



AN EQUAL STAKE IN THE SOIL:

Bangladesh Baseline Study Report



Funded by:
The US Dept. of State
Secretary for Global
Women's Issues

STAND FOR HER LAND
HER RIGHTS. HER LAND. A BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL.

 **ALRD**
Association for Land Reform
and Development



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Executive Summary

Background

This baseline study was conducted for the four-year, US Department of State-funded “Equal Stake in the Soil” project taking place in Bangladesh and Colombia, which is headed globally by Landesa with the support and cooperation of the International Land Coalition (ILC). This project is part of Stand for Her Land (S4HL), a campaign that aims to close the implementation gap for women’s land rights. In Bangladesh, the work is headed by the Association for Land and Rural Development (ALRD). The overall goal of the project is to strengthen and sustain the capacity of networked, women-driven NGOs and CSOs in Bangladesh and Colombia (the “Country Coalitions”) to create the enabling environment needed to recognize and promote women’s land rights (WLR) for women’s economic empowerment. The goal of this mixed methods study is to support the development of pilot interventions, conducted under objective 3, to address social norms and behavior change (SNBC) and legal literacy related to WLR and to provide a baseline description of existing social norms, behaviors, and levels of legal literacy prior to implementing the interventions.

We gathered survey responses from February 12-26, 2023, in three districts (Faridpur, Patuakhali, and Dinajpur) in the unions where project activities are planned. The panel survey included questionnaires for women (311 respondents), the women’s husbands if they were married (213 respondents), service providers such as Union Council members, land/agricultural office staff (48 respondents), and women leaders in the communities (28 respondents).

Most of the community women respondents reported that they were homemakers. Men mainly worked on their own land as farmers, though in Patuakhali the majority earned their living through fishing. Most households have access to homestead land (93 percent), but only about half have access to agricultural land. Of those with agricultural land, the average area is about 1.34 acres. Most women community leaders were social workers or public representatives. The service providers that we interviewed included members and Chairmen of the three Union Councils, Agricultural Department Staff, Land Office Staff, and other service providers.

The surveys asked a detailed set of questions on knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and social norms. In this summary we review only a portion of the overall survey results. For the sake of brevity, we focus on results that may be most useful to the Coalition in implementing project activities. Please see the main body of the report for full survey results and analysis.

Women and Husbands

Survey Findings

Knowledge: The surveys asked women and their husbands a series of knowledge questions related to land topics. We asked about khas land distribution – khas land is government land that is available for distribution to landless families. We asked whether any poor woman could apply for khas land. Most women and husbands said “yes” (80 percent of women and husbands). However, this is incorrect because widows and abandoned women must have an adult able-bodied son to apply for khas land. We also asked women and husbands if they know how to apply for khas land. Very few women know that a landless certificate is required to apply for khas land (only 2 percent) or that landless certificates are

obtained from the Union Council (only 7 percent). Only 11 percent of husbands report knowing this information.

We also asked if women and husbands know how to obtain land documents in their name. The majority of women report that they do not know how to obtain land documents in their name or have the skills needed to obtain land documents.¹ By contrast, the majority of men report knowing how to obtain land documents in their name (65 percent) and having the skills to do so (57 percent).

Most women and husbands know that, according to Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get a portion of their deceased husband's property if he does not have any children (89 percent of women and 94 percent of husbands), that women have the right to get farmer cards (75 percent of women and 73 percent of husbands), and that women have the right to speak in community mediation (72 percent of women and 82 percent of husbands). Most people did not know about Hindu Inheritance Law, though this is not surprising given the small number of Hindus in the population.

Attitudes: We asked about women's and husbands' views on equality. Overall, we find the greatest agreement that men and women should have equal opportunities and equal rights to land and agricultural services among women in North Channel, and the least support for gender equality and WLR among women in Chealgazi. We find very supportive attitudes among both women and their husbands towards women community members applying for khas land, spouses jointly registering land, and women obtaining land documents in their name.

We find greater support for women applying for khas land than for adding women's names to land documents, which is not surprising since the former implies additional land for the household, while the latter potentially implies shifting some control of existing household land to women. According to women respondents, women should apply for khas land, spouses should jointly register land, and women's names should be included on land document to enhance women's security if they get divorced or their spouse passes away, because women have the right to land, and to promote women's independence.

A larger (though still a minority) group of husbands thought that women's names should not be added to land documents. Husbands cite mistrust between spouses, that husbands will not be willing, and potential separation with their wives as the primary reasons why spouses should not jointly register land and why women's names should not be included on land documents. Although a minority of husbands have these attitudes, these reasons suggest that there could be serious negative repercussions for their wives if they obtain land documents in their name.

