Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF EARLY WIDOWHOOD IN INDIAN

SOCIETY

Asst Prof Jessy Crasto Coutinho,

Research Scholar, Research centre of M.E.S College of Arts and Commerce, Zuarinagar - Goa

ABSTRACT

In India, a predominantly patriarchal society, loss of a husband brings many

drastic changes in the social and economic status in the life of the wife. The position of

widows in many societies has been precarious because the death of a husband removes

the main source of their economic wellbeing. The personal self-identity of widows is

largely influenced by the husbands' status and her role revolves around home and

hearth. Thus, the mind set of society views her only in relation to her identity vis-a-vis

the males around her. This perception has not changed. When a woman becomes a

widow in her 20's or 30's she assumes a role that she is not prepared for. Hence the

death of the husband almost marks the social death of the wife.

This study therefore, seeks to examine this identity shift of the woman's status

from 'wife' to 'widow'. The focus of this study is on young widows and how they seek

to reconstruct their identity amidst this loss of her husband.

. Keywords

Keywords: Widowhood, Patriarchy, social disabilities, identity, identity reconstruction

INTRODUCTION

'A woman who has lost her spouse by death and has not remarried is known as a widow. There are widows in each nation and India has the second most elevated number of widows on the planet. The explanations for this high number of widows in India are; poverty, poor clinical facilities, liquor addiction, road accidents, terrorism and various natural calamities. The widows in India experience a hard life. The very sight of a widow is viewed as a terrible sign; widows are frequently connected with mishap, misfortune and foreboding and some of them are accused for

the death of their husbands, in light of the fact that there is this offbeat conclusion that the misfortune of the spouse would cause the death of the husband. The widows are exposed to probably the most noticeable unfeeling practices which are as follows; (1) there are restrictions on their dress code and are expected to maintain a strategic distance from any beautification, (2) There are restrictions on their behavior and movement (3) they are considered as having a stigmatized identity. Widows are survivors of social segregation which stems out from the conventional social practices and as the consequence of such separation; the widows endure economically, physically, socially, psychologically and spiritually.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1. To examine the unique social implications faced during early widowhood
- 2.To trace the changes in social attitude towards widows over the ages
- 3. To understand whether and how measures and policies help in identity reconstruction

WIDOWHOOD

One of the most widely recognized unpleasant occasion is early widowhood, which has critical social and psychological ramifications. Widowhood is the conjugal status that a man or women gains once their spouse has died.

Widowhood at a more youthful than-anticipated age, is a no standardizing life occasion. It is ordinarily an encounter that is unforeseen and in this manner caught off guard for exclusively just as socially. It conveys possibly more noteworthy or progressively complex organic, psychosocial, and spiritual difficulties than loss of a spouse at more seasoned ages. Youthful widowhood is generally connected with little chance to get ready, less comparable matured models, and restricted or no support from encompassing family and other social gatherings. In this way, untimely spousal misfortunemay encourage a difficult and maybe drawn out procedure of melancholy, grieving, alteration, and adjustment for the survivor.

Despite the fact substantially less liable to happen than late life widowhood, the overall recurrence of early widowhood is essential.. In spite of the fact that misfortune at more youthful ages has been related with entangled modification or drawn out despondency, there is a scarcity of research portraying the interconnections among the bio-psychosocial spiritual components related with off-time matrimonial loss. As per Global Widows Report, 2015 at least 245 million women around the world have been widowed and more than 115 million of them live in devastating poverty.

In recent years, there is a huge increase in the number of widows in India. As per Census Department, India's population in 2011 was 121 Crore and out of this 4.6% are widowed; with women outnumbering men. While in 2001, 0.7% of the total population

of 102 Crore was widowed. Experts feel the causes for an increase is twofold, that is increase in life expectancy, particularly for women, and a bigger age gap between the couples, with men usually being much older than the women.

