



Internalization of Patriarchal Attitudes and Women’s Labour Market Outcomes and Asset Ownership in Nigeria

Nkechi S. Owoo
(University of Ghana)
nkechi.owoo@gmail.com

Paper prepared for the IARIW-TNBS Conference on “Measuring Income, Wealth and Well-being in Africa”, Arusha, Tanzania November 11-13, 2022

Session 5: Gender

Time: Saturday, November 12, 2022 [8:30 AM - 10:00 AM]

Internalization of Patriarchal Attitudes and Women's Labor Market Outcomes and Asset Ownership in Nigeria

Nkechi S. Owoo
Department of Economics
University of Ghana
P. O. Box LG 57
Accra, Ghana

Tel: +233 240 356847
Email: nowoo@ug.edu.gh
ORCID:

Abstract

This paper explores the link between internalization of couples' patriarchal attitudes and women's labour market and economic outcomes. Using the 2018 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey and a series of probit and multinomial logistic regression models, findings suggest that conservative attitudes by women and male partners are associated with worse labour market outcomes for women. Women who are more conservative are less likely to be currently employed and even when they are employed, these women are more likely to be working in family businesses, which are typically associated with greater labor market vulnerability. Similar results are observed with higher conservativeness of male partners- women are worse off when their male partners are particularly patriarchal. Interestingly, when couple's *relative* attitudes are taken into account, the results are different. More liberal attitudes of male partners, compared to women, are associated with better outcomes for these women- they are more likely to be currently employed and also less likely to be working for family members. These results suggest that deeply entrenched attitudes and patriarchal perceptions are correlated with Nigerian women's labour market behaviours, and the influences of male partners cannot, and should not, be underestimated.

Keywords: patriarchal attitudes, labor market participation, assets ownership, culture, Nigeria

I. Introduction

Disparities in women's labour market participation and economic advancement remains prevalent in Nigeria. According to ILO (2018), although 51.9% of the population aged over 15 years is employed, men are more likely to be employed (56.4%) than women (47.3%). In Nigeria, women are less likely to be active in the labour market; are more likely to be in lower-earning occupations like farming and informal jobs; and earn less for a given level of education and experience than men of the same level (Enfield, 2019). A consequence of this is the higher levels of poverty among women in the country, compared to men (Anyawu, 2010). There are also the macro-level growth and development implications for the country as a whole when women's potential labor market contributions to the economy are not adequately harnessed (Klasen, 2002; Akyeampong and Fofack, 2013).

The prevalence of traditional norms has been identified as an important driver of gender inequality in many developing country labor markets. Traditional norms often comprise a set of unwritten rules and beliefs that influence and shape expectations and behaviors of individuals. In Nigeria, and in many other African contexts, these norms typically define women's responsibilities and restrain their mobility through the definition of certain attributes of 'accepted' behaviors. These accepted behaviors include rules around the role of women as caregivers, housewives and mothers; the restriction on women's mobility for protective reasons, among others (World Bank, 2012).

To the extent that women's labour market involvement and economic advancement are closely associated with their economic empowerment, it is important to understand the underlying factors that influence these. Although relatively sparse in nature, recent studies have explored the role of cultural norms and women's gender role attitudes on their labor and economic status. Conclusions from these studies are varied. While some of these studies find that gender roles have little impact on individuals' labour market involvement (e.g., Miyata and Yamada, 2015), others (e.g., Fortin, 2015; Luke, 2019) find that restrictive gender attitudes and norms can have negative impacts on women's labour force participation.

Cultural and social norms in the West African context typically encourage a view of men as workers, administrators, and officials, while women are relegated to participating in roles within their homes (Makama, 2013; Akintan, 2013). Traditional socio-economic settings are often developed to support specific arrangements of social functioning, with gendered implications for social and economic outcomes. In Nigeria, the situation is no different. The patriarchal nature of the society encourages a system of social stratification and gender differentiation which places significant restrictions on the roles

and activities of females (Azodo, 2007). Among some cultural groups in Nigeria, especially among the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and Bini, women are excluded from any paid/outside employment and are largely expected to remain home to perform domestic chores and take care of children (Ifeanyi et al., 2019). Given these restrictions therefore, women may have limited freedoms and opportunities to engage effectively in labour markets. Consequently, they often work in the informal sectors and in family enterprises, usually with low productivity and incomes, poor working conditions, and with little or no social protection (Makama, 2013). The patriarchal underpinning of the distribution of roles by gender is a major cause of gender inequality, women's heavy domestic work burdens, and ultimately, the feminization of poverty in the country (Anyawu, 2010).

In this study, a series of questions are explored. These relate to married women's internalization of patriarchal attitudes (*hereafter IPA*) and how their labor market outcomes and asset ownership are related. As a major contribution to existing literature, the effects of male partners' IPA, and relative spousal IPA, on women's economic outcomes are also explored. Specific research questions are summarized below:

- i. Are women's internalization of patriarchal attitudes (IPA) associated with better or worse labour market participation and asset ownership?*
- ii. Are male partners' internalization of patriarchal attitudes (IPA) associated with better or worse economic outcomes for women?*
- iii. Do women have better or worse economic outcomes when their male partners hold relatively more liberal patriarchal views?*

Although a few studies have explored the link between women's IPA and their labour market and economic outcomes, this has not been explored in the Nigerian context. This work therefore contributes to the existing literature by providing evidence on Nigeria, where strong patriarchal leanings persist, women's labour market participation is relatively low, poverty is largely feminized, and women empowerment remains low.

Additionally, the effects of absolute and relative partner patriarchal attitudes have not been examined, to the best of author's knowledge. The 2018 wave of the Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) is used in the analyses, and a series of probit and multinomial logit models are developed to address the stated research questions.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows: Section II presents a brief review of the existing literature, the study's conceptual framework, in addition to the country context. Section III describes the data, the construction of the IPA index and the other components of the research methodology. Section IV presents the results from the empirical specifications, while Section V concludes with some discussions on policy implications.

