

Changing the value of girls in Haryana: Evaluation of the *Apni Beti Apna Dhan* CCT

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Outline



- ABAD program
 - Program specifics
 - Timeline
- Theory of Change (TOC)
 - ABAD TOC
 - Our expected TOC
- Research
 - Key questions
 - Methodology
- Values
 - Conceptualizing Values
 - Values for girls in our study
- ABAD scheme and its implications for changing values

ABAD Scheme Specifics

Implementation aspects

- First CCT on the value of girls in India
- Implemented by the Government of Haryana from 1994 to 1998
- Through the Integrated Child Development Scheme program of Haryana Govt. (Department of Women and Child Development)
- Context was one of adverse sex ratios
- Girl receives Rs 25000 at 18 if unmarried

Desired Impact:

Enhanced value of girls
Delayed age of marriage
Sex ratio at birth improves

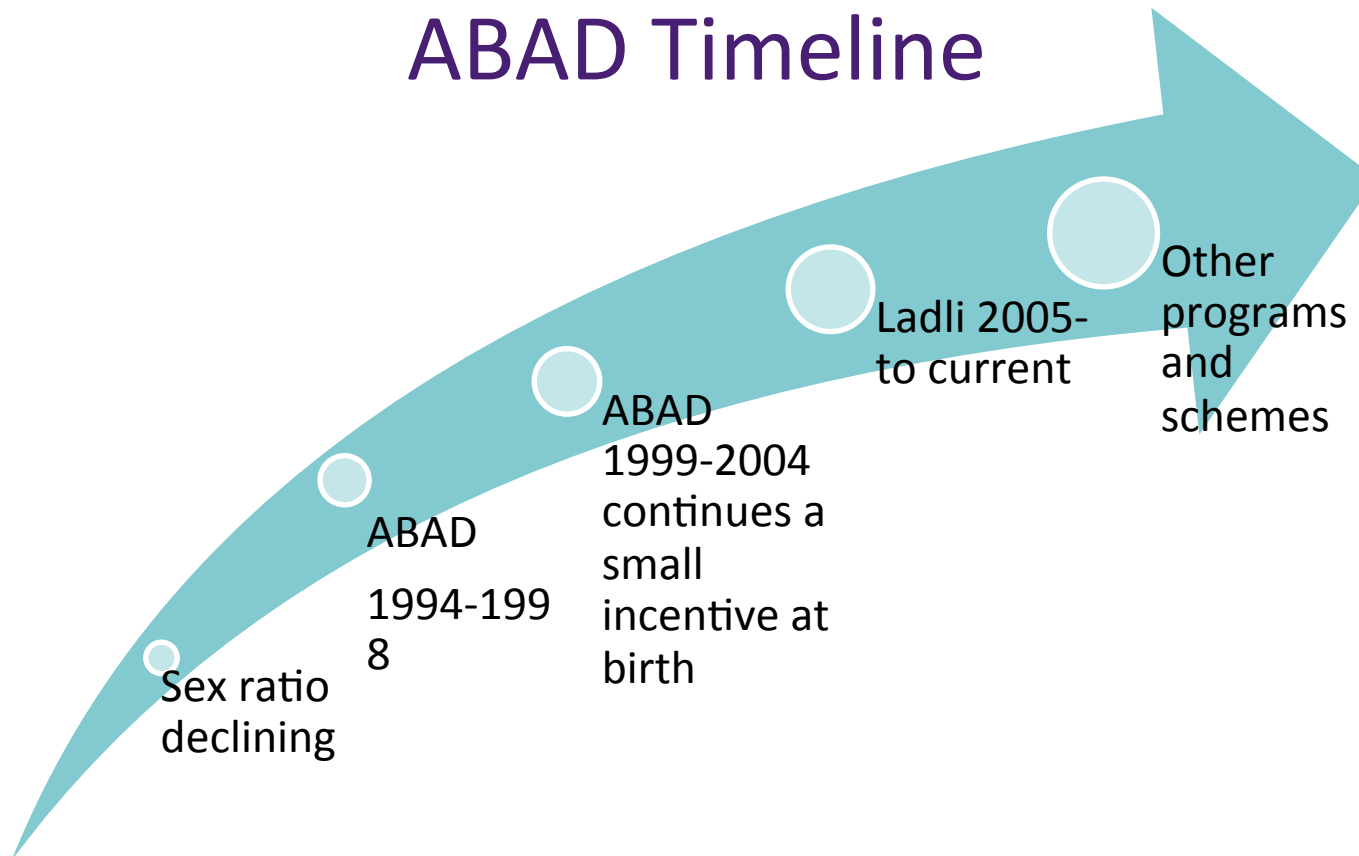


Payments are protracted and this happen in 2012/13 for the first time -an unique opportunity to evaluate the scheme

