

# Arable Land in Antiquity Explains Modern Gender Inequality

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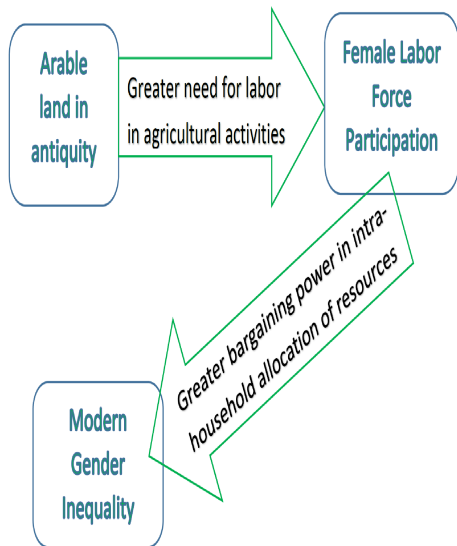
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- **Hazarika, Jha, and Sarangi (2019)**: Fewer missing women in societies whose ancestors were endowed with better ecological resources (measured by average annual caloric yields per hectare based on the agro-climatic yields of pre-Columbian crops).



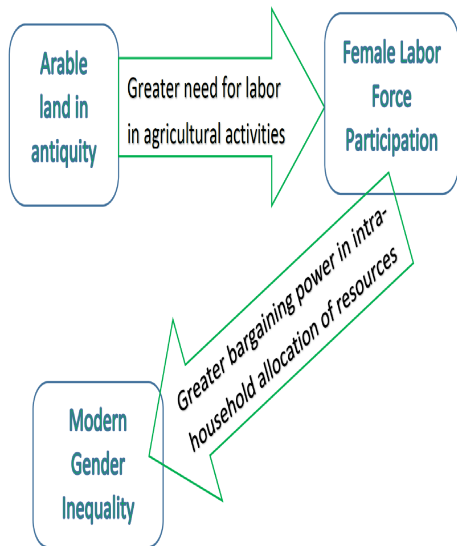
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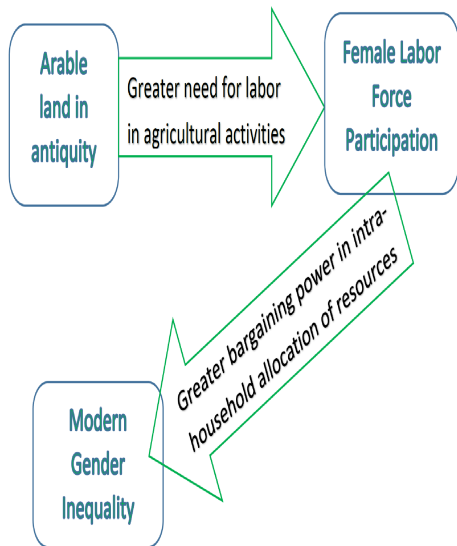
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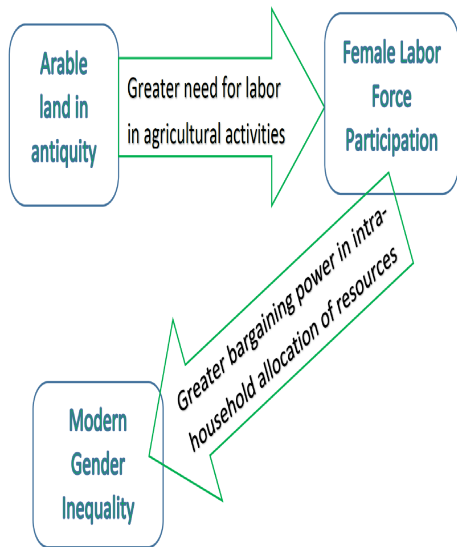


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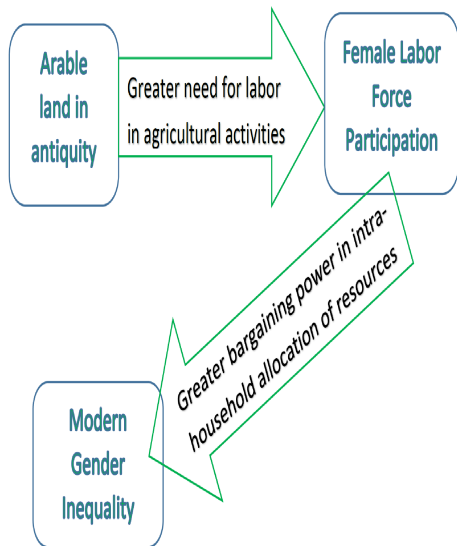
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  - By making cultivation more labor intensive, scarcity of land places a premium on male brawn ([Iversen and Rosenbluth, 2010](#)).
  - Labor force participation and economic contributions increase women's bargaining power and improve their health outcomes ([Heath and Jayachandran, 2017](#); [Westeneng and d'Exelle, 2015](#)).