II. Literature Review, Conceptual Framework and the Nigeria Context

a. Brief Literature Review on Patriarchal Attitudes and Women's Economic Outcomes

Patriarchy has been defined as a structure of male authority which represses and subjugates women through its social, political and economic institutions (Makama, 2013). According to Okpe (2015), any system that operationalizes an order that allocates undue advantage to men to the detriment of women is considered patriarchal. Research on the link between women's gender role beliefs, internalization of patriarchal attitudes and their economic outcomes has become a recent area of focus (Dildar, 2015; Miyata and Yamada, 2016; Luke, 2019). A reason for this is the likely association with women's empowerment and economic progress. Although research has been conducted across different countries- developed and developing- and using diverse constructs for gender role beliefs and women's patriarchal attitudes, the results from these studies have not been wholly conclusive.

Using data on young Egyptian women, Miyata and Yamada (2016) find that, controlling for endogeneity, these women's perceptions about traditional gender roles are not associated with their labour market status. Authors however note, as a limitation, that their chosen instrument- women's mother's attitudes- could likely be related with daughters' labour market outcomes. Rubio-Banón and Esteban-Lloret (2016) also examine the link between country masculinity and gender entrepreneurship in 55 different countries using the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) survey and do not find any significant correlation. This study does not, however, correct for potential endogeneity in the relationship.

Other studies find that patriarchal norms and traditional gender role beliefs play an important role in women's labour supply decisions. Corrigall and Konrad (2007) used data on the US and found that young women who held more traditional attitudes had a lower labor market intensity and also earned lower incomes, compared to other women with more egalitarian views. Christie-Mizell (2006) also used data on the US and found that women who endorsed traditional gender role beliefs were most strongly associated with a decrease in income. Neither of these studies controlled for potential endogeneity in

the relationship between the endorsement of traditional gender role beliefs and women's labor market outcomes, however.

Using data on the US, and controlling for endogeneity, Fortin (2015) examined the changing role of gender attitudes on women's labour force participation. She used women's self-reported risk of contracting HIV/AIDS as an instrument for their gender role attitudes and finds that the recent acceptance of more traditional gender role attitudes explains the slow-down in female labour force participation in the US in the 2000s. Still in the US and using longitudinal data from the Michigan Study of Adolescent and Adult Life Transitions, Dicke et al. (2019) examined the role of traditional gender role beliefs on female's choice of occupations. They found that women who held particularly strong traditional beliefs were likely to be employed in non-STEM- related careers, although higher educational attainment appeared to lessen these effects. Studies on developing countries are less common- using the 2008 Demographic and Health Survey data on Turkish women and controlling for potential endogeneity using a scale of family conservatism, Dildar (2015) finds that patriarchal attitudes have a negative effect on women's labour force participation.

Critical, but noticeably absent, in the existing literature is the exploration of the link between male partner's patriarchal attitudes and women's economic outcomes. In a setting like Nigeria, the cultural setting is an important driving factor and marriage confers significant control over women's lives to their male partners (Makama, 2013; Lodin et al., 2019). It is conceivable, therefore, that the extent of men's compliance (absolutely and relative to his wife's) with cultural and societal norms is likely to affect women's economic and labor market outcomes.

b. Conceptual Framework

In this study, women who are particularly in agreement with gendered roles on men and women, and believe that their culturally prescribed roles as wives and mothers are paramount, are unlikely to be very active in the labour market, even where it is found to have adverse effects on their economic outcomes and empowerment status. This conforms with Benabou and Tirole's (2011) theory of moral behavior, which presents a concept of escalating commitments where an individual who has invested in certain social or cultural practices continues these investments, even when they are found not to be

beneficial. The main premise is that investments in other more tangible and beneficial areas such as education and labor market participation are believed to devalue the significance of the culturally held beliefs (i.e., concept of oppositional behaviors). Indeed, the greater the belief and investment in these cultural norms, the greater their perceived significance so that the way to assure oneself of its value is to keep investing (Benabou and Tirole 2011). This can result in excessive conformity to social and cultural norms and expectations, even to women's detriment.

It is therefore hypothesized that women with more conservative views and a higher internalization of patriarchal attitudes may be less likely to be present in the labour market as these activities may conflict with women's belief and investments in their traditional roles as wives and mothers.

The theory also suggests that socialization of boys at early stages conditions them to demonstrate patriarchal tendencies and exhibit preferences for their wives to remain at home and cater to domestic and childcare responsibilities. According to Prentice & Carranza (2002), children grow into adults with conditioned mindsets about how they should behave. It is therefore expected that where men have greater IPA, women's labor market involvement is likely to be negatively affected.

The research explores the extent to which women's labour market behaviours is affected if they feel that their male partners are relatively more liberal, and therefore less committed to strictly upholding culturally prescribed gender roles. It is expected that where men are more liberal and have lower internalization of patriarchal attitudes, women may play a more active role in the labor market and better economic outcomes.

c. Nigerian Cultural and Labour Market Context

Unemployment has been identified as the most important challenge facing the Nigerian economy (World Bank, 2015). Despite slight increases in economic growth over time, this does not seem to have translated to increased employment rates. Majority of workers are employed in the informal sector and only 8% of Nigerians are employed in the formal sector (EFInA, 2018).

Women's participation in the labour market has been increasing over time- from 39.3% in 1990 to 48.1% in 2011 (Oluwagbemiga et al., 2016). Males however continue to make up a majority of the labour force-

i.e., 56.4% compared to 47.3%, for females (ILO, 2018). Although majority of workers are characterised by low skills, women are mostly involved in particularly low-productivity subsistence or low- paid activities (World Bank, 2015). Women's relative absence in the formal economy has particularly dire consequences for their economic wellbeing and progress as government policies are predominantly focused on the country's formal sector. A consequence of these is the increasing feminization of poverty in Nigeria. For example, almost twice as many women as men live below the poverty line in the country (Enfield, 2019).

