

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



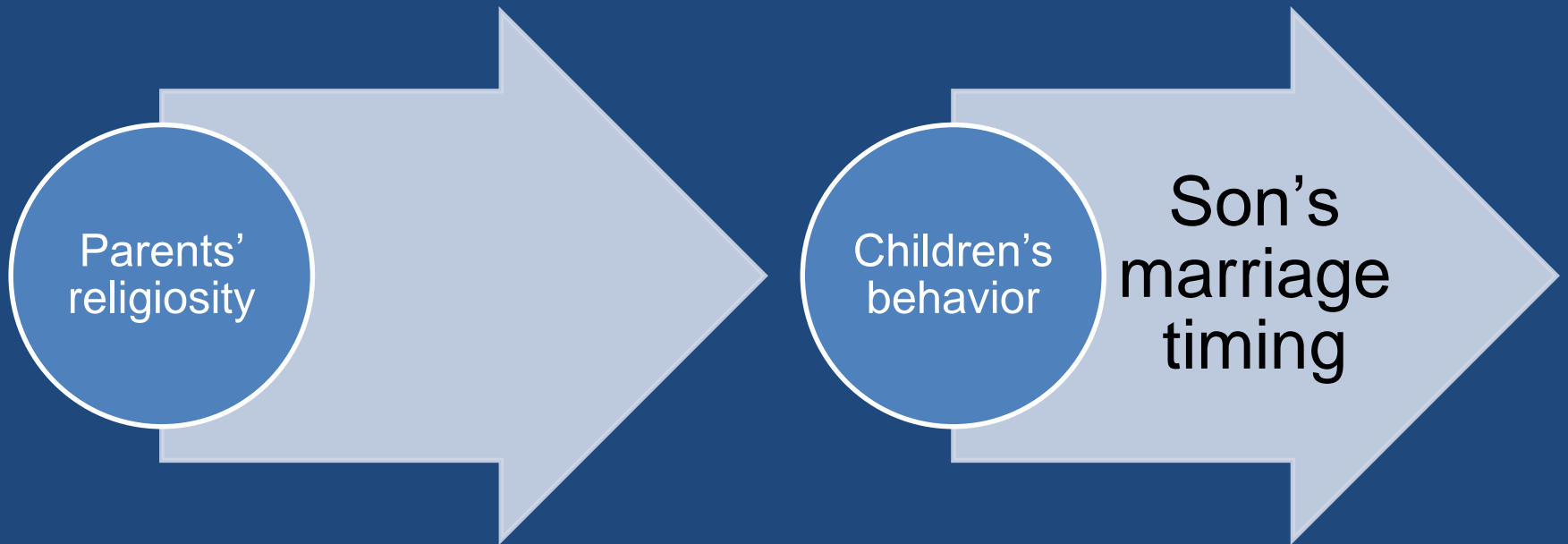
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# Research question