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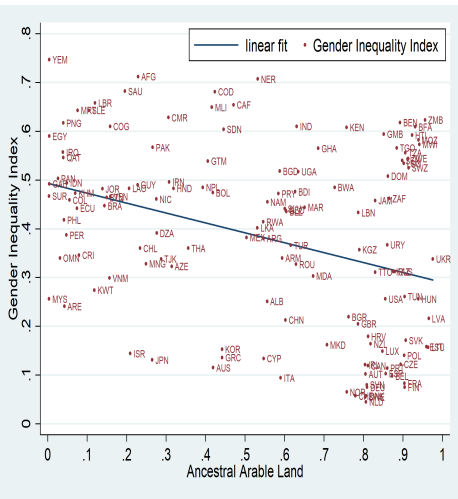
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- “The male comparative advantage in brawn was accentuated by growing land scarcity, which increased the value not only of a man’s labor but also his ability to defend the farm against marauders” (Iversen and Rosenbluth, 2010).
- Societies exposed to external threats (such as wars) and resource scarcity enforce existing social norms more stringently (Gelfand et al., 2011).

# Arable Land in Antiquity and Modern Gender Inequality

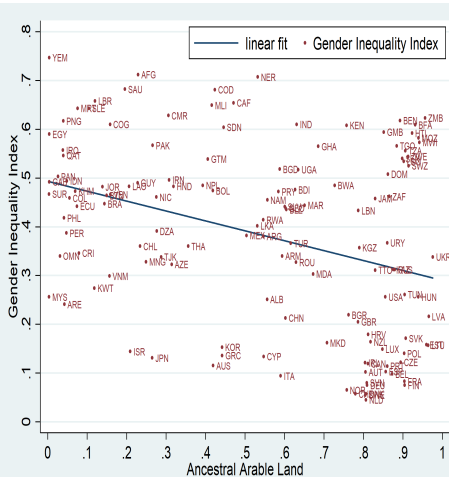
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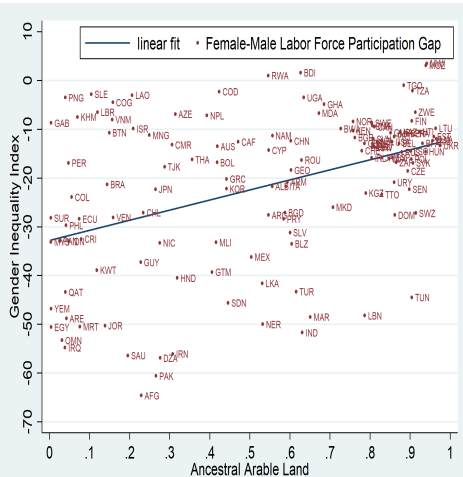
**Figure:** Gender Inequality Index



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**Figure:** Gender Inequality Index



**Figure:** Female-Male LFP Gap

## Data I: Gender Inequality Index

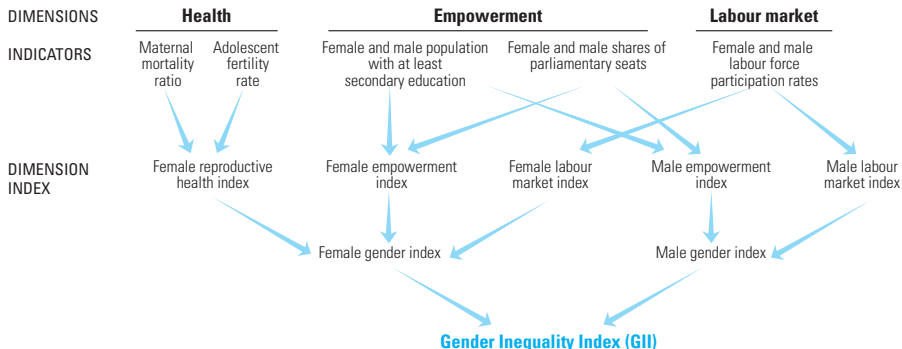
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- Takes values in the range of 0 to 1, with higher values indicating more inequality

