

QUALITATIVE REPORT

Understanding Gender Dynamics of Decision Making in Agrarian Households of Rural Philippines



THE WORLD BANK

This qualitative report was prepared by Aries Arugay and Aletheia Kerygma Valenciano, with inputs from Hillary Johnson, Sundas Liaqat, and Forest Jarvis of the World Bank East Asia and Pacific Gender Innovation Lab. We thank IPA Philippines for excellent data collection and management in the field, and Aletheia Donald and Elizaveta Perova for their useful comments and recommendations.

1. Executive Summary:

1.1 Research project brief: Objectives, methods, scope and respondents

- This qualitative research was conducted as part of a broader study focusing on intra-household decision-making among Agrarian Reform Beneficiaries (ARBs) and their spouses. It aimed to have better measures of intra-household decision making. Previous evidence has shown that spouses often do not agree on answers to questions on intra-household decision making, notably on who is the primary decision maker among various domains. A spousal baseline survey conducted by IPA Philippines in 2018 confirmed this phenomenon. While couples are likely to agree on the process of decision-making, there is significant disagreement on how men and women define what it means to make a decision. There are also open questions related to the link between decision-making and empowerment. The quantitative study also found that the ability to make decisions if one wants to is correlated with whether they perceive themselves as capable of making sole decisions, whereas being a decision maker is not. This qualitative study aimed to give a better understanding of the remaining discrepancies in decision making and the link between decision making and empowerment for a better measurement of decision making and empowerment.
- 60 interviews were conducted in 40 households from Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur, and Davao Occidental. The respondents are ARBs and their spouses. The research team conducted 40 individual interviews and 20 joint interviews from August 4 to August 30, 2019.
- The interview data was coded using the Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software.

1.2 Important findings and observations

- Decision-making is a consultative process between spouses but sole decisions are made depending on the situation. Sole decisions are either discussed with a spouse before or after a final decision is made. Land-related decisions are usually initiated by the husband in consultation with the wife.
- Joint decisions are understood as mutual consultation, planning, common agreement, and are generally preferred compared to sole decisions.
- Disagreements are caused by one spouse making decisions without consulting the other or when couples cannot reach an agreement on a decision.

- Decisions that are discussed between spouses causes less stress and decreases the chance of disagreements.
- More importance is given to the perceived benefits of a decision rather than who initiated the discussion.
- There are similarities between personal preference and society's perception on the process of decision-making. Generally, the husband should initiate the discussion, make the final decision, and have more influence when there are disagreements.
- Individual land titles are important for maximizing land productivity and for motivating farmers to have more plans for the land. There is also a preference to have the other spouse in the individual title.

2. Introduction – Country and program context for the research

2.1 Program brief of land titling and DAR in the Philippines

The Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) acts as the lead government agency for comprehensive and genuine agrarian reform which the Philippine government envisions to realize equitable land distribution, ownership, agricultural productivity, and tenurial security for Filipino farmers and the improvement of their quality of life. The DAR implements the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) through land tenure improvement, agrarian justice, and coordinated delivery of essential support services to client beneficiaries. The DAR are tasked to provide the following services:

- Land Tenure security for landless farmers through land acquisition and distribution; leasehold arrangements' implementation and other LTI services;
- Legal intervention to Agrarian Reform Beneficiaries (ARBS) through adjudication of agrarian cases and agrarian legal assistance;
- Implement, facilitate and coordinate the delivery of support services to ARBs through Social Infrastructure and Local Capability Building (SILCAB); Sustainable Agribusiness and Rural Enterprise Development (SARED); and Access Facilitation and Enhancement Services (AFAES).

As part of its land titling program, DAR provides Land Tenure Services through land acquisition and distribution (LAD) or leasehold operations. LAD involves the redistribution of government and private agricultural lands to landless farmers and farm workers. It contributes to the government's goal to give tenure to farmers, promotes social equity, and provide farmers with necessary productive resources needed to ensure their economic viability and productivity. In aid of the LAD, leasehold operations serve as the alternative non-land transfer scheme. It covers all tenanted agricultural lands such those in the retained areas, not yet acquired for distribution under CARP, and those which may be validly covered under existing laws.

The Philippine government's flagship program on land reform is the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). Since its launch in 1988, it aims to redistribute private and public agricultural lands to help the Agrarian Reform Beneficiaries (ARBs), thrive as small independent farmers. By redistributing the lands to those who till them, beneficiaries are provided equal opportunities for income, livelihood, and employment, and empowered farmers to have land ownership. CARP also aims to increase agricultural production and productivity and end land-related conflicts.

Under CARP, the Philippine government is implementing a parcelization program which will subdivide lands with collective titles shared by farmer and their family members or neighbors. Subdivision of collective lands and formalization of individual property rights are meant to remove constraints of collective titles on investment and financial market development.

3. Qualitative Research Design

1.1. Data Collection Strategy and Instrument

- a. For data collection, qualitative interviews were conducted. These are further divided into individual and joint interviews. The individual interviews are to enable the respondents to elaborate on their answers and probe the thoughts and perceptions of each respondent without having to consider how their spouse might react to their answers.
- b. The joint interview helped to understand the dialogue between husband and wife and their perceptions of what a decision is and the processes that lead to decision-making. The joint interview enabled the interviewer to identify and understand the dynamics of the dialogue, disagreements or debates on household decisions and processes, and different points-of-view.
- c. The research instrument is composed of 10 thematic questions for the individual interviews, and 8 thematic questions for the joint interviews. Each main question has several sub-questions and probing questions.

Individual Interview

- Q1 – Warm-up Questions
- Q2 – Household Decisions
- Q3 – Sole Decisions (Respondent)
- Q4 – Sole Decisions (Spouse)
- Q5 – Pros and Cons (Sole)
- Q6 – Joint Decisions
- Q7 – Pros and Cons (Joint)
- Q8 – Ideal Decision-Making Process
- Q9 – Social Norms
- Q10 – DAR-Awarded Land

Joint Interview

- Q1 – Warm-up questions
- Q2 – Household Decisions
- Q3 – Sole Decisions (Respondent)
- Q4 – Pros and Cons (Sole)
- Q5 – Joint Decisions
- Q6 – Pros and Cons (Joint)
- Q7 – Social Norms
- Q8 – DAR-Awarded Land

1.2. Description of Sample and Outline of Interviews

60 interviews are conducted in 40 households in 3 provinces: Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur, and Davao Occidental. There are 40 individual interviews and 20 joint interviews. Out of the total of 60 interviews that were coded, 9 are from the pilot test and 51 are main interviews.

Summary of Pilot and Main Interviews

Province	Municipality	Barangay			Total HHS
			Joint Interview	Individual Interview	
Davao Oriental	Baganga	Salingcomot	2	2	3
		Central	1		1
		Lucod	1	10	6
		Dapnan	2		2
		Sauquige	1		1
		Batiano	1		1
		Batawan	1	2	2
		Campawan		2	1
	Cateel	Abihod		4	2
		Santa Felomina		2	1
		Taytayan	1	2	2
		Mainit	1		1
Davao del Sur	Davao City		2	8	6
	Malalag	Pitu		2	1
		San Isidro	3	2	4
		Bolton		2	1
	Magsaysay	Lower Bala	1	2	2
	Digos City	Zone 1	1		1
Davao Occidental	Don Marcelino	Nova Villa	1		1
	Sta.Maria	Basiawan	1		1
Total			20	40	40

1.3. Brief outline of interview procedure

- a. Prior to the interview, validation and scheduling were done to secure appointments with target respondents and households.
- b. Each interview was conducted by a team two qualitative interviewers. One served as the interviewer and the other served as note-taker.
- c. Interviews are conducted in the respondent's home. For individual interviews, the husband and wife were interviewed in separate rooms to ensure privacy.
- d. Interview protocols were observed to ensure confidentiality of the interview and the recorded data.
- e. As much as possible, female respondents were assigned female interviewers to ensure gender-sensitivity.
- f. The average length of interviews ranged from 1 – 1.5 hours.

1.4. Description of coding technique

- a. All interview transcripts were coded based on a coding scheme developed based on the research questions and main hypotheses of the study. This coding scheme is a guide and was adjusted based on observations of the researchers during the entire coding process.
- b. The codes were divided according to the main sections (questions) of the interview guide. Most of the codes were created prior to the actual coding process while some needed to be created based on ideas or observed themes from coding the first few interview transcripts (e.g. a code about how the interviewees defined decision-making).
- c. Aries Arugay and Alethiea Valenciano coded all the 60 interview transcripts using the Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software.

1.5. Description of analysis strategy

- a. The qualitative analysis was guided by the overall objectives of the study which is to validate the results of the quantitative study/survey and guide the formulation of the endline survey.
- b. The qualitative analysis of the interview data focused on the following considerations: (1) breadth of responses; (2) variation of responses; (3) depth of particular responses. The codes were used to draw themes that respond to these three considerations.
- c. For the breadth of responses, the analysis noted the most common response to the questions. The variation of responses refers to the heterogeneity of the answers given by the respondents. Finally, the depth of the answers provides more detailed information on the reasons and factors behind their answers. This is one of the key differences between the quantitative study component of this project from this qualitative study.
- d. The answers of the respondents were also disaggregated mainly according to gender. The main analytical differences will be between the husband and wife of ARBs. However, similarities and differences between responses from individual and joint interviews will also be presented. This is because of the fact that responses likely will differ between individuals compared to having them respond to questions together.

4. Insights from the survey

4.1 Understanding the population

4.1.1 Household and relationship dynamics

- a. Respondents are farmers with some of them having side jobs such as *habal-habal* drivers, lenders, and *sari-sari* store (mini-grocery in the village) owners. Most respondents are middle-aged (40-60 years old) and a few are senior citizens (60 years old and above).
- b. Most interviewed couples are from the same municipality or barangay. Some couples are originally from other municipalities or provinces while some spouses are from other provinces and migrated to the barangay after marriage. A few respondents are widowed or separated and living with new partners. Majority of the interviewed couples have more than three children with a few couples having around nine to twelve children.
- c. Most respondents believed that they are living in poverty and repeatedly points to typhoon Pablo as the reason for the worsening of their financial situation.
- d. Male respondents showed preference for taking charge of land-related decisions while female respondents often said that they take care of family and household decisions.

- e. For both individual and joint interviews, majority of the husbands dominated the household dynamics. The common reason is that he is the foundation of the house and the head of the family, thus having more responsibility places him in a position to lead the household. However, there are instances when the wife takes the lead in the household or has the same influence as the husband. This happens when the wife has a college education or is a professional, has the means to earn her own income, and when the husband has a physical disability. These dynamics, when the husband and/or wife is dominant in the household, was shown in the way they answered (confidence, louder voice, commanding presence) the questions during individual and joint interviews.

4.1.2 How does decision making affect the household relationship and dynamics?

There are two sub-questions to determine how the decision-making process affect the household relations and dynamics.

- a. For the question on whether the way decisions made in the household affected the relationship with their spouse, most respondents answered that it has no effect. This was the answer for both sole (interviewee and spouse) and joint decisions. When probed further, some responded that the relationship improved when decisions are discussed between them and an agreement is reached. A positive effect on the relationship was also considered when the decision is perceived as having a positive outcome for the family.
- b. For their perceptions on whether they think the relationship would be different if they made the decision differently, respondents answered that there would be no difference. The common reason identified was that the decision has already been made and there is no use going back to it.

4.2 Overview of decision-making

4.2.1 What decisions are households making? What decisions are commonly cited when respondents are asked about recent decisions they have made?

Important household decisions are categorized as agricultural or non-agricultural.