International Widows Day takes place annually on 23 June. It is a United Nations ratified day of action to address the 'poverty and injustice faced by millions of widows and their dependents in many countries. One of the key goals is to highlight what it describes as an 'invisible calamity'

WIDOWHOOD PERCEIVED THROUGH THE AGES

The widows were treated as untouchables and reviled by the society. The widows were not permitted to partake in any social or religious functions as they were viewed as unfortunate and this brutal practice despite everything proceeds in the remote pieces of our nation. At the point when a women turned into a widow in prior occasions, she had to go out as she was viewed as an economic weight and social shame to the family. The children of the widows too experienced social and economic estrangement and were not treated similarly with other children. They were regularly denied quality training.

Status of Widowhood in the Vedic Period

During the Vedic period, the widows delighted in opportunity in choosing their male accomplices. They could instruct themselves and were allowed to remarry. Separation was anyway not conceded to them. Indeed, even men didn't reserve the privilege to separate from their spouses. Women were given finished opportunity in family matters and were treated as 'Ardhanginis'1 different parts. A widow was given her significant other's offer in the property.

Status of Widowhood in Medieval India

The rise of the Bhakti development, the clique of dedication to god, empowered the women in medieval India to rise above and see past their social and family jobs and channelise their sexual and enthusiastic vitality towards commitment to god. The central state of mind of bhakti (reverential assistance) is the suggestive sringara, saw from women's perspective, regardless of whether in the period of detachment from, or association with, her cherished divinity. Polygamy was polished among the high class Hindus. The Hindu widow went through her days generally in an extremely poor condition. The act of youngster marriage brought about fast increment of kid widows. The act of 'Sati' was energized and the widows who didn't perform sati were looked downward on by society.

Present scenario

ISSN: 2278-4632 Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

In the advanced era, there were developments to liberalize the perspectives towards the widows, wipe out practices like sati and give them access to religious life. The opportunities started to create during this period, prompting empowerment of women, they upgraded their instructive capabilities and procure jobs of experts, for example, specialists, legal counselors, instructors and journalists. Just for the past a few decades, the Government of India, intentional associations and sociology analysts have gotten mindful of sex separation in general and segregation of widows, specifically. The oppressive treatment that was seen if there should arise an occurrence of widows, prompted certifiable activities like welfare measures, empowerment exertion and commencement of research to comprehend the issues of women in general and widows specifically. Tragically huge numbers of the positive projects like welfare and empowerment and even research contemplates do not perceive widows as a different class, requiring separate treatment yet they are considered as a piece of the general classification of women. Widowhood is excruciating, horrible and mortifying for women, due to segregations and ceremonial assents of the society against the widows. Widows in India endure social and economic authorizes as well as face numerous psychological outcomes, disengagement and much of the time hardship, causing passionate disturbances and inequality.

Challenges in early Widowhood

Social implications

One instrument clarifying psychological and physical wellbeing changes in widowhood is the loss of help related with spousal passing. Connections are imperative to wellbeing, free of an individual's conjugal status, and it is entrenched that more prominent access to help takes into consideration better degrees of wellbeing by giving a feeling of self-esteem, for instance, or helping us to adapt during times of pressure. The manner in which individuals compose their own connections, including how and how regularly they interact with loved ones, change by conjugal status. For instance, there is proof that bereaved women build up an inclination for kinships with different widows.

Marriage is frequently viewed as a major reason for help and coordinates individuals into more extensive informal organizations. In addition to the fact that widowhood is set apart by the demise of an essential wellspring of help, the life partner, it additionally causes critical changes in the more extensive informal organization. Accordingly, social changes in widowhood have suggestions for wellbeing. The structure of the informal community changes with expanding age, and more seasoned grown-ups commonly report a littler system, involved all the more satisfying connections. Widowhood has been known as a "social emergency": the deprived must figure out how to associate as a solitary individual, renegotiate associations with companions and kinfolk, debilitating a few ties while strengthening others, and may confront the loss of associations with wedded couples and shared companions. Regularly, changes in social connections happen after spousal deprivation as well as before the misfortune where there is a period of ailment.

improvement of new sentimental.