Egwurube (2016) cites the patriarchal system which infringes on the rights of women as a critical component of these poverty outcomes. In Nigeria, the impediments which prevent women from participating meaningfully in economic activities are deeply entrenched in traditional beliefs, customs and low levels of women's involvement in decision making (Oluwagbemiga et al., 2016). Women are constrained in their movements, first, due to childcare and domestic responsibilities that reduce the time available to engage in labor market work. Married women also experience limited mobility as husbands typically monitor their wives' movements in order to limit potential interactions with other males (Agi, 2014; Lodin et al. 2019).

As mentioned above, an individual's cultural background plays an important role in framing his/her identity and values. Once early socialization has occurred and children have been placed in their culturally accepted and respective roles as male and female, this becomes internalized and may be difficult to change (Omokhodion, 2009). In Nigeria, as in many parts of the African continent, men are the decision makers, and women are responsible for domestic care and duties. Gender relations are guided by the tenets of patriarchy which relegates women to inferior roles (Akintan, 2013; Makama, 2013) and deviations from gender appropriate behaviour is typically met with informal reprisals by peers or by formal punishment, or threat of punishment, by authority figures (Omadjohwoefe, 2011).

III. Data/ Methods

a. Data and Empirical Strategy

This study uses data from the 2018 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), which is a nationally representative survey funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and carried out by ICF International. The data set is comprised household, women, men, births, children

under 5, and couple's surveys. The couple survey is used in the present analysis and contains information on over 8,000 couples in the sample.

Probit estimations are used in the exploration of the link between men and women's IPA and women's asset ownership and labor market outcomes. While the potential for reverse causality is acknowledged, it is not corrected in this paper. Rather, the aim is to provide robust correlations in the relationship between IPA and women's economic outcomes. Dependent variables include: (1) whether women are currently working or not; (2) whether women are self- or paid- employees; (3) whether women own their own home, or not; (4) whether women own their own land, or not. The main independent variables are men, women and relative couple IPA.

For women who are currently employed, multinomial logit regressions are employed to explore the effects of women's IPA, men's IPA and relative spousal IPA on the nature of their employment, using three mutually exclusive labor market statuses: (1) employment by family members; (2) employment by non-family members; and (3) self-employment. Given as married women may experience a restriction of their mobility, it is hypothesized that greater IPA is linked with their being employed as workers in family businesses, where women's movements may be more easily monitored, rather than paid employment, for example, which is typically more secure and is characterized by less vulnerability (ILO, 2018).

b. Construction of Index of Internalization of Patriarchal Attitudes (IPA)

Indices of women and male partners' respective internalization of Patriarchal Attitudes (IPA) were constructed from responses to the set of survey questions presented in Table 1 below. Responses are coded as follows: 1= "respondent alone"; 2= "respondent and partner"; 3= "partner alone".¹ The responses were assigned scores through a principal component analysis technique. Scores were then standardized to take on values between 0 and 100. Higher IPA scores are indicative of greater internalization of patriarchal attitudes among both men and women, while lower scores indicate more liberal attitudes.

From Table 1, there is observed variation in the distribution of women's perception of patriarchy within their households. Almost 10% of women report that their male partners take the sole decision on how

¹ In order for higher scores to be representative of greater internalization of patriarchal attitudes, these scores were reversed for responses given by male partners.

women's earnings are spent. The standardized IPA score for this group of women is characterized by the largest standard deviation, however, indicating a wide diversity in responses.

[Table 1 here]

Over half of women sampled reported that their male partners take the sole decision on women's healthcare (56%) and large household purchases (59%). Forty-one per cent of women reported that their male partners take the sole decision on visits to family members. This group of women had the highest average IPA estimates and were the least conservative. Among 71% of women, male partners took the sole decision on how to spend their own earnings. Women responses varied widely on this category.

c. Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

Table 2 describes summary statistics for study variables from the 2018 NDHS Couple survey. The dependent variables are women's labor market outcomes and their ownership of two assets- land and homes. It is observed that 70% of women report that they are currently working. With respect to their employment status, 78% of women are self-employed; 12% work with family members and 10% of married women in the sample are paid employees and work for non-family members. With respect to asset ownership, 6% of women report that they own their own land while 12% of women own their own homes.

The main independent variables of interest are women's, men's and relative spousal IPA scores, which have been standardized to take value between 0 and 100. Increasing IPA scores are indicative of more conservative attitudes. It appears male partners have higher IPA scores (70), compared to their wives (47), consistent with existing literature (Larsen and Long, 1988; Brewster and Padavic, 2000). Couple IPA is constructed as a ratio of women's IPA to total spousal IPA. On average, relative spousal IPA is 46, indicating that women hold relatively more liberal attitudes than their partners.

[Table 2 here]

On average, women in the sample are 31 years of age and have 6 years of education, compared to 7 years for the average male partner. The Hausa are the most dominant ethnic group and make up 33% of the sample. Igbos, Yorubas and Fulanis make up 15%, 16% and 7%, respectively, while other ethnicities make up about 30% of the sample.

With respect to religion, Muslim women make up almost 60% of the sample, while Catholics and other Christians make up 9% and 33%, respectively. About 45% of women are resident in urban areas. On average women have about 2 children under 5 years resident in the household, with the maximum number in the study being 8. The geographical distribution of women is also summarized in the table, with most women sampled reporting that they are resident in the North west zone of the country.

IV. Results

This section presents three sets of results: 1) effects of women's IPA on their asset ownership and labor market outcomes; 2) effects of men's IPA on women's asset ownership and labor market outcomes; 3) effects of relative spousal IPA on women's asset ownership and labor market outcomes; and 4) multinomial regressions of the effects of men, women, and relative spousal IPA on the nature of women's work (i.e., employment by family members; employment by non-family members; or self-employment).

a. Effects of Women's IPA on Asset Ownership and Labour Market Outcomes

Table 3 presents results from probit regressions of women's economic and labor market outcomes on their standardized IPA scores and other explanatory variables. It is observed that a one-standard degree increase in women's IPA reduced their likelihood of self-employment. Women with higher IPA, and relatedly, more conservative attitudes to patriarchy, are also less likely to own their own land.