- a. For decisions related to agriculture, the most common response referred to the cultivation of additional crops such as coconut, abaca (fibrous Manila hemp), falcata (used for timber), corn, and banana. Clearing and weeding were also done on the land for conversion into cornfields. When asked for the reasons for planting additional crops, respondents said copra (dried coconut meat and kernel) prices are not stable, thus it will affect their livelihood greatly if they only plant coconut. After typhoon Pablo, coconut trees were destroyed so they had to be re-planted. Since it takes at least 10 years before coconut trees can be harvested, they decided to cultivate other crops as well. Discussions on how to make farming more profitable were also cited as household decisions. These specifically referred to decisions on where to get additional resources, loans, and planting time and harvest. Respondents also cited raising of pigs, chicken, goats, and cows as a major decision made to augment family income. Lastly, another type of agricultural-related decision was joining farmer cooperatives in the village.
- b. For non-agricultural decisions, the most common response was about how to raise their children and ensure they will finish school. In making decisions related to this concern, couples discussed where to get financial aid, how they can work better to provide school needs, and how to raise

children who will value education. For the respondents, having an education is a way out of poverty and will enable their children to have more employment opportunities beyond farming.

- c. Other household decisions for the family pertained to house renovations, purchase and repair of appliances, determining household expenses, buying of motorcycle or van for family use or for transport of crops, buying of residential lots, taking out loans for family use, debt payment, and family planning.
- d. A few respondents also cited starting a business as a major household decision. These business decisions were opening up a *sari-sari* store, a lending business, snack stall, and buying a motorcycle to start a *habal-habal* (motorbike used as transportation) business.

4.3 How do respondents understand decision-making?

4.3.1 How do respondents define the decision-making process? / What are considered parts of the decision-making process?

- a. Respondents defined decision-making as basically a consultative process with their spouse as the main source of guidance and even approval. In most of the interviews, respondents were quick to reveal that most if not all their decisions were known and approved by their spouse. This is what they often relayed at the beginning of the interview. This might mean that most of their decisions are made jointly than solely. In fact, many of them have difficulty recalling a sole decision they made (this is because the interviewer purposively did not define what is a sole decision in the beginning of the interview).
- b. However, further probing revealed that decision-making is not as consultative as they said in their preliminary answers. Subsequent responses to the process questions showed that they just informed their spouses of the decisions sometimes after they were made. For these respondents, even if they feel the need to consult their spouses before they decided, expediency (spouse was away when the decision needs to be made) required that they decide for themselves.
- c. For the various elements of the decision-making process, respondents had difficulty recalling the actual details of the process, particularly the number of times they discussed a decision before they made a final decision either solely or jointly. They often understood this element of the process more as the *length of time* the discussion took than the number of times they discussed the issue before making a final decision. Moreover, they were able to recall who initiated the discussion leading to a decision than the number of times a decision is discussed before it was made.
- d. Respondents seldom provided details about the disagreements they had before deciding. As expected, this was seen especially more in joint than in individual interviews. In terms of the final decision, the interviews revealed that it is often the one who initiated the discussion that had the final say on the matter. An example of this can be in the following quote of an interview with a husband:

I: In the end who made the final decision? In terms of livelihood who makes the final decision, Sir?

H: I am the one who makes [the decision].

I: How can you say you are the one who make Sir?

H: I am the one who decide, my wife just waits for my decision¹

- e. As expected, decisions on matters pertaining to the land were often initiated and made by the husband. In most instances, this applied to situations even if it pertains to a piece of land owned by the couple. Most wives believed that their husbands can make decisions on the land without prior consultation but they (and agreed to by the husband) wanted to be informed of the decisions made on the land.
- f. Wives often took initiative and made decisions without informing their husbands based on necessity such as when the husband is away or not reliable. This is often true when decisions were related to source of income, livelihood, and the family's survival, as seen in this interview excerpt:

W: Sometimes I just look for ways to provide some of the needs inside the house. I do not depend on him anymore.

I: You just solve it on your own?

W: Yes I do since he does not have always a job. He just stays here because I did not let him work due to his age. If we have a decision or a plan, I do it with my child. For example, when I am looking for solutions to provide for the daily needs. I usually just look for solutions to that, I just do the planning.²

4.3.2 How do respondents define sole decision making?

4.3.2.1 Is there a lot of heterogeneity in the way people understand what it means to make a sole decision?

- a. Several respondents had a difficulty identifying sole decisions that they made. Given that it was not defined for them, a few declared that they do not make sole decisions since they always consulted with their spouses. This did not vary whether it was the husband or the wife. After some probing, some interviews were able to extract responses that dealt with sole decisions that they were made in consultation and/or agreement with the respective spouse.
- b. There is significant variation in the way that people understand sole decision-making across the interviews. People are more comfortable talking about their sole decisions and the sole decisions made by their spouses in individual interviews than in joint interviews. But there are a few interviewees that insisted that they do not make sole decisions.³
- c. There seems to be three types of sole decision-making as defined by the respondents.
 - 1) Sole decision Type I: The respondent made a sole decision purely by himself or herself and without consultation (and often remained unknown to his/her spouse). This pertains to what respondents believed to be minor decisions like household chores, buying personal items, household budgeting, and other decisions that they think will not have big consequences for their family's finances or livelihood).⁴
 - 2) Sole decision Type II: The respondent made a sole decision but consulted his/her spouse. This is the most common type of sole decision from the interviews. This type of decision-making is often found in matters pertaining to the land, purchasing major ticket items for the

¹ 101363_1_J_08282019_LD_REC_JLVD_TL_LD_TLC (43:10)

² 200110_0_W_08142019_MH_IR_TL_MA_TLC (5:11)

³ 200100_0_H_ARB_08042019_AA_JRVIII_TLC_LDMVH (19:21)

⁴ 100181_1_J_08202019_BD_REC_NA_TL_BD_TLC (11:17); 101253_0_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:8); 100169_0_W_08252019_LD_IR_TL (21:23); 100344_0_W_08212019_RY_AG_TL_HM_TLC (40:13)

household or their livelihood, and decisions on selling assets or loaning money.⁵ This type of sole decision was mostly relayed to us when respondents were asked about the sole decisions made by their spouses.⁶

- 3) Sole Decision Type III: The respondent made a sole decision but just informed his/her spouse after the decision has been made. This type is often related to decisions relevant to major job-related decisions of the husband or wife like contracting employment in the farm or business and setting the price for their agricultural products.⁷ For the wives, this is about seeing help from neighbors to assist them in their small business or in the household, finding alternative sources of income or minor decisions about the schooling of their children.⁸
- d. There is not much heterogeneity in the process of sole decision-making since it can be divided into two types: one where the sole decision was made without any discussion with the spouse and/or in the household and one where it was made in consultation with the spouse and possibly other members of the household or children. The inclusion of the children depended whether they are of age, lives in the household, and/or if they provided support to their parents.
- e. There is a difference between consulting one's spouse before a sole decision is made and when the sole decision is already made then the spouse was only informed after. From the interviews, the former was more applicable to a major decision or a decision pertaining to land or livelihood). For this type, a sole decision is seen as something with the support of the spouse. An example is the following:

W: There is. For instance, when he plants corn with that particular amount, with the different stores to buy from. He would then decide that we go there so we can plant corn. I said, "It's up to you," He will really stand by his decision, I would just support him too. We will go there though we have just a small amount of money. We just hire two men for two days only. I will support his decision but it is his decision by himself.

For the second type, sole decisions often made without consultation and the spouse was only informed after are often made by husbands than wives. In this type of sole decision, the father often justified it by saying that he is the "pillar", "head" or "leader" of the household. Wives also made this type of decisions but they (and the husband will agree in joint interviews) as minor ones.⁹

- f. In terms of the length of discussion and period of time it took for a sole decision to be made, the respondents' answers ranged from not having a discussion to having limited discussion (once).¹⁰ There were very few who stated that the sole decision they made took a long time and multiple discussions. An example of this is the decision of the husband to buy a motorcycle that he considered to be his sole decision:

⁵ 200100_0_H_ARB_08042019_AA_JRVIII_TLC_LDMVH (19:18);

100835_1_J_08242019_RY_REC_JRVIII_TL_MA_TLC (24:26)

⁶ 102494_0_W_08232019_MA_REC_MP_TL_LD_TLC (1:19)

⁷ 100181_1_J_08202019_BD_REC_NA_TL_BD_TLC (11:18); 200100_0_H_ARB_08042019_AA_JRVIII_TLC_LDMVH (19:1); 103341_0_W_08282019_HM_IR_TL_BD_TLC (49:6)

⁸ 101253_0_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:5);

103320_0_W_ARB_08292019_MK_REC_MP_TL_BD_TLC (47:2)

⁹ 100344_0_W_08212019_RY_AG_TL_HM_TLC (40:10)

¹⁰ 101321_1_J_08292019_LD_IR_TL_LD_TLC (51:5)

I: So was there a discussion about this sir, that with regards to the motorcycle, did you mention it to your wife, consultation, as you said? How many times did you talk about this?

H: About 5 times?¹¹

- g. The interviews also revealed that who initiated the discussion that led to the sole decision was most likely to be the one making the final decision. This did not matter whether it was the husband or the wife who made the final sole decision. Though there are times wherein the wife deferred to the husband as head of the household.

4.3.2.2 Do men and women have different definitions of what it means to make a sole decision?

- a. Men tended to have an easier time identifying sole decisions than women. The interviews revealed that men often mention sole decisions referring to their work, major decisions in the household particularly those requiring financial resources, and matters pertaining to the land. Women have a more relative difficulty in identifying sole decisions they consider as major. Their decisions revolved around household chores, buying personal items, their children's schooling, and their small business or source of livelihood.
- b. In terms of the process of sole decision-making, there is no significant difference when a man is initiating the discussion compared to a woman. Female respondents are confident to initiate discussions leading to their sole decisions and in joint interviews, this was appreciated by their husbands. In these cases, sole decisions were made in consultation with their spouses.
- c. There were some male respondents who believed that while they initiated the process by consulting their wives, they believed that it is their sole decision since they should be followed as head of the family and the authority in the household. It was rare to hear that from women respondents.¹² Though the wife of this particular husband also told us that in terms of the schooling of the children, she is the one who made the sole decision to teach her children good values since as their mother, she knows what's good for her children. It must be noted that the decision point where both drew different sources of justifying their sole decisions was about their children as the husband's sole decision was about sending their children to school.¹³
- d. There were also no gender differences in terms of expressing disagreement with sole decisions made by the husband or the wife. Several respondents comfortably stated that disagreement is natural in a relationship and that this can be freely expressed during the decision-making process. It was unclear however whether how the disagreement was resolved as respondents were not candid in directly addressing this when asked. Rather, they emphasized that the disagreement is resolved either through more discussion, one giving way to his/her spouse, or the husband making a definitive decision to settle the matter. An example is from this excerpt:

H: There were just times that we were having disagreements but those were not huge fights. It's just in the family.

I: How did you resolve it, sir?

H: Not to make it even bigger. If there's a problem, it is important to listen. And keep silent especially if the other one is correct.

¹¹ 101321_1_J_08292019_LD_IR_TL_LD_TLC (51:2)

¹² 100491_0_H_ARB_08232019_MK_REC_LGMK_TL_LD_TLC (4:16)

¹³ 100491_0_W_08232019_LA_IR_TL_LD_TLC (42:10)

I: In the end, whose voice is heard? If the wife says not to go anymore.

H: In the end, we still end up agreeing with each other that it's still better to have our own livelihood.

I: But is it you or her that's obeyed?

H: Sometimes it's me, sometimes it's her. If which is better, we will do it.¹⁴

- e. Differences between male and female responses were also unclear in joint interviews. Husbands tended to dominate in most joint interviews with the wife sometimes passively agreeing to the husband's responses and not providing different responses. This was also clear from observed body language from the wives during joint interviews such as always smiling, nodding, and not speaking unless the interviewer directly asked her to respond.
- f. Sole decisions made about the land however are often made with permission from the spouse regardless of whose name is on the land tile. This means that formal ownership of the land does not mean sole power to make decisions. For example,

I: Was it his sole decision? didn't he confer you with that matter?

W: He asked my permission; however, he is still the one to decide because it's his land, inherited from his Mom.¹⁵

4.3.2.3 Is the definition of sole decision making different when the man is making the decision than when the woman is making the decision?