Agency: The survey also assessed women's perceived self-efficacy in applying for khas land and obtaining land documents in their name. To measure perceived control, we ask how easy or difficult they think it is to apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name. Most women think it is somewhat or very difficult to apply for khas land (64 percent) or obtain land documents in their name (63 percent). Only 3 percent of women think it would be somewhat easy to apply for khas land, and none think it would be very easy. However, about one fifth of respondents think obtaining land documents in their name is very easy or somewhat easy, suggesting that more women perceive they can control whether they obtain land documents in their name than whether they apply for khas land.

¹ The exception was North Channel Union in Faridpur, where 55 percent of women believe they have the skills to obtain land documents.

Physical mobility: Survey findings reveal that women's mobility is extremely limited, with husbands deciding whether women can visit public places, such as urban centers or markets, or relatives. In general, the respondent's husband or other household member would not object if the respondent has company. Many respondents also indicate that there would not be objections to them visiting certain locations if they follow purdah/dress acceptably. In most cases, if the respondent's husband or another household member objects to them visiting a location alone, these objections prevent the respondent from doing so. We observe a different pattern of behavior for visiting a friend/neighbor's house, which women generally decide on their own and many women report doing daily.

Behaviors and intention to perform behaviors: Recognizing that intention to perform a behavior is the most important determinant of whether an individual performs the behavior, we assessed the likelihood that women will apply for khas land. A large proportion of women report that there is no chance that they will ever apply for khas land (42 percent). On average, there is a 31 percent likelihood that women will apply for khas land. For comparison, about one third of husbands report that there is no chance that they will ever apply for khas land.

Assessment of Findings

Focusing on the behaviors of applying for khas land and adding women's names to land documents, the survey results indicate that a lack of knowledge may be the key driving factor rather than direct social norms. Most women do not know how to apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name and they report that they do not have the skills to do either. This suggests that interventions providing women with greater legal literacy to strengthen their capacity are likely to help change women's behaviors. However, it is also likely that social norms contribute to these behaviors in less direct ways. For example, social norms limit women's physical mobility and their interactions with men outside of their family, both of which make it more challenging for women to take the necessary steps to apply for khas land and obtain land documents.

Women Leaders

Survey Findings

Knowledge: Women leaders have higher knowledge scores than women community members and their husbands. About 71 percent of women leaders believe they have the knowledge and skills to support women in their communities to access services related to land and agriculture.

Attitudes: Most women leaders agree or strongly agree that women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men and also that women should apply for khas land, that spouses should jointly register land, and that women should have land documents in their own names. The primary reasons given are because women have the right to land, to promote women's security in the event of divorce or death of their spouse, gender equality, and economic empowerment.

Agency: Almost all women leaders are somewhat confident or very confident that they can provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture, even if community members oppose them (97 percent). However, half of the women leaders report that it is somewhat or very difficult to provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture.

Behaviors and intention to perform behaviors: Women leaders report a high likelihood that they will help women in their community access land and agricultural services. Three quarters of women

leaders have already provided such support in the past two years. The most common types of support are physically accompanying women to a land office, agricultural office, or training, verbally encouraging women to attend trainings, and verbally encouraging women to apply for khas land. According to most women leaders, the women that they supported have attended trainings. Some women leaders report that women they supported have accessed other services, such as receiving inputs, adding their name to land documents, applying for khas land, and receiving equipment.

Assessment of Findings

Women leaders are knowledgeable about land rights matters and hold attitudes supportive of women's land rights and women's equality. Similarly, they say they are confident that they can provide support to women. There are two areas where women leaders report that further action would be beneficial. First, almost all women leaders suggest that raising awareness would help them support the women in their community to access land and agricultural services (96 percent). Second, over half recommend identifying means of increasing mobility and ability for women community members to visit land and agricultural offices.

Service Providers

Survey Findings

Knowledge: Most service providers respond correctly to the knowledge questions and most service providers believe they have the knowledge (71 percent) and skills (73 percent) to include women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture.

Attitudes: Most service providers agree or strongly agree that women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men (90 percent). However, over half of service providers disagree or strongly disagree that men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women (57 percent). Their responses reflect that many service providers do not agree with completely equal opportunities for men and women.

By contrast, most service providers agree or strongly agree that women and men should make the same daily wages (81 percent), be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture (96 percent), women can be just as good at farming as men (88 percent), and that spouses should jointly register land in both of their names (90 percent). In addition, most service providers agree that women should apply for khas land and should obtain land documents in their name. The primary reasons for this include: they believe that women should apply for khas land, spouses should jointly register land, and women should obtain land documents in their name are because women have the right to land, to promote women's security in the event of divorce or death of their spouse, and economic empowerment.

