



# GAAP<sup>2</sup>

Gender, Agriculture & Assets Project



Led by IFPRI

## The Monster-in-law Effect:

Linking qualitative observations to quantitative analysis on household structure, migration, and empowerment in Nepal

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# What's on TV tonight?





# Experiences of daughters-in-law in Nepal

Daughters-in-law have little control over time, work, property  
(Pradhan et al. 2018)

*“We could never take the food by ourselves, but had to work very hard to plant corn, break earth, and so on but my mother-in-law was never satisfied. I did whatever my mother-in-law ordered me to do, went wherever she asked me to go. I was never allowed to go where I wanted to go. I was never allowed to do what I wanted.”*

*“As daughters-in-law we are supposed to do what they (parents-in-law) tell us to do”*

## Social location in the household



Unmarried daughter



Young daughter-in-law in extended household



Wife/mother in nuclear household



Mother-in-law in extended household

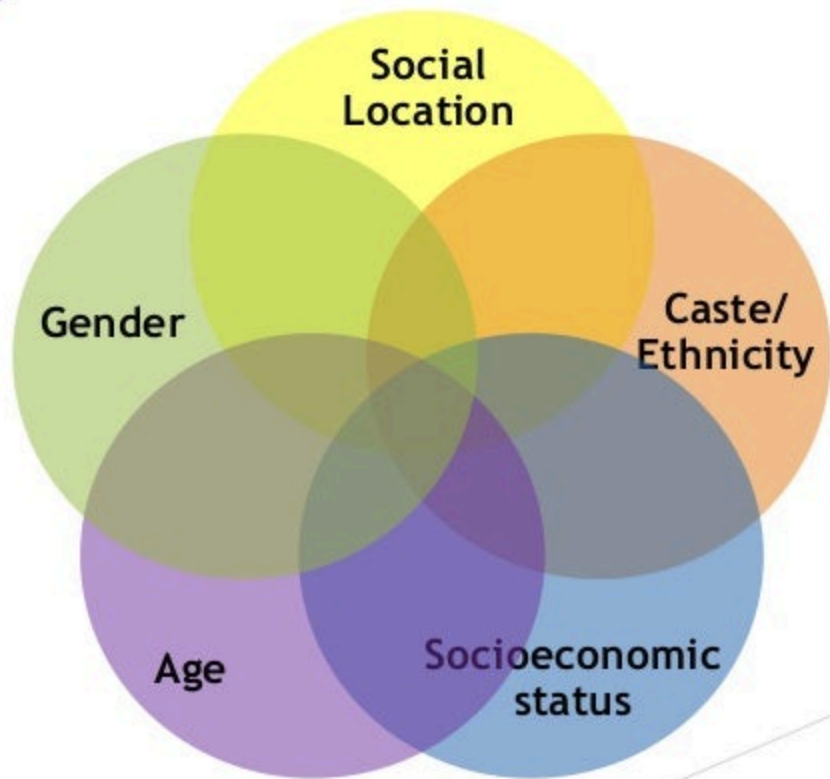
# Empowerment across the life course

- ▶ Women's empowerment is dynamic across the life course
- ▶ Social location and empowerment
  - ▶ Social location even more significant than land ownership in women's household decision making power (Allendorf 2007)
  - ▶ Matters more than caste/ethnicity in household decision making (Singh 2016)
- ▶ Different domains of empowerment may be more important than others at different times
  - ▶ Sraboni & Quisumbing (2018); Malapit & Quisumbing (2015); Sraboni et al. (2014)



# Drawing on Intersectionality

- ▶ An analytical tool that examines how power relations are intertwined and mutually constructing
- ▶ Multiple categories overlap and interact to define identities, shape experiences and influence outcomes
- ▶ “Interlocking systems of oppression”



# Qualitative findings

- ▶ Importance of intersectionality
  - ▶ Caste and ethnicity affect status of household and gender norms
  - ▶ Household structure, social location within the household is critical:
    - ▶ Narratives of “dukha” (suffering) of daughters in law
    - ▶ Women experience a major increase in their empowerment when they split off from extended family
    - ▶ Male migration has complex effect on households
- ▶ How generalizable are these findings?

