

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON WOMEN'S ROLE IN INTRAHOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING IN KOREAN AND THE PHILIPPINE RICE FARMING HOUSEHOLDS

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to contribute to a greater understanding of the similarities and differences in intrahousehold decision-making patterns between Korea and the Philippines based on survey data targeting married, rice-farming households. We focused on factors influencing intrahousehold decision-making patterns, as this area has received relatively less coverage in the research related to gender roles. As a result of a regression analysis, we found a common influential factor, termed here as 'household member', and compared decision-making patterns and social activities between households with and without a husband in each country. Our findings from this study are as follows: 1) Although Korea scored higher in agricultural work and the Philippines scored higher score in nonagricultural work, there was no significant difference in the total score. 2) The factors which affected intrahousehold decision-making patterns were slightly different between two countries. The common factors which affected the decision-making structure were the 'total size of landholdings' and 'household member'. The variable of 'household member' was the most influential on decision-making patterns in both countries. 3) In Korea, the difference of the rate of wives' village meeting participation between the

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groups with and without a husband was very significant. This study showed that women's over-empowerment not resulting from a normal condition as much as men's over-authority could be in question; there may be a need for social support for those doing agricultural and nonagricultural work by themselves.

I. Introduction

Though women have played a major role in agricultural households, they have not been given much power in the decision-making process either in agricultural affairs or household affairs. According to Sachs (1996), although women do the majority of work in agriculture at the global level, elder men still own the land, control women's labor, and make agricultural decisions in patriarchal social systems. The author also stated that in many Asian countries, colonial discourses advocating female domestication and the 'housewifization' of women reinforced patriarchal relations in rural places.

Therefore, many studies have been conducted to highlight the gender role and relations within households in an effort to bring changes to assist with women's empowerment. Main research issues include the division of tasks by sex and the participation of women in decision-making processes (Nosheen, 2009; Choudhury, 2003; Asian Development Bank, 1997), the factors which affect women's decision-making authority (Paris et al., 2009), and the effect of women's bargaining power on intrahousehold resource allocation (Quisumbing et al., 2003; Briere et al., 2003).

The results of these studies show that although agricultural or non-agricultural tasks are defined as appropriate to one or the other sex in a given culture, some clear general patterns emerge. In almost all locations, women take over labor-intensive activities such as transplanting, weeding, and harvesting as well as housework, while land preparation activities are handled by men (Sachs, 1996; Asian Development Bank, 1997). It is also common for women to work for more hours than the men for the family economy and welfare while their areas of decision-making are limited to child rearing and household budgeting (Choudhury, 2003; Asian Development Bank, 1997).

Meanwhile, Paris et al. (2009) compared factors that affect women's

decision-making authority in the countries of Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines using a Tobit analysis. The factors were different in each country, and there was no common factor which has a significant effect on women's decision-making authority in all three countries.

Other research has focused on the effect of women's bargaining power as it pertains to intrahousehold resource allocation. These studies measured women's bargaining power by proxy variables such as assets at marriage, transfers at marriage, years of schooling, and others (Quisumbing, 2003; Briere et al., 2003). Intrahousehold decision-making affects the well-being of individuals in how it allocates intrahousehold resources. That is, according to who has more decision-making authority between the wife and the husband, household resources are allocated differently. For example, Briere et al. (2003) described that when woman had more authority and access to resources, household expenditure on children's education increased.

Overall, the current situation, the causes, and the effects of intrahousehold decision-making have all been objects of much research. However, this study focuses on the factors influencing intrahousehold decision-making patterns, which has received relatively less coverage. Furthermore, through comparative research between two countries, Korea and the Philippines, improving apprehension of the intrahousehold decision-making process and exploring the factors behind the matter will be pursued. This can help each country to understand their current situation and to make it better for well-being of rural households.

The one factor Korea has in common with the Philippines is that their main crop is rice. However, many other aspects are different, such as agricultural processes and outcomes and the economic, socio-cultural environment. Therefore, to understand the differences in intrahousehold decision-making patterns, the agricultural and economic, socio-cultural conditions of both countries need to be discussed.