Agency: Service providers are somewhat or very confident that they can include women in their trainings and provide them with other land/agricultural services, even if community members oppose them (94 percent). However, close to half of the service providers (46 percent) also report that it is somewhat or very difficult to include women in trainings or to provide them with land/agricultural services.

Social sanctions and rewards: We asked about whether service providers would face social sanctions for providing services to women and found that most reported there would be no social sanctions for providing such services (71 percent), though 21 percent reported that they may be bullied

if they provided such services. Most said that they would not sanction either a peer for providing such services (90 percent) or a woman leader for supporting women in accessing services (83 percent).

Assessment of Findings on Service Providers

Knowledge of service providers is high, though their attitudes about women's equality are much more mixed than that of the women leaders. Generally, they do agree that women should apply for khas land and hold land in their name. Service providers' responses provide a mixed picture of their intention and ability to include women in trainings and to provide land/agricultural services to them. On the one hand, nearly all are confident that they can include women, but on the other hand close to half say that it is difficult to include women. This hints that interventions to help service providers visualize how they can better include women would be useful. For example, having women leaders or groups of community women meet with the service providers to explain how the providers can make their services more accessible and inclusive for women could spur a significant increase in the provision of such services.

Findings and Assessment on Land and Agricultural Programming and Services

Overall, we find limited access to land and agricultural programming and services among both women and their husbands, but husbands are more likely than women to receive agricultural equipment and inputs. Raising awareness of programming and services and specifically inviting women could go a long way to increasing many women's access to these services. For some women, more targeted efforts such as offering women-only or women-led trainings or providing trainings and services at more convenient times and locations for women, will be necessary to ensure that they access these services.

Very few women have ever visited a land office. Husbands are much more likely than women to have visited a land office.

Almost no women or husbands have farmer cards in North Channel or Nazirpur. However, there is a substantial gender gap in Chealgazi, where one fifth of husbands have farmer cards, but no women do.

Almost all women report attending no meetings or trainings organized by the agricultural and/or land office, receiving no equipment or inputs from the agricultural office, and not accessing any agricultural services provided by the Union Council in the past two years.

Most women report that being invited would help them attend trainings or attend more trainings on land/agriculture. About one-fifth to over one-third of respondents report that trainings just for women, or trainings led by women, would help them attend. Many women also report that trainings close to home would help them attend. In Chealgazi, almost one-third of women report that welcoming children or providing childcare at meetings would help them attend, but this was less important for women in the other unions.

Most women report that awareness raising would help them access other services related to land and agriculture. Other common responses reveal that providing services at convenient times, providing greater access to information, and support from women in their community would help women access other services related to land and agriculture.

Recommendations

Based on our assessment of the panel surveys, we provide the following high-level recommendations for consideration in implementing local activities.

Community women and men

- Provide land literacy trainings on land documents, the process for applying for khas land, the process for adding names to land documents, and inheritance procedures. This is especially important for community women but would also be beneficial for community men. Include simple handouts or graphics that attendees can take away to help them remember key procedures.
- Encourage and support women's mobility and ability to visit land/agricultural offices by organizing women into groups for visits. Community dialogue meetings can also be held to encourage husbands to understand and permit greater mobility for women in accessing land and agricultural services.
- Create case studies or short films showcasing women visiting the land or agricultural office to apply for khas land and/or attend a training. For khas land, include all of the steps necessary, including obtaining the landless certificate from the Union Council.

Women leaders

- Encourage women leaders to continue to support women, individually and in groups, to visit land and agricultural offices and attend trainings. For example, women leaders can organize regular group visits to land and agricultural offices to make demands, receive services, and/or attend trainings.
- Support women leaders to visit service providers and advocate methods for providers to invite and better include women in their provision of services. The project could create a simple list of "dos and don'ts" for including women for the women leaders to discuss and share with the service providers.

Service providers

- Encourage community women and women leaders to speak with service providers to explain the importance of inviting women and how women can be better included. Supportive male community leaders could also be requested to provide their support for this cause.
- Encourage community women and women leaders to request that service providers provide them with specific desired services, such as suitable agricultural training and the provision of inputs, and women's inclusion on landless persons lists for consideration in distributing khas land.
- Showcase a service provider who provides training and/or land/agricultural services to women. Create a case study or film showing why and how he includes women and the benefits that come from this inclusion.

Introduction

This baseline study is part of the four-year, US Department of State-funded “Equal Stake in the Soil” project, which is taking place in Bangladesh and Colombia. Globally, it is headed by Landesa with the support and cooperation of the International Land Coalition (ILC). In Bangladesh, the work is headed by the Association for Land and Rural Development (ALRD).