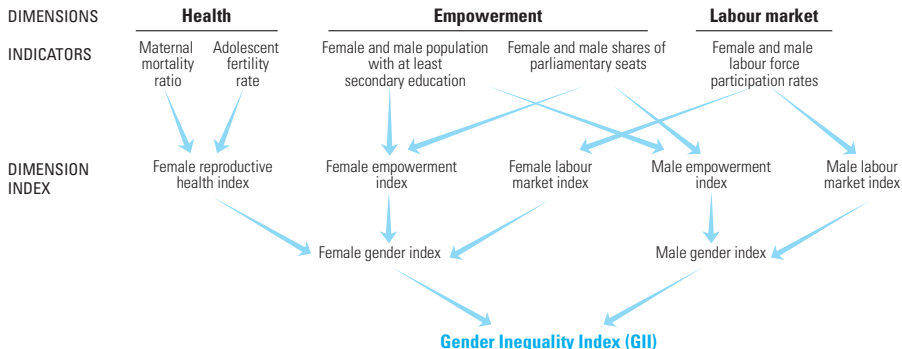
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- Unlike previous studies, ours is a composite measure of gender inequality that consists of both gender roles and outcomes and hence takes their interaction into account.

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    - agriculture has been the mainstay of mankind since the Neolithic Revolution 12,000 years ago.
    - a modern soil map of the world is also historical, as are the climatic and soil requirements of mankind's main crops.

## Empirical Specification

Baseline econometric specification:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Gender Inequality Index}_i = & \beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{fraction of ancestral land} \\ & \text{suited to agriculture}_i + \mathbf{X}_i' \beta_3 + \varepsilon_i \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Gender Inequality Index}_i = & \alpha_1 + \alpha_2 \text{migration-adjusted} \\ & \text{potential arable land}_i + \mathbf{X}_i' \alpha_3 + \epsilon_i \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Gender Inequality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Dependent Variable: Gender Inequality Index</i>					
Ancestral arable land	-0.106*** (0.0337)	-0.106*** (0.0340)	-0.0911*** (0.0335)	-0.0668* (0.0346)	-0.0885** (0.0396)
Ancestral plow use		-0.00676 (0.0530)	-0.00480 (0.0523)	-0.0196 (0.0471)	0.0710** (0.0334)
Years since neolithic transition			0.0121** (0.00590)	0.0127** (0.00508)	0.00571 (0.00750)
Pre-1500 CE average crop yield				-0.00006*** (0.00002)	-0.00005** (0.00002)
Baseline controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional controls					Yes
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	134	134	133	133	96
Adjusted $R^2$	0.773	0.771	0.775	0.798	0.877

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Baseline controls: Ln(per capita income) and its squared term, land area in geographical tropics, distance to nearest coastline or sea-navigable river. Additional controls: share of agriculture in GDP, share of industry in GDP, religious fractionalization, democracy, state antiquity index, legal origins, social infrastructure index, and the experience of communism. Constant not reported.

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Female Labor Force Participation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Ancestral arable land	18.22*** (5.508)	18.18*** (5.351)	12.40** (4.899)	9.449** (4.734)	15.14** (5.965)
Ancestral plow use		-4.084 (6.187)	-4.847 (6.180)	-3.041 (5.125)	-4.509 (4.696)
Years since neolithic transition			-4.397*** (0.921)	-4.466*** (0.974)	-2.315** (1.063)
Pre-1500CE average crop yield				0.0072*** (0.00213)	0.0066*** (0.00236)
Baseline controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional controls					Yes
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	134	134	133	133	96
Adjusted $R^2$	0.384	0.382	0.489	0.536	0.608

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Baseline controls: Ln(per capita income) and its squared term, land area in geographical tropics, distance to nearest coastline or sea-navigable river. Additional controls: share of agriculture in GDP, share of industry in GDP, religious fractionalization, democracy, state antiquity index, legal origins, social infrastructure index, and the experience of communism. Constant not reported.

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Gender Inequality Index: Does Labor Force Participation Play a Mediating Role?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ancestral arable land	-0.0486 (0.0384)	-0.0483 (0.0385)	-0.0500 (0.0382)	-0.0406 (0.0378)
Ancestral plough use		-0.0198 (0.0427)	-0.0209 (0.0433)	-0.0280 (0.0418)
Years since neolithic transition			-0.00243 (0.00654)	0.000284 (0.00597)
Pre-1500 CE average crop yield				-0.0000391*** (0.0000137)
Female Labor Force Participation	-0.00317*** (0.000714)	-0.00320*** (0.000726)	-0.00331*** (0.000843)	-0.00278*** (0.000827)
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Baseline controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	134	134	133	133
Adjusted $R^2$	0.817	0.817	0.815	0.823

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Constant not reported.



