	<i>Deficit of women's LFPR over men's</i>
Andhra Pradesh	80.55	68.04	51.1	8.3	16.51	30.4	26
Arunachal Pradesh	82.58	84.5	23.6	8.8	46.8	22.9	40
Assam	93.48	92.21	42.8	5.9	57.9	13.8	49.5
Bihar	93.13	89.36	48.6	14	62.2	7.3	42.6
Chhattisgarh	88.68	85.61	59.3	4.6	67	2.7	20.8
Gujarat	90.91	88.81	51.2	11.8	33.1	18.8	43.4
Haryana	90.92	87.37	49.6	12.7	40.5	11.9	43
Himachal Pradesh	84.01	83.23	20.5	5.4	48.3	12.6	19
Jammu & Kashmir	94.41	96.21	24.8	16.9	30.8	4.5	34.5
Jharkhand	91.38	90.1	51	13.4	68.1	14.2	39.5
Karnataka	85.55	75.89	38.2	6.3	20.3	26.2	39.3
Kerala	71.85	68.8	13.4	3.7	27.9	21.7	32.6
Madhya Pradesh	90.13	89.82	61.5	10.6	59.9	18.9	35.4
Maharashtra	87.18	83.97	45.2	10.6	20.3	15.7	33.5
Manipur	87.37	87.46	27.8	10.6	29.6	29	36
Meghalaya	11.77	14.4	32.5	0.4	66.3	31	14.8
Mizoram	86.74	83.27	17.7	1	16.2	40.8	33.3
Nagaland	88.23	86.91	36.3	9	56.9	8.3	38.6
Nct Of Delhi	87.45	73.96	26.2	1.2	1.2	19.1	46.1
Odisha	93.35	88.86	49.9	5.6	65.3	19.5	43
Punjab	91.87	89.37	38.8	2.7	23.3	7.5	46.9
Rajasthan	92.69	92.1	49.8	18.6	58.6	10.1	32.3
Sikkim	87.62	84.43	11.4	6	21.6	32.5	28.2
Tamil Nadu	87.25	78.63	25.4	2.5	17.1	22	33.8
Telangana	79.04	77.92	40	15.7	8.2	17.5	32.1
Tripura	87.93	84.5	46.9	6.2	54.7	16.1	50
Uttar Pradesh	90.76	89.47	53.5	9.3	50.5	9.8	41.6
Uttarakhand	86.64	83.87	39.1	9.4	40.8	3.3	38.6
West Bengal	92.41	88.96	49.9	1.8	59.8	14.4	44.9
Total	89.63	85.51	46	9	41.4	18	38

Table 3.2 Voice, No say

	<i>Large purchase</i>	<i>Own earnings</i>	<i>Husband's earnings</i>
Andhra Pradesh	86.26	87.86	93.35
Arunachal Pradesh	85.28	79.1	89.33
Assam	96.28	86.15	96.25
Bihar	94.32	79.95	93.33
Chhattisgarh	97.26	90.6	95.91
Gujarat	87.96	82.5	92.28
Haryana	96.39	84.88	96.27
Himachal Pradesh	93.28	60.97	94.29
Jammu & Kashmir	95.57	91.82	94.65
Jharkhand	96.69	89.42	95.36
Karnataka	90.11	81.24	90.42
Kerala	86.84	69.24	95.16
Madhya Pradesh	96.25	86.84	95.36
Maharashtra	94.48	79.34	93.32
Manipur	95.14	92.86	97.23
Meghalaya	87.5	89.51	94.53
Mizoram	87.77	89.88	95.52
Nagaland	78.15	87.55	90.09
Nct Of Delhi	91.38	69.28	93.7
Odisha	96.51	87.13	96.13
Punjab	94.68	89.77	95.59
Rajasthan	97.67	82	95.73
Sikkim	87.2	68.45	87.17
Tamil Nadu	78.54	77.83	86.22
Telangana	85.97	86.3	91.89
Tripura	95.62	76.67	96.9
Uttar Pradesh	95.6	84.74	95.37
Uttarakhand	95.36	78.89	95.31
West Bengal	91.75	71.38	93.2
Total	92.59	81.91	93.72



Table 3.3 Mobility, not alone

	<i>Market</i>	<i>Outside village</i>
Andhra Pradesh	35.54	50.42
Arunachal Pradesh	31.95	42.47
Assam	47.13	54.3
Bihar	45.75	48.85
Chhattisgarh	41.39	48.88
Gujarat	29.5	39.46
Haryana	41.24	45.6
Himachal Pradesh	11.28	14.92
Jammu & Kashmir	33.87	41.47
Jharkhand	38.65	44.78
Karnataka	44.94	63.12
Kerala	64.51	72.33
Madhya Pradesh	51.21	55.48
Maharashtra	36.98	45.51
Manipur	45.57	54.66
Meghalaya	34.79	58.81
Mizoram	13.62	21.52
Nagaland	34.19	61.03
NCT Of Delhi	21.43	49.85
Odisha	58.26	59.1
Punjab	30.79	34.59
Rajasthan	47.58	57.33
Sikkim	15.01	24.06
Tamil Nadu	45.31	53.46
Telangana	38.76	50.1
Tripura	32.64	38.57
Uttar Pradesh	55.91	57.17
Uttarakhand	29.17	37.24
West Bengal	31.58	28.19
Total	43.63	49.55

