The Gendered Nature of Intergenerational Religious Influences and the Timing of First Marriage

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Research question:

- Parents’ religiosity
- Children’s behavior
- Son’s marriage timing
Research Question

• Family demography
  – Interest in marriage

• Family sociology
  – Parents as primary socializing agent influencing range of child outcomes

• Sociology of religion
  – Important for social status
  – Parents’ religiosity related to children’s religiosity
  – Western settings
Dimensions of religion

• Beliefs/Ideology
  – Specific and general ideologies → family formation strategies
  – Proscribe childbearing within marriage
  – Typically measured with affiliation or identification

• Practice
  – Frequency of interaction with religious symbols and messages

• Salience
Mother’s vs Father’s

• Paternal intergenerational property transmission

• Competing frames within patriarchal religious subgroups
  – Mismatch between religious ideology and behavior
  – “doing religion, doing family, and doing gender” (Bulanda 2011)
RELIGION IN NEPAL
Religious Ideology in Nepal

• Affiliation
  – Hindu – 81%
  – Buddhist – 11%
  – Muslim – 4%
  – Kirants – 4%
  – Christians – 0.5%
  – Jains – 0.5%

• Substantial mixing: Hinduization

• Religio-ethnic group
  – High Caste Hindus
    e.g. Brahmins and Chhetris
  – Low Caste Hindus
    e.g. Damais, Sarkis, and Kamis
  – Terai Tibeto-Burmese
    e.g. Tharu, Kumal, and Bote
  – Hill Tibeto-Burmese
    e.g. Gurungs, Lamas, Magar, and Tamangs
  – Newars
Religious Ideology in Nepal

• High and low caste Hindus
  – Nepal Hindu Kingdom until 2008
  – Explicit doctrine and rituals to encourage early marriage
    • Encourages marriage for daughters around puberty
    • Householder’s path to enlightenment
    • Strong son preference
  – Fatalism

• Terai Tibeto Burmese
  – Hinduized indigenous religions
Religious Ideology in Nepal

• Hill Tibeto Burmese
  – Largely Buddhist
  – No specific ideologies on marriage, childbearing, or sons
  – Focused on general morality, minimization of worldly desires, and pursuit of nirvana
  – More gender equity in households
Religious Ideology in Nepal

• Newars
  – Separate from Hindu caste system
  – Blend Tibeto Burmese and Hindu components
Religious Practice in Nepal: \textit{Puja}

- At home
  - Hindu
    - Features of daily life (bathing, clean clothes, cleaning home)
  - Buddhist
    - Mediation, chanting, lighting butter lamps
- Public practice at temples
Study area: Chitwan, Nepal
Data

- Chitwan Valley Family Study (CVFS)
  - perl.psc.isr.umich.edu
  - Neighborhood (tol) based study (N=151)
- Baseline, individual interviews-1996
  - All neighborhood residents ages 15-59 and spouses (N=5,271)
    - Sons, mothers, and fathers
  - 60 min interviews, including life history calendars
- Prospective monthly demographic event registry—1997-2008 (126 months)
CVFS

• 17 year longitudinal study (ongoing)
• 151 neighborhoods
• Over 2,300 household
• Over 8,000 individuals
• Monthly registration of demographic events for over 10,000 individuals
Other CVFS data

- Demographic events in registry
  - Migration; births; deaths
  - Contraceptive use

- Individual interviews
  - Migration

- Household agriculture and consumption surveys
  - Seasonal agricultural data

- History calendars
  - Neighborhoods
  - School
  - Health services
  - Transportation

- Aging and caregiving survey

- Environmental data
  - Land use
  - Flora and forest plot data

- Measures of armed conflict
Analysis sample

- 261 men
- In 1996
  - Aged 15-19
  - Living with both parents
  - Not yet married
Measure of son’s marriage timing

• Time varying, dichotomous (1,0)

• Married in that month

• 70% marry at some point in prospective data (126 months)
Measures of religiosity

- Group (affiliation)
  - High caste Hindu (55% reference group)
  - Low caste Hindu (11%)
  - Newar (6%)
  - Hill Tibeto Burmese (11%)
  - Terai Tibeto Burmese (15%)

- By definition same for parents and children
Measures of religiosity: Beliefs

• How important is it to you to perform (Shradha, Arghau/Tarpan) for dead ancestors?
  – Very important (2), somewhat important (1), not at all important (0)

• Parents should always choose a spouse for their child

• After coming to her husband’s home a daughter-in-law should be obedient to her mother-in-law

• A girl should be married before her first menstruation
  – Strongly agree (3), agree (2), disagree (1), strongly disagree (0)

• All asked of sons, mothers, and fathers separately
Measures of religiosity: Practice

• Frequency do puja at home
  – More than once a week (2); once a week or less (1); never (0)

• Frequency worship at temples
  – More than once a month (2); one a month or less (1); never (0)