# 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:

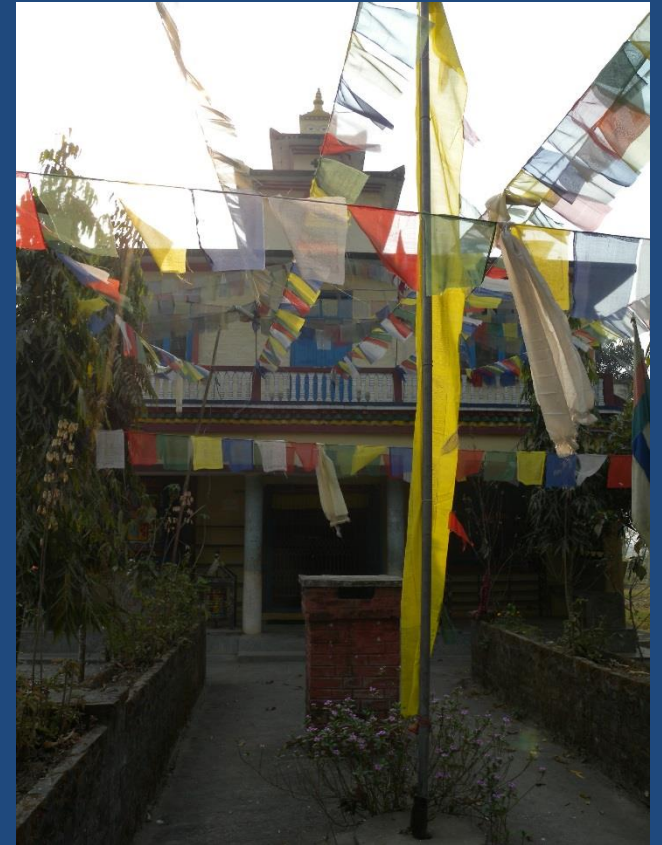
## *Puja*

- At home
  - Hindu
    - Features of daily life (bathing, clean clothes, cleaning home)
  - Buddhist
    - Meditation, chanting, lighting butter lamps
- Public practice at temples