II. Agriculture in Korea and the Philippines

Korea experienced modernization and industrialization at a speed that was two to five times quicker than the rate experienced by advanced countries.

Therefore, the ratio of agricultural GDP went from 40% to 5% in 30 years (KREI, 2008). The figures in 2008 show that the ratio of agricultural GDP has decreased to 2.3%, however, which is still two times higher than the ratio of other OECD countries.

Although the Philippines as a country is still regarded as an agricultural economy, by 1981 the direct share of agriculture as a share of GDP had fallen to 23 percent (Habito et al., 2005). In 2008, the sector's share had decreased to only 14.9 percent. While industry and especially services significantly raised their output shares, particularly over the past two decades, agricultural output was stagnant through these years (Habito et al., 2005).

Table 1 shows that while the situations in Korea and the Philippines are similar in that the share of agriculture GDP has continuously decreased or remained static, the agricultural share of the Philippines is still around six times higher than that of Korea.

TABLE 1. Gross Domestic Product at Current Prices

Unit: billion US\$

	Korea		Philippines	
	GDP	Agriculture, forestry and fishing (%)	GDP	Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing (%)
2000	533.4	21.9 (4.1)	75.9	11.97 (15.76)
2005	845.0	25.3 (3.0)	98.8	14.13 (14.3)
2008	928.3	21.3 (2.3)	166.9	24.8 (14.85)

Source: Korea National Statistical Office; The World Bank (Philippines)

Tables 2 and 3 present the total population and amount of human resources in the agricultural sector. As of 2008, while the total population of the Philippines is around two times larger than that of Korea, labor in agricultural sector of the Philippines is almost eight times larger than that of Korea, despite the fact that this number for Korea includes labor in agriculture, forestry and fishing. The ratio of female labor in Korea is nearly 50%; however, that in the Philippines is only around 24%.

TABLE 2. Total and Farm Population and Agricultural Labor in Korea

Unit: thousand persons

Year	Total population	Total farm population	Labor in agriculture, forestry and fishing		
				Male (%)	Female (%)
2000	47,008	4,031	2,243	1,170 (52.2)	1,073 (47.8)
2005	47,279	3,434	1,815	965 (53.2)	850 (46.8)
2008	48,607	3,187	1,686	904 (53.6)	783 (46.4)

Source: Korea National Statistical Office

TABLE 3. Total and Agricultural Population and Agricultural Labor in the Philippines

Unit: thousand persons

Year	Total population	Total agricultural population	Agricultural labor		
				Male (%)	Female (%)
2000	77,689	30,673	12,468	9,469 (75.9)	2,999 (24.1)
2005	85,496	31,118	12,918	9,779 (75.7)	3,140 (24.3)
2008	90,348	31,371	13,317	10,121 (76.0)	3,196 (24.0)

Source: Philippines Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

Cultivated area per farm household in Korea increased slightly from 1.32 ha in 1995 to 1.45 ha in 2008, while in the Philippines it has decreased somewhat from 2.16 ha in 1991 to 2.01 ha in 2002.

As of 2008, the rate of irrigated paddy fields in Korea is 79.3%. That of partially irrigated paddy fields is 20.5%. In the same year, the rate of irrigated paddy fields in the Philippines is less than it is in Korea, at 68.0%. The remaining area (32.0%) is rain-fed paddy fields.

In terms of agricultural machinery holdings, Korea has 3.6 times more agricultural tractors and 63.8 times more harvester-threshers. Considering the total cultivated area, the figures are 1,824 thousand ha for Korea (2005) and 9,671 thousand ha for the Philippines (2002). Thus, agriculture in Korea is much more mechanized than it is in the Philippines.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Machinery Holdings

	Korea		Philippines	
	Agricultural tractors	Harvester-Threshers	Agricultural tractors	Harvester-Threshers
2005	227,873	86,825	63,000	1,360

Source: Korea National Statistical Office, FAOSTAT Statistics Database

As a result, comparing the production per area of the main crop, rice, of the two countries, the productivity of Korea is 1.8 times higher than that of the Philippines.