In the quick period after spousal deprivation, relatives are the focal help suppliers and a significant focus of social movement, particularly as the bereft deal with the undertakings and services related with death. The bereaved have diminished contribution in recreation exercises, which may result from decreased want to mingle, loss of a relaxation accomplice, or the commonsense boundaries, for example, cash or transport. This, thus, can negatively affect prosperity. After some time, the informal organization at that point advances and the span of widowhood is emphatically identified

with the probability of contact with companions, framing new kinships and, for a few,

ISSN: 2278-4632

Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

An individual's feeling of self is tested after the passing of a companion. The wedded relationship is a focal wellspring of character, both secretly and publically, and it is basic for the passing of a companion to be contrasted with the departure of an appendage. Widowhood prompts a procedure of personality reproduction through the loss of the coupled character, the exhibition of everyday exercises as a mate, and the social importance of being hitched. The enduring life partner must conform to the new status as a widow or single man. This includes the loss of a frequently since quite a while ago settled way of life as a spouse or husband, obliging new jobs and duties and acclimating to changed associations with loved ones.

The experience of widowhood is absorbed into an individual's comprehension of themselves. For more seasoned single men, turning into a single man is as a rule notwithstanding the negative personality results of the change jobless through retirement. There is proof that the loss of the wedded relationship undermines men's manliness and that, regularly, men discover approaches to keep up a manly personality, including remarriage. However, the status of "widow" or "single man" permits the enduring companion to keep up a bond with their life partner and is an affirmation of their wedded relationship, as somebody who was hitched and experienced spousal passing. Without a doubt, look into shows that the individuals who keep on speaking with their perished companion seem to adapt better than the individuals who don't. In one British examination, more seasoned widows talked about the manner in which their personalities had changed as an outcome of their widowhood.

The women revealed an increased character. That is, they depicted not having a sole way of life as a widow, yet having a way of life as a widow while holding their way of life as a spouse. As this proposes, adapting is related to the bereaved attempting to build up another self-sufficient character. Scientists have contended that widowhood gives a chance to the bereft to learn new abilities and the experience of self-awareness isn't extraordinary. For instance, more seasoned bereaved grownups may encounter a feeling of accomplishment, or depict themselves as a more grounded, increasingly autonomous or a superior individual having encountered this misfortune. More seasoned women will in general portray these progressions more much of the time than do more seasoned men. Progression of associations with loved ones, just as having opportunities to create freedom and a feeling of individual self-governance may all encourage better modification in widowhood.

ISSN: 2278-4632 Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

Health Implications

Widowhood leads to a decrease in wellbeing, both psychologically and physically. Marriage protectively affects wellbeing. Research shows that, in any event in the shorter term, the demise of a life partner causes brought down degrees of psychological prosperity. Bereft more seasoned grown-ups report more significant levels of mind-set and uneasiness issue, lower levels of life fulfillment, and raised degrees of forlornness. An a lot littler extent experience clinical degrees of sadness, negating the perspective on mourning as an "ailment." Marriage can give a feeling of importance and has been found to impact sentiments of dominance and confidence. Proof shows that spousal demise can possibly cause sentiments of uselessness and decreased assurance for more seasoned grown-ups, which continue considerably following several years. Further, psychological pressure has a physical effect. Hence, it is maybe to be expected that, since widowhood is viewed as one of the most unpleasant beneficial encounters, more established bereft grown-ups, who may as of now be encountering bombing wellbeing, report a higher number of medical issues and increasingly upset examples of dozing, and are bound to take part in wellbeing poor practices (e.g., horrible eating routine, lower levels of activity and substance use) contrasted with their wedded partners. Widowhood leads to a decrease in the support of wellbeing practices... In any case, while physical wellbeing effects may endure nearby an age-related decrease in wellbeing, the psychological effect of the demise of a life partner is ordinarily intense with critical psychological disturbance in the quick period following deprivation, which for the most part settle after some time.

Practical challenges

Just as changes in the social assets portrayed above, more established bereaved grown-ups face lost economic and viable assets, and huge changes to their every day schedule. There is normally diminished financial security; they may need to migrate physically; and must figure out how to live alone, remaking their day by day lives to represent the evolving obligations. Widowhood influences the presentation of everyday family unit undertakings, especially for more established men. Sex based family obligations are normal in this companion of more established grown-ups and, while loved ones may help with instrumental assignments in the beginning times following mourning, the bereft must figure out how to adjust to new household duties that were recently performed by their mate.

