

Culture and Economics: Changing Gender Attitudes in Rural Pakistan

TAHIR ANDRABI

AALIMS CONFERENCE, PRINCETON 2014

(PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS)

Women

- The LEAPS sample
 - 120 villages in rural Punjab
 - Villages larger than average but more representative of changing population trends
 - “emerging” rural middle class
 - 25% of adult women report any school attendance in LEAPS
 - Only 10% go beyond primary and almost none beyond high school
 - Almost no work outside the home
 - Most time cooking and cleaning
 - Active and knowledgeable educational decision-makers for their children

Girls

- enrollment 67% ages 9-12
 - Drops sharply after that
- Learning levels at par with boys
 - Boys a little ahead in math; girls ahead in English and Urdu
- Aspirations: What do you want to be in life? (%)

	Boys	Girls
Teacher	16	48
Doctor	22	24
Join Army Forces	31	

Source: LEAPS school questionnaire

Micro Changes and Societal Norms

- Higher education: Science enrollment and achievement
 - Science Secondary School Board Examination results
 - Medical and Dental School admissions
- women in leadership positions
 - Parliament
 - Media
- Not clear what is happening to attitudes
 - Possible lack of public knowledge about these changes, particularly in rural areas

Skewed discussions in the media/policy

 - not based on representative data, No census since 1998
- Differences in men and women

Culture and economics:

(re: Sen NYRB missing women essay)

Culture: Religion/tradition

- Limited labor mobility for women
 - Purdah
 - Woman's role in the household
 - Stigma on certain occupations
 - (Goldin, various papers talks about evolution of women's labor force participation in the US)
 - Taste based discrimination
- Economics: Perceptions about changing economic opportunities for women
 - Not knowing that there are things out there for women to do
 - Existence of Women in leadership positions
 - statistical discrimination?

What does it mean for young girls

- Labor Force Participation and Occupational Choice
 - Big question as we move forward
 - Clearly teaching is now a booming profession and a predominantly female one
 - What about other professions such as health, another traditional caregiving profession and girls aspire to?
- Jensen, QJE , Perceived Rates of Return, Dominican Republic
- “We did not interview girls because of difficulties in eliciting expected earnings. Due to a low female labor force participation rate in the Dominican Republic (about 40%), in focus groups most girls were unwilling to estimate their expected earnings because they felt they would never work.”

What we do:

- Move the margin for Adult attitudes towards women and girls on culture and economics
- Random Primes: Separately for men and women respondents to the general HH questionnaire
 - could be parents/heads of household/general respondents
 - 1390 men, 1519 women

Variable	Mean— Males	Mean— Females
Age	47	43
Education	.62	.26

- 2x2 design
 - Group 1 : control, nothing
 - Group 2: Economic Prime
 - Group 3: Value Prime
 - Group 4: Both Primes
- Coming towards the end of the household questionnaire

The Statement of the Primes

Economics:

“We will be asking you the next set of questions on your views regarding girl’s education. Not too many people in Pakistan realize this but in the last few years, girls pass percentage in the FSc board exam (grade 12 Exam) has been greater than boys in all parts of Punjab. Also, for the last few years, there are about 70% girls and only 30% boy being admitted to medical colleges and becoming doctors.”

•Values :

“We will be asking you the next set of questions on your views regarding girls education. The prophet of Islam was always was concerned about Muslims taking care of their daughters. In fact, Prophet Mohammad Sallah allah o wasallam has the following sahih hadith: . “Whoever is given daughters and treats them well, they will be as a barrier for him against the Fire.”

Control:

“We will be asking you the next set of questions on your views regarding girls’ education.”

Prime Rationale:

- Economic Prime: Perceived information failure
 - Rob Jensen, QJE, Dominican Republic Informational Prime
 - Before we end, I would like to provide you with some information from our study. In January, we interviewed adults living in this community and all over the country. We asked them about many things, including their earnings and education. We found that the average earnings of a man 30 to 40 years old with only a primary school education was about 3,200 pesos per month. And the average income of a man the same age who completed secondary school, but did not attend university, was about 4,500 pesos per month. So the difference between workers with and without secondary school is about 1,300 pesos per month; workers who finish secondary school earn about 41 percent more than those who don't. And people who go to university earn about 5,900 pesos per month, which is about 85 percent more than those who only finish primary school.
 - Prime is based on “facts”:
 - Used data from FSc board exam results
 - medical schools in Punjab and Karachi
 - girls are a majority and go up to 70% (if you include dental schools)
 - Not subject of active scholarly or public debate in Pakistan

Prime Rationale

Value: In the public discussions in Pakistan, Islam and gender roles is contested and there is a view that there is enough weight of tradition that supports taking special care of girls and accepting/developing positive roles for women in public life.