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- Secondary mechanism: Resource scarcity
  - The inclusion of the resource availability causes the relationship between ancestral arable land and gender inequality index to weaken (last column of Table 1).

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  - Female-male education gap: the difference between the proportions of adult women and men with secondary or higher education
- Labor market dimension
  - Female-male labor force participation gap

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Components of Gender Inequality Index

	<i>Health Dimension</i>		<i>Empowerment Dimension</i>		<i>Labor Market Dimension</i>
	MMR (1)	ABR (2)	WP (3)	Education gap (4)	LFP Gap (5)
Ancestral arable land	-135.8*** (45.12)	-19.89** (9.769)	1.998 (4.025)	-1.023 (3.228)	14.10** (5.710)
Ln(Per capita income)	-274.5*** (76.15)	-24.61 (22.88)	-12.84* (6.926)	7.793 (5.256)	-9.497 (8.471)
Ln(Per capita income)–squared	12.26*** (4.043)	0.750 (1.221)	0.744* (0.386)	-0.255 (0.278)	0.529 (0.447)
Fraction of land area in the geographical tropics	-6.725 (33.54)	1.545 (6.951)	-2.196 (3.077)	0.900 (2.648)	4.828 (5.112)
Distance to nearest coastline or sea-navigable river	17.00 (23.59)	3.102 (6.055)	0.753 (2.279)	1.756 (1.659)	1.835 (3.031)
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	133	133	133	133	133
Adjusted $R^2$	0.796	0.658	0.094	0.254	0.344

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . MMR = Maternal Mortality Ratio. ABR = Adolescent Birth Rate. WP = Percentage of Women in Parliament. Education gap = Percentage of females with at least secondary education – Percentage of males with at least secondary education. LFP gap = Female Labor Force Participation Rate – Male Labor Force Participation Rate. Constant not reported.

## Ancestral Arable Land and Components of the GII: Discussion

- Why is ancestral arable land significantly associated with women's labor force participation and health outcomes, but not women empowerment measures, *i.e.*, education and their representation in parliament?



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  - Being healthy was important for women to work in agriculture, being educated and empowerment were not.
  - Hence, in arable land-abundant societies, norms developed that would restrict the number of pregnancies and devote more resources to new mothers to enable them to return to fields as soon as possible implying better reproductive health outcomes.

## Ancestral Arable Land and Individual Gender Attitudes Around the World

- We explore the relationship between ancestral arable land attitudes toward gender roles using the World Value Survey individual-level data.

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  - 3 Whether a woman is part of the labor force: Yes = 1; No = 0



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- Country-level controls: income per capita and income per capita squared in natural logs measured in the same year, as the dependent variable.

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Attitudes Regarding Women's Rights and Capabilities: Individual-Level Estimates

	<b>Men Make Better Political Leaders</b>		<b>When Jobs are scarce, men should have more right</b>		<b>Female Labor Force Participation</b>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ancestral arable land	-0.621*** (0.0919)	-0.423** (0.170)	-0.177*** (0.0444)	-0.196*** (0.0642)	0.117*** (0.0442)	0.0195 (0.0405)
Individual-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-level controls	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Continent dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Country dummies		Yes		Yes		Yes
Countries	48	53	70	74	69	73
Districts	453	479	674	700	672	698
Observations	64215	72152	80303	87528	43801	47587
Adjusted $R^2$	0.191	0.258	0.206	0.275	0.169	0.266

Standard errors clustered at district-level in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

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## Concluding Remarks

- The availability of arable land in antiquity played a role in the shaping of gender norms that promoted women's labor force participation and resulted in better reproductive health outcomes for them.

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  - Affirmative actions, such as quotas in political arenas (Beaman et al., 2009), that can weaken stereotypes regarding gender roles.
  - Family friendly leave, development/use of technology/infrastructure reducing women's time for household chores may be useful.
  - **Creating employment opportunities (especially for women) that improve their bargaining power** (Heath and Jayachandran, 2017).

# Thank You!

## Validity of Measures of Arable Land in Antiquity

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  - 2 there should be no significant difference in the relationship between our measures of arable land in antiquity and gender inequality for the New World and the Old World.
- If our hypothesis, the arable land in antiquity has an effect on modern gender inequality via an effect on gender norms, is correct then ancestral arable land should have a primacy over current potential arable land.