[Table 3 here]

b. Effects of Men's IPA on Asset Ownership and Labour Market Outcomes

Table 4 presents probit results of male partners' IPA on women's asset ownership and labor market participation. Again, a one standard degree increase in men's IPA is associated with less likelihood of women being currently- and self-employed. Interestingly, when men are more conservative, there is a higher likelihood of women owning their own plots of land.

[Table 4 here]

c. Effects of Relative Spousal IPA on Asset Ownership and Labour Market Outcomes

This section explores the effect of relative spousal IPA on women's asset ownership and labor market outcomes. In Table 5, when women's male partners are more liberal than they are, this appears to have

positive implications for women's labor market outcomes. For example, when men are more liberal, women are more likely to be currently employed and also more likely to be in self-employment, compared to being a paid employee. When women's partners are relatively more liberal, women are less likely to own their own lands. When separate controls for both men and women's IPA are included in the model, the effect of couple IPA on women's self-employment is unchanged although effects on current employment become insignificant (results available upon request).

[Table 5 here]

d. Multinomial Regressions of Women's Work Status

In Table 6, multinomial logit models of females' employment statuses are used to demonstrate how these are related with absolute and relative patriarchal attitudes of women and their male partners. The dependent variable is one of the following three categories for women:(1) employment by family members; (2) employment by non-family members; and (3) self-employment. In Specifications 1, 2 and 3, we examine the effects of Women's, Men's and Relative Spousal IPA on women's employment statuses, respectively.

It is observed that higher IPA of men (Specification 2) and women (Specification 1) leads to women's lower odds of their being self-employed and higher odds of being employed by family members. An interesting finding is that when male partners have more liberal attitudes towards patriarchy, compared to their wives however (Specification 3), the outcomes are completely reversed, and women have lower odds of being employed by family members but higher odds of being self-employed. These results suggest, therefore, that internalization of these patriarchal attitudes by both men and women, and the relative interaction between couples is important for understanding women's labor market outcomes in Nigeria. Again, including separate controls for men and women's levels of IPA leaves the main results unchanged- women have lower odds of being employed by family members but higher odds of being self-employed when their husbands are more liberal than they are (results available upon request).

[Table 6 here]

Although not the main focus of the study, other results from the regressions above are worthy of note. Older women are more likely to be currently employed, although this likelihood falls with increases in age above a certain threshold. Women with more years of education are less likely to be self-employed and more likely to work as paid employees in non-family establishments. With respect to the different

ethnic groups, Yoruba women are generally more likely to be currently working, self-employed and own their own land, compared to other ethnic groups. Fulani women, on the other hand, are less likely to be currently working, and less likely to own their own land resources. Finally, Hausa women are less likely to be currently employed and less likely to own home and land resources. When they work, they are more likely to be self-employed. Using Muslim women as the base group, Catholic and other Christian women are more likely to be currently working and more likely to own land resources.

Compared to women in the poorest wealth quintiles, other women have a larger likelihood of being self-employed, compared to working as employees. These women are less likely to own their own land assets, however. Women with more children under five years of age in the household are more likely to be currently employed and working as paid employees.

V. Conclusion

Although studies on the link between women's internalization of patriarchy and their economic outcomes are inconclusive, notable is the implicit agreement that traditionally held gender roles and attitudes have negative implications for women's economic welfare outcomes. Results from this research are consistent with others (e.g., Fortin, 2015; Dildar, 2015; Dicke et al. 2019) which find that women's gender role beliefs and internalization of patriarchal attitudes have negative implications for their labor market outcomes. In this study, women who held particularly conservative views were less likely to be currently employed. When they worked, they were more likely to be employed by family, rather than by non-family members, which has often been labelled as vulnerable employment (ILO, 2018).

Existing research has shown that traditional gender role beliefs are more strongly endorsed by men than by women (Larsen and Long, 1988; Brewster and Padavic, 2000). With increases in men's IPA and conservativeness, women had lower odds of being currently employed. Although they were more likely to be paid-, versus self-employees, this employment was largely with family members, rather than non-family members. These results are not surprising given the limits that are placed on women's mobility once they are married. In Nigeria, a married woman who is frequently seen outside the home may be suspected of neglecting her household chores, children, and her husband. She may also be accused of engaging in extra-marital affairs. These implied misconducts may create marital strains between spouses, given as a man's reputation is closely tied to the community perceptions of his wife

(Lodin et al. 2019). Women are therefore not likely to be employed; and in instances where they work outside of the home, it is expected that they would be employed by family members, where their movements and associations can be more closely monitored.

A major contribution of this research is the use of couple's relative IPA in the examination of determinants of women's asset ownership and labor market outcomes. Results are quite interesting- where men are more liberal than their partners, women's have more beneficial labor market outcomes- they are then more likely to be currently employed. Furthermore, women are more likely to be self-employed and less likely to be employees of family members when male partners patriarchy attitudes are more liberal, compared to their partners. These results suggest, therefore, that even in cases where women may hold conservative views, she may still be able to engage meaningfully in the labour market if her husband is more liberal and not as bound to culturally prescribed norms that limit women's movements and relegate her to childcare and domestic work.

