

The Stressor in Adolescence of Menstruation: Economic Analysis of Effective Coping Strategies

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Introduction

- ▶ Menstrual hygiene management (MHM) is a growing subfield of WASH research in developing world
 - ▶ Girls often face confusion and surprise, coupled with cultural taboos/stigmas
 - ▶ Lack of knowledge, hygienic behavior, and supporting infrastructure/access
 - ▶ Links have been found between reproductive tract infections (RTIs) & poor menstrual hygiene (Anand, Singh, and Unisa 2015; Ranabhat et al. 2015)
 - ▶ Missed opportunities at school, including dropping-out (WHO, 2014)
- ▶ Lack of quantitative evidence in research on MHM & lack of specific focus on **emotional** consequences
 - ▶ This work attempts to fill some of these gaps by examining emotional/psychological wellbeing (not just attendance rates or knowledge)
 - ▶ Framed by the Transactional Model of Stress & Coping



BACKGROUND

Menstruation & Emotional Wellbeing

- ▶ Gap in MHM literature with regard to cognitive experiences
 - ▶ Usually appears as side note or is analyzed from psychology/sociological perspective from afar
 - ▶ Kenya → girls missed school due to fears of embarrassment/harassment and this “emotional geography” serves to only reinforce gender inequalities (Jewitt & Ryley, 2014)
 - ▶ Females adopt a sexualization of women from society and internalize it to make menstruation “bad”, e.g. “Objectification Theory” (Grose & Grabe, 2014)
- ▶ Is evidence of emotional damage during menstruation
 - ▶ Reported shame & fear of menstruation occurring at school (McMahon et al, 2011)
 - ▶ Evidence that feeling of depression, irritability, and stress reduced with health education intervention (Haque et al, 2014)

Context & Research in Nepal

- ▶ Strong cultural taboos surrounding menstruation, due to superstitions surrounding impurity of blood
 - ▶ *Chhaupadi* : practice of requiring menstruating girls/women live in a separate hut during menstruation (Katz, 2014)
 - ▶ Limitations on cooking, worshiping, and visiting family/friends
- ▶ Prior Research on MHM
 - ▶ 92% of girls heard of menarche prior to start, but not details → first menstruation a shock (WaterAid, 2009; Adhikari et al, 2007)
 - ▶ 50% of girls missed school and 82% did not participate in cultural functions (Auemaneeikul et al, 2013)
 - ▶ 36% of schools have a separate toilet for girls (Sommer et al, 2012)
- ▶ Key series of quantitative work is by Oster & Thornton (2009, 2011) focused on random provision of sanitary supplies in rural Nepal
 - ▶ Found no significant impact on attendance rates (!)