Eligibility Criteria

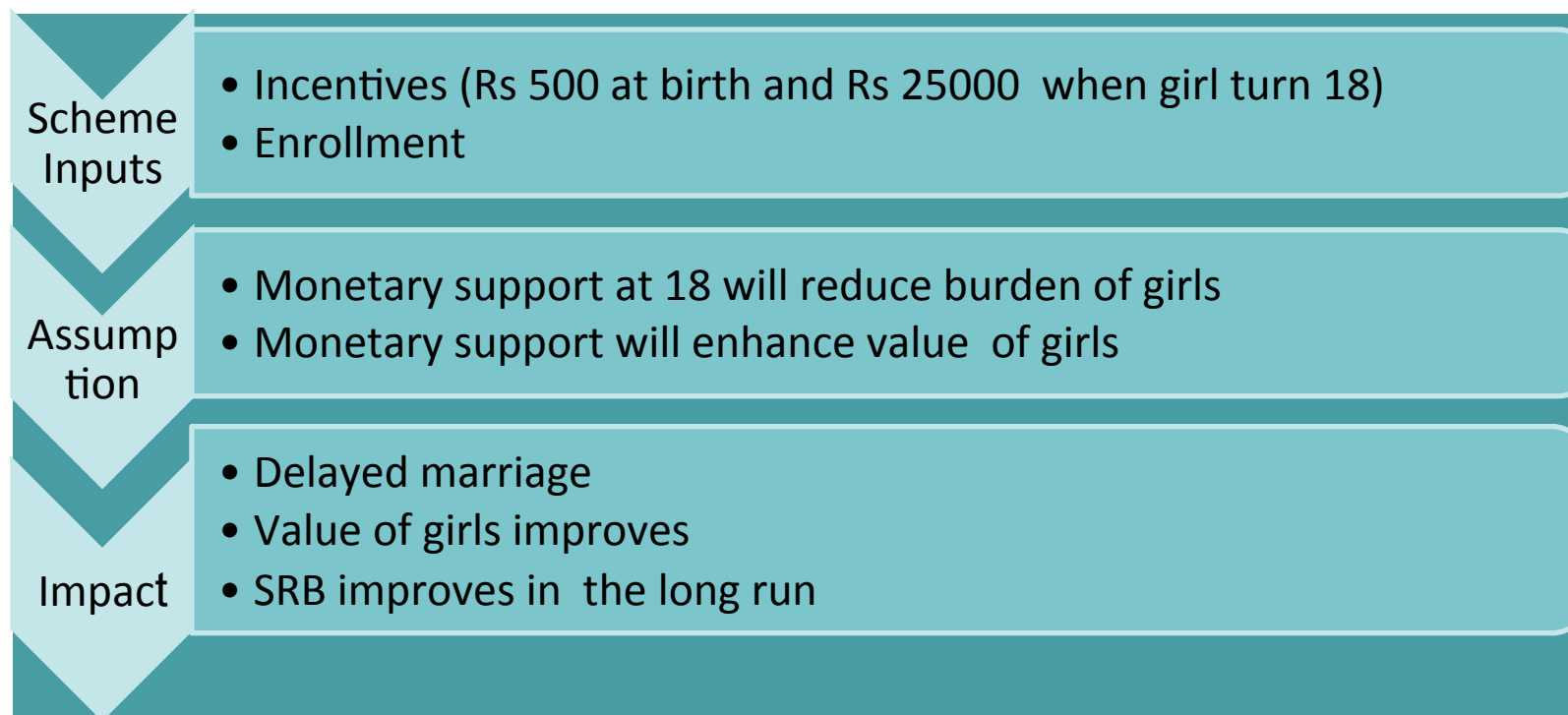
- Scheduled Caste/ Backward Class Families (SC/BC)
- Below Poverty Line Families that are not SC/BC
- Non-gazetted officers
- Up to third birth order girls born between 1st October 1994 and 31st December 1998
- Domicile of Haryana

ABAD Timeline



What is the change in the value of girls through this time period?

ABAD's 'un-Articulated' Theory of Change



In 2012, the first group of enrollees turn 18...