The link between women's asset ownership and IPA is interesting. When women hold more conservative views, they are less likely to own assets like land resources. When male partners are more liberal than their wives, women are similarly less likely to own their own land assets. Women are however more likely to own land assets when their male partners are particularly patriarchal and hold very conservative views. It is likely that women's ownership of assets is used to improve her exit options in the event that male partners' conservativeness becomes a threat to her welfare. The literature has already highlighted the strong links between patriarchy and intimate partner violence (IPV) (Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019; Sikweyiya et al., 2020). Panda and Agarwal (2005) have shown that women's house and land ownership can be protective against women's experience of physical and psychological intimate partner abuse. Other researchers have found similar results (Bhattacharyya et al., 2011; Grabe et al., 2014; Oduro et al., 2015). This may therefore explain the current findings that women are more likely to own their own assets with increasing IPA of their male partners.

In Nigeria, there are few laws that encourage women's increased participation in the labor market. For example, labor market laws do not mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value; women receive less than two-thirds of their earnings for the first fourteen weeks of their leave; the law does not mandate nondiscrimination in employment based on gender; among others. In attempting to correct these sorts of labor market inequalities, attention should also be paid to relaxing cultural norms which further place restrictions on women's labor market mobility within their various households.

REFERENCES

- Agi, C. (2014). Counselling married women on employment status and marital adjustment in Rivers State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Academic Research*, 6, 268–273. doi:10.7813/2075-4124.2014/6-2/B.40
- Akintan, O. A. (2013). Powerful and Powerless: Women in Religion and Culture in the Traditional Ijebu Society. *Journal of Social Science*, 3 (22).
- Akyeampong, E. & Fofack, H. (2013). The Contribution of African Women to Economic Growth and Development in Post-Colonial Africa: Historical Perspectives and Policy Implications. Policy Research Working Paper; No. 6537. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Angel-Urdinola, D. & Wodon, Q. (2010). Income Generation and Intra-household Decision Making: A Gender Analysis for Nigeria. in J. S. Arbach, A. Kolev and E. Filipiak, eds., *Gender Disparities in Africa's Labor Markets*, p.397. Washington, DC: World Bank,
- Anyawu, J. A. (2010). Poverty in Nigeria: A Gendered Analysis. *African Statistical Journal. A Special Issue on Gender*.
- Azodo, A. U. & Eke, M. N. (2007). *Gender and Sexuality in African Literature and Film*. Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc.
- Behrendt, A. & Moritz, S. (2005) Posttraumatic stress disorder and memory problems after female genital mutilation. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 162, 1000-1002.
- Bénabou, R. & Tirole J. (2011). Identity, morals, and taboos: beliefs as assets. *Q J Econ.* 126(2):805-55. doi: 10.1093/qje/qjr002. PMID: 22073409.
- Bhattacharyya, M., Bedi, A.S. & Chhachhi, A. (2011). Marital violence and women's employment and property status: Evidence from north Indian villages. *World Development* 39(9):1676-89
- Bhavani, K.K., Foran J., & Kurian, P. (2003). *Feminist Futures – Re- Imaging Women, Culture and Development*, London, Zed Press.

- Brewster, K. L., & Padavic, I. (2000). Change in gender-ideology, 1977–1996:the contributions of intracohort change and population turnover. *J. Marriage Fam.* 62, 477–487. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00477.x
- Christie-Mizell, C. A. (2006). The effects of traditional family and gender ideology on earnings: race and gender differences. *J. Fam. Econ. Issues* 27, 48–71. doi: 10.1007/s10834-005-9004-5
- Corrigall, E. A., & Konrad, A. M. (2007). Gender role attitudes and careers: a longitudinal study. *Sex Roles* 56, 847–855. doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9242-0
- Dildar, Y. (2015) Patriarchal Norms, Religion, and Female Labor Supply: Evidence from Turkey. *World Development*, 76: 40-61.
- Dicke, A. L., Safavian, N. and Eccles, J. (2019). Traditional Gender Role Beliefs and Career Attainment in STEM: A Gendered Story? *Frontiers in Psychology*, doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01053
- Durkheim, E. (1976) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 2nd edition, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976, original work: 1925).
- Egruwube, J. (2016) Challenges facing women empowerment in contemporary Nigeria. Gender Hub: Sharing knowledge for gender justice in Nigeria
- Enfield, S. (2019). Gender Roles and Inequalities in the Nigerian Labour Market. K4D Helpdesk Report. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
- Farré, F., & Vella, F. (2007). The intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes and its implications for female labour force participation. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 2802*. Bonn: The Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA). Retrieved from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp2802.pdf>
- Fortin, M. N. (2015). Gender Role Attitudes and Women’s Labor Market Participation: Opting-Out, AIDS, and the Persistent Appeal of Housewifery. *Annals of Economics and Statistics*, Number 117/118
- Grabe, S., Grose, R.G. & Dutt, A. (2014). Women’s land ownership and relationship power: A mixed methods approach to understanding structural inequities and violence against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*.
- Ifeanyi, O., Nwadiubu A. & Isiwu, P. (2019). Poverty among Women in Nigeria- Psychological and Economic Perspective: A Study Based on South West, Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Management*; 14 (11)
- ILO (2018). Paid employment vs vulnerable employment. A brief study of employment patterns by status in employment. ILOSTAT- Spotlight on Work Statistics, ILO
- ILOSTAT: Employment to Population ratio - ILO Modelled estimates, 2018 <https://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page3>.
- Klasen S. (2002). Low Schooling for Girls, Slower Growth for All? Cross-Country Evidence on the Effect of Gender Inequality in Education on Economic Development. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 16, (3): 345–73.
- Larsen, K. S., & Long, E. (1988). Attitudes toward sex-roles: traditional or egalitarian? *Sex Roles* 19, 1–12. doi: 10.1007/BF00292459
- Lodin, J. B., Tegbaru, A., Bullock, R., Degrande, A., Nkengla L. W. & Gaya, H. I. (2019) Gendered mobilities and immobilities: Women’s and men’s capacities for agricultural innovation in Kenya and Nigeria, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 26:12, 1759-1783, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2019.1618794
- Luke, N. (2019). Gender and social mobility. Exploring gender attitudes and women’s labour force participation. WIDER Working Paper 2019/108
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria: The Way Forward. *European Scientific Journal*, 9 (17)

