Women's decision-making autonomy and children's schooling in rural Southern Mozambique

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Abtract: Women's autonomy in developing settings has been shown to improve child survival and health outcomes, but little research has addressed possible connections between women's autonomy and children's schooling. Using data from a 2009 survey conducted in southern Mozambique, we examine the relationship between rural women's decision-making autonomy and enrollment status of primary school-age children living in their households. Our results show a positive association of women's decision-making autonomy with the probability of being enrolled in primary school for daughters, but not for sons. The effect of women's decision-making autonomy is net of other characteristics associated with autonomy, and does not mediate other dimensions of women's status. Based on these results, we argue that women with a higher level of decision-making autonomy have a stronger preference for girl's schooling, and may have a greater say in making and implementing regarding daughter's education. The decline in son preference may be a sign of women's changing ideas about the role of daughters and the way they envision their daughters' future regarding returns for their education.

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Introduction

The connection between women's position in the household and child outcomes have been widely explored in the literature. Evidence from both developing and developed countries has shown that, when in control of household resources, women are more likely to act for the benefit of their children (Behrman 1997; Haddad, Hoddinott, and Alderman 1997; Quisumbing 2003). The positive effects of women's autonomy on survival and nutritional status are particularly well documented (Caldwell 1986; Dyson and Moore 1983; Mason 1984). Importantly, the pathways through which women's autonomy impacts child's outcomes may not necessarily be related only to the control over resources but also to women's greater ability to take part in making and implementing decisions regarding their children.

The focus on women's autonomy is appropriate when analyzing the effect of women's position on schooling in a context like rural sub-Saharan Africa, where direct pecuniary costs of attending primary school are usually low. In such settings, the decision-making process regarding a child's school enrollment is made not as a function of the resources available at the household and its allocation, but in relation to the opportunity cost of the child's labor (Lloyd and Blanc 1996). In addition, women's perception of the opportunity cost of their children's enrollment may not be the same for boys and girls, since they play gender-specific roles in labor and domestic activities. The gender bias may be magnified in settings marked by significant gender imbalances and rapid changes in the family context due to economic growth, modernization and male migration (Yabiku et al. 2010).

This study examines the relationship between women's autonomy and children's schooling, and how it differs by gender. Specifically, we estimate the effect of female decision-making autonomy on the probability of attending school for children between 6 and 14 years old.

Analysis uses data from a 2009 survey of rural women and their households in southern Mozambique. Our results show a positive effect of women's decision-making autonomy on the probability of being enrolled in primary school for daughters, but not for sons. The effect of women's decision-making autonomy is net of other characteristics associated with autonomy, and does not mediate other dimensions of women's status. Based on these results, we argue that women with a higher level of decision-making autonomy have a stronger preference for girl's schooling, and may have a greater say in making and implementing regarding daughter's education. The decline in son preference may be a sign of women's changing ideas about the role of daughters and the way they envision their daughters' future regarding returns for their education.

Background

The concept of women's autonomy is usually defined as women's ability to negotiate and carry out their preferences within marriage (Ghuman, Lee, and Smith 2006; Smith et al. 2003). Women's autonomy is a relational concept; it designates women's abilities relative to men, or to males' preferences (Smith et al. 2003). Research on the relationship between women's autonomy and social and demographic outcomes has shown that preferences within the household differ between men and women, and that each of them tries to favor the goods they care about if they have the means to do so (Thomas, 1990).

Previous research on the effect of women's autonomy on child outcomes found positive effects on child survival chances and nutritional status (Jejeebhoy 1998, Caldwell 1986, Mason 1984). It has been argued that women with greater autonomy within the household would have higher mobility and decision-making capacity, characteristics that are positively associated with higher

health-seeking behavior for them and their children (Caldwell 1986; Ghuman, Lee, and Smith 2006,).

Despite the increasing amount of evidence on women's autonomy and child health-related outcomes, little research has addressed the association between women's autonomy and schooling. Yet, research using various measures of women's status such as women's share of the household income and woman being the head of the household has found positive effects on school enrollment and attainment (Bruce and Lloyd 1995, Lloyd and Gage-Brandon 1994).