TABLE 5. Cultivated Area and Production of Rice

Unit: thousand ha, thousand tons

	Korea			Philippines		
	Area	Production	Production per area	Area	Production	Production per area
2005	936	6,468	6.9	4,459	16,816	3.8

Source: Korea National Statistical Office, FAOSTAT Statistics Database

Because this study focuses on the decision-making structure within farm households, the condition of agriculture can be one factor that shows a difference between the two countries. We will review other variables which are known to have an effect on the intrahousehold decision-making structure.

III. Factors Affecting Women's Participation in Decision-Making Activities

The Global Gender Gap Index, introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006, has provided country rankings of gender-based disparity (Hausmann et al., 2009). According to this report, the Philippines (ranked 9) has been distinctive for being the only Asian country among the top 20, with Sri Lanka, while Korea (ranked 115) has continued to hold low positions in the Asian rankings. The Philippines has closed the gender gap in terms of both education and health, whereas Korea is ranked 109th and 80th, respectively, in each sub-index.

A comparative study between Korea and the Philippines in the agricultural sector also shows a similar result. Gim et al. (2008) reported in their study on rural women leaders that women in Korea defer to their husbands on decision-making in 85% of tasks in farming, while women in the Philippines have more decision-making authority by 15.0 percentage points than their husbands. This result shows that the level of economic development or agricultural productivity does not always represent the level of gender equality. The next sec-

tion introduces literature findings regarding the factors that affect women's authority in decision-making activities.

1. Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics

Tu & Chang (2000) confirmed in their comparative study of China and Taiwan that self-education was the strongest predictor of women's gender role attitudes. Urban experience was found to be more important for women in China than it was in Taiwan as regards an effect on gender attitudes. Age and family structural effect were not all significantly related to women's gender attitudes.

According to Chi et al. (2001), the decision-making authority of the wife depended on whether the household was nuclear or extended. While women among nuclear households were involved in making decisions on matters related to agriculture despite the presence of their husbands, in extended households, the couple's decisions were influenced by other family members, such as their in-laws, even if they jointly made decisions.

2. Cultural Background

Lee & Kim (1991) found in their case study of a mountain village in Korea that women's contribution to the economic condition of the household through off-farm work did not improve their intra-household position. They observed that the patriarchal culture of the village was maintained by traditional ceremonies which regularly occurred. Rural women in the village had internalized the social custom that housework was a woman's natural duty and they had a lower social status than their husbands. Therefore, they accepted the intense dual duty - agricultural affairs and household affairs - painfully without an objection and were denied the ability to express their voices in village meetings.

Likewise, much research has indicated that despite the increase in women's role in the agricultural sector, the status of women has not improved in response to the changes (Kim & Lee, 2000; Choi, 2001; Kim, 2003). Choi (2001) noted that reasons for the discrepancy included women's lack of a sense of equality and traditional attitudes toward gender and relations.

Nosheen et al. (2009) reported that female respondents had constraints that limited their decision-making role in socio-economic activities due to cultural values and the egos of patriarchal members in their study focusing on Pakistan.

3. Mechanization and Women's Authority

The advent of science and technology in farming practices brought changes to the division of tasks between the sexes. According to Dash (2006), mechanization has drawn farm men and women away from the ordinary operations of farming as they were absorbed in the industrial and service sectors. Therefore, in developed countries, only a small number of men operate and manage affairs in mechanized agriculture, and very few women remain in the agricultural sector. Similarly, the modernization process in the agricultural sector removed women from traditional activities and has forced them into less skilled jobs and into auxiliary agent roles rather than primary managers.