The overall goal of the project is to strengthen and sustain the capacity of networked, women-driven NGOs and CSOs in Bangladesh and Colombia (the “Country Coalitions”) to create the enabling environment needed to recognize and promote women’s land rights (WLR) for women’s economic empowerment. The three primary objectives of the project are to (1) generate demand and build political will for stronger WLR; (2) increase social recognition by the public at large of the legitimacy and importance of WLR, measurably reducing social and cultural barriers to WLR; and (3) deepen local CSOs’ experience and learning in innovative approaches to directly address social norms and legal literacy to spur local implementation of and accountability for WLR.

The goal of this mixed methods study is to support the development of pilot interventions, conducted under objective 3, to address social norms and behavior change (SNBC) and legal literacy related to WLR and to provide a baseline description of existing social norms, behaviors, and levels of legal literacy prior to implementing the interventions.

SNBC Key Terms

Priority Groups those who perform a behavior or are directly affected by a social norm.

Reference Groups are those who matter most to individuals performing the target behavior.

Social norms are informal rules that govern behavior. Social norms are NOT attitudes.

- **Descriptive norms** are what individuals believe others do.
- **Injunctive norms** are what individuals believe others will approve/disapprove of doing.

Sanctions are the rewards or punishments that an individual and community believe will follow a given behavior. Sanctions, which can be physical or social, influence behavior within a community or society.

- *Rewards* encourage acceptable behaviors.
- *Punishments* discourage unacceptable behaviors.

Norm-Shifting Interventions aim to facilitate shifts in harmful norms or foster new norms to promote certain behaviors.

Definitions adapted from: [Breakthrough Action + Research](#) and [Social Norms Lexicon](#)

SNBC and Legal Literacy Pilot Interventions

ALRD and local CSO partners held community dialogues with land-poor women and men in three communities in Bangladesh as well as key informant interviews (KIIs) with local leaders/officials, policy practitioners, academics, land rights activists, and other knowledgeable people between March and

June 2022. Based on this qualitative research, desk research, and the existing knowledge and experience of Coalition members, the Coalition identified which behaviors to target, who performs the behaviors (i.e., priority groups), and whose opinions matter most to the priority groups (i.e., reference groups). The Coalition agreed on the following priorities related to SNBC/land literacy:

- Women are recognized by communities, households, and themselves as people who can and should own land
- Local government services, including from land and agricultural offices as well as union council, are made available to women
- Local women advocates teach women land literacy topics and provide support to exercise their land rights

Social norms are defined as priority group members' perceptions of what other priority group members do (descriptive norms) and the social expectations of their reference groups (injunctive norms). Social norms are held in place by the social sanctions or rewards that priority group members may experience as a result of performing or not performing a behavior. Local CSOs and community advocates will conduct regular meetings and activities with women who have rights to land that they can claim, their husbands, staff at agricultural and land offices, and community leaders such as Union Council (local government) members, religious leaders, teachers, and others. The aim of these activities is to enhance knowledge about women's land rights and to shift social norms to encourage (i) women to visit land offices to apply for public (khas) land or documents for private land, (ii) staff in agricultural offices and Union Council members to treat women as farmers by providing them with access to services such as trainings and agricultural inputs, and (iii) women leaders to support women in their communities in claiming their rights to land, trainings, and other services (see Figure 1 for additional details).