There is evidence that women's autonomy may have a different impact for girls and boys who live in the household. However, previous studies have found mixed results regarding the direction of these effects. Some studies point to a more beneficial effect of women's autonomy for girls' well-being relative to boys.' Fuller et al. (1995) found that in Bangladesh, mothers were more likely to invest in their daughters than were fathers, and tended to support their daughters' schooling more equitably in relation to their sons). A cross-national study using data from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia, and South Africa found that women's control over household resources reduced gender differences in children's education in Bangladesh, but not in the other three countries (Quisumbing and Maluccio 2003). Yet women's autonomy may also be associated with larger gender differences in resources allocated to children. Women with more power to negotiate their preferences within the household may be more able to translate their preferences into outcomes, but their preferences may still be shaped by community norms. In communities with strong preferences for sons, or where women's social and financial well-being depends disproportionally on sons, autonomy may have a more favorable effect for boys (Das Gupta 1987).

Hypotheses

This paper will test hypotheses about the association between women's decision-making autonomy and school attendance of children living in the household, and the extent to which this association varies depending on the gender of the child. Specifically:

H1: Women's higher level of autonomy will have a positive effect on children's enrollment status.

H2: The effect of women's autonomy on enrollment is not gender neutral. Women might have different preferences regarding their sons and daughter because of differences in the perceived opportunity cost of education for males and females.

Setting

This analysis tests these hypotheses using data from Mozambique, a country of some 23 million inhabitants located in southeast Africa. Data come from a representative survey of ever-married women of reproductive age conducted in July 2009 in rural areas of four contiguous districts (total area 5900 square miles, population 625,000) of Gaza province in southern Mozambique.

A former Portuguese colony that gained independence in 1975, Mozambique was battered by a civil war for the first decade and a half of its independent existence. Since the end of the war in 1992 and the deployment of economic structural adjustment programs in the early 1990s, the country has experienced remarkable macroeconomic growth. Yet with an average per capita annual income of $320, life expectancy of 42 years, and female literacy rate of 32%, Mozambique remains one of the poorest and least economically developed nations in the world (World Bank 2009).

Since colonial times, Mozambicans have worked in South African mines, and this legal migration flow continues to date (CEA/UEM 1997; Crush 2001). The area of our study has

particularly high levels of out-migration to South Africa. Migration within Mozambique, particularly from rural to urban areas, has also been growing rapidly (Jenkins 1993; Knauder 2000). Changing migration regimes have been at the root of transformations of family, kinship, and gender systems.

Mozambique has been showing progress in educational indicators, such as literacy and attainment. With the ongoing expansion of the educational system, access to basic education has increased fast, especially in the last decade. Despite the improvement in access to primary education, there is a significant gender gap in indicators related to attendance and conclusion demonstrating girls' disadvantage in enrolling and persisting in school. In 1999, the primary school net enrollment rate (NER)[1] was 47,4% for males and 39,8% for females (Unesco, 2000). Ten years later, NER was already 82% for males and 77% for females (Unicef, 2011). Primary school conclusion rates were 69% for males, versus 48% for females in 2008 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Data and methods

Data

The sample of children analyzed in this study comes from a 2009 survey of rural women of reproductive age in four districts of Gaza province in southern Mozambique. The 2009 survey, conducted in 56 villages (14 per district) was a second wave of a longitudinal study that started with a survey in 2006.

[1] Net enrolment rate (NER): ratio of the enrolled school-age group expressed as a percentage of corresponding population.

The 2006 sample consisted of 1680 women (420 per district, 30 per village). The 2009 wave of data collection was carried out among women still living within the study area and could be located (N=1314, 78% of the 2006 sample). A refresher sample was randomly selected to replace women lost to follow up. The total sample of the 2009 survey was 1772 women.

The survey collected detailed demographic and socioeconomic information, including pregnancy histories, reproductive intentions, husband's migration history, household material status, HIV experience, and women's gender attitudes. Information on household composition was also collected, and for each person living in the household the survey provides data on age, sex, relationship to the respondent, school attendance and contribution to household's income.