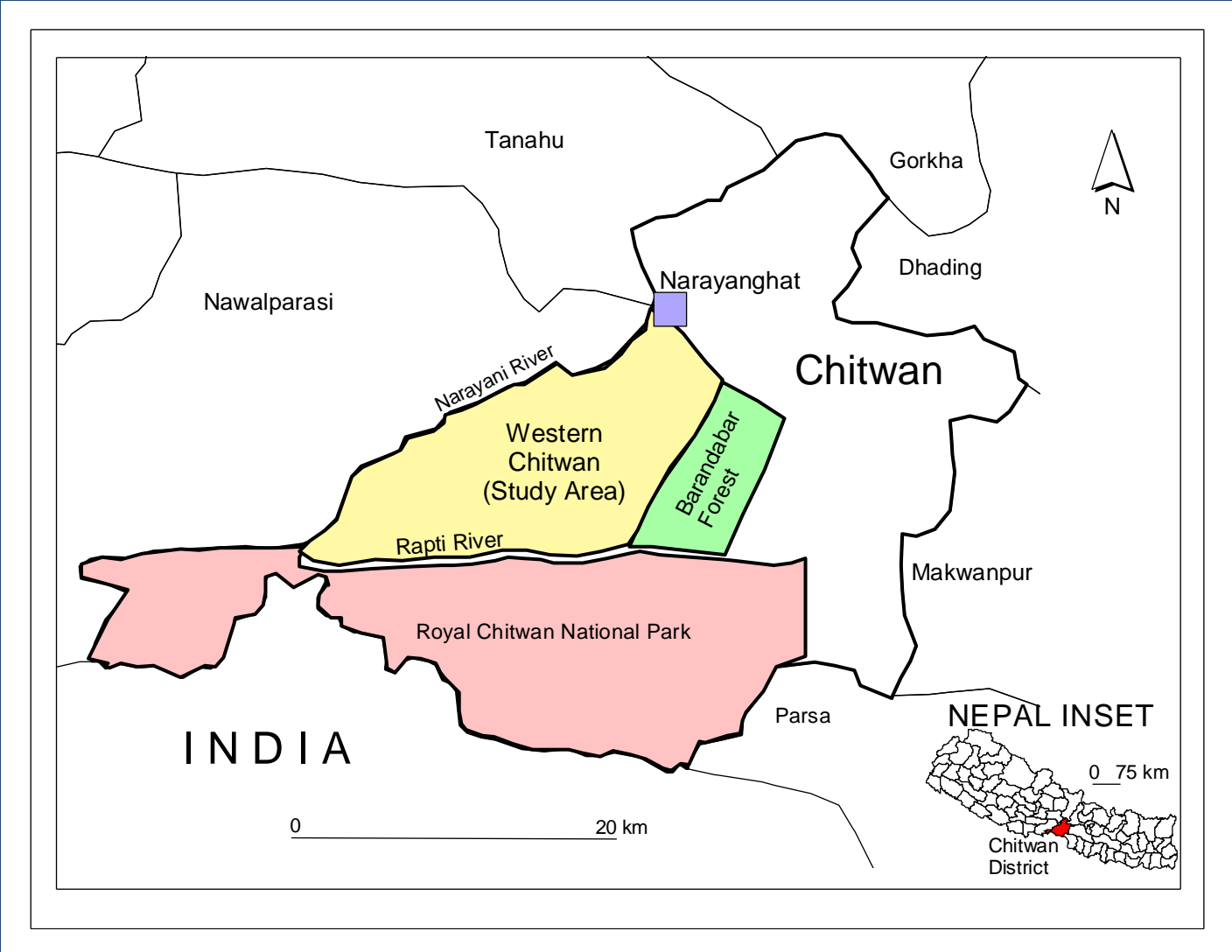
# Religion in Nepal





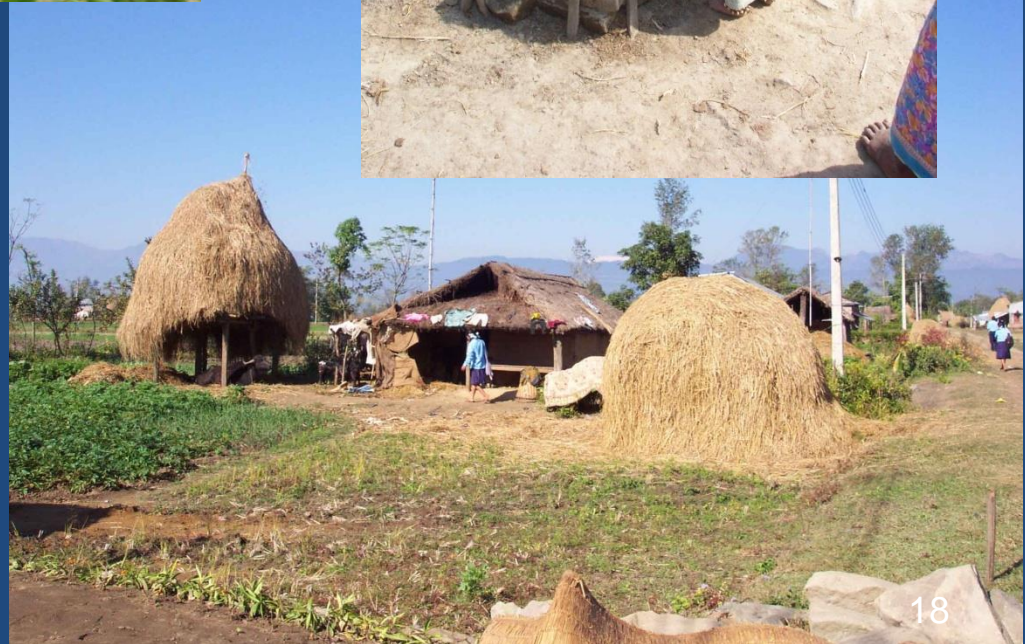


# Study area: Chitwan, Nepal









# Data

- Chitwan Valley Family Study (CVFS)
  - [perl.psc.isr.umich.edu](http://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