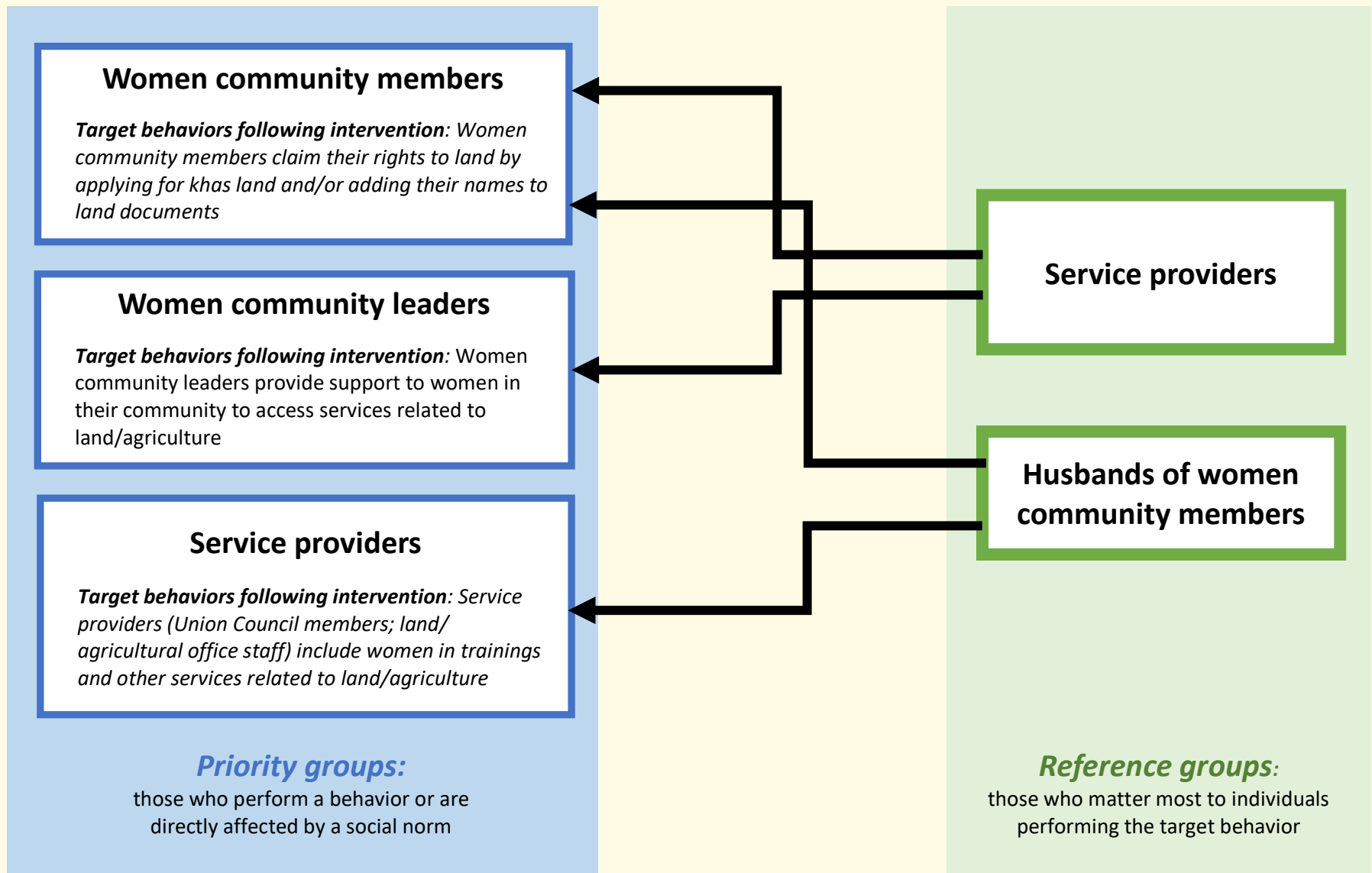


Figure 1. Which reference group affects each priority group's target behavior?

Rather than interviewing every person in a priority group member's reference group, we selected a few key reference groups to interview for each priority group, which is depicted using black arrows in Figure 1. For women community members who are married, their husbands play an important role in whether they claim their land rights. We hope that husbands will encourage/support/allow their wives to access land/agricultural services and/or apply for land in their name. Service providers also serve as a reference group for women. Husbands (as a subset of male community members) are also an important reference group for service providers and service providers are an important reference group for women community leaders.

Research Objectives

The objective of this research is twofold. The first objective is to provide descriptive baseline information on levels of legal literacy, the determinants of behavior change, including attitudes, knowledge, skills, descriptive and injunctive norms, agency, social sanctions and rewards, and intentions to perform the behaviors, as well as the prevalence of the behaviors described in Figure 1. This information will help us identify current barriers to women's land rights and improve the design of the interventions.

The second objective is to evaluate the effect of these pilot interventions. By comparing baseline and endline data, we will assess whether the pilot interventions enhance legal literacy, alter any of the determinants of behavior change, or change behaviors related to women's land rights. If so, how? If not, why not?

We conducted a panel survey in the villages that will receive the interventions—this study is the result of that panel survey. We will conduct another panel survey after the interventions are implemented. Despite the wide array of mixed methods studies assessing the effect of SNBC interventions on gender equality, there is a lack of research on whether such interventions can strengthen women's land rights. This analysis will provide valuable insights on this topic. If the pilot interventions successfully change behaviors, understanding why and in what ways will help with scale up. If the pilot interventions do not change behaviors, understanding if the interventions changed any of the determinants of the behaviors and, if so, why this did not (or not yet) result in behavior change will help improve the design of future interventions.