- a. In terms of the justification for making a sole decision, there is no difference in evaluating the pursuit of a sole decision made by a man or a woman. Individual interviews with husbands and wives revealed that they consider it a sole decision of their spouse even though they personally disagreed with the decision or have reservations or doubts. Some said that while they did not agree, they believed that the decision was for the good of the family. Therefore, consultation was more an opportunity to be convinced with the position of one's spouse if there is a disagreement. An example is how a wife narrated a decision about his husband's purchase of a motorcycle that she disagreed to:

W: Not all. There are times that he makes decision. If it is against our will, we really talk. There are discussions at times. Then the reason for that is for what is good. The decision would be approved if it is for the good.¹⁶

- b. Husbands tend to assert more authority in sole decision-making than wives and on matters that in their view are more important for the household. They often invoked being the head of the family, its main pillar, and the one in charge of their livelihood. From the interviews, this belief made them more confident in making sole decisions but they often do so either in consultation with their wives or at least they inform their spouses after they made the decision. It was more uncommon for wives to make sole decisions without getting the agreement of their husbands. When they do, they are often about relatively minor things in the household or about child-rearing.
- c. The consensus from the interviews is the fact that most sole decisions are still done in consultation with their spouse as much as possible. Only expediency or the lack of knowledge (e.g., farming, business decisions) becomes the factor why the other spouse is not included in sole decision-

¹⁴ 101367_0_H_ARB_08282019_MVH_REC_JR_TL_MA_TLC (44:5)

¹⁵ 100218_0_W_ARB_08222019_HM_REC_VM_TL (4:15)

¹⁶ 200112_0_W_ARB_08142019_RY_AM_TL_MA_TLC (6:25)

making. The joint interviews also did not reveal differences in the definitions of sole decisions between men and women.

4.3.3 How do respondents define joint decision making?

4.3.3.1 Is there a lot of heterogeneity in the way people understand what it means to make a joint decision?

- a. Unlike sole decisions, there is no significant variation in the way people understand what it means to make a joint decision. Their immediate answers to questions pertaining to the process of arriving at decisions conform to the what one normally would consider as a joint decision.
- b. Joint decisions are the most common type of decision-making in all households whether they can be considered minor decisions such as food consumption in the household to major ones such as buying vehicles, loaning money, having more children, contracting loans, and sending their children to school. Joint decisions were also the type of decisions that were applied to their land.
- c. Joint decisions are construed by the respondents as decisions that included mutual consultation, planning, common agreement, and unlike sole decisions, joint action towards the realization of the desired objective. While sole decisions are often the burden of the decision-maker with his/her spouse merely providing consent to the decision, the couple are mutually helping one another to implement the joint decision. This was described to us by a husband:

I: Can you narrate Tay (refers to husband) on what are the methods in making decisions, the process in making decisions?

H: In making the decision, what I like or what my partner likes, we will agree on that. That is how it is.

I: You will collaborate but—

H: We will agree both on what goal will be accomplished with our actions. It's just like that.

I: Who makes the decision first?

H: Of course

I: Who leads in making the decision?

H: It's always her and me, and what her plan is.

I: If she's the one who planned, she will lead it?

H: Yes, she will lead.

I: If you're the first one to plan, you will be the first to make the decision?

H: That's one. Yes, I guess that's the system in running our lives.¹⁷

- d. Whether is the husband or wife or both of them interviewed together, respondents seem to better recall the process of arriving at joint decisions. Compared to sole decisions, respondents were able to relay the process of joint decision-making that included the number of times they discussed the issue to be decided which were often more than and in a longer time period than sole decisions. However, this might be less because of the nature of decision-making (sole vs. joint) but on the importance of the matter to be decided. An example was the husband's response to a joint decision to sell a portion of their land:

I: When you and Mom (refers to the wife) talk and you have differing opinions, does that lead to a debate?

¹⁷ 200112_0_H_ARB_08142019_MK_REC_CFN_TL_MVH_TLC (17:18)

H: There was. She explains her side, I explain my side.

I: Haven't you thought that, "Let's not debate anymore." Or it is okay if we talked about the positions we take?

H: Of course. If I don't agree with her, I really have to explain to her why.

I: Did you asked her often, "Why do you disagree?"

H: Yes¹⁸

4.3.3.2 Do men and women have different definitions of what it means to make a joint decision?

- a. There is no difference in how men and women define what it means to make a joint decision. This is even though respondents think that the husband's decision has more weight as head of the family. For example, a wife told us the following:

W: It's both our decision, but of course, he has more say in the household in terms of decisions about our livelihood. I just support him for the benefit of the family. We just discuss about what's good for the family so we can survive. Some of the things we can do in the farm is to plant food and raise chickens and pigs. That's just it.¹⁹

- b. There seems to be more husbands who revealed that they initiated the discussion leading to a joint decision more than wives. This set of husbands divulged that they are the one leading the discussion, particularly since the joint decisions emanated from major issues in the household, their livelihood, and child-rearing.
- c. There is also no difference when respondents discussed how they resolved disagreements in joint decision-making. The interviews revealed that they often ensure that they agree before deciding jointly. An example is what this wife said:

I: In the end, who made the final decisions?

W: We both did. If he made a decision and I disagree he won't do it. Same goes for me.²⁰

4.3.3.3 Is the definition of joint decision making different when the man is making the decision than when the woman is making the decision?

- a. There is no difference in the definition of joint decision between respondents when the man is making the decision compared to when the woman is deciding. In most interviews, it has become unclear whether the husband or the wife is the one deciding when the couple agreed that it is a joint decision.
- b. Most of the individual and joint interviews either showed that the husband made the final joint decision or it was made by the couple. It was rare for the wife to be the final decision-maker of a joint decision. And even in these few cases, the husband agreed to the joint decision.
- c. Just like in sole decisions, the respondents are not candid about divulging details when there is a disagreement. Husbands did not dismiss that misunderstanding and disagreement can occur in the joint decision-making process but did not specify how these were overcome by the couple. In some interviews, it was clear that the husband has more influence when there is a disagreement for reasons already mentioned in the discussion about sole interviews— he is the head of the

¹⁸ 200100_0_H_ARB_08042019_AA_JRVIII_TLC_LDMVH (19:40)

¹⁹ 101253_0_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:2)

²⁰ 100214_0_W_08232019_BD_REC_CA_TL_LD_TLC (2:35)

- family, the breadwinner of the household, and in some instances, he has more knowledge and experience in dealing with the issues at hand. This was seen both in individual and joint interviews.
- d. However, wives divulged that they can freely express their reservations and disagreement during the process of joint decision-making. While the husband may initiate and have the final say in a joint decision, wives are still able to register their opinions. This has caused some disagreement and sometimes conflict but it is often the wife who gives in to the husband, for example:

W: Yes, he has his own. He wants to keep it on his own because he has a project that he wants to accomplish.

I: That is why he refuses sometimes

W: He saves. "You look for other ways. Don't touch this. This is really for my project."

I: So when he says that, you won't force anymore?

W: Not anymore. I will just find another way.

I: Weren't there any situation where you really forced him?

W: None because I can't force. I won't bother anymore. Bothering/annoyance turns to argument... I won't persist anymore.²¹

- e. Deferring to the husband in making a joint decision was also common than vice-versa. The reasons for this range from being the breadwinner of the family to being the head of the household and the source of authority. One wife illustrated this:

I: Who makes the final decision when you make a joint decision?

W: He makes the final decision.

I: He still does that.

W: He still does that.

I: Why does he make the final decision?

W: It would be troublesome if I don't agree with this man. It was really a cause of quarrels because when I decided on my own, it was really hard when I went away to work.²²

In several interviews we often heard both from husband and wives the same term, "It's up to you." This is often expressed when one is insistent in his position during joint decision-making. This statement does not obviously mean that one is deferring to another. It is a bit more complicated than that. This seems to suggest that the one is giving way to the other but ensuring that s/he has registered her disagreement so that when the decision turns out to be wrong, only one will be blamed.

H: Sometimes we disagree. It will still take a day. At night we do discuss. In the morning before going to work, we have to decide whether to do this or that. We need to agree. I work and she is left at home.

I: Are there any disagreement regarding the correct decision?

H: We can't avoid it, there are times.

I: Why and what are those?

H: We argue if we disagree. She counters, "That couldn't be.", "It's up to you. That is my decision. As long as that is our agreement."

I: How did you resolve it?

²¹ 200112_0_W_ARB_08142019_RY_AM_TL_MA_TLC (6:52)

²² 103332_1_J_08292019_FM_IR_TL_BD_TLC (48:26)

H: Sometimes the plans are not pushed through. We don't have any other discussion but about livelihood. If it will not pushed through, we do find again another way to solve our problem about livelihood.²³

4.4 Which types of decision making are most empowering?

4.4.1 How do respondents feel about making decisions on their own?

- a. Most sole decisions that were consulted with their spouses generated some contentment for the respondents and they evaluated it as fair. These feelings were influenced by the confidence generated by consulting it with their spouse but also importantly by the good outcome brought about by the sole decision. But because it was rare for the respondents to reveal failed sole decisions, we cannot ascertain whether this type of decision-making per se necessarily leads to a contented evaluation of the sole decision. An example of this is what a wife said when asked about her feelings toward a sole decision to sell in the streets to augment their family income:

I: What did you feel at that time when making that decision?

W: I felt happy because he liked my decision and agreed. It could also help him anyway to help finance for his work. We also hired a few men, two helpers because its income could also help the farm if there were some earnings. That's why I am really happy with my decision because my kids were able to go to school and had enough food and clothing. We were also able to somehow provide for the requirements for school because of that decision.²⁴

- b. Sole decisions did not significantly affect the relationship of the husband and wife. Most if not all did not say that sole decisions, especially those without consultation, had a negative impact in their relationship. However, sole decisions that were products of consultation and discussion were seen to foster better relations of trust and harmony between husband and wife. An exception to this is when a husband told us that his feelings toward her wife's sole decisions depended on the outcome. He said the following: *"If she makes good decision, it's okay, but if it's not a good decision, it's not okay to me."²⁵*
- c. Almost all respondents did not express any desire to change the process of sole decision-making even if they are presented with an opportunity to do so. This is expected given the contentment they felt about the sole decisions they made. Whether it was in individual or joint interviews, respondents did not want to go back in time and change how they decided especially since the decision resulted in positive outcomes.

4.4.1.1 What are the advantages of making decisions on their own?

4.4.1.2 What are the disadvantages of making decisions on their own?

4.4.1.3 Are the perceived advantages and disadvantages different for men and women?

- a. The table below provides some of the most commonly identified advantages and disadvantages of sole decision-making from the interview respondents.²⁶

	Advantages	Disadvantages
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²³ 100837_0_H_08242019_FM_REC_JRVIII_TL_LD_TLC (25:8)

²⁴ 101253_0_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:14)

²⁵ 100214_0_H_ARB_08232019_RY_REC_E_TL_LD_TLC (8:15)

²⁶ The highlighted parts are similar responses from husbands and wives.

Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is more efficient (especially if they are about farming/livelihood). • Things will be done faster. • It avoids nagging from her. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It brings trouble. • People will wonder and might say certain things or make judgments about you. • He will be blamed if the decision is wrong. • It might cause disagreements or misunderstanding. • The decision might be a bad one because of the lack of input from others. • The decision might not actually solve the issue or problem. • It deprives me of good inputs from the wife.
Wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If it's a good decision, the husband expressed appreciation and that made her feel good. • Gives her more responsibility and that increased her self-worth • She feels that she was able to help her husband especially in augmenting their household's income. • The household will stop functioning unless she makes some sole decisions. • It made her happy especially since it turned out to be the right (sole) decision. • She thinks it relieves the husband of some of the burden of thinking about how they can make both ends meet. • She is confident that the husband will just agree to whatever decision she makes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She does not feel good making a sole decision. It is not comfortable. • It is more difficult to make. • You are afraid that the husband might find out about it. It might surprise your husband (in a bad way). • It might cause disagreements or fights. • You are not sure if you made the right decision • It is stressful and heavy. • It might look like that you are taking advantage of your husband. • She will be blamed if the decision is wrong • It causes misunderstanding within the couple. • It's a decision you might regret. •

- b. A few respondents (both male and female) were not able to identify advantages to sole decision-making. These were most likely also the respondents that insisted that all their decisions are products of consultation.
- c. From the table above, one can observe that there are things shared by male and female respondents. The disadvantages of sole decisions such as it will cause disagreements or that there will be blaming one another are commonly shared by husbands and wives.
- d. There were also some observed key differences between responses of husbands and wives. Husbands seemed to appreciate the efficiency of making sole decisions while wives are more inclined to see the positive impact of sole decision-making to their self-worth and ability to make a positive contribution to the household.
- e. Many respondents (both men and women) feel that it is an undue burden to make sole decisions especially those where there is no consultation with their spouse. One husband said, *"It is burdensome to make a decision on your own considering that you have a family. You will wonder if your family will agree to your decision or not. You have a lot of questions to yourself. Of course, you really have to voice out your own decisions."*²⁷

²⁷ 100951_1_J_08192019_MK_REC_MP_TL_MVH_TLC (18:18)

4.4.1.4 Do respondents prefer making decisions in this way?

- a. It is clear that respondents do not prefer sole-decision making. This is shared by husbands and wives and observed in individual and joint interviews. Though they think that sole decisions can be useful if they are only applied to minor matters in the household or on issues that can only be addressed with knowledge and experience only possessed by either the husband or wife.

4.4.2 How do respondents feel about making decisions jointly with their spouses?

- a. Joint decisions also generated contentment from the spouses and this was also validated in the joint interviews with couples. Compared to their sole decisions, respondents expressed that they were happy with the joint decisions since they felt part of the process and they also worked together in the implementation of the decision. There was almost no respondent who expressed discontent with a joint decision. This excerpt is a good representative of this:

H: When we see that our decision is good, we are happy with it

I: So far, your decision on the farm?

H: it is okay since sometimes it earns.

I: Based on the decision you made, how do you feel about the decision? I'm referring to the process of the decision you made.

H: When we see that our decision is good, we are happy with it. We continue doing it when the decision runs smoothly.²⁸

- b. Joint decisions were also assessed as fair by both male and female respondents. Some of the reasons are because they see themselves as equal in this decision-making process, it facilitated agreement with one another, and it enabled the couple to work together to accomplish the objective of the decision.
- c. In terms of whether joint decisions had an effect in the relationship between husband and wife, some respondents said that there has been no effect. They seemed to construe this as a negative impact and therefore answered the question by saying that it did not have an effect in the relationship. Some responses are more positive since it made their relationship stronger and the joint decisions brought positive outcomes in their lives.

4.4.2.1 What are the advantages of making decisions jointly with their spouses?

4.4.2.2 What are the disadvantages of making decisions jointly with their spouses?

4.4.2.3 Are the perceived advantages and disadvantages different for men and women?

- a. The table below provides some of the most commonly identified advantages and disadvantages of joint decision-making from the interview respondents.²⁹

	Advantages	Disadvantages
Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It allows the sharing of ideas. • There will be no conflict or quarrels. • There is understanding in the family. • It fosters agreement in the family. • There is no blaming of a single member of the family. • It enables progress of the family. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It might cause conflict between the couple. • Children might blame them for a failed decision

²⁸ 101253_0_H_08202019_HM_REC_JRVIII_TL_MA_TLC (13:26)

²⁹ The highlighted parts are similar responses from husbands and wives.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It can solve big problems. • It enables to make plans and facilitates coordination of these plans. • It allows the children to participate and avoids conflicts between themselves when the parents are gone 	
Wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It unifies the couple. • It allows advice to be given in order to have a good decision. • If the decision fails, then you'll have someone to help you. • It avoids fights since there is understanding and respect. • It familiarizes (socializes) other members of your family to decision-making. • It takes care of the welfare of the family. • It shows we are willing to help one another. • There is no blaming one another. • There are no troubles in forming the decision. • It generates discussion. • It makes her feel free and less burdensome. • It allows for the problem to be resolved. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It might cause conflict between the couple.

- b. It is noteworthy that several husbands think that joint decision-making is advantageous since it disallows them from being blamed by their wives if the decision is wrong in the end. For example, one husband said that:

*"It is not good to make decisions alone because time [will come when] he will be blamed with the decisions he made if the result is not for the good of the family. He also said that it is stressful on his part to decide alone because he believed that there are decisions that others might not agree and he will not get any support from his family members."*³⁰

While another mentioned: *"I involved my wife in the decision for farm development so that I will not be blamed on the consequences of the decision"*³¹

Wives echoed this sentiment. One respondent said:

*"It is stressful to make decision by yourself alone; because time will come that there might be pointing fingers later on"*³² while another wife said *"it is ideal that both husband & wife make a decision in order that no one will be blamed for the outcome if it was implemented"*³³

³⁰ 100951_1_J_08192019_MA_SU

³¹ 101059_1_J_08252019_LA_SU

³² 38003_1_J_08192019_HM_SU

³³ 103341_0_W_08282019_LA_SU

- c. On the flipside, one husband mentioned as advantages for joint decision-making that *“there is harmony in the family if the decision is made jointly”* and that *“it is good because there is no conflict”*³⁴ while another husband mentioned that in joint decision-making, *“there is an element of fairness since before they decided, the perspectives were balanced so that nobody will be blamed”*³⁵.
- d. As can be observed, male and female respondents did not really provide a lot of disadvantages from joint decision-making. As previously discussed, this stems from the earlier observation that this is preferred more than sole decision-making.

4.4.2.4 Do respondents prefer making decisions in this way?

- a. Compared to sole decision-making, this is the more preferable mode of decision-making across all respondents whether in individual or joint interviews.

4.4.3 How do respondents feel about their spouses making decisions alone?

- a. Sole decisions made by the spouse also generated some contentment and almost all thought that the decisions were fairly made. When asked about how they felt with the sole decisions made by her husband, a wife admitted that she liked the efficiency of the decision to put jalousie windows in their home that did not fully involved her,

I: But you were not angry to him on that?

W: No, I was happy because when I get back home, there were jalousies already.

I: When you agreed, who insisted on buying it?

W: The husband. When I got in the house, the jalousies were installed already. (laughs) I: So you were happy?

*W: Yes, I was happy because it was already installed.*³⁶

- b. Just like in sole decisions made by the respondents, they also did not express a desire to go back in time and change the process. Many of them believed that they made the best decision during that time and while they wished not to have made decisions especially those done in difficult situations, most if not all of them did not want to change anything in the process. As what one husband told us, *“I have nothing to change. Why should I change that when that is the only decision we have? My decision, her decision, we understand each other.”*³⁷
- c. Some respondents wished that they did not have to decide under dire circumstances, that they have more information before deciding, or that the decision did not generate negative consequences. These, however, are not totally related to the process of decision-making.
- d. Like the sole decisions that they made, respondents also did not think that the sole decisions their spouses made had a negative effect on their relationship. Some actually thought that the decision was good for them and even if the decision turned out to be wrong, some respondents still thought that it did not negatively affect their relationship as a couple. As one husband said, *“Maybe she made some wrong decisions but not successive. She made minor mistakes. Even how carefully we are, we can’t avoid it, we still commit mistakes.”*³⁸

³⁴ 100738_0_H_ARB_08222019_MK_SU

³⁵ 101253_0_H_08202019_RY_SU

³⁶ 100344_0_W_08212019_RY_AG_TL_HM_TLC (40:16)

³⁷ 100173_0_H_ARB_08242019_LA_AM_TL_MA_TLC (22:20)

³⁸ 101253_0_H_08202019_HM_REC_JRVIII_TL_MA_TLC (13:61)

4.4.3.1 What are the advantages of their spouses making decisions alone?

4.4.3.2 What are the disadvantages of their spouses making decisions alone?

4.4.3.3 Are the perceived advantages and disadvantages different for men and women?

- a. The table below provides some of the most commonly identified advantages and disadvantages of joint decision-making from the interview respondents.

	Advantages	Disadvantages
Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It makes her responsible. • It is more efficient (She did not wait for him to decide what to cook). • She knows better when it comes to our children. • It improves the household by making it look better. • It allows us to have alternative income (she takes initiative to find other sources of livelihood). • It allows her to make decisions for the good of the family. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It may result in bad outcomes. • She might not understand the consequences of her decision.
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It can be helpful in the house because he knows what to do. • It brings good to the family (especially when she agrees with it). • It makes the husband work harder. • It is more efficient (He did not have to wait for me). • It is more effective as he is more knowledgeable about farming. • He will unlikely make a harmful decision (she trusts her husband). • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It makes me upset since I am not consulted. • It breeds disharmony in our relationship. • I don't know what is his plan for us. • It causes misunderstanding between us. • It might cause an argument or a fight.

- b. It can be observed that the advantages and disadvantages of this type of decision-making are very similar to the ones identified in the sole decisions made by the respondent.

4.4.3.4 Do respondents prefer making decisions in this way?

- a. Like sole decisions, this is less preferable for the respondents than making joint decisions. This is especially true if they were not consulted or immediately informed about the decision. The only exceptions were minor decisions (e.g., buying small personal items) or those relevant to the work of the husband or the wife.

4.5 What are factors motivating decision making?

4.5.1 Social norms and decision making

- a. From coding this part of the interviews, it must be noted that there was a huge challenge in getting meaningful and useful responses to the questions related to this section. This was already

reported in the two pilots of the questionnaire. A factor that can be attributed to this are the fatigue of the respondents at this point of the interview (third part of the interview).

- b. The pilots and the field practice were conducted in more urbanized places and therefore the residents have more education that could be a reason why they were able to adequately answer the questions. The actual interviews that comprised the bulk of the sample were conducted in more rural places.

4.5.1.1 What are the social norms related to decision making processes?

- a. There are a few useful responses from the sets of questions related to social norms and decision-making. Oftentimes, apathy is the immediate response to the questions about the possible views of the community regard their decision-making process. This “I/We don’t care!” attitude was prevalent among male and female respondents and was consistently present in several individual and joint interviews. There were also responses that basically showed that respondents do not know how their community (i.e., friends, neighbors, and relative) think about what comprised “socially ideal” decision-making.³⁹
- b. Many respondents refer to neighbors when talking about the source of social norms in decision-making rather than relatives, friends, or other members of their community. This might stem from the fact that these are the ones they interact with the most and also whose views and opinions they know most of the time.
- c. The most evident social norm in making decisions is the need for consultation with the spouse. This is clear as a personal principle and reinforced by their perceived views of their community. Just like their personal preference, they also believed that joint decision-making is also a social norm that will generate respect and reputation benefits from their community. Respondents were clear about the positive perceptions of society when their household makes decisions as one. They also reported that such is worthy of emulation from their community. An example of this is the following:

I: Let's make sense of it. If the husband and wife discuss things until they reach a consensus and agreement, what do you think will be the view of their community? Is that how they view also?

W: Of course, they will make you a role model because you understand each other. It already actually happened just recently because they always fight. As a couple, we never really had fights. If we have problems, we will discuss that as soon as possible, we do not let that situation be like that until the next day. That's why they would laugh because they wonder what we do why we do not fight. I said, "if he gets mad, I Do not get mad at him too. If I get mad then he does not get mad as well. We will really discuss about it and it does not last long. We discuss what the problem is that's why it does not become a conflict. That's what they observe, we do not argue and fight."⁴⁰

- d. For the few respondents who addressed the questions on the socially ideal amount of discussion, many believed that multiple discussions are considered preferable as the social norm. The

³⁹ Hypothetically, more substantial and useful responses to these types of questions could be generated by focus group discussions instead of interviews of individuals and couples in a household.

⁴⁰ 200110_0_W_08142019_MH_IR_TL_MA_TLC (5:14)

answers ranged from more than once to three or four times. Several discussions before deciding is seen as good from the perspective of their community.⁴¹

- e. Another social norm is having a smooth relationship between the husband and wife that only shows if they are united in making decisions. Some respondents believed that not demonstrating this to their community deviates from the norm and they can be the object of gossip from their neighbors. For example, the couple told us the following if the community does not think there is harmony in their household.