- Miyata, S. & Yamata, H. (2016). Do Female Gender Role Attitudes Affect Labour Market Participation in Egypt? *The Journal of Development Studies*, 52 (6), 876–894, DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2015.1113262
- Oduro, A.D., Deere, C.D. & Catanzarite, Z.B. (2015). Women's wealth and intimate partner violence: Insights from Ecuador and Ghana. *Feminist Economics*. 21(2):1-29
- Oluwagbemiga E. A., Odusina, K. E. & Akintoye, A. E. (2016). Religion and Labour Force Participation in Nigeria: Is there any Inequality among Women? *African Journal of Reproductive Health*. <https://www.ajrh.info/index.php/ajrh/article/view/172/0>
- Omodjohwoefe, O. S. (2011). Gender Roles Differentiation and Social Mobility of Women in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Science*, 27(1),7-74.
- Omokhodion, J. O. (2009). Linking the Dominance of House Chores; Girls in Nigerian House Holds to the Girl-child Somatization Pattern in Nigeria, Maxwell Scientific Org.
- Panda, P. & Agarwal, B. (2005). Marital violence, human development and women's property status in India. *World Development*, 33(5):823-50
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What Women and Men should be, Shouldn't be, Are Allowed to be, And Don't Have to be: the Content of Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269-281.
- Rigmor, C. B. & Denison, E. (2012). Does female genital mutilation/cutting affect women's sexual functioning? A systematic review of the sexual consequences of FGM/C. *Sex Social Policy*, 9, 41-56.
- Sikweyiya, Y., Addo-Lartey, A.A., Alangea, D.O. et al. (2020) Patriarchy and gender-inequitable attitudes as drivers of intimate partner violence against women in the central region of Ghana. *BMC Public Health* 20, 682 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-020-08825-z>
- Tonsing J,C. & Tonsing K,N. (2019). Understanding the role of patriarchal ideology in intimate partner violence among South Asian women in Hong Kong. *International Social Work*, 62(1):161-171. doi:10.1177/0020872817712566
- World Development Report (2012). WDR 2012. Gender Equality and Development. The World Bank Group.
- World Bank. 2015. More, and more productive, jobs for Nigeria: a profile of work and workers. World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/650371467987906739/More-and->

Table 1: Distribution of IPA, NDHS (2018)

NDHS Survey Questions	Score ^a	IPA ^b	Standard deviation ^c
Q1. Who is the person who usually decides how to spend respondent's earnings?	9.78	57.85	19.04
Q2. Who is the person who usually decides on respondent's health care?	56.05	67.05	11.27
Q3. Who is the person who usually decides on large household purchases?	58.73	65.08	13.20
Q4. Who is the person who usually decides on the respondent's visits to family or relatives?	40.92	71.77	9.30
Q5. Who is the person who usually decides what to do with money husband earns?	71.28	56.71	17.77

Source: Author calculations using 2018 NDHS

Notes: ^a The percentage of respondents who respond that "male partner only" takes the decisions. ^b The IPA index takes a value from 0 to 100. Average scores are presented in table, with higher scores indicative of greater internalization of patriarchal attitudes. ^c Standard deviation of calculated IPA scores

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics, NDHS (2018)

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
<i>Dependent Variables</i>				
Currently employed	0.701	0.46	0	1
Self employed	0.777	0.42	0	1
Employees (family members)	0.124	0.33	0	1
Employees (non-family members)	0.100	0.30	0	1
Own land	0.056	0.23	0	1
Own home	0.120	0.33	0	1
<i>Main independent variables</i>				
Women IPA	47.164	20.61	0	82.88
Men IPA	69.705	35.00	0	100
Women's Relative IPA	0.464	0.250	0	1
<i>Other Explanatory Variables</i>				
Woman age	30.900	7.79	15	49
Woman years of education	6.165	5.79	0	20
Partner years of education	7.828	6.00	0	20
<i>Ethnicity</i>				
Igbo	0.148	0.36	0	1
Yoruba	0.160	0.37	0	1
Fulani	0.065	0.25	0	1
Hausa	0.331	0.47	0	1
Other group	0.296	0.46	0	1
<i>Religion</i>				
Catholic	0.089	0.29	0	1
Other christian	0.329	0.47	0	1
Muslim religion	0.581	0.49	0	1
<i>Wealth Quintiles</i>				
Poorest	0.176	0.38	0	1
Poorer	0.195	0.40	0	1
Middle	0.194	0.40	0	1
Richer	0.204	0.40	0	1
Richest	0.231	0.42	0	1
Urban residence	0.452	0.50	0	1
Number of children under 5 years	1.718	1.25	0	8
<i>Regional Zones</i>				
North central zone	0.125	0.33	0	1
North east zone	0.153	0.36	0	1
North west zone	0.325	0.47	0	1
South east zone	0.110	0.31	0	1
South south zone	0.094	0.29	0	1
South west zone	0.193	0.39	0	1
Observations	6795			

Notes: Author constructed using 2018 NDHS. Household survey weights applied.