Baseline Data Collection

Study Locations

The Coalition selected communities for inclusion in the project based on the existence of a suitable local partner CSOs who could help with coordination, as well as geographic and community diversity. The following three locations represent both geographic and population diversity:

1. **Faridpur District.** Located in the middle Bangladesh in an area with “mainland/mainstream” people. Within this district, we conducted the study in North Channel Union in the villages of Sultan Khan Dangi and Kaimuddin Matubborer Dangi.
2. **Dinajpur District.** Located in northern Bangladesh, it is the district with the highest number of Santal people—the country’s largest Indigenous group (Shamsuddoha & Jahan, 2016). Within this district, we conducted the study in Chealgazi Union in the village of Purba Kornai.
3. **Patuakhali District.** Located in the southern coastal Bangladesh in an area facing river erosion, flooding, and climate change issues. Within this district, we conducted the study in Nazirpur Union in the villages of Nimdi and Dundi.

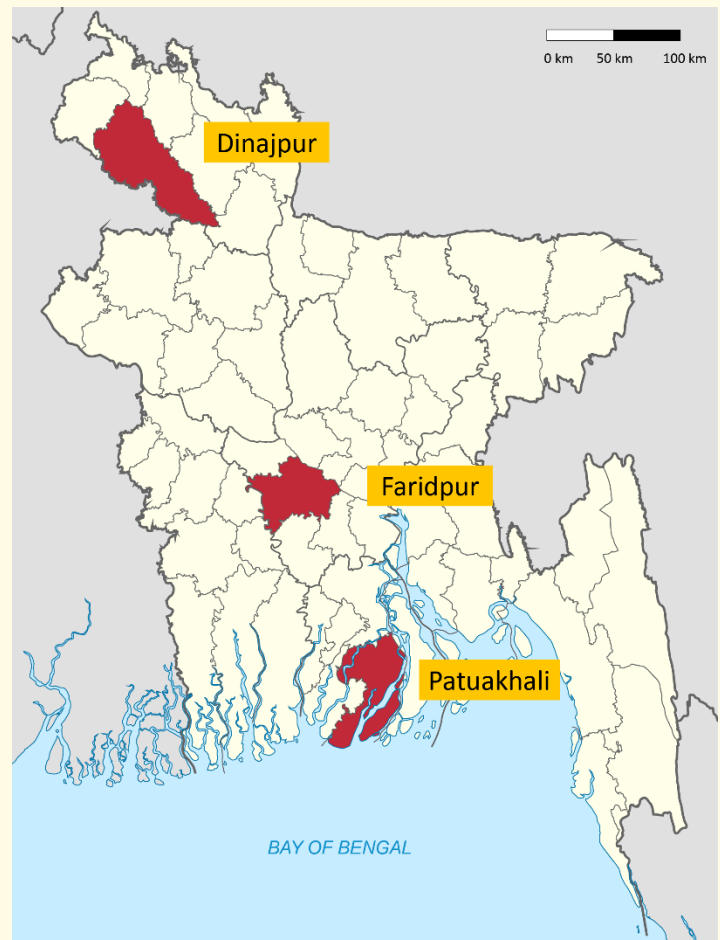


Figure 2. District locations, from left to right, Faridpur District, Dinajpur District, Patuakhali District. (Source: Wikimedia Commons at [Category: SVG locator maps of districts in Bangladesh - Wikimedia Commons](#))

Questionnaire Development

Landesa and ALRD developed a questionnaire for each of the following groups:

- (1) women community members (priority group),
- (2) husbands of married women in each community (reference group for women community members and service providers),
- (3) service providers, including Union Council members; land/agricultural office staff (priority group and reference group for women community members and leaders), and
- (4) women community leaders (priority group).

The questionnaires contain the following modules:

Table 1. Questionnaire modules				
	Women's survey	Husband survey	Service provider survey	Women leader survey
Identification, introduction, and consent	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic information	✓	✓	✓	✓
Knowledge and attitudes about WLR and gender equality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Knowledge and skills to perform behavior of interest	✓	✓	✓	✓
Perceptions of social norms	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control)	✓	X	✓	✓
Social sanctions and rewards	✓	✓	✓	✓
Physical mobility	✓	X	X	X
Behaviors and intention to perform them	✓	✓	✓	✓
Vignettes on conditionality of preferences	✓	X	X	X
Land and tenure security	✓	✓ (tenure security only)	X	X
Land and agricultural programming and services	✓	✓	✓	X
Climate change	✓	✓	X	X