The analytical sample of this study is formed by the survey respondents' children from 6 to 14 years old. Based on the information provided by the module on household composition, a dataset in which children are the main unit of analysis was created, in which all children living with their biological mother in the household were included(N=2026).

Dependent variable

The dependent variable is whether the child is enrolled or not at the time of the survey. Information on school enrollment comes from the question "Is he/she studying now?", asked about every member of the household. In this study, we consider information provided on school enrollment of all children in primary school ages (6 to 14 years old) living in the household. Measures of current school attendance have been shown to be more informative than number of years of schooling when analyzing children from Sub-Saharan Africa, due to frequent extended family arrangements (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996). Given the mobility of children between

households and the lack of information on previous households of residence, current attendance is more directly related to children's current inputs (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996).

Decision-making autonomy

Women's autonomy is multidimensional and simplifications must be made in order to accomplish a synthetic measure. For the purpose of this study, only aspects related to decision-making autonomy are being considered in our index.

Our indicator is a modified version of the scale developed by Yabiku et al. (2010), and is constructed from questions on women's autonomy to engage in seven different activities, with responses following a 3-Liker scale. For each of those activities, women were asked if they (i) would need to ask their husband's or his family's permission to do them, (ii) would just need to inform them, or (iii) whether even informing them would not be necessary'. The seven activities were: to visit your parents or other relatives who live outside of this community; to visit a friend or neighbor who lives in this community; to go to the city or a district capital to buy or sell something or to take care of some other business; to spend money on family needs (such as food, school materials, clothes for children); to spend money on your personal needs (such as clothes, shoes, or earrings for yourself); to get a job or to engage in commerce; and to do an HIV test. For each of the seven activities, responses were scored 0, 1 or 2, based on the three possible answers listed above. A reliability analysis to assess whether the seven items have an underlying construct showed a Cronbach alpha of 0.91, indicating that the measure has a good internal consistency. To compute the autonomy indicator, we took the average of the seven responses and considered as having high level of autonomy those women who scored at least one standard deviation above the mean. Therefore, our main independent variable is a dummy variable for

high level of decision-making autonomy, indicating women who scored 1.11 or higher on the autonomy indicator.

Among the other independent variables is worth highlighting women's and marriage's characteristics. To discuss the effect of women's decision-making autonomy on enrollment, it is important to include in the analysis factors associated with other dimensions of autonomy. It could be the case in which our construct merely mediates the relationship of characteristics associated with autonomy and schooling. Alternatively, as we show in our results section, we can find a significant effect for decision-making autonomy net of other characteristics that traditionally have been used to represent autonomy level.

Women's characteristics

A set of women's and marriage characteristics were introduced in the model to account for aspects of women's autonomy that are not captured by our decision-making autonomy indicator.

Women's educational level is related both to children's schooling and to women's autonomy level. Women with higher educational level are more likely to value education and to support their children schooling. At the same time, it is known that women with more education also have higher levels of autonomy. By including women's education we intend to control for this important predictor of children schooling, but also to separate the educational dimension of autonomy from the decision-making one, which is instrumentalized in this analysis.

Similarly, women's autonomy level is likely to increase with age. Our sample is constituted only of women in reproductive ages, and age distribution is concentrated mainly between 20 and 35 years old. Therefore, we included 3 categories as dummy variables indicating if woman is less than 25 years old, between 26 and 30, or 31 years or older.

Marriage characteristics

We included a set of marriage characteristics to account for aspects of women's autonomy related to her current marital relation. Bargain power within marriage is likely to vary by age and educational gap between husband and wife. We included a dummy variable indicating if husband have 4 or more years of schooling than wife. In addition, a set of dummies for age gap were included, indicating if husband is 5 to 10 years older, 10 to 15, or 15 years older or more. A large proportion of women reported not knowing their husbands' age or educational level, and an additional dummy variable was created to control for this lack of information.