Lee & Kim (1991) found that mechanization in rice farming had an effect on making women's roles more subordinate in Korea. As the roles traditionally handled by women came to be handled by machines, farm women were marginalized from their work by machines, which were used exclusively by men. They were even removed from their main roles, such as rice transplanting. That is, mechanization could contribute to reducing women's burden of overwork, but it worsened their positions within the household and village by depriving them of the chance at participation in economic activity.

4. Women's Authority and Empowerment

In the context of the conventional definition, empowerment must be about bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it. However, empowerment is more than simply opening up access to decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to occupy that decision-making space because the abilities ascribed to a particular set of people are to a large degree socially constructed. Empowerment must involve undoing negative social constructions, so that the people affected come to see themselves as having the capacity and the right to act and have influence (Rowlands, 1999).

Choudhury (2003) enumerated factors which were needed for improving the quality of life for rural women. These were access to land, access to credit, access to agricultural inputs, access to extension and training, and access to education.

IV. Methodology

This study used survey data from surveys conducted by trained research teams in each country in 2005. For Korea, data were gathered through the Rural Living Survey, which was a nationwide survey. 1,870 households who lived in 187 administrative villages located in 88 Si (city) or Gun (county) were selected as respondents through a stratified cluster sampling method. Among 1,870 sample data sets, 191 that had been answered by married women in rice-farming households were chosen for the purpose of comparison with the Philippine data.

In the Philippines, based on the information gathered from a rapid rural appraisal (RRA) and from focus group discussions (FGDs), the research sites of the large-scale household surveys were selected. The selected sites were 46 villages in Pangasinan, Bulacan, Albay, and Camarines Sur. In total, 813 surveys from households whose main agricultural activity was rice farming were collected. From among these 813, 182 that had been completed by married women were chosen.

The questionnaire for measuring the decision-making authority consisted of two agricultural and three nonagricultural items. The scores assigned were as follows: husband alone = 1, husband greater than wife = 2, husband and wife = 3, wife greater than husband = 4, and wife alone = 5. Thus, a wife who was scored as a 5 had the highest level of authority. Each item was slightly different between two countries (Table 1); therefore, the results must be carefully interpreted. Agricultural work included decisions on choice of crop and postharvest operations, and nonagricultural work included decisions related to investment in house or land, house expenditure and education of children.

TABLE 6. Items for Measuring Decision-Making Authority

	Korea	Philippines
Agricultural work	Choice of crop	What crop to grow in the field
		What rice variety to use
	Harvested crop marketing	When to sell rice or other crops
Nonagricultural work	Whether to buy or sell house/land	Whether to buy land
		House construction
	Allocating household expenditures	How much money to spend on food
	Education of children	Expenditure on children's education

* The Philippines' items which consisted of two items were combined to match the Korean items

To analyze the decision-making authority scores, descriptive analysis was used along with a t-test when necessary to determine whether or not a difference was significant. To identify the factors that affected decision-making authority, ordinary least squares regression analysis was used. All analyses were processed by SPSS 17.0.

V. Results

Table 7 shows the result of the comparison between rice-farming households and other farm households. We predicted that the scores would be different between the two groups because rice-farming households were thought to be more traditional and patriarchal. Although the scores pertaining to agricultural work were higher in other farm households and those of nonagricultural work were higher in rice-farming households, the difference was minor and not statistically significant. This result justified our decision of using only the rice-farming household data with the fact that rice was the main crop of each country.

TABLE 7. Differences in Household Decision-Making Relationships between Rice-Farming Households and Others

Korea	Rice farming (n=191)	Others (n=182)	t(p)
Agricultural work	2.61 (0.943)	2.72 (0.870)	-1.137 (0.256)
- To decide what crop to grow	2.52 (0.982)	2.67 (0.999)	-1.390 (0.165)
- To sell the harvested crop	2.70 (1.039)	2.77 (0.948)	-0.602 (0.548)
Nonagricultural work	2.92 (0.702)	2.92 (0.662)	-0.051 (0.959)
- To buy or sell house/land	2.36 (1.029)	2.51 (0.937)	-1.390 (0.165)
- To decide on household expenditures	3.18 (0.906)	3.17 (0.934)	0.129 (0.898)
- To decide on the education of children	3.20 (0.731)	3.09 (0.649)	1.604 (0.110)
Total	2.80 (0.735)	2.84 (0.661)	-0.532 (0.595)

