Collecting Gender-Disaggregated Asset Data in Household Surveys in Developing Countries

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Why is individual asset data important to collect?

- Individual level information critical for understanding social welfare.
- Men & women may use wealth in different ways, thus impacting the well-being of themselves & their children differently.
- Individual asset ownership related not only to well-being but also to empowerment.
- HH dissolution increasingly common (HIV/AIDS); widowhood & divorce may impoverish women; need to better understand such wealth dynamics.
- In most modern legal systems, property rights are granted to individuals, not to households.

Source: Deere, Doss, and Grown, 2007
Basics for survey design

- Gender is a **social** construction
- Gender issues are very **contextual**; since the definition of men’s and women’s roles is specific to space and time, gender divisions cannot be checked off from lists
- Thus, there is no formula for designing gendered asset modules in household surveys
The extent of one’s pre-existing knowledge will affect the design of the survey

- Read anthropological literature and other studies to gain focus. Lack of focus is expensive!
- Include experts in local context/culture
- If you suspect gender issues are important in a few key areas, dig a bit deeper and conduct ethnographic work before designing survey
- If you know gender issues are important and for which topics, can be more focused in questionnaire design
  - Still does not substitute for prior fieldwork (field observations and pre-testing) and ideally, ethnographic work before questionnaire design
Caveats

- Doing a survey on gender issues is NOT the same as classifying the household as male- or female-headed
  - Reasons behind female-headship vary greatly across countries and cultures; comparing a FHH in Bangladesh to one in Jamaica is like comparing...bananas and pineapples
  - A focus on headship may in fact detract the researcher from some of the more interesting dynamics that occur in various types of HHs
- It is not enough to take a module from one survey and implement it in another country with very different social and cultural conditions
  - Example of women’s empowerment module: from Bangladesh to Mexico
Today: Brief description of how questionnaire modules were designed to look at individual assets from a gender perspective

- To show how the same basic question (say, control of land and assets) needs to be adapted to specific context, using survey modules on the same topic, but administered in different settings

- To mention issues of survey implementation
IFPRI survey experience in multi-country project on gender and intrahousehold issues, 1994-2002

- Core funding from USAID WID Office
- Four high-concentration countries (Bangladesh, Guatemala, Ethiopia, South Africa)
- Eight supplemental studies countries
Family background & individual assets at marriage in Bangladesh & Ethiopia

Quisumbing and Maluccio 2003; Quisumbing, Hallman, and de la Briere 2004; Quisumbing and Hallman, 2005; Fafchamps and Quisumbing 2002, 2005a, 2005b

What determines the bargaining power of spouses within marriage? How can these questions be asked in a culturally-relevant way, to yield useful, quantifiable information?
Previous work, before questionnaire design

- Ethiopia: set of 15 village studies by sociology/anthropology students at AAU (Bevan and Pankhurst)
- Bangladesh: ethnographic research focusing on gender impacts of new agricultural technologies (Naved, 2000)
- Draft modules
- Extensive pretests involving project PIs and local collaborators
Similarities between Bangladesh and Ethiopia marriage and family history modules

- Education levels of both parents of spouses
- Landholdings of parents of both spouses
- How many brothers
- How many sisters
- How many previous marriages

- Year of marriage
- Assets brought to each marriage by bride and groom; value of assets
- Transfers at marriage by families of bride and groom
- Information collected for each marriage
- Inheritance (upon death of parent)
Differences between Bangladesh and Ethiopia marriage and family history modules

- Asset listings different (e.g. nose pin in Bangladesh; predominance of large livestock in Ethiopia)
- Lots of information on successive marriages in Ethiopia (marriage is a fluid state)
- Information on what determines distribution of assets upon death and divorce in Ethiopia (getting at local norms)
- In Bangladesh, marriage and family history modules asked of both (current assets gender-segregated; e.g., husband answered most agric production questions)
- In Ethiopia, husband was asked history and marriage Qs, except in FHHs (difficulty interviewing women)
- Ethiopia had a module on knowledge of current events, previous record of arrests, parental domestic violence, that was administered separately to each spouse
Modifying these modules to use in other country settings

- Guatemala Hogares Comunitarios evaluation: lists of assets different because of urban setting; women often proxy respondents; concept of “joint” ownership of assets in a shared dwelling
- South Africa Kwazulu-Natal Income Dynamics Survey: count of assets at marriage, no values; lobola and dowry practices
- Mexico PROGRESA evaluation: whether they owned the asset at marriage or not; asset index created
Collecting gender-disaggregated asset data—adding modules to panel surveys

- First 3 rounds of ERHS did not collect gender-disaggregated land ownership data; new module was introduced (handout)
- Family background module (information on parents’ schooling and assets; assets at marriage) can be added any time since most information is retrospective; most added in last round re. respondent comfort and trust with interview team
- Think about panel integrity, but also allow scope for change (new Bangladesh assets module)
Customary land tenure and tree resource management in Ghana and Sumatra

(Quisumbing and Otsuka, with Payongayong, Aidoo, and Suyanto, 2001)
Designing a module to look at land use: Ghana and Sumatra

- Ghana: uterine matrilineal system; men used to grow tree crops; women grew food crops; but food crops actually intercropped with cocoa, so women contributed labor to keeping cocoa fields clean while cocoa trees are young.
  - Plots have their own plot managers and even field managers (separate crop fields within plots).
  - The way land is acquired and from whom determines property rights on land.

- Sumatra: “Asian” matrilineal system; women inherit paddy land; men cultivate tree crop area; tree crops planted on land with very different land rights—agroforestry land (almost private property rights after trees planted); bush-fallow land (becoming converted to private property).

- The way land is used eventually determines property rights (clearing and tree-planting on formerly communal land, e.g. bush-fallow).
Ghana land use module

- Emphasis in Ghana modules: for each plot
  - Mode of land acquisition
  - Who acquired the land
  - From whom
  - Rights on the land
  - Who is the plot manager

Note: Level of gender disaggregation goes down to the plot level.
Sumatra land use module

- Emphasis in Sumatra:
  - How land is used
  - Mode of land acquisition
  - Who acquired the land
  - From whom
  - Whether land can be inherited
  - Percentage to sons and daughters

Again, level of gender disaggregation goes down to the plot level.
Field implementation issues

- Who should be interviewed? “head of household?”
- Should the head of household answer for all household members?
  - Frankenberg and Thomas 2001, Indonesia Family Life Survey
Field implementation issues, cont’d

- How does one guarantee privacy for respondent? Does it make a difference? (Frankenberg and Thomas 2001)
- Should field teams employ male and female enumerators?
- Examples:
  - Pakistan and Bangladesh surveys have teams of male and female interviewers
  - Surveys in the Philippines almost always use female interviewers (trust and safety issues)
  - Surveys in Guatemala City used female interviewers (safety issues)
  - Most interviewers in our other surveys are male
Concluding remarks

- Context, context, context
- Identify focus of study to avoid getting lost in details
- Mixed methods: HH survey should ideally be informed by ethnographic research; survey and ethnographic methods can be iterative
- Learn from experience of others in the field, especially in the same country
Thank you!