Widows portray figuring out how to deal with their accounts and home upkeep, while the measure of housework performed by men ordinarily increments. The quality of the wedded relationship impacts the straightforwardness with which individuals deal with these pragmatic changes in widowhood. For instance, more elevated levels of nervousness have been found among the individuals who were exceptionally reliant on their life partner for family errands. Grown-up children are typically a focalwellspring of instrumental help for more established bereaved. While examine proposes that widows are bound to give and get more elevated levels of help from grown-up children than single men, there is proof that men are seen to get more help than women after

the passing of a life partner. Over the long haul, the arrangement of help normally decreases, as the bereft adjust and no longer need as much help. Be that as it may, declining wellbeing stays a physical boundary to instrumental autonomy among the more established bereaved.

EMPOWERMENT OF WIDOWS AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The widows in the past as well as in the present existence in some areas are neglected and are regarded as the unrepresented group in the Indian society. The domineering traditional social norms and values have been implemented upon the widows after the demise of their husbands. They are denied even the basic human rights like attending ceremonies, writing letters to friends and relatives and getting engaged in other social and cultural services. The widows, in most cases fear that they will be mistreated and harassed by other men. They are provided with low protein food and are meant to live in isolated places within the house, they are regarded as symbols of misfortune. They are forbidden from appearing in the public. Widows in India are experiencing lot of hardships due to traditional norms, cultural practices and beliefs in the society. They were forced to withdraw completely from the social life of the community and were made to follow a severe discipline which made their existence a virtual social death. Due to these factors, they developed apprehensiveness and vulnerability. Efforts were made during the early colonial period to work toward implementation of reforms to improve the condition of widows in India.

Policies for widows in India

Policiesis characterized in the Marriam-Webster Online word reference as "a positive course or technique for activity chose from among choices, to direct and decide present and future choices". Approach can likewise be characterized as settling on choices that reflect qualities and distribution, recourses dependent on those qualities.

Five Year Plans for the Widows the Government of India through its multi year plan has made some solid strides towards the empowerment of women including the widows. The second, third, fourth, fifth and seventh Five Year plans were devoted towards the empowerment of women in general and there are numerous different plans that incorporate the reasons for widows.

LEGISLATIONS RELATED TO WIDOWS' WELFARE IN INDIA

Notwithstanding the strategies and projects proposed and executed for the government assistance of widows in India, certain lawful measures additionally have been thought of; a couple of them are recorded underneath more or less.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856 The Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856, was an achievement enactment and the first of its sort which legitimately supported the remarriage of Hindu widows. Widows in India were verifiably exposed to belittling by the remainder of society and had to carry on with a prohibitive type of life. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's endeavours were to be praised in making this recorded enactment a reality. The law, in any case, had several

ISSN: 2278-4632 Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

deficiencies; one such downside was that despite the fact that the widows were permitted to remarry, they were not qualified for own the property of their expired spouse

The remarkable highlights of the law are:

No marriage contracted between Hindus will be invalid, and the issue of no such marriage will be ill-conceived, by reason of the women having been recently hitched or pledged to someone else who was dead at the hour of such marriage, any custom and any understanding of Hindu law unexpectedly in any case.

All rights and interests which any widow may have in her perished spouse's property by method of upkeep, or by legacy to her significant other or to his lineal replacements, or by ethicalness of any will or testamentary air presenting upon her, without express authorization to re-wed, just a restricted enthusiasm for such property, with no intensity of estranging the equivalent, will upon her re-marriage stop and decide as though she had then passed on; and the following beneficiaries of her expired husband, or different people qualified for the property on her demise, will immediately prevail to the equivalent.