Other marriage characteristics may have a significant impact on women's autonomy, affecting their decision-making ability regarding their children. We included a variable indicating if husband has paid bridewealth partially or completely, versus no payment at all. A dummy variable accounting for polygyny was also included, as well as an indicator if the woman living arrangement includes any in-laws, more specifically, husband's parents or siblings.

Because male outmigration is common in the area, and previous studies have shown a strong relationship between women's autonomy and husbands migration (, we control for husband's migration status.

Other independent variables

To account for potentially confounding factors in the relationship between women's autonomy and child's enrollment, we include a set of controls in our multivariate analysis. Our model includes the usual characteristics considered to be associated with child's educational outcomes (Buchman and Hannum, 2001; Knodel and Wongsith, 1991) such as: child age, sex, and number of children in school ages living in the household (aged 6 to 14). The presence of very young children in the household was found to be associated with a lower probability of attending school by older children (Lloyd and Blanc 1996), because of the tradeoff between the enrollment of

children in school ages and their domestic labor on childcare; a variable accounting for the number of children younger than 5 years in the household was therefore also included as a control.

An index of household's standard of living based on ownership of selected consumer goods (radio, bicycle, car or motorcycle), possession of cattle and size of agricultural land were included to account for differences in the household socioeconomic status. Moreover, distance to nearest town and presence of a clinic at the village were introduced as controls for differences in proximity to urban areas, and access to public services. In addition, a dummy variable for whether there is a school offering primary education controls for asymmetries in enrolment due to differences in access to the school system.

Finally, a dummy variable was included to control for women perceived HIV status. Given the high HIV prevalence in the area, it is relevant to have some control of women's serostatus since it can affect decisions regarding children and women's status within the household. It is coded 1 if the woman reports being likely or sure to have HIV. It is important to note that this is not a measure of clinical HIV status, although most women have been tested at least once.

Method

In this study we use multilevel logistic regression for binary outcomes to predict the probability of being currently enrolled. Because of the design of the survey sample, in which the primary unit of analysis was women, observations are no longer independent when we change the focus to children. Children are clustered within the respondent's specific household, and women's characteristics are repeated for children living in the same household. To deal with this source of non-independence in the observations we fitted a 2-level model with random intercept and slopes

in the first level (child), and random intercepts only in the second level (woman). The model was fitted using the GLIMMIX procedure in SAS 9.2.

Results

Table 1 shows bivariate associations between woman's decision-making autonomy and child's enrollment status. Overall, there seems to be a positive association between women's autonomy level and school enrollment. More than 17% of the children between 6 and 14 years old living in a household where the woman has a relative low level of decision-making autonomy are not enrolled in school. This percentage is less than 10% among children living with women who are considered to have higher level of decision-making autonomy.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 presents the distribution of women's decision-making autonomy level according to a range of sociodemographic characteristics. Women with higher level of decision-making autonomy differ from their low autonomy counterparts regarding their individual, marital and household characteristics, which are also likely to affect the chances of enrollment for their children. Factors related to women's autonomy have been well study in the literature (Caldwell and Caldwell 1993; Jejeebhoy 1995; Mason 1984) and are only briefly discussed here in Table 2. Women's decision-making autonomy level is positively related to other measures of women's status. Women with a higher level of autonomy seem to have higher representation among those in more educated groups, and in households with higher standard of living. Moreover, they are more likely to present lower differences between their educational level and their husband's. 76.9% of those who can be identified as having high decision-making autonomy have less than 3 years of schooling less than their partners, while this percentage is 65.2 among those with low

decision-making autonomy level. Women with low autonomy level also are more likely to be married with older partners than their counterparts with higher decision-making autonomy. While around 28% of women identified as having low autonomy are married to men 15 years older or more, only 17% of those with higher decision-making autonomy level are in the same situation. As shown by Yabiku et al. (2010), women whose husband is a migrant are more likely to have higher autonomy level.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 3 presents the multivariate analysis. The analysis consists in multilevel logistic regression with random intercept to account for the clustering of observations within women. To access the effect of women's decision-making autonomy on children's enrollment two different models were estimated for the total sample, males and females. Model 1 considers the effect of women's status' characteristics and other sociodemographic predictors on child's enrollment. Model 2 adds women's decision-making autonomy level to the previous model. Table 3 shows the log odds and standard errors for both models.