DATA & METHODOLOGY

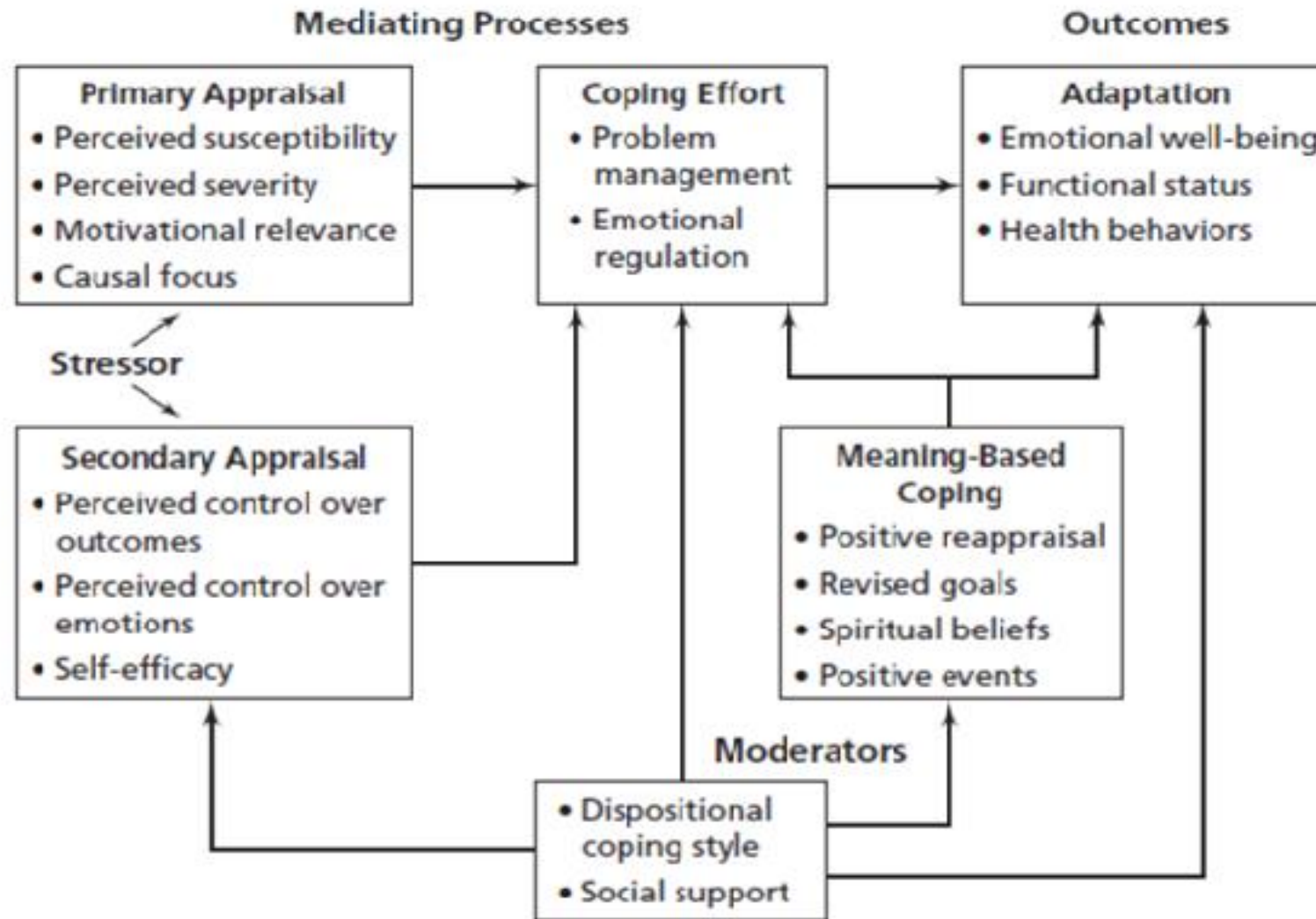
Data

- ▶ Primary Survey Data (May 2016 & December 2017)
 - ▶ May → Bhairahawa (aka Siddharthnagar), 2 Schools
 - ▶ December → Purkot, 1 School
 - ▶ N = 310
- ▶ Collected by Pratiman-Neema Memorial Foundation (PNMF) in conjunction with non-profit Women2Be who provided reusable feminine hygiene kits
 - ▶ Demographics
 - ▶ Current Knowledge & Menstrual Hygiene Practices
 - ▶ Current School Infrastructure (Perceived)
 - ▶ Cultural Practices During Menstruation
 - ▶ “Do [girls] feel lonely and sad during menstruation cycle?”

Conceptual Framework- Transactional Model of Stress & Coping

- ▶ Positions stressful life events as “person-environment transactions” (R.S. Lazarus, 1966; R. S. Lazarus & Cohen, 1977)
- ▶ Four Key Constructs
 - ▶ Primary Appraisal
 - ▶ Evaluation of the stressor itself & consideration of susceptibility/severity and motivational relevance
 - ▶ Secondary Appraisal
 - ▶ Evaluation of the controllability of the stressor & person's coping resources (includes self-efficacy)
 - ▶ Coping Efforts
 - ▶ Problem-Management → changing situation itself (active coping, problem solving, information seeking)
 - ▶ Emotional-Regulation → changing feelings surrounding stressor (venting, social support seeking, denial/avoidance)
 - ▶ Coping Outcomes
 - ▶ Health behaviors, functional status, or **emotional wellbeing**