• All asked of sons, mothers, and fathers separately
Measures of religiosity: salience

• How important is religion to you?
  – Very important (2), somewhat important (1), or not at all important (0)

• All asked of sons, mothers, and fathers separately
Control Measures

- Community characteristics (access to schools, health services, employers, markets, transportation, movie theaters)
- Individual experiences for son, mother, and father (non-family work, non-family schooling, use of health services, lived away from home, use of media)
- Wealth/status controls (owns land, number of livestock, number of consumer durables, house stories)
- Age
- Baseline hazard
Parents’ birth

1995

1996

1997

2008

Religiosity: son, mother, father

Son’s marriage timing
Individual experiences (son, mother, and father)

Community chars.

Religiosity: son, mother, father

Son’s marriage timing

Parents’ birth

1995

1996

1997

2008
Analytic Strategy

• Marriage is transition occurring over time

• Discrete-time event history techniques
  – Logistic regression

• Unit of analysis: person-months of exposure (N=22,477)

• Hazard starts 1\textsuperscript{st} month of the registry

• Multi-level models to account for neighborhood clustering of individuals
Model progression

1. Religio-ethnic group
   – Overall
   – With controls

2. Beliefs, practice, salience
   – Separately for mother’s and father’s
   – Add in son’s
   – Overall
   – With religio-ethnic and controls
Table 1. Multilevel hazard models estimates of son's marriage timing: Religio-ethnic group, Chitwan, Nepal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religio-ethnic group (High-caste Hindu is reference group)</th>
<th>1. No controls</th>
<th>2. With controls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low-caste Hindu</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.53)</td>
<td>(1.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newar</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.69)</td>
<td>(-0.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill-Tibeto Burmese</td>
<td>1.83*</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.32)</td>
<td>(1.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terai-Tibeto Burmese</td>
<td>1.92**</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.65)</td>
<td>(1.75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Odds ratios with z-stats; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ two-tailed tests
All models also include controls for the baseline hazard and an intercept term.
Table 2. Multilevel hazard models estimates of son's marriage timing: Religiosity, Chitwan, Nepal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures of religiosity</th>
<th>Beliefs</th>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Salience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Importance of death rituals</td>
<td>Parents should choose child's spouse</td>
<td>Daughters-in-law should obey mother-in-law</td>
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<tr>
<td>父亲的宗教性</td>
<td>1.64***</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.17</td>
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<td>(2.62)</td>
<td>(1.28)</td>
<td>(1.64)</td>
<td>(1.96)</td>
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<td>母亲的宗教性</td>
<td>0.57**</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.25*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(-3.17)</td>
<td>(0.18)</td>
<td>(2.37)</td>
<td>(1.48)</td>
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<tr>
<td>受访者宗教性</td>
<td>1.37*</td>
<td>1.31***</td>
<td>1.22*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2.13)</td>
<td>(2.94)</td>
<td>(2.11)</td>
<td>(0.9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N (person-months)</td>
<td>22477</td>
<td>22477</td>
<td>22477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log likelihood (from unadjusted models)</td>
<td>-958</td>
<td>-953</td>
<td>-949</td>
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*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 two-tailed tests
All models also include controls for the baseline hazard and an intercept term.
Doing religion, doing family, and doing gender

- Religion
- Education
- Son’s education and delayed marriage

Women’s status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Average number of years children attended school</th>
<th>Ideal age for women to marry</th>
<th>Ideal age for men to marry</th>
<th>Ideal family size</th>
<th>Importance that son goes to college</th>
<th>Importance the son finds a good paying job</th>
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<td>Parents should choose child's spouse</td>
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<td>-.12***</td>
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<td>Daughter-in-law should obey mother-in-law</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.18***</td>
<td>-.20***</td>
<td>.17***</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Girls should marry before they start menstruation</td>
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<td>.14***</td>
<td>-.09***</td>
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<td>Practice</td>
<td>Frequency do puja at home</td>
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<td>.15***</td>
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<td>-.07***</td>
<td>.16***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>-.06***</td>
<td>.14***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Importance of religion</td>
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Table 4. Multilevel regression models. Mother's religiosity predicting average years of children's education, Chitwan, Nepal. N=2,505.

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<th>Importance of religion</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.60 **</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.84 +</td>
<td>2.18 ***</td>
<td>1.65 ***</td>
<td>1.38 *</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(2.80)</td>
<td>(-1.26)</td>
<td>(-1.26)</td>
<td>(-1.79)</td>
<td>(5.86)</td>
<td>(3.49)</td>
<td>(2.23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

• Religio-ethnic identity (i.e. affiliation) no effect
• Father’s religiosity (beliefs) has negative relationship to son’s marriage timing
• Mother’s religiosity complex
  – Competing frames related to social status
Thank you.

Any questions?

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