Outcomes

- There were questions regarding educational aspirations, ability.
- Adult—Male and Female—General Attitudes towards Women
 - Work_allow: Do you think that women should be allowed to work outside the house?
 - Work_able: Do you think that women have the ability to work outside the house?
 - Lead_allow: Do you think women should be allowed for leadership positions, in general?
 - Lead_able: Do you think women have the ability for leadership positions, in general?
 - Questions were then asked on specific occupations and positions (not analyzed here)
- Heterogeneity by education
 - Do educated adult males and females react differently
- Girl Child level: adult views on occupational choices for the girls in the household
 - Age range: 4-18; median age 12.5
 - Doctor_allow
 - Govt_allow
 - Private_allow
 - Teacher_allow
 - House_allow

Findings

- Able vs. allow
 - More positive on able vs. allow
 - Larger prime effect on allow variables
- Limited effect on men
- Small effect on women
 - the value treatment
- Most effect on educated women
 - The economic treatment
 - Not entirely causal as education not random
 - But constructing an IV (not reported) and result holds

Attitudes Towards Women

MEN					WOMEN				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
VARIABLES	work_allow	lead_allow	work_able	lead_able	VARIABLES	work_allow	lead_allow	work_able	lead_able
Economic	0.0193	0.00451	-0.0236	-0.00706	Economic	0.0352	-0.0190	0.00342	-0.00979
	(0.0324)	(0.0337)	(0.0244)	(0.0265)		(0.0290)	(0.0292)	(0.0177)	(0.0252)
Value	0.0165	-0.00354	-0.0221	-0.000757	Value	0.0766***	0.0365	0.0166	0.0198
	(0.0373)	(0.0350)	(0.0254)	(0.0292)		(0.0258)	(0.0298)	(0.0152)	(0.0264)
Economic , Value	0.0177	0.00312	-0.00653	0.000362	Economic, Value	-0.0144	-0.0192	-0.00920	-0.0152
	(0.0332)	(0.0330)	(0.0255)	(0.0293)		(0.0277)	(0.0274)	(0.0172)	(0.0253)
Control	0.555***	0.581***	0.858***	0.775***	Control	0.770***	0.752***	0.945***	0.835***
	(0.0304)	(0.0274)	(0.0201)	(0.0220)		(0.0213)	(0.0201)	(0.0111)	(0.0185)
Observations	1,390	1,390	1,390	1,390	Observations	1,519	1,519	1,519	1,519
R-squared	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	R-squared	0.008	0.003	0.002	0.001
Robust standard errors, clustered at the village level in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					Robust standard errors, clustered at the village level in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1				

Education Interaction

MEN					WOMEN				
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	work_allow	lead_allow	work_able	lead_able		work_allow	lead_allow	work_able	lead_able
Treat_Econ*NoEdu	0.0678	0.0376	-0.0295	-0.00383	Treat_Econ*NoEdu	-0.0325	-0.0434	0.00274	-0.0180
	(0.0560)	(0.0564)	(0.0374)	(0.0523)		(0.0332)	(0.0383)	(0.0247)	(0.0320)
Treat_value*NoEdu	-0.0576	-0.0842	-0.0517	-0.0291	Treat_value*NoEdu	0.0475	0.0245	0.00887	-0.00686
	(0.0640)	(0.0621)	(0.0452)	(0.0561)		(0.0299)	(0.0388)	(0.0203)	(0.0339)
Treat_Both*No_Edu	0.0166	-0.0127	-0.00689	0.0115	Treat_Both*No_Edu	-0.0427	-0.0468	-0.00996	-0.0324
	(0.0592)	(0.0644)	(0.0397)	(0.0551)		(0.0305)	(0.0332)	(0.0241)	(0.0323)
Control*Edu	-0.00325	-0.0156	-0.0165	0.0461	Control*Edu	-0.0468	-0.0173	0.0351	-0.00203
	(0.0523)	(0.0529)	(0.0315)	(0.0470)		(0.0510)	(0.0534)	(0.0264)	(0.0469)
Treat_Econ*Edu	-0.0359	-0.0204	0.0292	0.00101	Treat_Econ*Edu	0.214***	0.111	0.0120	0.0791
	(0.0746)	(0.0696)	(0.0562)	(0.0681)		(0.0615)	(0.0810)	(0.0350)	(0.0663)
Treat_Value*Edu	0.121	0.122	0.0440	0.0323	Treat_Value*Edu	0.0969	0.113*	0.0364	0.122**
	(0.0834)	(0.0884)	(0.0536)	(0.0702)		(0.0666)	(0.0641)	(0.0333)	(0.0596)
Treat_Both*Edu	-0.00637	0.0362	0.00783	-0.00876	Treat_Both*Edu	0.126*	0.137**	0.0281	0.0833
	(0.0798)	(0.0817)	(0.0551)	(0.0719)		(0.0673)	(0.0568)	(0.0338)	(0.0589)
Control*NoEdu	0.309***	0.572***	0.866***	1.005***	Control*NoEdu	0.717***	0.514***	0.837***	0.672***
	(0.114)	(0.102)	(0.0815)	(0.1000)		(0.116)	(0.123)	(0.0776)	(0.103)
Observations	1,390	1,390	1,390	1,390	Observations	1,519	1,519	1,519	1,519
R-squared	0.192	0.170	0.159	0.131	R-squared	0.133	0.130	0.095	0.113