I: Libakon libakon gyud sige libakon kung di maayo kung nagbuot buot. Karon kung ang bana ug asawa gahisgutanay hangtod nagkabot ug konsensus naghigot sila hangtod sa nagkasinabot unsa kaha ang mahimong tanaw sa community? Apilon gihapon nato ang community kung unsa ilang tanaw

I: ... if it's not a good decision or maybe a harmful decision. Now when the husband and wife discussed about a certain thing and come up with one solid decision, what do you think the community will say? Let's always include the perspective of the community here

H: Nagkasinabot pagtanaw sa community maayo ang nagkasinabtanay ang magasawa sa ilahang mga desisyon di okay ang kuan walay unsa ni masulti ang komunidad

H: When the community sees that the husband and wife is in harmonious decision then they will see it positively and they will not wrongly judge them

W: Dili ka libakon (laughs)

*W: They will not backbite you (laughs).*⁴²

- f. Respondents do not also give definitive answers on who should initiate the decision-making process as perceived by their social circles. Several of them stated that it depends on the decision that has to be made. Though there are a few of those who expressed the following opinion:

I: Who should initiate to make decisions? Wife or husband?

*H: The husband is the leader of the plan. While, the wife supports him.*⁴³

- g. Finally, there are different social norms that were reported to guide decision-making in terms of the perceptions of society when only one is more influential in decision-making. This is where an interesting divergence of perceptions can be seen. Respondents think that a husband who exerts more influence is responsible while a wife that is more influential is socially taboo and even pitiful (more of this will be discussed in the next section).

4.5.1.2 What are the social norms related to the roles of men and women in making decisions?

- a. Male and female respondents were able to identify different social norms that guide decision-making by husbands and wives. Apart from the social norm of mutual consultation, there is an observed difference on the how they think society perceives men and women when they initiate discussions, resolve differences, and exert more influence in decision-making. For female respondents, they think that society's normative preferences lie with the husband initiating the discussion since he is the head of the household. A husband used the following analogy as an explanation why society would prefer this set-up:

⁴¹ 100951_1_J_08192019_MK_REC_MP_TL_MVH_TLC (18:28)

⁴² 100181_1_J_08202019_BD_REC_NA_TL_BD_TLC (11:36). The original transcription is also cited to validate the English translation.

⁴³ 100169_0_H_ARB_08252019_BD_REC_MCS_TL-1 (20:36)

I: Why do you think they want the husband to lead every discussion?

H: Just like here in our government, the president has the biggest responsibility. It's not with any of the private persons but the responsibility is really with our president. Same is true with the husband because he was given authority when they got married.⁴⁴

This social perception was confirmed by a wife,

I: When you mentioned Nay that the man should initiate the discussion, will this change depending on the type of decision? Or all types of decisions?

W: Yes, all types of decisions.

I: Even of it's about the food for the family, the schooling of the children?

W: Yes, since he is the one who earns for a living. He would [/say/] that I should [/agree/] since he is the one who struggles for work. Then me, I would also say, okay. Like that since he will do the work, "I am the one who [/provides/] for the food and (money to buy stocks) for the store" (says the wife, as the statement of the husband).⁴⁵

- b. Female respondents however have divergent views on how society perceives women who initiates discussions leading to a decision. There are some who thought that society will have more respect for wives that initiate discussions:

W: She will be respected by the society since she cares and provides the needs for the family while her husband is irresponsible. Of course, the husband will receive negative comments from the neighbors. Even if the neighbors give him advices eve he would not listen, always wanting to just do whatever he wants.⁴⁶

This is contrary to what another wife said:

W: They will surely say, "What kind of family do they have? Why is his wife making the decision for them? Her husband does not have say." (laughs) They would have a negative view... because the husband should really be the decision maker.⁴⁷

- c. Male and female responses however converge when asked whether society prefers the husband to have more influence in case disagreement. This is consistent with the view that the husband is the head of the household and this is the social norm. However, there are responses (whether husband or wife) that thought it depends on the situation and who initiated the discussion. A minority view such as the following has an interesting insight on the changing social norms on the standing of wives in the household:

W: Can't it be both our opinions? // I don't know about you. We can't answer that. // The man has the greater influence. // Why greater? // For the reason that he is the pillar of the home. That is for us. For others we don't know. There are others who are under her thumb. The wife is followed. Especially if the wife is working. Today's culture, women are employed. Men are left to take care of the children back home. Of course, the wife is followed because she is the one earning. We have cases like that here.⁴⁸

4.5.1.3 What would consequences be of ignoring the social norms, and is this different for men and women?

⁴⁴ 102494_O_H_ARB_08232019_LD_IR_TL_BD_TLC (28:90)

⁴⁵ 102494_O_W_08232019_MA_REC_MP_TL_LD_TLC (1:63)

⁴⁶ 101253_O_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:66)

⁴⁷ 200110_O_W_08142019_MH_IR_TL_MA_TLC (5:17)

⁴⁸ 100173_O_W_08242019_MK_REC_JRVIII_TL_BD_TLC 924:45)

- a. Given the resistance of many respondents to answer questions related to social norms and their apathy to what society thinks of what happens in their household, the interviews did not really reveal what respondents think are the consequences of ignoring or violating social norms. A few responded that it will be an object of gossip and there are reputational costs. However, they do not think that these are strong incentives to follow social norms.⁴⁹

4.5.1.4 How do social norms compare to respondent's own opinions on decision making?

- a. In general, there are similarities between one's individual preferences and what they think are society's preferences in decision-making. They viewed that joint decision-making guided by mutual consultation is both personally ideal for them and conforms with society's ideal mode of decision-making. They also believed that it is both ideal for them and society that decision-making undergo several discussions before reaching a decision.
- b. There is also a parallel between their personal preferences and what society views as ideal in terms of who should initiate the discussion. A majority of respondents states that it is the husband who should initiate the discussion since he is the head of the family, he is the stronger "half" of the couple and he is the one who generates income for the family. These "traditional" views also inform what their perceptions are about the social norms or ideas shared by members of their community.
- c. In general, personal preferences and societal preferences also converged in terms of the husband having more influence in cases of disagreement for the same reasons as stated above.

4.5.1.5 How do social norms influence how respondents make decisions?

- a. Just like their general opinion about the weak control of social norms on their own lives, respondents whether male or female do not put a lot of importance on the influence of general norms. Their apathy on what society thinks of them is also consistent with their overall assessment on its power to motivate their behavior. This is particularly true since they consider most decisions in the household as private matters.
- b. But even in matters pertaining to their land where decisions they made can be readily seen by their neighbors, friends, and relatives, respondents stated the same apathetic attitude. They do not think that the opinion of others mattered when making decisions on the land that they own. This is more salient if they have an individual land title.

4.5.2 What is the role of land titles in making decisions on agricultural land?

4.5.2.1 Is the role different when the title holder is a man versus a woman?

- a. The most common land decisions were planting of additional crops such as falcata, abaca, corn, sweet potato, cacao, rice, and banana and other fruit-bearing plants. Other options include renting out the land, dividing the land for their children, surveying, cleaning, paying taxes, taking loans, and building a house.
- b. There are variations in the answers if the title holder is a man or a woman. The most common response was that decisions on the land will remain the same whether or not the spouse (both men and women) is included in the title. Respondents said that they will decide on what is good for the land regardless of who between them is in the title. There were a few responses where

⁴⁹ This was also not directly asked since the questions on social norms were focused on what they think are the perceptions of society about certain ways of decision-making and the roles of the husband and the wife.

women prefer their husband to lead the decisions on the land even if the land is under their (women) name since the husband knows more about farming. However, there were also cases where husbands prefer not to intervene in land decisions if the wife is the beneficiary. Still, they are willing to give advice and work on the land if the wife tells them to.

- c. Male respondents often said that they prefer to have their wife included in the title because they are married and it is supposed to be a conjugal property. Some expressed concerns that should something happen to them, then their wife will not have any right to the land because her name is not in the title. Having both of their names in the title is also a way to prevent one spouse from selling the land on impulse. Lastly, including the wife's name in the title also increases her chance of being consulted about the land.

4.5.2.2 Is the role different when the title is a collective title or an individual title?

- a. It is inevitable for land titles to come up in discussions especially when the implementation of the decision requires it such as having the land surveyed, rented, or taking out loans for planting of additional crops.
- b. The type of title plays a big role in what decisions are made for the land. If it is a collective title, a co-owner might sell his/her share. This raises the concerns of the co-owners that decisions made by the new owner would affect their own share. For example, the new owner can decide on the land that will make it difficult for the other owner's children or grandchildren to build houses on it.
- c. A collective title is also a constraint on livelihood. For example, a farmer said that before, when the land is still under a collective title, his parents implemented a system where each sibling can take turns in planting and harvesting annually. When the land was subdivided and he was given an individual title, his productivity increased. In other cases, income from the land has to be shared by all co-owners. Sole decisions that will improve the livelihood tied to the farm are also constrained. For example, a farmer will limit the planting of additional crops, renting the land out to other farmers, or using the land as collateral. Decisions such as this on a land they do not solely own will cause fights with other co-owners.
- d. There is also an emotional effect of not having an individual title. Some respondents expressed disappointment towards tilling the land they do not solely own.

H: I am not happy about it. It is like I am just temporary.⁵⁰

Alternatively, having an individual title gives them ownership of the decision.

W: Of course, if the title is just yours then the decision will be yours only. If you have a collective title, then you will have to consider your co-owner's decisions, too. You need to sign a consent.⁵¹

W: Because it it's your own you won't have a problem on what's needed in paying for the tax. You don't have to ask permission to anyone.⁵²

⁵⁰ 370047_0_H_08192019_BD_REC_VM_TL_LD_TLC-1_1 (9:49)

⁵¹ 100181_1_J_08202019_BD_REC_NA_TL_BD_TLC (11:47)

⁵² 101367_0_W_08282019_BD_REC_JLVD_TL_MA_TLC (45:63)

- e. There are instances where some decisions such as planting additional crops are not discussed anymore with co-owners especially if they are family members. However, there are also examples where the family dynamics is less peaceful and a land under a collective title becomes a source of conflict among siblings.

H: I was left alone here before. When my siblings arrive, they wanted ownership. So it was different. Some of my siblings wanted to be superior than the others (brothers and sisters). Now that we have individual titles, they cannot demand anything from me. I will not be told, "Get your crop and transfer them to mine."⁵³

W: Of course, there are times of misunderstandings and conflict of interest. You have people who won't be cooperative with you. I'll plant here, I can only do it once then they will say, "You can't plant there anymore." That's where conflict comes in.⁵⁴

4.5.3 To what extent are respondents' decisions motivated by their own values and goals versus external constraints?

- a. Generally, respondents said that the opinions of other people, whether neighbors or relatives, do not matter in what and how decisions are made with regard to the land.
- b. In the case of collective titles, some respondents said that while they are aware that the land does not belong solely to them, they would still utilize it by farming or doing other income-generating activity since they do not want the land to go to waste.
- c. Lack of resources for clearing and planting of additional crops remain to be the biggest external constraint for the respondents.

4.6 What factors may lead to spousal disagreement on who makes decisions in the household?

- a. If decisions are made without consultation or if the other spouse is not informed about the decision, respondents said that this causes conflict. This is exacerbated when the decision made is perceived by the other spouse as not being beneficial to the family. For example, a wife decided to use some of the family savings to open a small store to augment the family income. The husband disagreed with this decision since he thinks it will just go bankrupt given the common practice in their village where people will buy from the store but will only pay later. In some cases, they do not pay at all and sellers are too embarrassed to ask for the payment. Store owners in barangays do not want their neighbors to lose face.