* Ratings used: 1 = husband alone, 2 = husband greater than wife, 3 = husband and wife, 4 = wife greater than husband, and 5 = wife alone

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Table 8. The average age of the wives according to the Korea data was slightly higher than in the Philippines, but the number of years of education was greater in the Philippines than it was in Korea. The primary occupation of the wife was mostly agriculture according to the Korea data, but in the Philippines only 35.2% of the respondents were engaged in agriculture. 47.8% reported that their primary occupation was as a housewife. The most common type of household was the absolute nuclear type in each country, and total size of landholdings was also similar, at around 1.5 ha. The rate of respondents who were married but lived without a husband was 7.3% and 11.0%, respectively. For Korea, the husbands in these cases had left home for a range of reasons or passed away, but in the Philippines they were all short- or long-term migrants. 64.9% and 87.0% of the respondents lived in rural areas in each country.

TABLE 8. Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

	Korea (n=191)		Philippines (n=182)	
	Ave.	S.D.	Ave.	S.D.
Age of wife (years)	56.88	(12.417)	52.59	(10.184)
Education of wife (years)	6.23	(4.382)	8.80	(3.289)
Primary occupation of wife (1=agriculture, 0=otherwise)	0.62	(0.486)	0.35	(0.479)
Type of household (1=absolute nuclear, 0=extended)	0.72	(0.449)	0.75	(0.436)
Total size of landholdings (1=<1ha, 2=1-2ha, 3= \geq 2ha)	1.52	(0.754)	1.63	(0.862)
Household member* (1=with husband, 0=without husband)	0.93	(0.261)	0.89	(3.314)
Region (1=rural, 0=less rural)	0.65	(0.478)	0.87	(0.333)

* with husband = cohabitation, without husband = non-cohabitation (In Korea data, it is impossible to identify the reason of non-cohabitation, while in the Philippine data, the husbands in this group are all migrants.)

1. Intra-household Decision-Making Patterns in Rural Korea and the Philippines

Table 9 shows the decision-making authority result for Korea and the Philippines. The total score was similar, at 2.80 and 2.89, respectively. Similar

tendencies were also noted between the two countries for all items. However, the agricultural work scores were slightly higher in Korea than they were in the Philippines, while the nonagricultural work scores were higher in the Philippines. This result can also be interpreted that there was clearer role division between wives and husbands in the Philippines.

TABLE 9. Scores of decision-making authority in each country

Items	Korea (n=191)	Philippines (n=182)	t(p)
Agricultural work	2.61 (0.942)	2.44 (1.274)	1.466 (0.144)
- To decide what crop to grow	2.52 (0.982)	2.22 (1.398)	2.392** (0.017)
- To sell the harvested crop	2.70 (1.039)	2.91 (1.387)	-1.594 (0.112)
Nonagricultural work	2.92 (0.702)	3.28 (0.691)	-5.021 ^{***} (0.000)
- To buy or sell house/land	2.36 (1.029)	2.76 (0.818)	-4.028 ^{***} (0.000)
- To decide on household expenditures	3.18 (0.906)	4.20 (1.14)	-9.524 ^{***} (0.000)
- To decide on the education of children	3.20 (0.731)	3.28 (0.911)	-0.849 (0.397)
Total	2.80 (0.735)	2.89 (0.800)	-1.068 (0.286)

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

The higher score for Korea in agricultural work can be partially explained by the awareness of the wife's occupation. The wives in each country were all members of agricultural households; however, the wives in the Philippines recognized their occupation as a housewife, while the wives in Korea perceived this to be in agriculture. However, the order of the scores of the two countries was different for each sub-item. Korean women participated more in deciding upon what crop to grow but participated less in determining to sell the harvested crop than Philippine women.