Table 3: Probit estimations of Women's IPA on their Economic Outcomes

	Currently Employed	Self employed (vs. paid employees)	Own home	Own land
Women IPA	-0.000 (-0.89)	-0.002*** (-3.89)	0.000 (1.02)	-0.001*** (-3.36)
Woman age	0.008*** (2.82)	0.005 (0.78)	0.003 (0.70)	0.004 (1.25)
Age squared	-0.000** (-2.27)	-0.000 (-1.04)	0.000 (0.20)	-0.000 (-0.69)
Woman years of education	-0.000 (-0.17)	-0.012*** (-6.46)	0.001 (0.95)	-0.001 (-1.13)
Partner years of education	-0.002** (-2.53)	0.001 (0.38)	0.000 (0.32)	0.001 (0.59)
Igbo (base= other)	0.009 (0.67)	-0.002 (-0.06)	0.008 (0.32)	-0.010 (-0.68)
Yoruba	0.019* (1.74)	0.112*** (4.41)	0.021 (0.85)	0.030* (1.91)
Fulani	-0.006 (-0.34)	0.079* (1.84)	-0.008 (-0.29)	-0.053*** (-4.03)
Hausa	-0.021 (-1.33)	0.109*** (4.34)	-0.057*** (-4.43)	-0.030** (-2.30)
Catholic (base= Muslim)	-0.005 (-0.36)	-0.062** (-2.12)	0.014 (0.72)	0.081*** (4.20)
Other Christian	-0.009 (-0.72)	-0.058*** (-2.83)	0.004 (0.31)	0.026*** (2.75)
Poorer (base=poorest)	0.018 (1.62)	0.060** (2.20)	-0.018 (-1.02)	0.016 (1.13)
Middle	0.025** (2.25)	0.080*** (2.76)	-0.055*** (-3.13)	0.001 (0.06)
Richer	0.024* (1.92)	0.092*** (3.00)	-0.065*** (-3.44)	-0.003 (-0.23)
Richest	-0.000 (-0.02)	0.030 (0.84)	-0.077*** (-3.90)	-0.006 (-0.38)
Urban	0.003 (0.34)	-0.028* (-1.66)	-0.023** (-2.34)	-0.009 (-1.11)
# Under 5 children	-0.004* (-1.65)	-0.011* (-1.83)	-0.007** (-2.04)	-0.003 (-0.98)
North Central (base= North West)	0.021 (1.27)	-0.091*** (-2.74)	-0.042* (-1.80)	0.069*** (3.64)
North East	0.021 (1.47)	-0.142*** (-4.27)	-0.016 (-0.73)	0.002 (0.10)
South East	0.018 (0.84)	0.033 (0.88)	-0.035 (-1.12)	0.019 (0.88)
South south	0.040*** (2.62)	0.043 (1.38)	-0.023 (-0.86)	0.016 (0.90)
South west	0.032* (1.80)	-0.000 (-0.00)	-0.075*** (-3.18)	-0.011 (-0.76)
N	4758	4758	4758	4758

Source: Author calculations using NDHS (2018); marginal effects reported

Notes: *t* statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Standard errors clustered at the NDHS cluster level

Table 4: Probit estimations of Men's IPA on Women's Economic Outcomes

	Currently Employed	Self employed	Own home	Own Land
--	-----------------------	------------------	-------------	-------------

	(vs. paid employees)			
Men IPA	-0.000** (-1.99)	-0.000* (-1.77)	0.000 (0.48)	0.000* (1.81)
Woman age	0.032*** (6.40)	0.011* (1.73)	0.002 (0.85)	0.005* (1.87)
Age squared	-0.000*** (-4.03)	-0.000* (-1.72)	0.000 (0.21)	-0.000 (-1.18)
Woman years of education	0.002 (1.31)	-0.012*** (-6.43)	0.001 (0.99)	-0.000 (-0.15)
Partner years of education	0.003** (1.98)	0.001 (0.48)	0.001* (1.74)	0.001 (1.49)
Igbo (base= other)	0.004 (0.12)	0.000 (0.01)	-0.005 (-0.24)	0.004 (0.28)
Yoruba	0.163*** (7.03)	0.138*** (5.87)	0.030 (1.26)	0.037** (2.57)
Fulani	-0.170*** (-5.02)	0.061 (1.49)	-0.015 (-0.79)	-0.022** (-2.13)
Hausa	-0.038 (-1.48)	0.118*** (4.42)	-0.046*** (-3.70)	-0.021** (-2.23)
Catholic (base= Muslim)	0.124*** (4.66)	0.017 (0.65)	0.016 (0.92)	0.043*** (3.30)
Other Christian	0.086*** (3.86)	-0.007 (-0.35)	0.005 (0.48)	0.019*** (2.60)
Poorer (base=poorest)	-0.008 (-0.47)	0.051** (2.01)	-0.023 (-1.60)	0.019** (1.98)
Middle	-0.004 (-0.18)	0.085*** (3.11)	-0.049*** (-3.45)	0.005 (0.50)
Richer	-0.031 (-1.32)	0.104*** (3.54)	-0.052*** (-3.48)	0.009 (0.87)
Richest	-0.102*** (-3.72)	0.061* (1.83)	-0.067*** (-4.43)	0.003 (0.30)
Urban	-0.019 (-1.26)	-0.024 (-1.46)	-0.016** (-2.08)	0.001 (0.10)
# Under 5 children	0.005 (1.04)	-0.010 (-1.59)	-0.003 (-0.92)	-0.002 (-1.03)
North Central (base= North West)	0.052* (1.89)	-0.133*** (-3.93)	-0.037** (-2.07)	0.026* (1.76)
North East	0.062** (2.57)	-0.113*** (-3.57)	-0.008 (-0.45)	-0.006 (-0.46)
South East	0.105** (2.53)	0.017 (0.44)	-0.018 (-0.68)	0.010 (0.53)
South south	0.076** (2.32)	0.006 (0.18)	-0.015 (-0.72)	0.016 (0.89)
South west	0.122*** (3.52)	-0.044 (-1.24)	-0.058*** (-3.17)	-0.020 (-1.45)
N	6795	5001	6795	6795

Source: Author calculations using NDHS (2018); marginal effects reported

Notes: t statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Standard errors clustered at the NDHS cluster level

Table 5: Probit estimations of Relative Spousal IPA on Women's Economic Outcomes

	Currently Employed	Self employed (vs. paid employees)	Own home	Own land
Women's relative	0.030**	0.064**	0.001	-0.044***