W: Yes, he doesn't really agree since people will just do debts. But that's how business is, there are debts. If you have money on your possession, you will just spent it. It is better to have business since you can really see that it is there. You can use the profit. There is turn-around on our store stocks, when we run out of stocks, buy, when we run out of stocks, we buy again.⁵⁵

- b. Another cause of disagreement is when a sole decision places the couple in a situation where they are open to criticisms by neighbors or extended family.

For example, a wife made the decision to borrow money from a neighbor.

H: I do not like to over-borrow. It is shameful.

⁵³ 200110_O_H_ARB_08142019_LD_REC_JRVIII_TL_LD_TLC-1 (10:54)

⁵⁴ 100491_O_W_08232019_LA_IR_TL_LD_TLC (42:79)

⁵⁵ 102494_O_W_08232019_MA_REC_MP_TL_LD_TLC (1:7)

I: Were there times you quarreled over this? Because your wife borrowed and you cannot pay?

H: Often, Ma'am.

W: When I borrow more than we can pay, he gets angry.⁵⁶

Another example is one wife's decision to transfer near city which caused disagreement and stress on the husband's part.

H: I was ashamed. I'm ashamed of what might happen. We will live in the center of the municipality but we have nothing to eat. But I just thought to myself that I will strive hard to provide for my family.⁵⁷

- c. Some disagreements are underscored by the perception of one spouse, usually the husband, as to which role in the household the wife should fulfill. Specifically, this perception is on the social norm that the wife is traditionally expected to stay in the house and provide the needs of the family members within this capacity. There was one respondent who said that the disagreement was because of the wife's decision to go abroad for work. He disagreed because, aside from safety reasons, he believes that his wife should be at home to take the lead in raising their children. There are a few examples where the cause of disagreement is the wife's decision to help out in the farm:

W: Sometimes we got engrossed with our work in the farm and lost track of time, we got home late and cook late, and he would get mad. When he goes home from work he doesn't have food to eat.⁵⁸

W: We do not let it reach a few hours. The cause of our quarrel is usually because I do the job that is suppose to be his and vice versa, but it does not take long for us to be at peace again. (laughs)⁵⁹

- d. How money is spent can also lead to disagreement. One wife decided to work in the city. This caused conflict between the couple because the money she was using for rent could have been used for pesticide spraying. Another respondent said that when her husband gets to hold the money, he keeps it for himself to use on his pet project. This angered the wife. Purchasing things that are not needed in the home is also a reason for disagreement.
- e. In general, disagreements happen when they cannot reach an agreement on a decision and when decisions are done without consultations.

H: We can't avoid it. I have a partner who gets angry when she is not informed even if these are my personal things....It can be resolved easily. We just talk it out. Discuss about the situation. If the need is rush, I have to ask permission from her. "I couldn't wait for you since it is needed badly."⁶⁰

- f. For both men and women, making decisions without consultations and not being able to come to an agreement causes stress and chaos in the household. Making sole decisions is also stressful for

⁵⁶ 100835_1_J_08242019_RY_REC_JRVIII_TL_MA_TLC (24:28)

⁵⁷ 100952_0_H_ARB_082519_MA_REC_KL_TL_MA_TLC (33:17)

⁵⁸ 100218_0_W_ARB_08222019_HM_REC_VM_TL (4:10)

⁵⁹ 101253_0_W_ARB_08202019_MA_IR_TL_MA_TLC (14:20)

⁶⁰ 101253_0_H_08202019_HM_REC_JRVIII_TL_MA_TLC (13:8)

either spouse and if the outcome is not good, the one who made the decision alone will be blamed. Other respondents said that being together as a couple entails sharing the burden, thus they prefer consultations and joint decisions.

H: Yes, it is natural. It is heavy in your heart. It will be okay if you have shared with your partner. She will say, "Maybe it's heavy on you?", "That is alright since we already talked about it."⁶¹

W: Sometimes you feel that your chest tightens a bit.⁶²

- g. Disagreements were resolved by talking and explaining the necessity of the actions that caused the conflict. Respondents prefer not to let disagreements disturb the peace in the home and will seek to resolve it as soon as possible. Often, respondents will brush disagreements aside, saying that these are normal for couples and that as long as they talk about it, it can be resolved. When one spouse is angry about a decision that was made without consultation, the other will keep quiet until the anger subsides. Respondents cited the need to maintain peace at home as the reason why they do not want to prolong disagreements. A few female respondents said they seldom have disagreements with their husbands because they let the latter make decisions as head of the family.

5. Conclusion

4.7 Summary of results

5.3.1 Defining decision-making

- a. Respondents defined decision-making as basically a consultative process with their spouse as the main source of guidance and even approval. In most of the interviews, respondents were quick to reveal that most if not all their decisions were known and approved by their spouse. This might mean that most of their decisions are made jointly than solely. However, further probing revealed that decision-making is not as consultative as they said in their preliminary answers. Subsequent responses to the process questions showed that they just informed their spouses of the decisions sometimes after they were made out of expediency.

5.3.2 Sole Decisions

- a. Respondents had difficulty remembering sole decisions they have made. The reason they often gave is that they always consulted with their spouses. Final decisions are often made by the one who initiated the discussion. There are three types of sole decisions:

Type I: Respondent made a decision without consultation with the spouse (more applicable to major decisions)

Type II: Respondent made a decision but consulted the spouse (more applicable to smaller decisions)

Type III: Respondent made the decision and informed the spouse after the decision was made

⁶¹ 100837_0_H_08242019_FM_REC_JRVIII_TL_LD_TLC (25:39)

⁶² 200112_0_W_ARB_08142019_RY_AM_TL_MA_TLC (6:23)

- b. Sole decisions made about the land however are often made with permission from the spouse regardless of whose name is on the land title. This means that formal ownership of the land does not mean sole power to make decisions.
- c. In terms of the justification for making a sole decision, there is no difference in evaluating the pursuit of a sole decision made by a man or a woman. Consultation was more an opportunity to be convinced with the position of one's spouse if there is a disagreement. Decisions were agreed upon based on the perceived benefits to the family.

5.3.3 Joint Decisions

- a. There is no significant variation in the way people understand what it means to make a joint decision. There immediate answers to questions pertaining to the process of arriving at decisions conform to what one normally would consider as a joint decision. Joint decisions are the most common type of decision-making in all households whether they can be considered minor decisions such as food consumption in the household to major ones such as buying vehicles, loaning money, having more children, contracting loans, and sending their children to school. Joint decisions were also the type of decisions that were applied to their land.
- b. Joint decisions are construed by the respondents as decisions that included mutual consultation, planning, common agreement, and unlike sole decisions, joint action towards the realization of the desired objective. It is also easier for respondents to remember a joint decisions they made with their spouses, although this might be because major decisions are often made jointly. While sole decisions are often the burden of the decision-maker with his/her spouse merely providing consent to the decision, the couple are mutually helping one another to implement the joint decision. Joint decision is also preferred so that one spouse cannot be blamed alone when the outcome is not good.
- c. In general, joint decisions are preferred but if a sole decision is made and it turned out good, then the respondents said they will not take it against their spouse. Respondents are more able to identify the advantages of joint decisions than sole decisions.

5.3.4 Disagreements

- a. Respondents cannot remember disagreements prior to decision-making. Within households, disagreements are caused by one spouse making decisions without consulting the other or when couples cannot reach an agreement on a decision. However, disagreements are commonly resolved by discussions and respondents often said that they seek to resolve conflicts as soon as possible to maintain the peace at home. It is often the wife who gives in to the husband when there is a disagreement for both sole and joint decisions since the husband is the breadwinner of the family.

5.3.5 Social Norms

- a. For social norms, apathy is the immediate response to the questions about the possible views of the community regard their decision-making process. The most evident social norm in making decisions is the need for consultation with the spouse. This is clear as a personal principle and reinforced by their perceived views of their community. Just like their personal preference, they also believed that joint decision-making is also a social norm that will generate respect and reputation benefits from their community. Respondents were clear about the positive perceptions of society when their household makes decisions as one. They also reported that such is worthy of emulation from their community.

- b. There are different social norms that were reported to guide decision-making in terms of the perceptions of society when only one is more influential in decision-making. This is where an interesting divergence of perceptions can be seen. Respondents think that a husband who exerts more influence is responsible while a wife that is more influential is socially taboo and even pitiful.
- c. In general, there are similarities between personal preferences and society's perception in terms of who should initiate discussions and who should have more influence during disagreements. In both cases, the husband should prevail.

5.3.6 DAR-Awarded Land

- a. There are variations in the answers if the title holder is a man or a woman. The most common response is that decisions on land will remain the same whether or not the spouse (both men and women) is included in the title. Respondents said that they will decide on what is good for the land regardless of who between them is in the title. There are a few responses where women prefer their husband to lead the decisions on the land even if the land is under their (women) name since the husband knows more about farming. However, there are also cases where husbands prefer not to intervene in land decisions if the wife is the beneficiary. Still, they are willing to give advice and work on the land if the wife tells them to.
- b. Male respondents often said that they prefer to have their wife included in the title because they are married and it is supposed to be a conjugal property. Some expressed concerns that should something happen to them, then their wife will not have any right to the land because her name is not in the title. Having both of their names in the title is also a way to prevent one spouse from selling the land on impulse. Lastly, including the wife's name in the title also increases her chance of being consulted about the land.
- c. The respondents emphasized the need for having individual land titles. For the respondents, if the land is under an individual title, they have more confidence in planting additional crops knowing that they can maximize their productivity. Other decisions related to the land are also easier to implement since plans such as renting out the land or applying for a collateral require an individual title. There is also an emotional effect of having collective rather than individual titles. Respondents said that it upsets them to till the land they do not solely own. Despite this, they said that they will still utilize the land so it will not go to waste.

4.8 Summary of differences in responses by gender

5.4.1 Sole Decisions

- a. Men tended to have an easier time identifying sole decisions than women. The interviews revealed that men often mention sole decisions referring to their work, major decisions in the household particularly those requiring financial resources, and matters pertaining to the land. Women have a more relative difficulty in identifying sole decisions they consider as major. Their decisions revolved around household chores, buying personal items, their children's schooling, and their small business or source of livelihood.
- b. Some male respondents believed that while they initiated the process by consulting their wives, they believed that it is their sole decision since they should be followed as head of the family and the authority in the household. It was rare to hear that from women respondents.
- c. Husbands tend to assert more authority in sole decision-making than wives and on matters that in their view are more important for the household. They often invoked being the head of the family, its

main pillar, and the one in charge of their livelihood. From the interviews, this belief made them more confident in making sole decisions but they often do so either in consultation with their wives or at least they inform their spouses after they made the decision. It was more uncommon for wives to make sole decisions without getting the agreement of their husbands. When they do, they are often about relatively minor things in the household or about child-rearing.

- d. Decisions on matters pertaining to the land were often initiated and made by the husband. In most instances, this applied to situations even if it pertains to a piece of land owned by the couple. Most wives believed that their husbands can make decisions on the land without prior consultation but they (and agreed to by the husband) wanted to be informed of the decisions made on the land.
- e. Respondents agree that household needs, especially small decisions, should be initiated by the wife without the need to consult the husband since the family's needs are her domain.
- f. Husbands are more likely to make sole decisions without consulting their wives, often justifying this with their position as the "pillar", "head", or "leader" of the household.
- g. There were also some observed key differences between responses of husbands and wives. Husbands seemed to appreciate the efficiency of making sole decisions while wives are more inclined to see the positive impact of sole decision-making to their self-worth and ability to make a positive contribution to the household.

5.4.2 Joint Decisions

- a. There is no difference in how men and women define what it means to make a joint decision. This is even though respondents think that the husband's decision has more weight as head of the family. There is no difference in the definition of joint decision between respondents when the man is making the decision compared to when the woman is deciding. In most interviews, it has become unclear whether the husband or the wife is the one deciding when the couple agreed that it is a joint decision.
- b. There seems to be more husbands who revealed that they initiated the discussion leading to a joint decision more than wives. When it comes to making the final decision, both spouses need to reach an agreement but most of the individual and joint interviews either showed that the husband made the final joint decision or it was made by the couple. It was rare for the wife to be the final decision-maker of a joint decision. And even in these few cases, the husband agreed to the joint decision.