Women attitudes towards girls (age 4-18) in the household

Women					
VARIABLES	(1) doctor_allow	(2) teacher_allow	(3) private_allow	(4) govt_allow	(5) house_allow
Treat_Econ	0.0599 (0.0476)	0.0396 (0.0373)	0.00591 (0.0458)	0.0254 (0.0446)	0.0282 (0.0497)
Treat_Values	0.0557 (0.0535)	0.0544 (0.0351)	0.0854** (0.0427)	0.0534 (0.0434)	0.0853* (0.0442)
Treat_Both	0.0242 (0.0471)	0.00943 (0.0363)	0.0318 (0.0451)	-0.00419 (0.0429)	0.0562 (0.0461)
Control	0.395*** (0.0902)	0.727*** (0.0772)	0.456*** (0.0845)	0.570*** (0.0856)	0.554*** (0.0944)
Observations	2,113	2,113	2,113	2,113	2,113
R-squared	0.004	0.003	0.006	0.005	0.004

Robust standard errors, clustered at the village level in parentheses. Control for child age.

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

Women attitudes towards girls (age 4-18) in the household

WOMEN					
VARIABLES	(1) doctor_allow	(2) teacher_allow	(3) private_allow	(4) govt_allow	(5) house_allow
Treat_Econ*NoEdu	0.00651 (0.0533)	0.00996 (0.0519)	-0.0201 (0.0559)	0.00239 (0.0507)	-0.00494 (0.0575)
Treat_value*NoEdu	0.00970 (0.0587)	0.0648* (0.0350)	0.0467 (0.0446)	0.0263 (0.0475)	0.0664 (0.0459)
Treat_Both*No_Edu	0.0131 (0.0513)	0.00673 (0.0464)	0.0331 (0.0560)	-0.00776 (0.0538)	0.0593 (0.0531)
Control*Edu	-0.0658 (0.0794)	0.0897 (0.0586)	0.00965 (0.0830)	0.0306 (0.0839)	-0.0183 (0.0689)
Treat_Econ*Edu	0.185* (0.104)	0.108 (0.0833)	0.139 (0.113)	0.0858 (0.109)	0.115 (0.108)
Treat_Value*Edu	0.147 (0.0971)	-0.0217 (0.0724)	0.0997 (0.114)	0.127 (0.109)	0.0511 (0.0973)
Treat_Both*Edu	0.126 (0.108)	0.0157 (0.0781)	0.0605 (0.102)	0.0543 (0.100)	0.1000 (0.105)
Control*NoEdu	0.0915 (0.199)	0.601*** (0.141)	0.271* (0.161)	0.400** (0.160)	0.644*** (0.160)
Observations	2,113	2,113	2,113	2,113	2,113
R-squared	0.227	0.243	0.235	0.235	0.211

Child level regression with village fixed effects and child age, child gender, mother age and household asset index controls. Robust standard errors clustered at the village level in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

discussion

- men vs. women
- Able vs. allow
- Why does (such a low level of) education matter for women
 - Ignore causality for the moment
- Long term impact
 - Rob Jensen finds an effect on education persistence
 - Possibly go back to these people

Ongoing analysis

- Girls characteristics:
 - Enrollment status, highest grade completed
 - Test scores on some girls
- Other interactions: age
 - Younger educated women might respond differently to economic prime vs. values
 - Possible nonlinearities
- IV on education
- Theory
- Men backlash to economic prime
- Where Value Prime and Economic Prime move differently