IPA	(2.01)	(2.23)	(0.05)	(-2.95)
Woman age	0.008**	0.006	-0.000	0.005
	(2.53)	(0.82)	(-0.07)	(1.24)
Age squared	-0.000**	-0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(-2.02)	(-1.01)	(0.90)	(-0.68)
Woman years of education	0.000	-0.013***	0.001	-0.001
	(0.33)	(-6.55)	(0.74)	(-0.61)
Partner years of education	-0.002***	-0.000	0.001	0.001
	(-2.71)	(-0.14)	(1.26)	(0.94)
Igbo	0.011	-0.002	0.014	0.000
(base= other)	(0.83)	(-0.07)	(0.54)	(0.03)
Yoruba	0.022*	0.123***	0.039	0.039**
	(1.87)	(4.91)	(1.34)	(2.27)
Fulani	-0.003	0.054	0.006	-0.045***
	(-0.17)	(1.10)	(0.20)	(-3.53)
Hausa	-0.016	0.095***	-0.051***	-0.025*
	(-0.96)	(3.47)	(-3.81)	(-1.85)
Catholic	-0.000	-0.012	0.007	0.065***
(base= Muslim)	(-0.03)	(-0.43)	(0.33)	(3.36)
Other Christian	-0.007	-0.029	0.001	0.024**
	(-0.55)	(-1.36)	(0.06)	(2.36)
Poorer	0.018	0.076**	-0.032	0.025
(base=poorest)	(1.46)	(2.49)	(-1.55)	(1.64)
Middle	0.032***	0.095***	-0.076***	0.007
	(2.67)	(3.03)	(-3.84)	(0.52)
Richer	0.022	0.108***	-0.085***	0.007
	(1.58)	(3.28)	(-3.99)	(0.50)
Richest	-0.003	0.062*	-0.092***	0.005
	(-0.15)	(1.66)	(-4.10)	(0.36)
Urban	0.004	-0.030*	-0.021**	-0.006
	(0.53)	(-1.70)	(-2.14)	(-0.75)
# Under 5 children	-0.003	-0.015**	-0.005	-0.001
	(-1.11)	(-2.37)	(-1.48)	(-0.44)
North Central	0.025	-0.088***	-0.064***	0.049**
(base= North West)	(1.36)	(-2.58)	(-2.61)	(2.42)
North East	0.026*	-0.165***	-0.016	0.006
	(1.65)	(-4.73)	(-0.65)	(0.31)
South East	0.025	0.029	-0.040	0.020
	(1.05)	(0.76)	(-1.23)	(0.82)
South south	0.045***	0.032	-0.022	0.021
	(2.63)	(0.99)	(-0.77)	(0.99)
South west	0.041**	-0.012	-0.086***	-0.016
	(2.18)	(-0.34)	(-3.40)	(-0.93)
N	4253	4253	4253	4253

Source: Author calculations using NDHS (2018); marginal effects reported

Notes: *t* statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Standard errors clustered at the NDHS cluster level

Table 6: Multinomial logit estimations on women's labour force status, Couple Data, NDHS (2018)

	Specification Set 1			Specification Set 2			Specification Set 3		
	Family Members	Non-Family members	Self-employed	Family Members	Non-Family members	Self-employed	Family Members	Non-Family members	Self-employed
Women IPA	0.00*** (4.43)	-0.00 (-0.07)	-0.00*** (-3.73)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Men IPA	-	-	-	0.00***	-0.00	-0.00*	-	-	-
	(-1.12)	(-0.10)	(0.84)	(-1.30)	(-1.05)	(1.78)	(-1.10)	(0.07)	(0.72)
Woman relative IPA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.07***	0.01	0.07**
	(-3.25)	(0.29)	(2.34)						
Woman age	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.00	0.01*	-0.01	0.00	0.00
Age squared	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00*	0.00	0.00	-0.00
Woman years of education	-0.00*	0.02***	-0.01***	-0.00	0.02***	-0.01***	-0.00	0.02***	-0.02***
Partner years of	-0.00**	0.00*	0.00	-0.00**	0.00**	-0.00	-0.00*	0.00**	-0.00
Igbo (base= other)	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.00	-0.02
Yoruba	-0.09***	-0.03**	0.12***	-0.12***	-0.02*	0.15***	-0.10***	-0.03**	0.13***
Fulani	-0.07***	0.01	0.06	-0.06**	0.00	0.05	-0.06**	0.02	0.04
Hausa	-0.10***	0.03	0.06**	-0.11***	0.03	0.08***	-0.09***	0.03	0.06*
Catholic (base= Muslim)	0.07***	0.00	-0.08***	0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.02	-0.00	-0.02
Other Christian	0.04**	0.03**	-0.07***	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.02	-0.04*
Poorer (base=poorest)	-0.02	-0.04	0.06*	-0.01	-0.04	0.05*	-0.03	-0.05	0.08**
Middle	-0.01	-0.06**	0.08**	-0.03	-0.05*	0.08**	-0.02	-0.08**	0.10***
Richer	-0.03	-0.05*	0.09***	-0.05**	-0.05*	0.10***	-0.03	-0.07**	0.11***
Richest	-0.05*	-0.03	0.07*	-0.07***	-0.03	0.10***	-0.05**	-0.05	0.10**
Urban	0.03**	0.00	-0.03*	0.02	0.01	-0.03*	0.03**	-0.00	-0.03*
# Under 5 children	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.01**	0.00	-0.01**
North Central (base= North West)	0.08***	0.01	-0.09***	0.11***	0.02	-0.13***	0.07***	0.03	-0.10***
North East	0.11***	0.01	-0.12***	0.09***	0.00	-0.09***	0.12***	0.01	-0.14***
South East	-0.00	-0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.00	-0.01	0.01
South south	-0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.01
South west	-0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.03	-0.04	-0.02	0.04	-0.01
N	4758	4758	4758	5001	5001	5001	4253	4253	4253

Source: Author calculations using NDHS (2018); marginal effects reported.

Notes: *t* statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Standard errors clustered at the NDHS cluster level