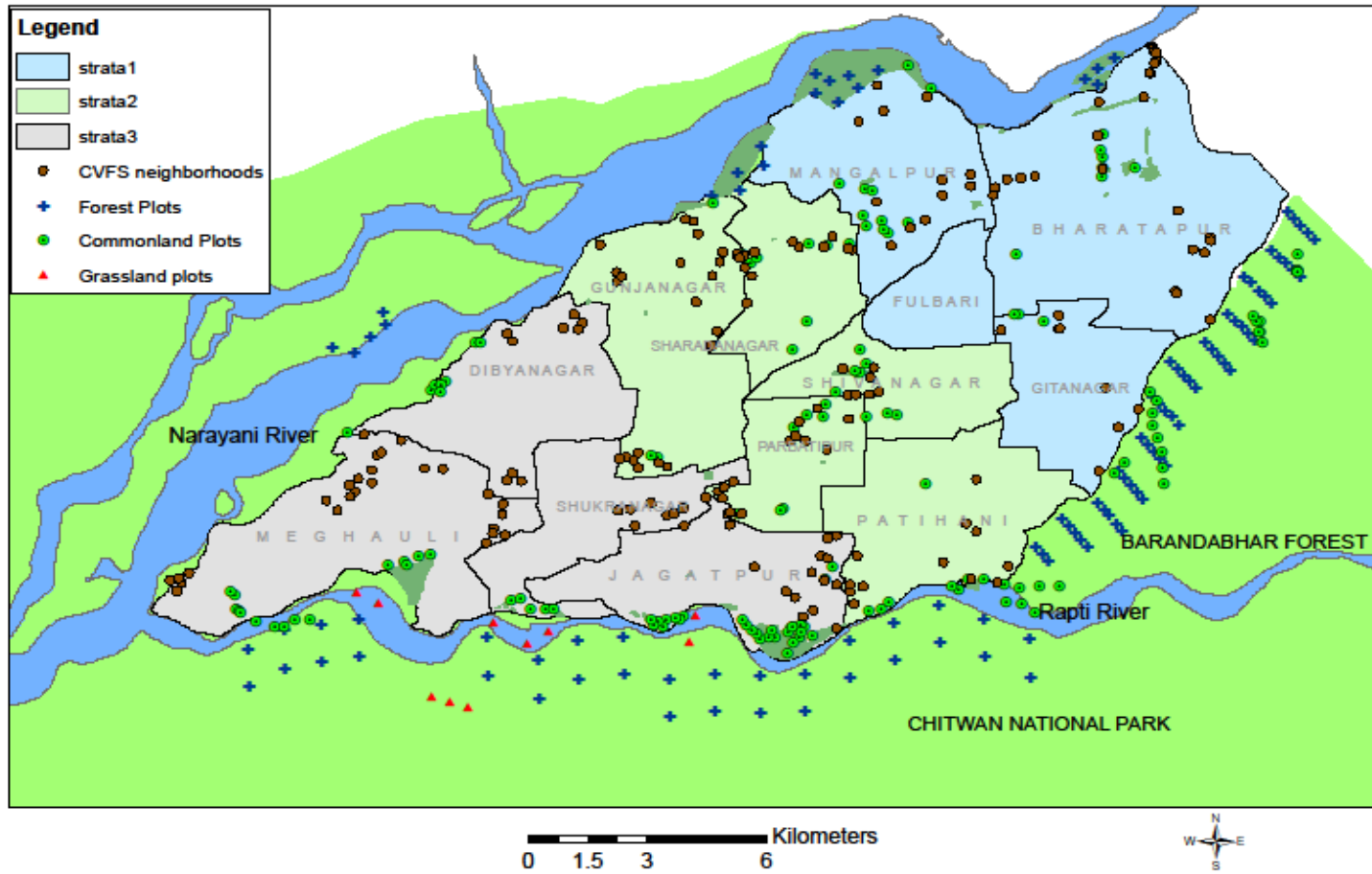
- 17 year longitudinal study (ongoing)
- 151 neighborhoods
- Over 2,300 household
- Over 8,000 individuals
- Monthly registration of demographic events for over 10,000 individuals