The scores of the nonagricultural work items were all higher in the Philippines. Women in the Philippines participated more in investing their money to houses or land and were slightly more authorized in determining the education of their children than Korean women. However, the considerable difference re-

garding household expenditures is very likely to have been caused by the differences in the questionnaires. In the Philippines, wives were asked about the identity of the decision-maker as regards how much money was spent on food. That is, the focus was on food from among many elements of household expenditure.

2. Factors on household decision-making authority in rural Korea and the Philippines

The results of the regression analysis of each country are shown in Table 10 and Table 11. In Korea, the factors that affected household decision-making activities were 'age of wife', 'total size of landholdings' and 'household member'. The older the wives were, the less authorized they were. The wives had less authority when their household had greater landholdings and when they lived with their husbands. The magnitude of the effect was greatest in the variable of household member.

TABLE 10. Factors Affecting Household Decision-Making Authority in Rural Korea (n=190)

Variable	Coefficient	Standard error	β	t	p-value
Constant	5.150	0.424		12.149	0.000***
Age of wife (years)	-0.010	0.005	-0.159	-1.767	0.079*
Education of wife (years)	-0.022	0.015	-0.132	-1.503	0.135
Primary occupation of wife (1=agriculture, 0=otherwise)	-0.082	0.096	-0.054	-0.850	0.397
Type of household (1=absolute nuclear, 0=extended)	0.002	0.115	0.001	0.013	0.989
Total size of landholdings (1=<1ha, 2=1-2ha, 3= \geq 2ha)	-0.143	0.061	-0.147	-2.335	0.021**
Household member (1=with husband, 0=without husband)	-0.019	0.183	-0.533	-8.214	0.000***
Region (1=rural, 0=less rural)	-1.500	0.095	-0.012	-0.199	0.842

* p<0.1, **p<0.05,***p<0.01
 F-value = 13.210(0.000) R-square = 0.337 Adj. R-square = 0.311

In the Philippines, the factors that affected household decision-making activities were 'primary occupation of wife', 'total size of landholdings', 'household member' and 'region of residence'. The wives had more authority when their primary occupation was agriculture and when they lived in a rural

area. As with Korea, the wives had less authority when they lived with their husbands compared to when they lived without their husbands, and the total size of the landholdings had negative relationship with the decision-making authority of the wife. The magnitude of the effect was the greatest in the variable of household member.

TABLE 11. Factors Affecting Household Decision-Making Authority in Rural Philippines (n=182)

Variable	Coefficient	Standard error	β	t	p-value
Constant	3.518	0.412		8.533	0.000***
Age of wife (years)	0.001	0.006	0.016	0.231	0.818
Education of wife (years)	-0.011	0.016	-0.046	-0.673	0.502
Primary occupation of wife (1=agriculture, 0=otherwise)	0.355	0.114	0.212	3.112	0.002***
Type of household (1=absolute nuclear, 0=extended)	0.158	0.118	0.086	1.341	0.182
Total size of landholdings (ha)	-0.061	0.033	-0.117	-1.829	0.069*
Household member (1=with husband, 0=without husband)	-1.101	0.184	-0.432	-5.996	0.000***
Region of residence (1=rural, 0=less rural)	0.254	0.153	0.106	1.663	0.098*

* p<0.1, **p<0.05,***p<0.01
 F-value = 10.931(0.000) R-square = 0.305 Adj. R-square = 0.277

The factors that commonly affected the decision-making authority were the total size of landholdings and household member. Among these variables, household member had the greatest effect on the wife's decision-making authority.

3. The Relationship Between Women's Decision-Making Authority and Household Member

Table 12 shows the result of comparison between two groups, one with a husband and the other without a husband. In the group with husbands, Korea was given a higher score in agricultural work and the Philippines had a higher score in non-agricultural work. However, in the group without husbands, the opposite result was noted. The Philippines was given a higher score in agricultural work and Korea

had a higher score in nonagricultural work. When the wives were left alone, the authorities of the wives in agricultural work sharply increased in the Philippines, though both countries demonstrated an increase. According to Chi et al. (2001), with the husband's absence, the wives were faced with problems related to farming, such as lack of knowledge on rice pest management and difficulty in spraying and irrigating the fields. Wives facing a sudden change could suffer from the burden of agricultural work. Hence, social support becomes a strong need for them.