Figure 1: Transactional Model of Stress & Coping



Source: Glanz, Rimer, and Viswanath, "Companion Materials." (2008)

Hypotheses

- ▶ **Hypothesis # 1:** *The presence of infrastructure and education to support hygiene in schools will help adolescent females to feel less lonely or sad during menstruation.*
 - ▶ Perceptions of tools necessary to deal with the stressor (menstruation) will impact self-efficacy beliefs, influence coping efforts, and impact emotional wellbeing
- ▶ **Hypothesis #2:** *Strong cultural norms which restrict adolescent girl's mobility and freedom during menstruation will lead them to experience more negative emotional wellbeing.*
 - ▶ Social support is a key moderator of the model, and has been shown to be a “stress-buffer” (Heitzmann & Kaplan, 1988; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Christian & Stoney, 2006)
 - ▶ The lack of social support found with isolation and behavior restrictions could remove these buffering benefits
 - ▶ Avoidance/Denial coping strategies been shown to be maladaptive and increase adverse psychosocial outcomes (Carver et al, 1993; Schwartz et al, 1995; Cordova et al, 2001; Zakowski et al, 2004)
 - ▶ Prior evidence in literature of gender-focused cultural limitations surrounding stressful life events leading to lower mental/emotional wellbeing

Empirical Specification

$$PWB_i^* = \begin{cases} \mathbf{1} & \text{if } \beta_0 + \beta_1 SchEnv_i + \beta_2 CultFactors_i + \beta_3 Age_i + \beta_4 AgeSq_i + \beta_5 X_i + \varepsilon_i > 0 \\ \mathbf{0} & \text{Otherwise} \end{cases}$$

Where:

- ▶ *PWB* = Binary DV of feeling sad/lonely
- ▶ *SchEnv* = Index representing perceptions of school environment/infrastructure presence
- ▶ *CultFactors* = Two indices representing perceptions of the community & family culture environment
- ▶ *X* = Vector of socioeconomic & demographic controls
 - ▶ *Married*, *Wealth Index*, *Current Type of Hygiene Product Use*

Empirical Approach

▶ Index Building

- ▶ Used principle component analysis (PCA) & confirmed findings with multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)
- ▶ School:
 - ▶ One component meets Kaiser rule (Rabe-Hesketh & Everitt, 2004) for eigenvalue >1 → heavily loaded with hard infrastructure (bin, soap, hygiene kits)
- ▶ Culture:
 - ▶ Two components with eigenvalue >1 → factor loadings based on community & family behavioral restrictions