# 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



Figure 1: Map of Western Chitwan



# 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

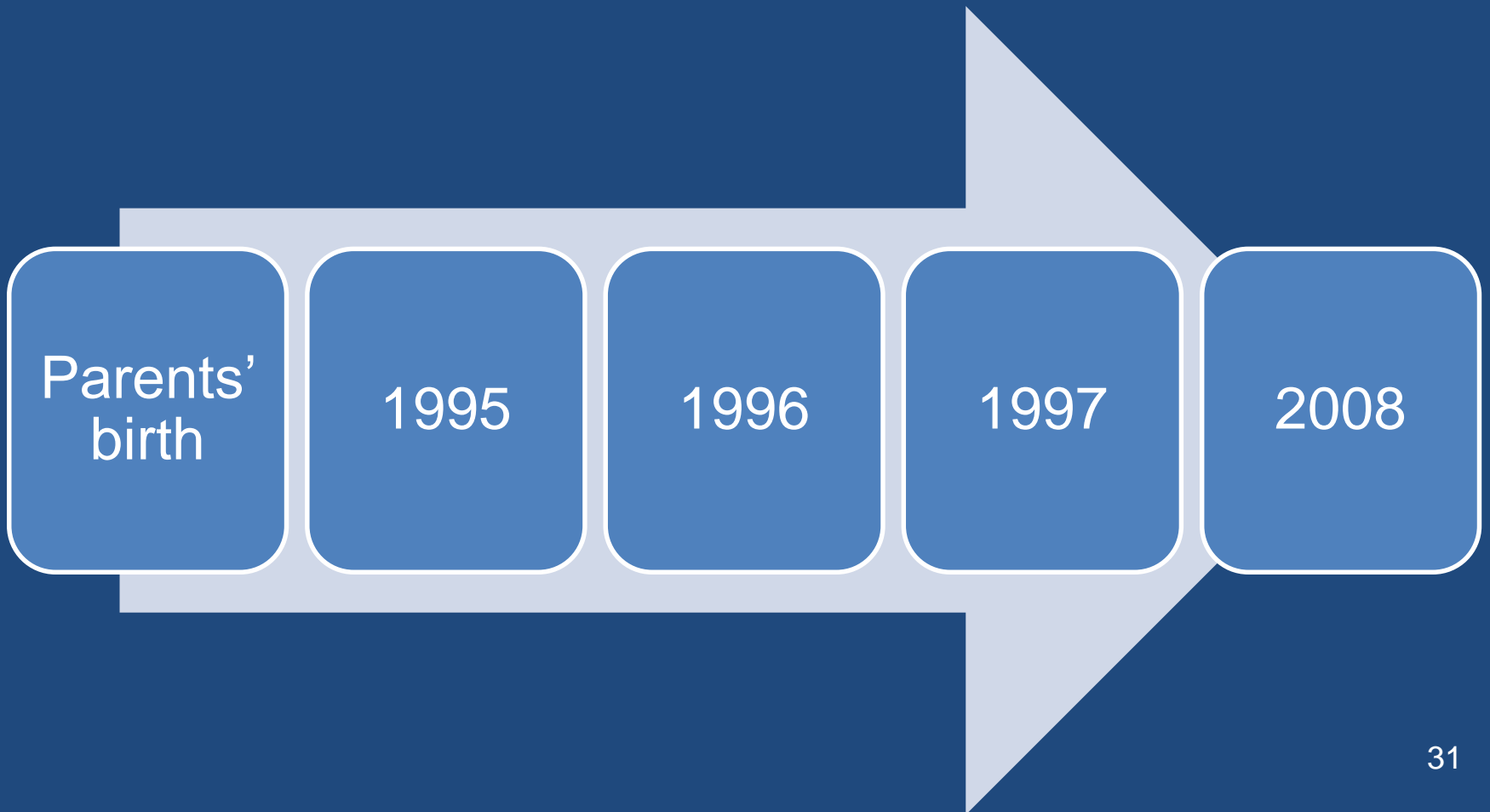
- Frequency do puja at home
  - More than once a week (2); once a week or less (1); never (0)
- Frequency worship at temples
  - More than once a month (2); one a month or less (1); never (0)
- All asked of sons, mothers, and fathers separately

# 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



Son's marriage timing

Parents'  
birth

1995

1996

1997

2008



Religiosity:  
son, mother,  
father

Son's marriage timing

Parents'  
birth

1995

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Individual experiences  
(son, mother, and father)

Community  
chars.