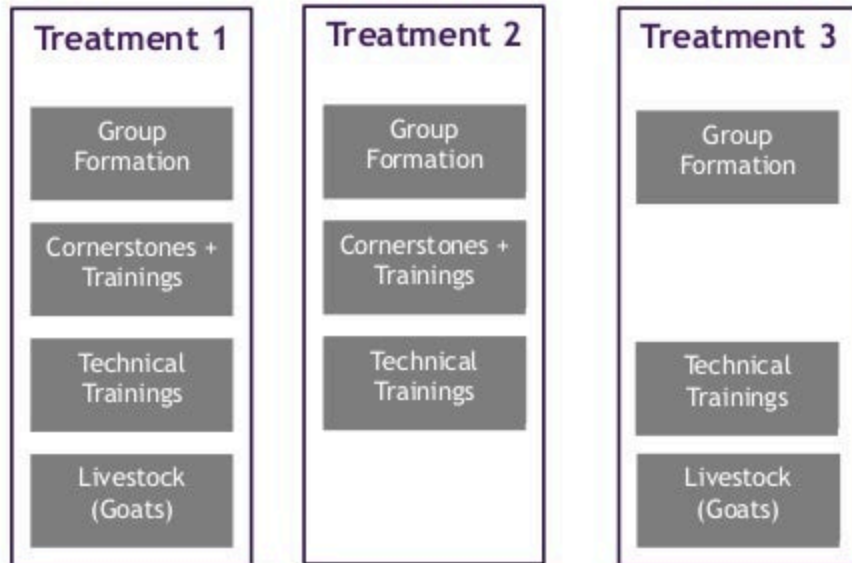
# Research questions

- ▶ How is a woman's social location in the household associated with her empowerment?
- ▶ How does her husband's migration status mediate these outcomes?



# Project and data

- ▶ Research funding provided by USAID “BASIS Assets and Market Access” Innovation Lab
- ▶ RCT of a Heifer International program designed to replicate the Smallholders in Livestock Value Chain (SLVC) Program in Nepal
- ▶ Three arms: Physical capital (goats), technical training and group savings, social capital formation



vs.  
Control

# Context

- ▶ Project included 3,300 Households from 7 districts
  - ▶ Mid-Hills (2 districts)
  - ▶ Terai (3 districts)
  - ▶ Earthquake (2 districts): removed from analysis
- ▶ Qualitative data:
  - ▶ 4 villages: 2 in hills, 2 in Terai
  - ▶ Two rounds
  - ▶ Village-resident ethnography, focus groups, life histories, key informants
- ▶ Quantitative data:
  - ▶ Midline survey data
  - ▶ 1,803 currently married women; one respondent per household
  - ▶ We use the Abbreviated Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index



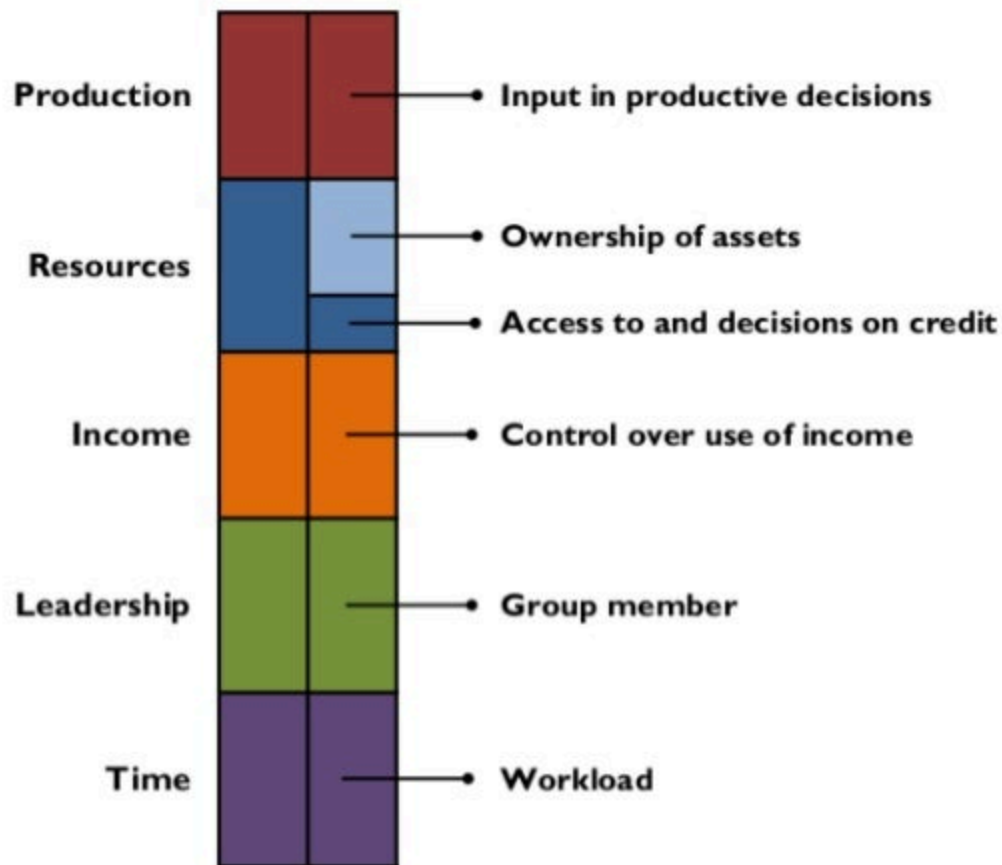
# What in the world is WEAI?