▶ Logistic Regression

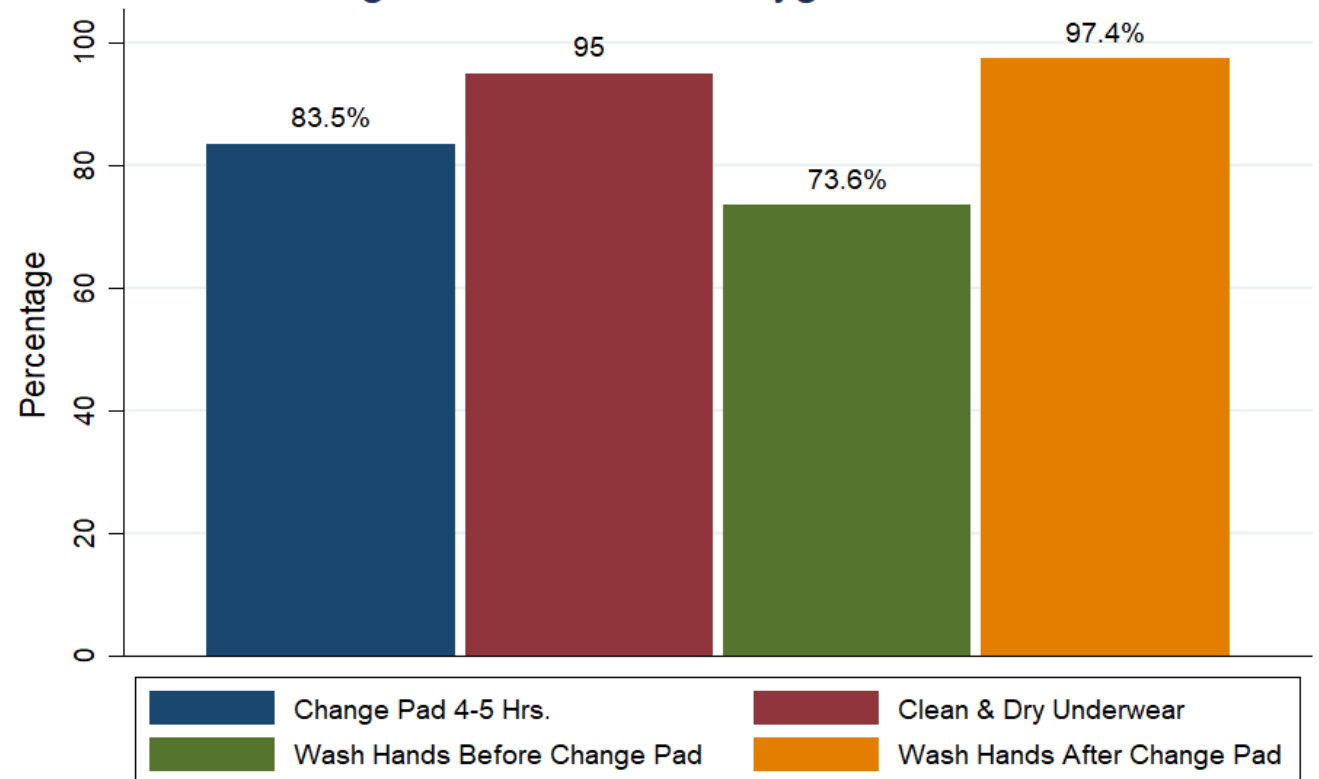
- ▶ Explored inclusion of fixed effects, caste dummies, and controls vector
- ▶ Robustness Checking (outlier removal, bootstrapping, inclusion of additional school binary for counseling)

RESULTS

Basic Statistics

- ▶ Average Age = 17.6
- ▶ 21.6% use old rags/cloths, 12.9% reusable
- ▶ 58.9% report pain, but less than 30% take actions to alleviate
- ▶ 9.6% use antiseptic when washing products
- ▶ 42.3% know of drop-out
- ▶ 33.8% missed school for menses
 - ▶ 30% miss more than a day (max 7)
- ▶ 68.9% claim life hard/very hard during menstruation

Figure 2: Menstrual Hygiene Practices



Source: Nepal Study Center, UNM. 2016-2017

Table 2: Marginal Effects of Logistic Regression - Impact of Perceived Support on Psychological Wellbeing

VARIABLES	(1) Base Model	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 3	(4) Model 4	(5) Model 5	(6) Model 6	(7) Model 7
Community Cultural Environ.	0.0425* (0.0230)	0.0502** (0.0232)	0.0442* (0.0235)	0.0482** (0.0232)	0.0520** (0.0232)	0.0409* (0.0234)	0.0457* (0.0235)
Family Cultural Environ.	0.0370 (0.0269)	0.0352 (0.0257)	0.0405 (0.0252)	0.0337 (0.0268)	0.0328 (0.0257)	0.0386 (0.0264)	0.0383 (0.0254)
School Support Environ.	-0.0343* (0.0201)	-0.0713** (0.0308)	-0.0845*** (0.0308)	-0.0567** (0.0222)	-0.0782** (0.0311)	-0.0636*** (0.0231)	-0.0885*** (0.0310)
Age	0.234** (0.0977)	0.216* (0.124)	0.214* (0.117)	0.226** (0.103)	0.201 (0.125)	0.213** (0.104)	0.200* (0.122)
Age Sq.	-0.00667** (0.00277)	-0.00673* (0.00348)	-0.00679** (0.00327)	-0.00629** (0.00295)	-0.00606* (0.00353)	-0.00607** (0.00292)	-0.00619* (0.00343)
Fixed Effects ⁱⁱ	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Caste ⁱⁱⁱ	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Control ^{iv}	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	310	310	310	310	310	310	310