Religiosity:  
son, mother,  
father

Son's marriage timing

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1995

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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<sup>st</sup> 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.**

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

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.

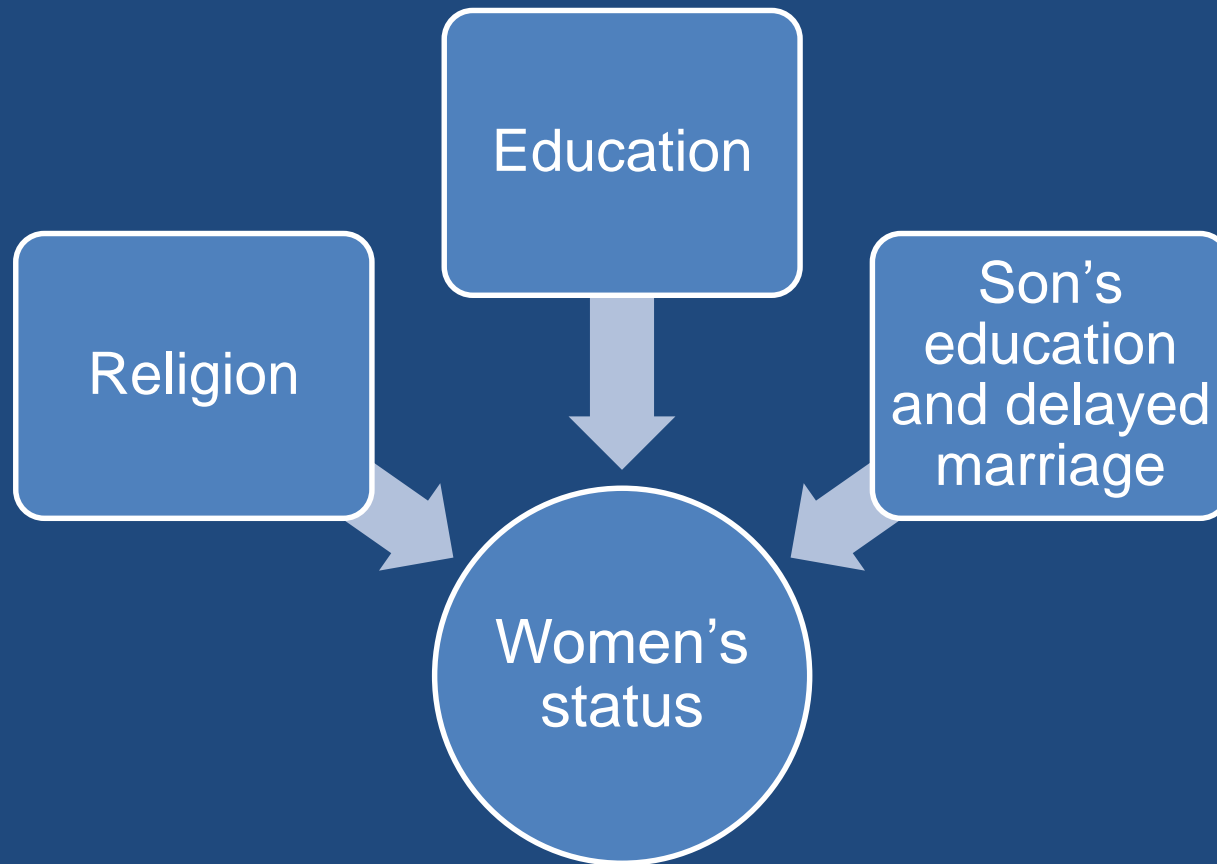
**Table 2. Multilevel hazard models estimates of son's marriage timing: Religiosity, Chitwan, Nepal.**