- ▶ Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index
- ▶ Developed by USAID, IFPRI & OPHI
- ▶ Launched in 2012, now used in 53 countries
- ▶ Measures inclusion of women in the agricultural sector
- ▶ Survey-based index - interviews men and women in the same household





# A-WEAI Indicators



Empowerment score is weighted sum of adequacy in the six A-WEAI indicators

## A-WEAI Indicators (contd.)

Indicator	Adequacy definition
Access to and decisions on credit	Respondent solely or jointly makes at least one decision about at least one source of credit that their household used
Asset ownership	Respondent solely or jointly owns at least one large or two small assets
Control over use of income	Respondent has at least some input in decisions about income or feels they can make decisions about income, not including minor household purchases
Group membership	Respondent participates in at least one community group
Input in productive decisions	Respondent has some input in decisions about livelihood activity or feels they can make decisions in at least two areas of livelihood activities
Workload	Respondent worked less than 10.5 of the last 24 hours (includes productive and reproductive work)

# Quantitative analysis

- ▶ Empowerment: Empowerment score
- ▶ Time spent on work in hours (total, productive, reproductive)
  - ▶ OLS regressions
- ▶ Indicators of empowerment (binary): Input in productive decisions, asset ownership, control over use of income, access to and decisions on credit, group membership, workload
  - ▶ Logistic regressions



# Definitions

- ▶ Social location in the household is defined as:
  - ▶ Wife (of HoH): No in-laws in household
  - ▶ Mother-in-law: at least one daughter-in-law in household
  - ▶ Daughter-in-law: at least one parent-in-law in household
- ▶ Controls
  - ▶ Individual: Age; caste; years of education
  - ▶ Household-level: child <5 in HH; child <15 in HH; #adult men in HH; #adult women in HH; asset index

# Sample characteristics

	Wife - Husband in HH	Wife - Migrant husband	MIL - Husband in HH	MIL - Migrant husband	DIL - Husband in HH	DIL - Migrant husband
	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)
Age (years)	<b>42.19</b> (0.48)	<b>34.27</b> (0.46)	<b>52.71</b> (0.46)	<b>43.58</b> (1.39)	<b>30.21</b> (0.53)	<b>28.60</b> (0.46)
Years of schooling	<b>2.04</b> (0.14)	<b>3.35</b> (0.23)	<b>0.47</b> (0.08)	<b>1.10</b> (0.36)	<b>5.08</b> (0.27)	<b>5.77</b> (0.27)
Caste: Brahmin or Chhetri	<b>0.26</b> (0.02)	<b>0.22</b> (0.03)	<b>0.25</b> (0.02)	<b>0.16</b> (0.07)	<b>0.27</b> (0.03)	<b>0.27</b> (0.03)
Caste: Dalit	<b>0.33</b> (0.02)	<b>0.40</b> (0.03)	<b>0.37</b> (0.03)	<b>0.42</b> (0.09)	<b>0.33</b> (0.03)	<b>0.39</b> (0.03)
Caste: Janajati	<b>0.13</b> (0.01)	<b>0.10</b> (0.02)	<b>0.12</b> (0.02)	<b>0.19</b> (0.07)	<b>0.09</b> (0.02)	<b>0.10</b> (0.02)
Caste: Muslim	<b>0.04</b> (0.01)	<b>0.03</b> (0.01)	<b>0.03</b> (0.01)	<b>0.00</b> (0.00)	<b>0.04</b> (0.01)	<b>0.03</b> (0.01)
Caste: Tarai Middle	<b>0.21</b> (0.02)	<b>0.21</b> (0.03)	<b>0.20</b> (0.02)	<b>0.23</b> (0.08)	<b>0.21</b> (0.02)	<b>0.17</b> (0.02)
Other castes	<b>0.04</b> (0.01)	<b>0.04</b> (0.01)	<b>0.03</b> (0.01)	<b>0.00</b> (0.00)	<b>0.06</b> (0.01)	<b>0.03</b> (0.01)
Child under 5 years lives in HH	<b>0.18</b> (0.02)	<b>0.25</b> (0.03)	<b>0.48</b> (0.03)	<b>0.65</b> (0.09)	<b>0.47</b> (0.03)	<b>0.51</b> (0.03)
Child aged 5-18 years lives in HH	<b>0.73</b> (0.02)	<b>0.91</b> (0.02)	<b>0.75</b> (0.02)	<b>0.87</b> (0.06)	<b>0.83</b> (0.02)	<b>0.80</b> (0.03)
Number of adult women in HH	<b>1.26</b> (0.02)	<b>1.14</b> (0.02)	<b>2.67</b> (0.05)	<b>2.65</b> (0.19)	<b>2.36</b> (0.05)	<b>2.33</b> (0.05)
Number of adult men in HH	<b>1.50</b> (0.03)	<b>1.30</b> (0.04)	<b>2.92</b> (0.05)	<b>2.77</b> (0.18)	<b>2.33</b> (0.07)	<b>2.29</b> (0.07)
N	605	254	371	31	307	235