INPUTS

- At enrollment, Rs. 500 given to mother and bond created in girls name
- If girl remains unmarried at 18 years, can cash the bond for Rs 25,000

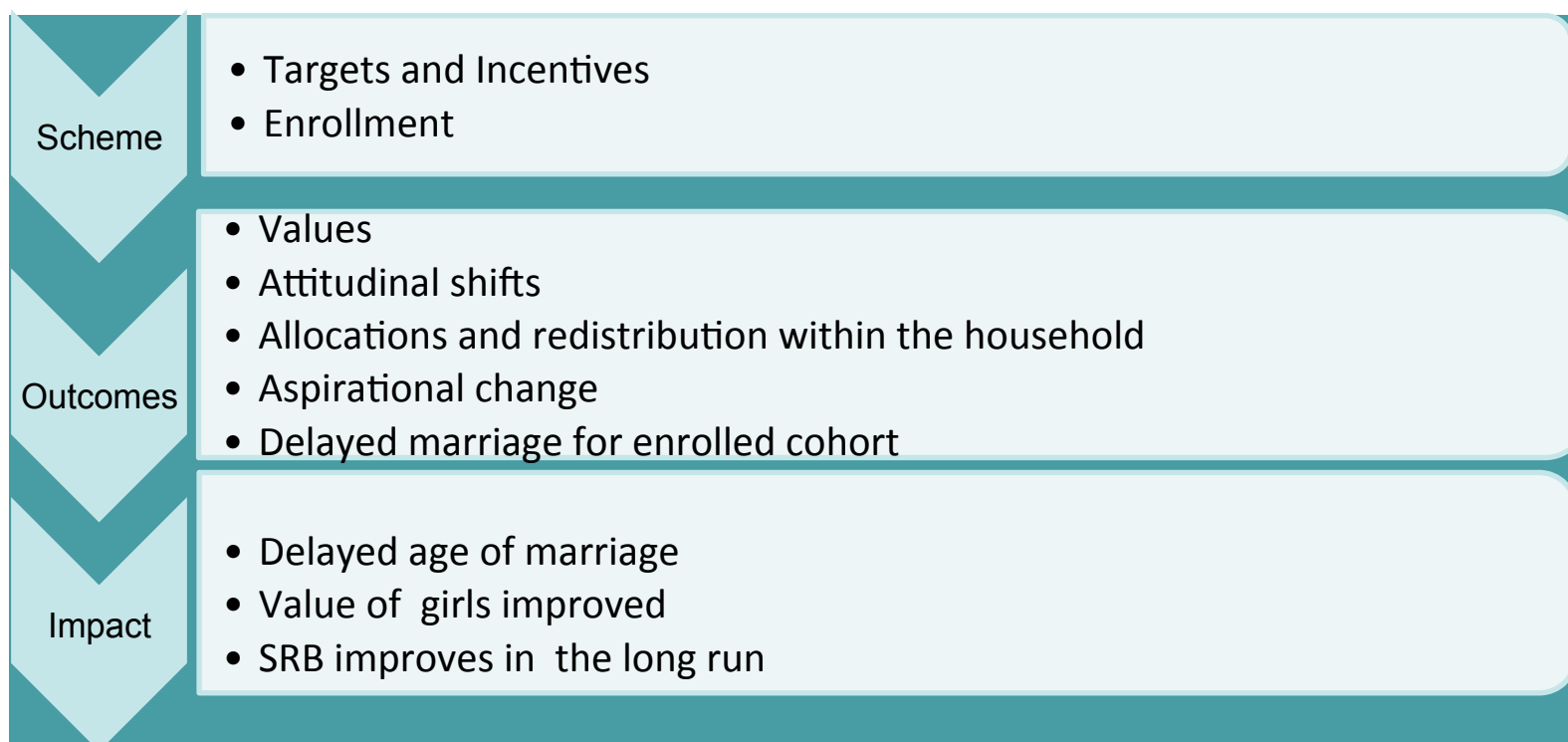
OUTPUTS

- Percentage of enrolled girls in first cohort who cash out

IMPACT

- Population-level increase in age of marriage
- Higher value of girls in Haryana-measured by improved SRB

Our Expected Theory of Change



Key Questions



- Evaluating the ABAD program with some of the underlying questions :
 - How do people understand the intent of the scheme and do they connect with it?
 - What is the expected change due to the scheme? and How will it happen?
 - **Will these incentives work to bring about change in values?**
 - Who will actually get the cash (girl or parents) and how will they use it (post 2012)?
 - Will a single lever policy instrument work for such intended impact?

<p>Formative Research 2012 (Jan –Mar)</p>	<p>Quasi Experimental Impact Evaluation June 2012—2014</p>	<p>Process Evaluation June 2012--2014</p>	<p>Outreach and Dissemination Ongoing</p>
<p>Who are beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries? How do values get defined for girls? How can we create a matched sample?</p>	<p>Is the program successful in delaying marriage? Did it enhance the value of girls?</p>	<p>How and why did the program perform as it did? What was the reason for success?</p>	<p>Engaging stakeholders and sharing our learning</p>

Impact Methodology

- No Baseline in 1994
- In 2012, to capture the first cash out conduct a quasi experimental study with matched cohorts of beneficiary and eligible non beneficiary girls (using propensity score matching)
- Two time cohorts -3000 girls each in ages 16-18 and 14-16 year old girls
- Girls will be surveyed in September 2012 before cash out begins
- Older cohort followed up a year after cash out in 2014