	Beliefs				Practice		Saliency
	Importance of death rituals	Parents should choose child's spouse	Daughter-in-law should obey mother-in-law	Girls should marry before they start menstruation	Freq do puja at home	Freq do puja at temples	Importance of religion
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Measures of religiosity</b>							
Father's religiosity	1.64** (2.62)	1.13 (1.28)	1.17 (1.64)	1.22* (1.96)	1.17 (1.25)	0.96 (-0.32)	1.17 (0.86)
Mother's religiosity	0.57** (-3.17)	1.02 (0.18)	1.25* (2.37)	1.16 (1.48)	0.66** (-3.18)	0.81 (-1.38)	0.78 (-1.51)
Respondent's religiosity	1.37* (2.13)	1.31** (2.94)	1.22* (2.11)	1.12 (0.9)	1.29* (2.1)	1.37* (2.05)	1.4* (2.18)
N (person-months)	22477	22477	22477	22477	22477	22477	22477
Log likelihood (from unadjusted models)	-958	-953	-949	-955	-952	-956	-956

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$  two-tailed tests

All models also include controls for the baseline hazard and an intercept term.

# Doing religion, doing family, and doing gender



**Table 3. Correlations between women's religiosity, children's education, and attitudes about education, children, and marriage. Mother's aged 25-65 in 1996, Chitwan, Nepal. N=2,505.**

Variable	Average number of years children attended school	Ideal age for women to marry	Ideal age for men to marry	Ideal family size	Importance that son goes to college	Importance the son finds a good paying job	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
<b>Beliefs</b>							
1	Importance of death rituals	.17***	.04**	.07***	-.03+	.17***	.22***
2	Parents should choose child's spouse	.00	-.13***	-.12***	.12***	-.02	.08***
3	Daughter-in-law should obey mother-in-law	-.01	-.18***	-.20***	.17***	-.09***	.04*
4	Girls should marry before they start menstruation	.07**	-.10***	-.10***	.14***	-.09***	.00
<b>Practice</b>							
5	Frequency do puja at home	.26***	.15***	.19***	-.07***	.16***	.09***
6	Frequency do puja at temples	.17***	.13***	.13***	-.06***	.14***	.11***
<b>Salience</b>							
7	Importance of religion	.18***	-.04+	-.01	.07***	.11***	.18***



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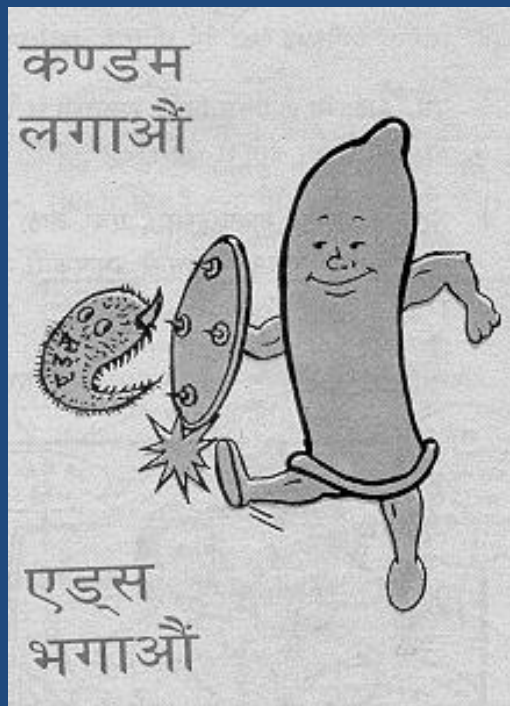
**Table 4. Multilevel regression models. Mother's religiosity predicting average years of children's education, Chitwan, Nepal. N=2,505.**

	Importance of death rituals	Parents should choose child's spouse	Daughter-in- law should obey mother- in-law	Girls should marry before they start menstruation	Frequency do puja at home	Frequency do puja at temples	Importance of religion
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Measures of religiosity	1.60 ** (2.80)	0.89 (-1.26)	0.88 (-1.26)	0.84 + (-1.79)	2.18 *** (5.86)	1.65 *** (3.49)	1.38 * (2.23)

# 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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