5.4.3 Social Norms

- a. For social norms, female respondents think that society's normative preferences lie with the husband initiating the discussion since he is the head of the household. Female respondents, however, have divergent views on how society perceives women who initiates discussions leading to a decision. There are some who thought that society will have more respect for wives that initiate discussions.
- b. Male and female responses however converge when asked whether society prefers the husband to have more influence in case disagreement. This is consistent with the view that the husband is the head of the household and this is the social norm. However, there are responses (whether husband or wife) that thought it depends on the situation and who initiated the discussion. A minority of

respondents also shows the changing social norms on the status of wives in the household, especially if the wife is gainfully employed.

- c. Personal preferences and society's perception on what is the ideal process for decision-making coincides. Respondents believe that joint decision-making guided by mutual consultation is both personally ideal for them and conforms with society's ideal mode of decision-making. There is also a parallel between their personal preferences and what society views as ideal in terms of who should initiate the discussion. A majority of respondents states that it is the husband who should initiate the discussion since he is the head of the family. These "traditional" views also inform what their perceptions are about the social norms or ideas shared by members of their community.

5.5 Summary of differences in responses by individual or joint interview

- a. Respondents are more comfortable talking about sole decisions made by them or their spouses in individual interviews than in joint interviews.
- b. Differences between male and female responses were also unclear in joint interviews. Husbands tended to dominate in most joint interviews with the wife sometimes passively agreeing to the husband's responses and not providing different responses. This was also clear from observed body language from the wives during joint interviews such as always smiling, nodding, and not speaking unless the interviewer directly asked her to respond.
- c. There is not much variation for both individual and joint interviews in terms of the effect on the relationship of sole or joint decisions. Similarly, there is no desire to change the process of decision-making for both types of decisions.

6. Appendix: Qualitative interview guides

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Study objectives

- 1) *To understand if men and women have different definitions of what it means to make a decision Do men and women focus on different aspects of decision making when thinking about who makes the decision? For example, what role do the following play in their thought process and are the roles of the following elements different for men and women?*

- *Who is most involved in the domain about which decision is being made*
 - *Who initiates the discussion/proposes the idea?*
 - *Who proposes the solution/decision to be made?*
 - *Who has the final say in case of disagreement?*
- 2) *To investigate if the definitions of what it means to make a decision are different when the person making the decision is a man or a woman*
 - *Are the roles of the aforementioned elements considered differently if the person initiating/proposing/having the final say is a man vs. a woman?*
 - 3) *To explore what role do land titles play in decision making on land and if the roles are different for men and women?*
 - 4) *To explore if it is empowering to make decisions, or can decision making be perceived as a burden? Furthermore, are sole or joint decisions more empowering? Does the empowerment effect depend on the type of decision?*
 - 5) *To examine what underlying factors could be explaining spousal disagreement on decision making? This question will be majorly targeted in joint interviews*

Methodology :

Include *rationale for sole interviews and joint interviews under methodology section of project proposal*

Sole interviews :

- *Enable all respondents to speak more and to go deeper into the thoughts and perceptions of each person*
- *Enable respondents to speak more freely, without considering how their spouse might react*

Joint interviews :

- *Enable us to understand the dialogue between husband and wife on their perceptions of what it means to make a decision and how decision-making works in their household*
 - *Note: it will be important for us to know what the man said and what the woman said, so enumerators should be taking notes on who says what in the discussion, not just the end result.*
 - *Note: we would also want enumerators to note the general dynamic (does one person do most of the talking? Does one always end up agreeing with the other?) and to make efforts to engage both spouses in the discussion, by for example, addressing a question to one of them first.*
- *The discussion may bring up a debate or highlight different view points that enable us to detect important differences between their points of view*
- *This may elucidate underlying differences in how men and women think and perceive things or help clarify things that may be driving spousal disagreement on decision making.*

Question 1

Objective: Gather some information on the household structure and build rapport

1. *How long/many years have you known each other?*
2. *How long have you been living together/married?*

3. How many children do you have and how old are they?

Question 2

Objective: Understand which decisions households are making

Can you tell me about major decisions that were made in your household? Can you enumerate/list some of them for me?

Question 3: Sole Decision (Respondent)

Objective: Understand what the process looks like for different types of decisions; Understand how they define sole decision making; Determine whether they are happy with their current role in household decision making or whether they would like to have more say.

Note: You can discuss decisions mentioned in question 2 if possible.

Process

- a. Can you think of a recent time when you made a decision on your own? (If answer is still no after additional probing, skip b-f).
- b. What was the decision?
- c. Can you tell me what the decision-making process looked like?
 - i. Who initiated the decision-making process (ex. noticed the issue / brought it up for discussion)?
 - ii. Was there a discussion before the decision was made?
 - i. If so, how many discussions were there, who was involved, and how did the discussion progress?
 - iii. Was there a disagreement on what the right decision was?
 - i. If so, how was it resolved?
 - ii. Who made the final decision in the end?
 - iii. Why was it that s/he made the final decision?

Note: If other household members are involved in the process, please probe into why they consider this to be a sole decision, even though other people are involved.

Perceptions

- d. If you were to go back in time and make this decision again, is there anything you would change about the decision-making process? If so, why, and what would that process look like?
 - i. *Probe:* How did you feel about the decision that was made?
 - ii. *Probe:* How did you feel about the way the decision was made, in other words, the decision-making process?
 - iii. *Probe:* Do you think the decision was made fairly? Why or why not?

Household Dynamics

- e. How do you think the way this decision was made affects your relationship with your spouse?
- f. [If answered yes to d] How do you think your relationship would be different if you made the decision this way?

Question 4: Sole Decision (Spouse)

Objective: Understand what the process looks like for different types of decisions; Understand how they define sole decision making; Determine whether they are happy with their current role in household decision making or whether they would like to have more say.

Note: You can discuss decisions mentioned in question 2 if possible.

Process

- a. Can you think of a recent time when your spouse made a decision on his/her own? (If answer is still no after additional probing, skip b-f).
- b. What was the decision?
- c. Can you tell me what the decision-making process looked like?
 - i. Who initiated the decision-making process (ex. noticed the issue / brought it up for discussion)?
 - ii. Was there a discussion before the decision was made?
 - i. If so, how many discussions were there, who was involved, and how did the discussion progress?
 - iii. Was there a disagreement on what the right decision was?
 - i. If so, how was it resolved?
 - ii. Who made the final decision in the end?
 - iii. Why was it that s/he made the final decision?

Note: If other household members are involved in the process, please probe into why they consider this to be a sole decision, even though other people are involved.

Perceptions

- d. If you were to go back in time, is there anything you would change about this decision-making process? If so, why and what would that process look like?
 - i. *Probe:* How did you feel about the decision that was made?
 - ii. *Probe:* How did you feel about the way the decision was made, in other words, the decision-making process?
 - iii. *Probe:* Do you think the decision was made fairly? Why or why not?
 - iv. *Probe:* Would you have liked to have had a greater say in the discussion or more influence on the outcome?

Household Dynamics

- e. How do you think the way this decision was made affects your relationship with your spouse?
- f. [If answered yes to d] How do you think your relationship would be different if you made the decision this way?

Question 5: Pros and Cons of Sole Decisions

Objective: Understand perceptions of pros and cons of making a decision alone and without consultation.

Respondent's Sole Decisions

- a. What are the advantages of making decisions alone—without discussing or consulting with anyone else on the matter before taking action? If you have never made a decision alone, what do you think the advantages would be if you made a decision alone?
- b. What about its disadvantages?
 - i. *Probe:* Do you think making decisions by yourself [or just by one person] can be stressful or burdensome? Why or why not?
- c. Do you or would you like making decisions by yourself without consulting your spouse? Why or why not?
 - i. *Probe:* Does this depend on the type of decision? If so, which ones would you like to make on your own and which ones would you prefer not to make on your own?
- d. Are there things that you would like to make decisions on alone, without discussing or consulting with anyone else before taking action, that you are currently not deciding in this way? If so, which decisions? Why is it that you are not currently deciding on this alone?

Spouse's Sole Decisions

- e. What are the advantages of your spouse making decisions alone—without discussing or consulting with anyone else on the matter before taking action? If your spouse has never made a decision alone, what do you think the advantages would be if your spouse made a decision alone?
- f. What about its disadvantages?
- g. Do you or would you like having your spouse make decisions on his/her own without consulting you or other household members? Why or why not?
 - i. *Probe:* Does this depend on the type of decision? If so, which ones would you like your spouse to make on his/her own and which ones would you prefer that he/she does not make on his/her own?
- h. Are there things that you wish your spouse would make decisions on alone, without discussing or consulting with anyone else before taking action, that he/she is not currently deciding in this way? If so, which decisions? Why do you think your spouse is not currently deciding on this alone?

Question 6: Joint Decisions

Objective: Understand what the process looks like for different types of decisions; Understand how they define joint decision making; Determine whether they are happy with their current role in household decision making or whether they would like to have more say.

Note: You can discuss decisions mentioned in question 2 if possible.

Process

- a. Can you think of a recent time when you and your spouse made a decision together? (If answer is still no after additional probing, skip b-f).

- b. What was the decision?
- c. Can you tell me what the decision-making process looked like?
 - i. Who initiated the decision-making process (ex. noticed the issue / brought it up for discussion)?
 - ii. Was there a discussion before the decision was made?
 - i. If so, how many discussions were there, who was involved, and how did the discussion progress?
 - iii. Was there a disagreement on what the right decision was?
 - i. If so, how was it resolved?
 - ii. Who made the final decision in the end?
 - iii. Why was it that s/he made the final decision?

Note: If it seems one of the spouses is playing a greater role in the process or having more influence over the decision, please probe into why they consider this a joint decision, despite the imbalance of power.

Perceptions

- d. If you were to go back in time and make this decision again with your spouse, is there anything you would change about the decision-making process? If so, why, and what would that process look like?
 - i. *Probe:* How did you feel about the decision that was made?
 - ii. *Probe:* How did you feel about the way the decision was made, in other words, the decision-making process?
 - iii. *Probe:* Do you think the decision was made fairly? Why or why not?
 - iv. *Probe:* Would you have liked to have had a greater say in the discussion or more influence on the outcome?

Household Dynamics

- e. How do you think the way this decision was made affects your relationship with your spouse?
- f. [If answered yes to d] How do you think your relationship would be different if you made the decision this way?

Question 7: Pros and Cons of Joint Decisions

Objective: Understand perceptions of pros and cons of making a decision jointly with another hh member.

- a. Some decisions are made jointly between household members where they discuss a matter thoroughly, voice their opinions, debate the best option, and come to a consensus on how to move forward. What are the advantages of making decisions this way?
- b. What about its disadvantages?

- i. *Probe:* Do you think making decisions together with other household members can be stressful, time consuming, or burdensome? Why or why not?
- c. Do you or would you like making decisions after discussing them with other household members? Why or why not?
 - i. *Probe:* Does this depend on the type of decision? If so, which ones would you like to make jointly and which ones would you prefer not to make together?
- d. Are there things that you would like that you would like to decide as a household after thorough discussions that are currently being decided by only one household member? If so, which decisions? Why is it that you are not currently deciding on this together?

Question 8: Ideal Decision-Making Process

Objective: Understand their perceptions of the ideal method of decision-making on different dimensions. What does the ideal process look like, does it differ by type of decision? Why do they think this would be ideal?

As we've discussed, decisions can be made in different ways. I will now ask you some questions about what you think the ideal decision-making process should be in a household. This may be the way your household makes decisions, or it may be very different from the way your household makes decisions. There is no right or wrong answer, we just want to understand how you think about it.