On the re-marriage of a Hindu widow, if neither the widow nor some other individual has been explicitly comprised by the will or testamentary air of the perished spouse the watchman of his child's the dad or fatherly granddad or the mother or fatherly grandma, of the expired husband, or any male relative of the expired husband, may appeal to the most elevated Court having unique locale in common cases in where the perished husband was domiciled at the hour of his demise for the arrangement of some appropriate individual to be gatekeeper of the said child's, and immediately it will be legal for the said Court, on the off chance that it will figure fit, to designate such watchman, who when selected will be qualified for have the consideration and care of the said youngsters, or of any of them during their minority, in the spot of their mom; and in making such arrangement the Court will be guided, so far as might be by the laws and rules in power contacting the guardianship of child's who have neither dad nor mother:

PROGRAM FOR WIDOWS IN INDIA

While the sums conceded in the couple of state annuity schemes may permit widows to scarcely bolster themselves, they can't be extended far enough to accommodate extra wards. What's more, given the fairly unbending measures under which widows can meet all requirements for different government assistance plans, it is nothing unexpected that numerous widows wind up living as down and out. "Widows in India experience especially high paces of hardship." However, an indication of expectation is offered by various deliberate associations, as Prasad's, Ganguly's and the Gulatis' articles determine. Jhabvala further portrays how the Self-utilized Women's Association (SEWA) has spearheaded a protection plot (Karya Suraksha) where, for a yearly instalment of Rs 45 or a lifetime premium of Rs 550, female individuals get monetary remuneration for hospitalization, house fix/support and devices required for work, maternity costs,

and demise of their companion. Consequently, widows have some plan of action to protection coverage in the midst of hardship (Ministry of women and youngster improvement, 2017)

Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme (IGNWPS):

This benefits plot, began by the Central administration of India, was presented under National Social Assistance Program in 1995. The goalIndira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme (IGNWPS):

This benefits plot, began by the Central administration of India, was presented under National Social Assistance Program in 1995. The goal of this plan is to give monetary assistance to the widow who has a place with the financially more vulnerable segment of the society or who is beneath the destitution line. Help gave under this plan is Rs.1000 every month. Different advantages one free sari for the retired person twice year for Pongal and Deepavali celebrations. Retired people are furnished with day by day free nutritious supper at youngster focuses. 2 kilogram of rice for each month to the individuals who are taking Nutritious Meal and 4 kilogram of rice for every month to the individuals who are not taking nutritious Meal gave at liberated from cost. The recipient of this plan ought to be a widow old enough somewhere in the range of 40 and 59 years, as indicated by the models recommended by the Government of India, she likewise should be a perpetual occupant of India. (Administration of India, 2013)

The National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS): This plan was presented by the Central Government (Ministry of Women and Child Development) and became effective from fifteenth August, 1995. Families living beneath the neediness line are qualified for get monetary advantages after the passing of the sole provider under this plan. The demise of such a bread-worker ought to have happened when she/he is over 18 years old and underneath 60 years old. The NFBS intended to cover the single women who might and significantly advantage from this plan which gives onetime money help of Rs.10,000. The fundamental goal behind the implementation of the plan is, if there should be an occurrence of the demise of the essential provider of a family living beneath the neediness line the dispossessed family will be helped with a budgetary help. From 2015 onwards, the sum has been expanded to Rs.20,000. Groups of BPL (Below Poverty Line) class profit by this plan. (Government assistance plot, 2017)

Antodaya Anna Yojana (AAY):

This has been propelled on the 25th December, 2000. This point of this plan is to make TPDS (Targeted Public Distribution System) increasingly engaged and focused towards the most unfortunate of the poor of the populace. AAY was propelled in 2005. The beneficiaries are recognized from the quantity of BPL families secured under TPDS inside the states. They are furnished with food grains at a profoundly sponsored pace of Rs.2 per kg of wheat and Rs.3 per kg of rice. The administration of Tamil Nadu gives the rice liberated from cost. Distribution of food grains under the plan is being discharged to the States/UTs based on issue of particular AAY Ration Cards to the distinguished Antyodaya families. The current month to month distribution of

food grains under AAY is around 8.51 lakh tones every month as on 31.12.2012. The allotment that was at first 25 kg for every family every month has been expanded to 35 kg for each family every month with impact from first April 2002 (Mayilvaganan and Varadarajan, 2012)

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA):