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE 3A: Robustness Checks on Marginal Effects of Model 2

VARIABLES	(1) Model 2	(2) Remove Older Outliers	(3) Remove DBETA >0.6	(4) Remove DBETA >0.6 & Older Outliers
Community Cultural Environ.	0.0502** (0.0232)	0.0511** (0.0242)	0.0488** (0.0229)	0.0496** (0.0238)
Family Cultural Environ.	0.0352 (0.0257)	0.0361 (0.0267)	0.0270 (0.0256)	0.0276 (0.0266)
School Support Environ.	-0.0713** (0.0308)	-0.0731** (0.0322)	-0.0855*** (0.0310)	-0.0878*** (0.0324)
Age	0.216* (0.124)	0.190 (0.154)	0.232* (0.122)	0.206 (0.154)
Age Sq.	-0.00673* (0.00348)	-0.00592 (0.00448)	-0.00712** (0.00343)	-0.00631 (0.00448)
Fixed Effects ¹	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Caste ²	No	No	No	No
Control ³	No	No	No	No
Observations	310	298	303	291

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE 3B: Robustness Checks on Marginal Effects of Model 3

VARIABLES	(1) Model 3	(2) Remove Older Outliers	(3) Remove DBETA >0.6	(4) Remove DBETA >0.6 & Older Outliers	
Community Cultural Environ.	0.0442* (0.0235)	0.0445* (0.0245)	0.0421* (0.0232)	0.0422* (0.0243)	←
Family Cultural Environ.	0.0405 (0.0252)	0.0416 (0.0262)	0.0334 (0.0252)	0.0342 (0.0261)	
School Support Environ.	-0.0845*** (0.0308)	-0.0872*** (0.0322)	-0.0972*** (0.0312)	-0.100*** (0.0326)	←
Age	0.214* (0.117)	0.189 (0.145)	0.229** (0.115)	0.202 (0.145)	
Age Sq.	-0.00679** 0.214*	-0.00602 0.189	-0.00713** 0.229**	-0.00630 (0.00419)	
Fixed Effects ¹	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Caste ²	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Control ³	No	No	No	No	
Observations	310	298	304	292	←

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Discussion/Conclusion

Discussion & Policy Implications

- ▶ Marginal effects of school environment are double the magnitude of those for culture
 - ▶ Culture/taboo hard to change, but School may be good source to implement policy changes
 - ▶ Need to consider synergistic role of education & infrastructure (Garg et al, 2012; Dolan, 2014)
 - ▶ Need to consider role of men, as they often hold the keys to get things done (Fishman, 2014)
 - ▶ Younger people are “change makers” (Snel & Shordt, 2005)
- ▶ Limitations
 - ▶ Self-reported answers (but model based on *perceptions*)
 - ▶ Have not evaluated extensions to model including coping styles, optimism, “info, seekers vs. blunters”
 - ▶ Heterogeneity of Sample (still face a bimodality issue not completely accounted for with FEs or Caste)
 - ▶ Do not account for stage of menstrual cycle & hormonal fluctuations (Jang & Elfenbein, 2018; Brock et al, 2016)

Conclusions

- ▶ There is a call in MHM research to bring quantitative work & address gaps in coverage of emotional consequences
 - ▶ We used primary data from 3 schools in different regions of Western Nepal
 - ▶ Focused on emotional wellbeing using the Transactional Model of Stress and Coping as a conceptual framework
 - ▶ Performed empirical analysis, getting results robust to multiple specifications
- ▶ Results show that the cultural environment Nepalese girls perceive **increases** their probability of feeling lonely/sad during menstruation, while the perceived presence of school infrastructure to support menstrual hygiene **reduces** these feelings
- ▶ “Two-steps forward with one-step back” – aim policies at **schools & improving infrastructure**

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