Unpacking Eligibility

- Meant for the poor (SC/BC) but was that where the most active sex selection was happening- in general caste and wealthier
- Benefits were meant for the really poor but were highly protracted may not address actual points of vulnerability in a girls life (school drop out for example—later corrected in Ladli)
- Did the really poor actually get the benefits
- Higher birth order discrimination

Popular perceptions of the government's intentions

- The burden of a girl's marriage is a dominant value that affects people's connect with scheme
 - Common perception that cash is for marriage expenses - a sort of *kanyadaan* money given by the government
 - This and similar schemes are seen as giving support for 'poor' people to bear the burden of a girl
 - Some believed that it was to address the problem of declining sex ratios
 - Only few validated that the money was to educate girls and for their aspirations (marriageability and employability)

Scheme and Value for Girls

- Will the scheme enhance value or will it make a limited difference in appreciating the value of girls?
- Using findings from our formative research we describe below the value constructs for girls in our study and how that relates to the potential impact of the ABAD scheme

Understanding Values

- Cultural and normative constructs provide the backdrop to understanding values
- In our framework there are two levels of values:
 - Imbued value – the value that a girl provides to others/get instilled in girls from the time she is very young
 - Invested values – what is invested in the girl
- Values interact with each other
- Values are dynamic; shaped and articulated in relation to the changing socio-economic context both at the societal and at the individual level
- Values are not self-evident and visible, but have to be inferred from practices and norms

References: Becker (1992); Friedman Hechter and Kanazawa (1994); Croll (2000)

Key Value Domains



- Marriage is the most important rite of passage for a girl
- A girl is considered her marital family's wealth or *paraya dhan*
- Chastity is the most important prerequisite for marriage
 - thus informs the construct of a 'good' or 'bad' girl
 - a girl is the bearer of the family honor; honor is placed in the girl maintaining/guarding her chastity- the primary wealth of a girl
- The responsibility to marry a daughter can compromise a family's position and status both economically and socially
- A girl through her conduct throughout her life cycle has to redeem her burden

Core constructs that inform values

- At birth
- In her natal home
- Through her mobility
- Through her education
- Through the food allocations
- Through her labor/employability
- Through her marriage



Value in the natal home



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where insight and action connect

- Imbued
 - Grooming a ‘good’ girl
 - Virtue and obedience
 - A ‘good girl’ does not make demands, does not answer back, and does what she is told, eats what she gets
 - Is responsible for maintaining her chastity and therefore self-disciplining
 - In contrast to a ‘good girl’, a ‘bad girl’ is one who walks the *galat chaal* (literal meaning: wrong line); *encourages* sexual transgression and elopement and can dishonor herself and her family

Daughters are always eager to help their father. She supports him till she gets married....The girls do not ask for more to eat. Instead she will do all the household work. ...better than boys. He can also beat me up when he grows up but she will never do that.” [Beneficiary father)

Education



Many linkages with other value areas and cross-causality between imbued and invested

- Imbued
 - Studiousness is valued if a family has invested in her education
 - An educated girl is more appealing to prospective families
 - Families will not necessarily see a return on their education investments with a girl, however; her marital family will benefit instead
- Invested
 - Girls may be compromised in both quality and level of education
 - Education till some level is a priority now.
 - Education important for good marriage but may escalate the cost of marriage
 - Education comes with costs of restricted mobility

Age at Marriage



The age of marriage seems to gravitate around 17-18.

- Imbued
 - Sexuality: a girl should be married when she matures physically.
 - Chastity: a girl who is not obedient and virtuous is married in order to ensure that she doesn't elope and compromise the family honor.
- Invested
 - Transfer/gifts/dowry considered the ultimate claims by a girl on her natal home
 - Educated girls preferred for marriage: parents educate their daughters at least till Standard X; An employed girl is more appealing to a prospective family

There are shifts in ideas and practices

- Age of marriage
 - Monetary incentive of ABAD may delay by 1-2 years
 - Awareness of early childbearing and its consequences on health
 - Fear of the law
- Education-higher aspirations, better jobs
- Assertiveness in girls
- Awareness of entitlements-inheritance
- Certain choices being presented to girls-grooms, education, jobs
- Mobility with greater vigilance (mobiles, chaperones etc)

Expected TOC for ABAD and Values

- Values are intangible -observed through practices and norms
- They are changing yet bounded by norms such as marriage
- Scheme seems to address the idea that girls are considered a burden and over time may address sex selection but may not be interfacing with values that get imbued and invested in girls through their life cycle
- Values make the theory of change non linear, unpredictable and heterogeneous
- We may still observe the desired output of delaying marriage till 18 and cash out but may not see impact on valuation of girls
- Programs that are so designed may be missing opportunities of enabling change in norms that sustain these outcomes over time