Mahatma Gandhi NREGA expects to improve livelihood security of family units in rural areas of the related year to each family unit whose grown-up individuals volunteer to accomplish untalented manual work. The Act came in 2005 and was executed in a staged way. Beneficiaries of this plan is as indicated by the requirements of the rural specialists It was presented in 200 of the most in reverse regions of the nation. The point of this Act is; (I) giving at the very least hundred days fill in as an ensured compensation work in a budgetary year to each family unit in rural areas per request bringing about making of gainful resources of recommended quality and durability.(ii) Strengthening the livelihood asset base of poor people (iii) proactively guaranteeing social consideration and (iv) Strengthening Panchayat Raj Institutions and furthermore the Public Distribution System (PDS), Mid-Day Meal (MDM), Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), and the Social Security Pensions. (Sujatha, 2013)

CONCLUSION

Widowhood in India is a multifaceted foundation, wherein women experience numerous issues. In the Indian society, widowhood is a factor, which serves to detach a specific area of women from the standard society, they much of the time dedicate themselves to offering petitions to God and ownership of religious convictions. As they age, their condition decays and they experience diseases and medical issues.

Limitations are forced upon their garments, dietary admission, support in social capacities and remarriage is denied for them. Widowhood uncovered the opening among cultural and social real factors, and among standards and practices. Losing spouse is horrifying, especially when widows need to deal with their little child's without anyone else. The most serious issues that they experience is of funds, continuing their day to day environments, meeting the prerequisites of the youngsters, paying expenses, etc. There have been, implementation of measures and schemes to prompt their upliftment. There has additionally been an expansion in widow remarriage. In the current scenario, widows in urban areas are accomplishing empowerment opportunities, they are turning out to be experts, for example, specialists, legal advisors, instructors, journalists, business visionaries and so on. Then again, there are absence of empowerment opportunities for widows, especially in rural areas. Complete monetary reliance on others, the disgrace related with a widow just as social obstructions for remarriage, have made their positions vulnerable in the Indian society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[1]. An Exploratory Study on the Socio-Economic Condition of the Widows in the Holy City of Puri. (n.d.). Ministry of Women and Child Development. Retrieved September 8, 2017 from http://wcd.nic.in/Schemes/research/Secw205.pdf

ISSN: 2278-4632

Vol-10 Issue-5 No. 7 May 2020

- [2]. Anji, A., &Velumani, K. (2013). Contemporary Social Position of Widowhood among Rural and Urban Area Special Reference to Dindigul District. International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology, 2(10), 69-92. Retrieved September 8, 2017 from http://www.ijoart.org/docs/CONTEMPORARY-SOCIAL-POSITIONOF-WIDOWHOOD-AMONG-RURAL-AND-URBAN.pdf
- [3]. Chen, M., & Jean, D. (1995). Recent Research on Widows in India. Workshop and Conference Report. Economic and Political Weekly, 30(39), 2435-2450. Retrieved September 8, 2017 from http://www.econdse.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/JDRecent-Research-on-Widows-in-India.pdf
- [4]. Sahoo, D.M. (2014). An Analysis of Widowhood in India: A Global Perspective. International Journal of Multidisciplinary and Current Research, 2, 45-58. Retrieved September 8, 2017 from http://ijmcr.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Paper84558.pdf
- [5]. Lee, G. R., &DeMaris, A. (2007). Widowhood, gender, and depression: A longitude analysis. Research on Aging, 29, 56–72. doi:10.1177/0164027506294098
- [6]. Lowe, M. E., & McClement, S. E. (2011). Spousal bereavement: The lived experience of young Canadian widows. Omega, 62, 127–148. doi:10.2190/OM.62.2.c
- [7]. Rossi, N. E., Bisconti, T. L., &Bergeman, C. S. (2007). The role of dispositional resilience in regaining life satisfaction after the loss of a spouse. Death Studies, 31, 863–883. doi:10.1080/07481180701603246
- [8]. Sasson, I., &Umberson, J. D. (2014). Widowhood and depression: New light on gender differences, selection, and psychological adjustment. Journal of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 69, 135–145. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbt058
- [9]. U. S. Census Bureau. (2011) Marital events of Americans: 2009: Washington, D.C. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/acs-13.pdf
- [10]. Young, W. B., & Foy, L. S. (2013). The influence of meaning-making after spousal loss on trajectories of psychological distress. Society and Mental Health, 3, 187–202. doi:10.1177/2156869313491273