The modules in blue were informed by the Integrated Behavioral Model, which is a combination of two theories: the Theory of Reasoned Action and the Theory of Planned Behavior. It lays out the key determinants of behavior change and posits that the most important determinant is the intention to change one's behavior (see Figure 3 below from Fishbein, 2009). Each questionnaire includes questions about the respondent's attitudes towards the targeted behaviors,² perceptions of injunctive and descriptive norms, and agency for each priority group, including self-efficacy and perceived control to perform the targeted behaviors. We also inquired about knowledge of WLR, and whether respondents have the specific knowledge and skills to perform the targeted behaviors. We measure the salience of each behavior through a series of questions about the social sanctions and rewards for performing the target behaviors. Based on previous research that lack of physical mobility is an important constraint that women in Bangladesh face, we administered a module from the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) to measure the physical mobility of women community members. Unlike many health behaviors, the behaviors targeted by this project are not performed on a regular basis. As a

² Note that we do not distinguish between experiential and instrumental attitudes.

result, habits are not an important determinant of the targeted behaviors. Finally, we measure whether respondents intend to perform the targeted behaviors and ask whether they have performed the behaviors.

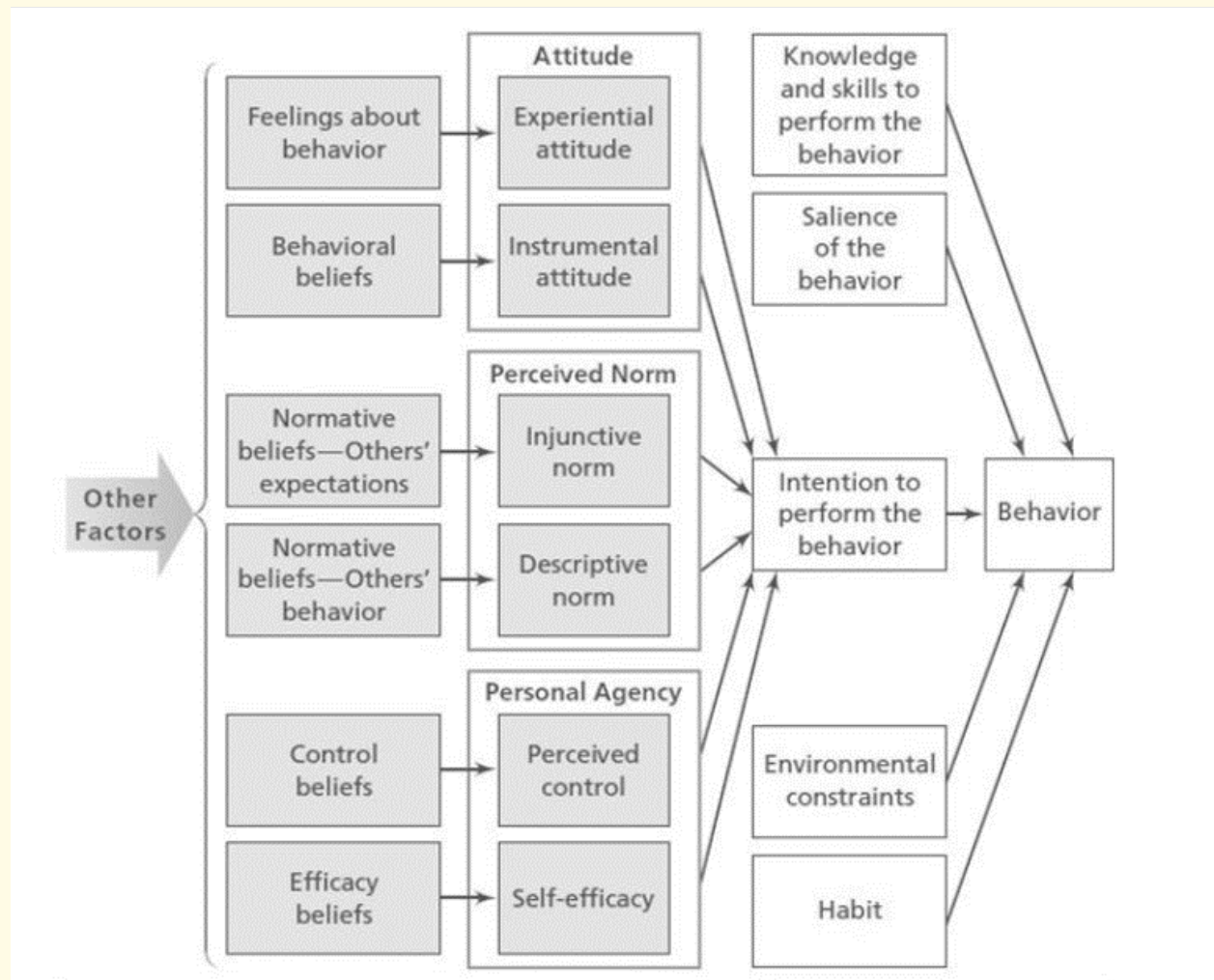


Figure 3. Integrated Behavioral Model (Fishbein, 2009)

The vignettes aim to measure whether people have conditional preferences. That is, does their disposition to act in a certain way in a certain situation depend on what they believe others do or what they believe others think they should do?