Table 3.4 Son preference

	<i>Women want more sons than daughters</i>
Andhra Pradesh	6.4
Arunachal Pradesh	24.5
Assam	14.3
Bihar	31.3
Chhattisgarh	16.2
Gujarat	14.6
Haryana	10.4
Himachal Pradesh	6.5
Jammu & Kashmir	22.8
Jharkhand	24.3
Karnataka	14.1
Kerala	7.8
Madhya Pradesh	15.2
Maharashtra	8.8
Manipur	23.3
Meghalaya	15.4
Mizoram	27.3
Nagaland	18
Nct Of Delhi	7.6
Odisha	12.5
Punjab	8.3
Rajasthan	15.6
Sikkim	9.3
Tamil Nadu	7.4
Telangana	10.6
Tripura	11.7
Uttar Pradesh	23.1
Uttarakhand	9.4
West Bengal	10
Total	15.4

Table 3.5 Behaviour control

	<i>Husband is jealous if respondent talked with other men</i>	<i>Husband does not permit respondent to meet female friend</i>
Andhra Pradesh	16.87	18.7
Arunachal Pradesh	15.15	9.65
Assam	17.02	12.59
Bihar	44.65	30.6
Chhattisgarh	25.27	19.16
Gujarat	20.96	11.89
Haryana	21.12	14.55
Himachal Pradesh	17.82	12.14
Jammu & Kashmir	14.97	8.03
Jharkhand	33.84	26.56
Karnataka	32.27	21.17
Kerala	10.78	6.82
Madhya Pradesh	30.14	20.35
Maharashtra	22.78	20.61
Manipur	21.71	5.46
Meghalaya	26.59	9.04
Mizoram	10.63	4.79
Nagaland	9.03	2.62
Nct Of Delhi	21.46	12.91
Odisha	14.87	16.51
Punjab	15.01	9.12
Rajasthan	31.49	13.61
Sikkim	19.46	19.48
Tamil Nadu	21.12	13.28
Telangana	21.81	15.48
Tripura	17.24	9.1
Uttar Pradesh	35.85	26.7
Uttarakhand	19.06	9.82
West Bengal	21.84	23.4
Total	26.49	19.57

Table 3.6 Violence

	<i>Experienced physical violence</i>	<i>Experienced sexual violence</i>	<i>Husband beating justified</i>
Andhra Pradesh	35.42	3.39	83.6
Arunachal Pradesh	27.23	6.4	33.4
Assam	37.34	6.98	32.1
Bihar	42.31	7.74	37.3
Chhattisgarh	21.3	4.64	27.3
Gujarat	14.83	3.13	30.4
Haryana	20.56	3.9	29.8
Himachal Pradesh	11.88	2.07	14.8
Jammu & Kashmir	13.98	2.84	49.8
Jharkhand	33.83	6.44	27
Karnataka	48.07	9.8	76.9
Kerala	11.01	1.32	52.4
Madhya Pradesh	31.64	5.36	34.4
Maharashtra	27.83	5.93	44.2
Manipur	45.14	4.18	65.9
Meghalaya	16.49	5.58	31.9
Mizoram	11.58	1.44	32.9
Nagaland	13.13	1.59	23.9
Nct Of Delhi	29.32	7.64	17.5
Odisha	35.32	5.04	48.7
Punjab	16.45	2.35	22.8
Rajasthan	26.33	5.25	34.6
Sikkim	20.62	1.94	32.3
Tamil Nadu	46.19	2.65	78.3
Telangana	41.27	4.5	83.8
Tripura	28.49	6.83	29.5
Uttar Pradesh	38.66	5.67	43.6
Uttarakhand	20.95	2.9	22.2
West Bengal	28.75	8.83	41.6
Total	30.77	5.19	45.4

Table 3.7 Political Participation

	<i>State-wise Assemblies Women%</i>	<i>State-wise PRI%</i>
Andhra Pradesh	8	50
Arunachal Pradesh	5	39
Assam	5	54.6
Bihar	11	52
Chhattisgarh	14	54.8
Gujarat	8	50
Haryana	10	42.1
Himachal Pradesh	1	50.1
Jammu & Kashmir	2	33.2
Jharkhand	12	51.6
Karnataka	3	50.1
Kerala	8	52.4
Madhya Pradesh	9	50
Maharashtra	8	53.5
Manipur	8	50.7
Meghalaya	5	
Mizoram	26	
Nagaland	0	
Nct Of Delhi	11	
Odisha	9	52.7
Punjab	11	41.8
Rajasthan	12	51.3
Sikkim	9	50.3
Tamil Nadu	5	53
Telangana	5	50.3
Tripura	5	45.2
Uttar Pradesh	12	33.3
Uttarakhand	11	56
West Bengal	14	51.4
Total	9	45.6

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