**Table:** Validity of Measures of Arable Land in Antiquity

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Migration-unadjusted potential arable land	-0.128*** (0.0436)		
Migration-unadjusted potential arable land × Countries in the Americas and Oceania	0.174*** (0.0636)		
Migration-adjusted potential arable land		-0.111** (0.0430)	
Migration-adjusted potential arable land × Countries in the Americas and Oceania		0.0345 (0.122)	
Ancestral arable land			-0.123*** (0.0375)
Ancestral arable land × Countries in the Americas and Oceania			0.0679 (0.0581)
Baseline Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	133	133	134
Adjusted $R^2$	0.770	0.766	0.773

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## Arable Land and Gender Inequality: An Effect of Culture?

**Table:** Ancestral Arable Land and Gender Inequality: An Effect through Culture?

	GII (1)	MMR (2)	ABR (3)	WP (4)	Education gap (5)	LFP Gap (6)
<i>The effect of norms? Horse-race between current and ancestral arable land</i>						
Current potentially arable land	0.0379 (0.0467)	68.44 (51.36)	20.29 (12.88)	-5.852 (4.165)	-5.712* (3.139)	16.37*** (5.593)
Ancestral arable land	-0.125*** (0.0386)	-128.8** (52.54)	-23.25*** (7.914)	5.799 (3.544)	0.145 (3.534)	9.479** (4.148)
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	133	133	133	133	133	133
Adjusted $R^2$	0.620	0.690	0.569	0.096	0.098	0.396

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Constant not reported.

## Relative Importance of Historical Factors

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**Table:** Relative Importance of Historical Factors in Determining Gender Inequality

	GII (1)	MMR (2)	ABR (3)	WP (4)	Education gap (5)	LFP Gap (6)
<i>Horse-race between historical factors</i>						
Ancestral arable land	-0.0970** (0.0423)	-117.2** (50.15)	-19.65** (7.893)	4.414 (3.695)	-1.104 (3.563)	8.392** (3.992)
Years since neolithic transition	0.00586 (0.00874)	-6.589 (7.487)	0.196 (1.647)	-0.772 (0.627)	-1.144** (0.498)	-3.960*** (0.900)
Ancestral Plough use	-0.0651 (0.0413)	-5.131 (34.52)	-14.78* (8.648)	0.133 (2.907)	2.565 (2.450)	-4.285 (5.355)
Pre-1500 CE average crop yield	-0.00002 (0.00002)	-0.00177 (0.0142)	0.00287 (0.00411)	-0.0001 (0.00166)	-0.00195* (0.0011)	0.00663*** (0.00193)
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	133	133	133	133	133	133
Adjusted $R^2$	0.627	0.683	0.568	0.074	0.120	0.496

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Constant not reported.



**Table:** Migration-Adjusted Potential Arable Land and Gender Inequality Index

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Migration-adjusted potential arable land	-0.109*** (0.0401)	-0.109*** (0.0413)	-0.103** (0.0398)	-0.0372 (0.0368)
Fraction of population with ancestors who used the plough		-0.0103 (0.0491)	-0.00792 (0.0484)	-0.0199 (0.0454)
Years since neolithic transition (migration-adjusted)			0.0150*** (0.00558)	0.0152*** (0.00490)
Pre-1500 CE average crop yield (ancestry-adjusted)				-0.0000584*** (0.0000155)
Baseline controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	133	133	133	133
Adjusted $R^2$	0.768	0.766	0.774	0.793








Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Constant not reported.

**Table:** Arable Land in Antiquity and Alternative Measures of Gender Inequality


	Gender Development Index in 2013		Female-male life expectancy gap at birth in 2013	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Migration-adjusted potential arable land	0.0783** (0.0304)		1.866** (0.849)	
Ancestral arable land		0.0840*** (0.0217)		1.682*** (0.600)
Ln(per capita income)	0.126** (0.0491)	0.127*** (0.0464)	6.049*** (1.074)	6.124*** (1.138)
Ln(Per capita income)–squared	-0.00584** (0.00256)	-0.00593** (0.00242)	-0.348*** (0.0613)	-0.351*** (0.0643)
Fraction of land area in the geographical tropics	-0.00474 (0.0230)	0.0252 (0.0241)	0.275 (0.559)	0.923 (0.580)
Distance to nearest coastline or sea-navigable river	0.0248* (0.0130)	0.0110 (0.0115)	1.747*** (0.414)	1.459*** (0.359)
Baseline Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continent dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	128	129	146	146
Adjusted $R^2$	0.507	0.530	0.559	0.561

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Constant not reported.

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