On the other hand, in nonagricultural work, there was little difference between the groups with and without a husband in the Philippines compared to the much greater difference in Korea. This arises because in the group without husbands in the Philippines, the husbands were all migrants. They may have migrated to another domestic region or to another country. Therefore, they may make decisions in conjunction with their wives regarding nonagricultural work through a temporary visit or via a telephone call. However, in Korea, in the group without husbands, the wives were more likely to be widowed or divorced. Thus, they had higher authority in nonagricultural work than their counterparts in the Philippines.

TABLE 12. Comparison between Group with Husbands and the Group without Husbands

Items	With Husband			Without husband		
	Korea (n=177)	Philippines (n=162)	t(p)	Korea (n=14)	Philippines (n=20)	t(p)
Agricultural work	2.47 (0.79)	2.19 (1.051)	2.78^{***} (0.006)	4.32 (0.99)	4.70 (0.775)	-1.225 (0.230)
-To decide what crop to grow	2.38 (0.832)	1.95 (1.156)	3.879 ^{***} (0.000)	4.29 (0.994)	4.64 (0.997)	-0.995 (0.328)
-To sell the harvested crop	2.57 (0.920)	2.69 (1.286)	-0.987 (0.324)	4.36 (1.008)	4.83 (0.383)	-1.675 (0.113)
Nonagricultural work	2.82 (0.561)	3.26 (0.683)	-6.395^{***} (0.000)	4.15 (1.080)	3.52 (0.732)	1.907[*] (0.070)
-To buy or sell house/land	2.24 (0.894)	2.73 (0.804)	-5.214 ^{***} (0.000)	4.00 (1.354)	2.95 (0.926)	2.618 ^{**} (0.014)
-To decide on household expenditures	3.10 (0.851)	4.13 (1.168)	-9.229 ^{***} (0.000)	4.21 (0.975)	4.83 (0.514)	-2.154 ^{**} (0.045)
-To decide on the education of children	3.13 (0.650)	3.25 (0.905)	-1.190 (0.235)	4.15 (1.068)	3.53 (0.943)	1.697 (0.101)
Total	2.69 (0.574)	2.75 (0.685)	-0.895 (0.371)	4.23 (1.032)	3.99 (0.823)	0.740 (0.465)

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

Nextly, we analysed the degree of village meeting participation between the groups with and without a husband to look into the changes in wives' role with husbands' absence. Table 13 indicates the frequency of attending village meetings by group in Korea. The rate of participation was higher in the group with a husband than in the group without a husband. Village meetings are a place for gathering useful information and making connections and for insisting upon rights as a member of the community. This result shows that the wives' empowerment caused by the husbands' absence can be incomplete and that they can remain at a distance from their society. The extent of rural women's multiple responsibilities often imposes time and energy constraints on their participation in programs designed to increase their incomes and on their willingness to adopt new technologies (Quisumbing, 2003).

TABLE 13. Attending Village Meetings by Group in Korea

	Mostly participate	Depending on condition	Rarely participate	Total
With husband	130 (75.1%)	13 (7.5%)	30 (17.4%)	173 (100.0%)
Without husband	6 (42.9%)	2 (14.3%)	6 (42.9%)	14 (100.0%)
Total	136 (72.7%)	15 (8.0%)	36 (19.3%)	187 (100.0%)

$\chi^2=6.977$, $df=2$, $p=0.031(<0.05)$

Table 14 shows the change in attending village meetings due to husbands' or other male members' out-migration in the Philippines. The frequency of wives' attending village meetings increased after their husbands' migration, while the frequency typically did not change after other male members migrated. Though the observations were small, the wives in the Philippines seemed to cope with their difficulties more actively than those who were in Korea.