Consistent with the literature, Model 1 shows a significant positive effect of women's education on the chances of attending school for children. More educated mothers are more likely to value their children's education, and they are also more likely to have material means to support their schooling. Other women's status characteristics seem to operate differently by gender of the child. A lower educational gap is associated with higher likelihood of being enrolled for son's, while lower age gap between spouses is beneficial for daughter's attendance. Both results seem to confirm that women's status, here instrumented as a more balanced profile between spouses, have a positive effect on children's schooling.

Husband's migration is also positively related with the likelihood of being enrolled for daughters, but not for sons. Since we are controlling for household economic level, husband's migration could be affecting daughter's enrollment through its relationship to women's status. As discussed previously, partner's migration is shown to be related to greater independence for women, which could lead to increased well-being of children living in the household.

Model 2 introduces women's decision-making autonomy level to investigate whether this aspect of women's status affect the likelihood of being enrolled for children, despite controlling for other factors associated to women's empowerment. As shown in Table 3, decision-making autonomy does not mediate the effect of other women's and marriage that were significant before in Model 1. Women's education and age, and age gap between spouses are significant eve after the introduction of decision-making autonomy in the model.

Results show that women's decision-making autonomy is not gender neutral, as it has a positive and significant effect on daughter's chances of attending school, but not on son's. Despite controlling for marriage and individual characteristics that are also related to women's ability to decide in favor of children, decision-making autonomy holds an independent effect on daughters enrollment. This is consistent with the interpretation that higher decision-making autonomy is a separate aspect of women's autonomy and has an effect on female's enrollment that cannot be explained solely by mother's educational level or marriage characteristics.

Among control variables, older children are more likely to be enrolled, which is consistent with Mozambique's high age-grade distortion rates and late enrollment. Urbanization measures such as shorter distance to the nearest town is related to greater likelihood of being enrolled for males and females, while presence of a health clinic at the village is related to higher chances of

enrollment for females only. On the offer side of the educational process, presence of a primary school at the village is also positive associated with enrollment.

[Table 3 about here]

Discussion

Literature on the effects of women's autonomy on child well-being have consistently found positive effects of women greater autonomy on child's survival, nutrition and health. Results on the effect of female autonomy on child's schooling are scarcer, but they indicate that higher autonomy may lead to better educational outcomes based on the argument that household resource allocation is biased, and tends to favor children when women have more control over family's resources. In a setting like rural Mozambique, costs of education are pecuniary and the decision to send a child to school may be less related to family's decision to incur in educational costs and more associated with the opportunity cost of children's time and the possible returns of education. Therefore, the power to influence children's chances of enrollment would depend on control over resources, since costs related to education still exist (transportation, material, uniform); but also on the ability to make independent decisions regarding family affairs. Our results show that having a higher level of decision-making autonomy affects enrollment regardless of other measures of women's status. This point to a specific effect of mother's having a final saying in the household small decisions and in their own governance on children's education.

This positive effect is specific for daughters and it is non-significant for sons, indicating that mother's tend to favor female education when they have autonomy to decide about it. It was expected that mothers could have gender preferences regarding children's schooling, but not necessarily for females. Mothers could have a preference for son's schooling in a patrilineal and

patrilocal setting such as Southern Mozambique, since daughters leave their household after marriage, and women depend on their male sons at older ages. Previous studies have hypothesized that mothers would use their greater autonomy to better implement their preferences for sons (Das Gupta 1987). However, our results show a clear preference for daughters schooling. The decline in son preference may be a sign of the changing ideas about the role of daughters. Women may perceive their daughter's generation as having more chances of performing different economic roles and even being a source of support in the future (Ahmed and Bould 2004). This change in ideas about daughters' roles is related to women's higher autonomy level, specially their autonomy to move, since mobility can expose them to extra-familial influences affecting the way they envision their daughters' future (Yount 2005) and their gender preferences within the household.