# Time spent on work

	Wife		Mother-in-law		Daughter-in-law	
	Husband in HH	Migrant husband	Husband in HH	Migrant husband	Husband in HH	Migrant husband
	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)
Time spent on work (total hours/day)	8.88 (0.13)	9.24 (0.23)	8.96 (0.19)	8.34 (0.66)	9.01 (0.18)	9.09 (0.22)
Productive work (hours/day)	4.25 (0.14)	4.60 (0.22)	4.94 (0.18)	4.69 (0.66)	4.13 (0.19)	4.54 (0.23)
Reproductive work (hours/day)	4.66 (0.12)	4.69 (0.18)	4.02 (0.15)	3.83 (0.51)	4.90 (0.19)	4.64 (0.21)
N	605	254	371	31	307	235



# Time spent on work: MIL vs DIL

		Mother-in-law	Daughter-in-law	Test
Total hours worked	Mean	8.91	9.04	
	(SE)	(0.18)	(0.14)	
Productive work hours	Mean	4.92	4.31	***
	(SE)	(0.18)	(0.15)	
Reproductive work hours	Mean	4.00	4.79	***
	(SE)	(0.15)	(0.14)	
N		402	542	

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

# Social location

Reference category:  
Wife

Red:  
Less likely  
empowered/  
adequate

Green:  
More likely  
empowered/  
adequate

Red:  
Working less

Green:  
Working more

	Mother-in-law	Daughter-in-law
Empowerment		
Credit		
Group		
Income		
Asset ownership		
Input in Productive decisions		
Workload	-	
Total time (hours)		
Productive work (hours)		
Reproductive work (hours)		-

Controls for age; caste; years of education; child <5 in HH; child <15 in HH; #adult men in HH; #adult women in HH; asset index  
Only estimates for at least  $p < 0.1$

# Social location & Migration

Reference categories:  
Wife  
Husband in HH

	Mother-in-law	Daughter-in-law	Migrant husband	Mother-in-law*Migrant husband	Daughter-in-law*Migrant husband
Empowerment		+	+		-
Credit	-				
Group		+	+		-
Income			+		-
Asset ownership			+		-
Input in Productive decisions			+		
Workload	-				
Total time (hours)					
Productive work (hours)					
Reproductive work (hours)					

# Discussion



- ▶ Women experience a shift in empowerment when moving from joint to nuclear HHs
  - ▶ Different domains contribute to empowerment in different ways
  - ▶ Increased workload - less sharing of work; but more control over income
- ▶ Husband's residence is “protective” of daughter-in-law's status
  - ▶ surprising finding!
- ▶ Time use vs. *agency* over time use



# Conclusion

## ► Limitations

- We do not consider never-married or divorced, widowed, or separated women
- Other domains of empowerment may play a crucial role
- HH remittances: Who are they sent to?
- Limited sample sizes from intersectionality
- Need to be aware of overlapping social categories
  - Implications for the design of interventions

# Acknowledgments & References

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Collaborative  
Platform for  
Gender Research



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