- a. In some households only one person makes decisions without consulting anyone else on the matter, in other households the household members discuss the decision thoroughly and the decision is only made when they have come to a consensus. How much discussion do you think is ideal when a household is making a decision?
 - i. Why do you think this is ideal?
 - ii. Would your answer be the same for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
- b. We just talked about the ideal *amount* of discussion. Now I'd like to ask about *who should start* those discussions. Some people think the husband should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. Some people think the wife should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. What do you think is ideal?
 - i. Why do you think this is ideal?
 - ii. Would your answer be the same for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
- c. Some people think the husband's opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. Other people think the wife's opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. What do you think is ideal?
 - i. Why do you think this is ideal?
 - ii. Would your answer be the same for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
 - iii. For what reasons should the husband's opinion have more influence?
 - iv. For what reasons should the wife's opinion have more influence?

Note to interviewer: On the questions related to reasons one should have more influence, pay attention to the following, and you can use this for probing if needed.

- i. *Should the person having more influence be different when the decision is on land or other household matters?*
- ii. *How important is the formal ownership of the land in the discussion?*
- iii. *How important is the actual claim of land ownership [informal] in the discussion?*
- iv. *How important is the role of the person who is farming in the discussion?*
- v. *How important is expertise/experience in the discussion?*
- vi. *How important is each other's gender in the discussion?*
- vii. *Does it matter whether it is the husband or the wife who is the title holder?*

Question 9: Social Norms

Decisions can be made in different ways. I will now ask you some questions about what other members of your community—such as friends, neighbors and relatives—think the ideal decision-making process should be in a household. You may or may not agree with how they think.

Level of Discussion

- a. In some households only one person makes decisions without consulting anyone else on the matter, in other households the household members discuss the decision thoroughly and the decision is only made when they have come to a consensus. How much discussion do you think the other members of your community would think is ideal when a household is making a decision?
 - i. Would the ideal decision-making process from the point of view of members of your community be the same for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
 - ii. If the wife makes the decision without discussing it with any other household member, how do you think other members of the community would think about her?
 - iii. If the husband and wife discuss the decision until they reach a consensus, how do you think other members of the community would think about them? Would they think differently of the husband and of the wife?

Initiating Discussions

- b. We just talked about what other people think is the ideal *amount* of discussion. Now I'd like to ask what they think about *who should start* those discussions. Some people think the husband should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. Some people think the wife should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. What do think the members of your community would think is ideal?
 - i. Would the person who should start the discussion from the point of view of members of your community be the same for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
 - ii. If the husband initiates the discussions, how would he be perceived by other members of your community?
 - iii. If the wife initiates the discussions, how would she be perceived by other members of your community?

Husband vs. Wife's Influence

- c. Some people think the husband’s opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. Other people think the wife’s opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. What do think the members of your community would think is ideal?
 - i. Would the person who should have more influence be different for different types of decisions? If so, how and which ones?
 - ii. For what reasons do other members of your community think the husband’s opinion should have more influence?
[See note on question 8 and probe if answers are vague or it’s taking a long time for them to answer]
 - iii. For what reasons do other members of your community think the wife’s opinion should have more influence?
[See note on question 8 and probe if answers are vague or its taking a long time for them to answer]
 - iv. If the husband has more influence on decisions, how would he be perceived by other members of your community?
 - v. If the wife has more influence on decisions, how would she be perceived by other members of your community?

Question 10: Decision-Making on DAR-Awarded Land

Objective: Understand their motivation in making decisions, which considerations drive their thought process and decision-making outcomes.

If previously interviewed: The last time we interviewed you, you mentioned you own a [area] hectare parcel of land, formerly owned by [former owner] and next to [neighbor]. I would now like to ask some questions about this parcel.

If not previously interviewed, try to identify their DAR-awarded land without mentioning the DAR/CARP outright: Do you own any land? How did you obtain the land? I would know like to ask some questions about this parcel.

- a. Can you give an example of a decision you made on the land?
 - i. What is your reason/motivation for this?
 - ii. Did you consider other option?
 - iii. Why did you choose this option?
- b. Do you think about your land title or does it come up in discussions when you’re making a decision on this parcel?
 - i. [If yes to b.] How does this shift the discussion?
 - ii. Would you make decisions differently if your household had an individual land title instead of a collective one?
 - i. Probe: If yes, how is it different?
 - iii. Would you make decisions differently if your spouse was/was not on the title?
 - i. Probe: If yes, how is it different?
- c. Do other people’s opinions about the decision matter? Why or why not?

- d. Did you consider how you will be perceived by other people such as relatives, friends, members of the community given the decision that was made? Why or why not?
- e. Are there things you would do differently on this land if you had an individual title instead of a collective title?
 - i. Probe: Would you consider selling or leasing it?
 - ii. Probe: Would you use it for collateral?
 - iii. Probe: Would you change what you plant or the level of inputs you use? Would you make other investments in the land?

JOINT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Study objectives

- 6) *To understand if men and women have different definitions of what it means to make a decision Do men and women focus on different aspects of decision making when thinking about who makes the decision? For example, what role do the following play in their thought process and are the roles of the following elements different for men and women?*
 - *Who is most involved in the domain about which decision is being made*
 - *Who initiates the discussion/proposes the idea?*
 - *Who proposes the solution/decision to be made?*

- *Who has the final say in case of disagreement?*
- 7) *To investigate if the definitions of what it means to make a decision are different when the person making the decision is a man or a woman*
 - *Are the roles of the aforementioned elements considered differently if the person initiating/proposing/having the final say is a man vs. a woman?*
- 8) *To explore what role do land titles play in decision making on land and if the roles are different for men and women?*
- 9) *To explore if it is empowering to make decisions, or can decision making be perceived as a burden? Furthermore, are sole or joint decisions more empowering? Does the empowerment effect depend on the type of decision?*
- 10) *To examine what underlying factors could be explaining spousal disagreement on decision making? This question will be majorly targeted in joint interviews*

Methodology :

Include *rationale for sole interviews and joint interviews under methodology section of project proposal*

Sole interviews :

- *Enable all respondents to speak more and to go deeper into the thoughts and perceptions of each person*
- *Enable respondents to speak more freely, without considering how their spouse might react*

Joint interviews :

- *Enable us to understand the dialogue between husband and wife on their perceptions of what it means to make a decision and how decision-making works in their household*
 - *Note: it will be important for us to know what the man said and what the woman said, so enumerators should be taking notes on who says what in the discussion, not just the end result.*
 - *Note: we would also want enumerators to note the general dynamic (does one person do most of the talking? Does one always end up agreeing with the other?) and to make efforts to engage both spouses in the discussion, by for example, addressing a question to one of them first.*
- *The discussion may bring up a debate or highlight different view points that enable us to detect important differences between their points of view*
- *This may elucidate underlying differences in how men and women think and perceive things or help clarify things that may be driving spousal disagreement on decision making.*

Question 1

Objective: Gather some information on the household structure and build rapport

4. *How long/many years have you known each other?*
5. *How long have you been living together/married?*
6. *How many children do you have and how old are they?*

Question 2

Objective: Understand which decisions households are making

Can you tell me about major decisions that were made in your household? Can you enumerate/list some of them for me?

Question 3: Sole Decision (Respondent)

Objective: Understand what the process looks like for different types of decisions; Understand how they define sole decision making; Determine whether they are happy with their current role in household decision making or whether they would like to have more say.

Note: You can discuss decisions mentioned in question 2 if possible.

Process

- g. Can you think of a recent time when you made a decision on your own? (If answer is still no after additional probing, skip b-f).
- h. What was the decision?
- i. Can you tell me what the decision-making process looked like?
 - iv. Who initiated the decision-making process (ex. noticed the issue / brought it up for discussion)?
 - v. Was there a discussion before the decision was made?
 - ii. If so, how many discussions were there, who was involved, and how did the discussion progress?
 - vi. Was there a disagreement on what the right decision was?
 - iv. If so, how was it resolved?
 - v. Who made the final decision in the end?
 - vi. Why was it that s/he made the final decision?

Note: If other household members are involved in the process, please probe into why they consider this to be a sole decision, even though other people are involved.

Perceptions

- j. If you were to go back in time and make this decision again, is there anything you would change about the decision-making process? If so, why, and what would that process look like?
 - iv. *Probe:* How did you feel about the decision that was made?
 - v. *Probe:* How did you feel about the way the decision was made, in other words, the decision-making process?
 - vi. *Probe:* Do you think the decision was made fairly? Why or why not?

Household Dynamics

- k. How do you think the way this decision was made affects your relationship with your spouse?
- l. [If answered yes to d] How do you think your relationship would be different if you made the decision this way?

Question 5: Joint Decisions

Objective: Understand what the process looks like for different types of decisions; Understand how they define joint decision making; Determine whether they are happy with their current role in household decision making or whether they would like to have more say.

Note: You can discuss decisions mentioned in question 2 if possible.

Process

- g. Can you think of a recent time when you and your spouse made a decision together? (If answer is still no after additional probing, skip b-f).
- h. What was the decision?
- i. Can you tell me what the decision-making process looked like?
 - iv. Who initiated the decision-making process (ex. noticed the issue / brought it up for discussion)?
 - v. Was there a discussion before the decision was made?
 - i. If so, how many discussions were there, who was involved, and how did the discussion progress?
 - vi. Was there a disagreement on what the right decision was?
 - i. If so, how was it resolved?
 - ii. Who made the final decision in the end?
 - iii. Why was it that s/he made the final decision?

Note: If it seems one of the spouses is playing a greater role in the process or having more influence over the decision, please probe into why they consider this a joint decision, despite the imbalance of power.

Perceptions

- j. If you were to go back in time and make this decision again with your spouse, is there anything you would change about the decision-making process? If so, why, and what would that process look like?
 - i. *Probe:* How did you feel about the decision that was made?
 - ii. *Probe:* How did you feel about the way the decision was made, in other words, the decision-making process?
 - iii. *Probe:* Do you think the decision was made fairly? Why or why not?
 - iv. *Probe:* Would you have liked to have had a greater say in the discussion or more influence on the outcome?

Household Dynamics

- k. How do you think the way this decision was made affects your relationship with your spouse?
- l. [If answered yes to d] How do you think your relationship would be different if you made the decision this way?

Question 6: Pros and Cons of Joint Decisions

Objective: Understand perceptions of pros and cons of making a decision jointly with another hh member.

- e. Some decisions are made jointly between household members where they discuss a matter thoroughly, voice their opinions, debate the best option, and come to a consensus on how to move forward. What are the advantages of making decisions this way?
- f. What about its disadvantages?
 - i. *Probe:* Do you think making decisions together with other household members can be stressful, time consuming, or burdensome? Why or why not?
- g. Do you or would you like making decisions after discussing them with other household members? Why or why not?
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Decisions can be made in different ways. I will now ask you some questions about what other members of your community—such as friends, neighbors and relatives—think the ideal decision-making process should be in a household. You may or may not agree with how they think.

Level of Discussion

- d. In some households only one person makes decisions without consulting anyone else on the matter, in other households the household members discuss the decision thoroughly and the decision is only made when they have come to a consensus. How much discussion do you think the other members of your community would think is ideal when a household is making a decision?
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Initiating Discussions

- e. We just talked about what other people think is the ideal *amount* of discussion. Now I'd like to ask what they think about *who should start* those discussions. Some people think the husband should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. Some people think the wife should be the one to initiate discussions related to a decision. What do think the members of your community would think is ideal?

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- iii. If the wife initiates the discussions, how would she be perceived by other members of your community?

Husband vs. Wife's Influence

- f. Some people think the husband's opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. Other people think the wife's opinion should have more influence in the case of a disagreement. What do think the members of your community would think is ideal?
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- g. Do you think about your land title or does it come up in discussions when you're making a decision on this parcel?

- i. [If yes to b.] How does this shift the discussion?
- ii. Would you make decisions differently if your household had an individual land title instead of a collective one?
 - i. Probe: If yes, how is it different?
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 - i. Probe: If yes, how is it different?
- h. Do other people's opinions about the decision matter? Why or why not?
- i. Did you consider how you will be perceived by other people such as relatives, friends, members of the community given the decision that was made? Why or why not?
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 - ii. Probe: Would you use it for collateral?
 - iii. Probe: Would you change what you plant or the level of inputs you use? Would you make other investments in the land?