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Table 1: Percent of children enrolled according to women's decision-making autonomy level, Southern Mozambique 2009

	N	Not enrolled	Enrolled
Women's decision-making autonomy:			
High decision-making autonomy	1238	9.59	90.41
Low decision-making autonomy	788	13.32	82.68

Source: Childbearing Dynamics in a Setting of High HIV Prevalence and Massive ART Rollout Survey, 2009.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics (mean and percentages) of children, women, and household characteristics according to women's decision-making autonomy level, Southern Mozambique 2009

	Low decision-making power			High decision-making power		
	mean	sd	percent	mean	sd	percent
Women Characteristics						
Age						
25 or less			6.85			6.32
26 to 30			30.33			25.54
31 or more			62.82			68.14
Education						
No education			29.93			26.76
1 to 4 years			46.34			46.38
5 years or more			23.73			26.86
Possible HIV positive			28.81			39.06
Marriage Characteristics						
Husband-Wife educational gap						
Less than 3 years			65.23			76.90
4 years or more			34.77			23.10
Doesn't know husband's educational level			13.96			7.47
Husband-Wife age gap						
Less than 5 years			46.83			50.48
5 to 10 years			14.47			19.70
10 to 15 years			9.39			12.09
15 years or more			28.55			17.73
Doesn't know husband's age			23.10			11.82
Polygyny			24.8			21.19
Coresidence with in-laws			26.27			28.26
Paid bridewealth			63.83			55.43
Migrant husband			33.00			41.18
Child Characteristics						
Age	9.27	2.48		9.21	2.45	
Age squared	92.06	48.50		90.96	47.95	
female			48.35			49.93
Child's siblings						
Younger female sibling			29.70			30.77
Younger male sibling			29.82			28.60
Older female sibling			31.73			31.93
Older male sibling			30.96			32.95
Sibling aged less than 5 years			52.03			44.16

Table 2: Descriptive statistics (mean and percentages) of children, women, and household characteristics according to women's decision-making autonomy level, Southern Mozambique 2009 (Continue)

	Low decision-making power			High decision-making power		
	mean	sd	percent	mean	sd	percent
Household Characteristics						
Household economic status index	1.95	1.06		2.02	1.02	
Size of agricultural land (in hectare)	1.65	1.29		1.83	1.32	
Own cattle			98.86			99.86
Village						
Distance to nearest town			32.77			28.37
Primary school			47.08			45.58
Clinic			60.28			58.97
N	1238			788		

Source: As for table 1.

Table 3: Effect of women's decision-making autonomy level on child's enrollment, Southern Mozambique 2009