TABLE 14. Change in Attending Village Meetings by Group in the Philippines

	No change	Decrease	Increase	Total
With other male members' migration	47 (72.3%)	7 (10.8%)	11 (16.9%)	65 (100.0%)
With husband's migration	5 (27.8%)	0 (0.0%)	13 (72.2%)	18 (100.0%)
Total	52 (62.7%)	7 (8.4%)	24 (28.9%)	83 (100.0%)

$\chi^2=21.308$, $df=2$, $p=0.000(<0.01)$

V. Conclusions and Discussions

This study focused on the similarities and differences in intrahousehold decision-making patterns between Korea and the Philippines based on survey data targeting married, rice-farming households. As a result of a regression analysis, we found a common influential factor, 'household member', and compared decision-making patterns and social activities between households with and without husbands in each country.

The findings of this study are as follows. First, although Korea scored higher in agricultural work and the Philippines scored higher in nonagricultural work, there was no significant difference in the total score. However, this result can also be interpreted that there was clearer division between roles for wives and husbands in the Philippines. In the Philippines, considering the low percentage of female farmers in agricultural labor overall and the wives' low self-awareness as farmers, it should be verified as to whether women experience difficulty gaining the appropriate level of status as regards their farm work. The levels of economic development and agricultural productivity do not appear to be factors that led to critical differences in the intrahousehold decision-making structure.

Second, the factors that affected intrahousehold decision-making patterns were slightly different between the two countries. In Korea, the age of the wife was a significant variable, having a negative relationship with the wives' levels of authority. This appears to represent the recent change in the improved status of women in Korea. In the Philippines, the primary occupation of the wife and the region of residence were significant variables that affected the de-

cision-making structure. The wives who recognized themselves as farmers were more empowered than those who recognized themselves as housewives. As mentioned above, if their awareness as housewives was not due to role divisions within household but stemmed from the lack of social understanding suitable for women's agricultural work, social efforts to improve women's status not only as a member of the household but also as a member of society should be undertaken. In addition, wives who lived in rural regions were more empowered than those who lived in less rural regions in the Philippines.

Third, the common factors that affected the decision-making structure were the total size of the landholdings and the household member variable. It is likely that larger landholdings increased the responsibility and authority of the husband within the household. The variable of 'household member' was most influential on the decision-making patterns in both countries. The condition which made wives most empowered was when their husband was absent due to migration or some other reason.

Fourth, the result of the comparison between groups with and without husbands was quite interesting. Although the number of wives living without a husband was quite small, the differences between the two groups were considerable. The difference was greatest in agricultural work in the Philippines and the smallest in nonagricultural work in the Philippines. As discussed earlier, husbands not staying with their wives in the Philippines were typically migrants. Although there was no great difference between the two groups in terms of nonagricultural work, wives without husbands were forced to be authorized in the area of agricultural work as a result of their husbands' absence. They were likely to face abruptly strong responsibility in the area of agriculture without sufficient preparation. In Korea, the husbands' absence led their wives to be empowered in every aspect of both agricultural and nonagricultural work. This may also be an unwanted and unrehearsed condition for these wives.

Fifth, in Korea, the difference in the rate of attending village meetings between the groups with and without a husband was significant. While in the group with husbands, most of the wives would participate in village meetings, the wives without husbands rarely participated. However, in the Philippines, the wives whose husbands migrated stated that their attendance rate at village meetings had not changed or had rather increased after their husbands had migrated. This result showed that Korean women may felt more isolated and excluded from the social network or from other resources.

This study shows that women's over-empowerment not stemming from normal conditions as much as men's over-authority could be in question and that the women may be in need of social support when undertaking both agricultural and nonagricultural work alone.

This study has a limitation in that it used secondary data. If a more elaborate research design for a comparative study is used in a future study, this would help us understand more about the structure of intrahousehold decision-making patterns. In addition, for a more insightful comparative study, variables that can capture each country's cultural context in which rural households make decisions should be developed.

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