	Total		Males		Females	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Decision-making autonomy	-	0.41(0.19)**	-	0.21(0.27)	-	0.75(0.27)***
Women Characteristics						
Age (omitted= 25 or less)						
26 to 30	0.60(0.36)*	0.45(0.37)	-0.24(0.65)	-0.25(0.65)	0.9(0.51)	0.85(0.52)
31 or more	0.06(0.35)	-0.15(0.37)	-0.79(0.64)	-0.83(0.64)	0.18(0.5)	0.05(0.51)
Education (omitted= no education)						
1 to 4 years	0.63(0.20)***	0.71(0.20)***	0.64(0.3)**	0.67(0.30)**	0.78(0.28)***	0.87(0.28)***
5 years or more	1.24(0.28)***	1.31(0.29)***	0.91(0.4)**	0.92(0.40)**	1.99(0.47)***	2.1(0.48)***
Possible HIV positive	-0.55(0.30)*	-0.47(0.31)	-0.16(0.46)	-0.16(0.46)	-0.91(0.43)**	-0.93(0.42)**
Marriage Characteristics						
Husband-Wife educational gap (omitted= 3 years or less)						
4 years or more	0.39(0.25)	0.49(0.26)*	0.85(0.41)**	0.87(0.41)**	0.13(0.34)	0.14(0.35)
Doesn't know husband's educational level	-0.68(0.36)*	-0.79(0.38)**	-1.12(0.56)**	-1.13(0.56)**	-0.58(0.52)	-0.56(0.53)
Husband-Wife age gap (omitted= less than 5 years)						
5 to 10 years	0.52(0.23)**	0.49(0.24)**	0.31(0.33)	0.29(0.33)	0.81(0.35)**	0.78(0.35)**
10 to 15 years	-0.02(0.29)	-0.07(0.30)	-0.02(0.42)	-0.05(0.43)	0.07(0.42)	0.02(0.42)
15 years or more	0.23(0.36)	0.34(0.38)	0.17(0.5)	0.16(0.50)	0.82(0.59)	0.84(0.59)
Doesn't know husband's age	0.05(0.40)	-0.01(0.42)	-0.03(0.56)	-0.01(0.56)	-0.32(0.64)	-0.22(0.64)
Polygyny	0.14(0.20)	0.19(0.21)	-0.01(0.29)	0(0.29)	0.31(0.3)	0.3(0.3)
Coresidence with in-laws	-0.01(0.19)	-0.02(0.20)	0.06(0.29)	0.06(0.29)	-0.32(0.29)	-0.35(0.29)
Paid bridewealth	-0.03(0.18)	0.04(0.19)	-0.14(0.27)	-0.12(0.27)	0.09(0.26)	0.17(0.27)
Migrant husband	0.49(0.19)***	0.49(0.19)**	0.42(0.27)	0.4(0.28)	0.81(0.28)***	0.75(0.28)***

Table 3: Effect of women's decision-making autonomy level on child's enrollment, Southern Mozambique 2009 (Continue)

	Total		Males		Females	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Child Characteristics						
Age	2.09(0.28)***	2.09(0.28)***	1.74(0.4)***	1.74(0.40)***	2.61(0.44)***	2.68(0.44)***
Age squared	-0.1(0.01)***	-0.1(0.01)***	-0.08(0.02)***	-0.08(0.02)***	-0.12(0.02)***	-0.12(0.02)***
female	0.02(0.16)	0.04(0.16)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Child's siblings						
Younger female sibling	0.20(0.21)	0.08(0.23)	0.21(0.33)	0.21(0.33)	-0.02(0.32)	-0.05(0.32)
Younger male sibling	0.01(0.22)	-0.11(0.24)	0.1(0.33)	0.10(0.33)	-0.55(0.36)	-0.57(0.36)
Older male sibling	-0.27(0.18)	-0.37(0.19)*	-0.86(0.27)***	-0.85(0.27)***	0.12(0.29)	0.09(0.30)
Older female sibling	-0.08(0.18)	-0.08(0.20)	-0.25(0.29)	-0.24(0.29)	0.17(0.29)	0.16(0.29)
Sibling aged less than 5 years	-0.16(0.17)	-0.09(0.18)	0.09(0.25)	0.1(0.25)	-0.31(0.25)	-0.3(0.25)
Household Characteristics						
Household economic status index	0.21(0.09)**	0.2(0.09)**	0.24(0.13)*	0.24(0.13)*	0.16(0.13)	0.17(0.13)
Size of agricultural land	0.07(0.07)	0.08(0.07)	0.13(0.1)	0.12(0.10)	0.1(0.1)	0.07(0.1)
Own cattle	0.33(1.01)	-0.09(1.04)	-0.66(1.61)	-0.68(1.60)	-0.2(1.46)	-0.59(1.47)
Village						
Distance to nearest town	-0.01(0.00)***	-0.01(0.00)***	-0.01(0.00)*	-0.01(0.00)*	-0.01(0)***	-0.01(0.00)**
Primary school	0.77(0.19)***	0.79(0.20)***	1.08(0.29)***	1.09(0.29)***	0.62(0.28)**	0.7(0.28)**
Clinic	0.21(0.19)	0.2(0.20)	-0.08(0.29)	-0.09(0.29)	0.52(0.27)*	0.61(0.28)**
N	2026	2026	1021	1021	1005	1005

Source: As for table 1. *: p<.05; **: p<.01; ***:p<.001.