To understand whether people engage in certain behaviors *because* of social norms, we must measure whether their preferences are conditional. If individuals have a conditional preference to comply with social expectations, then they will behave one way in the presence of those social expectations and behave in a different way in the absence of those social expectations. Although we cannot directly observe how an individual would behave in the presence or absence of social expectations, we can either ask hypothetical questions or use vignettes (i.e., short stories about imaginary scenarios). Following Bicchieri and Noah (2017), we chose to use vignettes. We randomly varied whether a behavior is common or not (descriptive norms) and whether people think an individual should perform a behavior or not (injunctive norms). In the survey, we randomly selected which of the four possible stories to tell

respondents. After hearing the story, we ask respondents whether the individual in the story would perform the targeted behavior or not.

While the primary focus of the questionnaires is behavior change and its determinants, we also collected information on several related topics to enhance our understanding of the project sites, which will inform the design of the interventions. These topics include household and individual access to and control over land, perceptions of land tenure security, experiences with land programming and agricultural services, and climate shocks and mitigation strategies.

Training, Logistics, and Survey Sample

Landesa and ALRD contracted Capacity Building Service Group (CBSG) to conduct a baseline study for the S4HL Campaign in Bangladesh. CBSG reviewed the questionnaires and conducted a field test, which included brief cognitive interviews for the questionnaires for women and husbands. CBSG shared feedback from the field test with Landesa and ALRD, which lead to subsequent updates to the questionnaires. CBSG translated the questionnaires from English into Bengali and programmed the questionnaires in SurveyCTO. CBSG also drafted a training manual for data collectors in both English and Bengali and incorporated edits from Landesa and ALRD.

Prior to launching the baseline survey, CBSG conducted a household listing to generate the sampling frame from which we randomly selected survey respondents. Across the 5 villages participating in the pilot interventions, CBSG identified 1,141 households, and found that 1,411 of these households met the requirement of having at least one woman who was 18 years of age or older. From this list, we randomly selected 332 households, and then randomly selected one woman to survey from each household. Among the sampled women, 257 were currently married and living with their husband. Table 2 describes the number of respondents sampled and surveyed in each village.

District	Faridpur		Patuakhali		Dinajpur	
Union	North Channel		Nazirpur		Chealgazi	
Village	Sultan Khan Dangi	Kaimuddin Matubborer Dangi	Nimdi	Dundi	Purba Kornai	Total
Women sampled	50	50	60	86	86	332
Women surveyed	44	49	56	80	82	311
Response rate: Women	88%	98%	93%	93%	95%	94%
Husbands sampled	35	41	51	53	77	257
Husbands surveyed	28	38	43	39	66	214 ³
Response rate: Husbands	80%	93%	84%	74%	86%	83%
Service providers sampled	17		14		18	49
Service providers surveyed	16		14		18	48
Response rate: Service providers	94%		100%		100%	98%
Women leaders sampled	8		11		10	29
Women leaders surveyed	7		11		10	28
Response rate: Women leaders	88%		100%		100%	97%

³ One respondent to the husband survey was a woman, who we exclude from our analysis. Thus, the total husband sample is 213 men.

CBSG trained 12 data collectors (7 women and 5 men) from February 5-8, 2023. Participants spent two days in Dhaka learning about the project, reviewing the training manual, and practicing administering the questionnaires, one day pilot testing the questionnaires in two villages of Manikanj district about 60 km from Dhaka, and the last day back in Dhaka reflecting on the pilot test and field planning with particular attention to survey management at the field level, monitoring and quality control processes, and risk and contingency management. The data collectors collected data in the three survey districts from February 12-26, 2023.

Knowledge and Attitudes: Index Construction

To evaluate the extent to which this project improves knowledge of and attitudes towards women's land rights and gender equality, we plan to measure the following three indicators:

- Percent of community members with more accurate WLR knowledge
- Percent of community members with more supportive attitudes for WLR
- Percent of participants reporting increased agreement with the concept that males and females should have equal access to social, economic, and political resources and opportunities⁴

To measure these indicators, we construct indices of respondents' knowledge about WLR, attitudes towards WLR and gender equality, and attitudes towards gender equality. For now, we simply present baseline scores. We will ask the same respondents the same set of knowledge and attitude questions at endline to assess the percentage of respondents whose knowledge and/or attitudes improved over the course of the project. The survey questions and steps for constructing each index are described in more detail below.

Knowledge score (Indicator 3a): We asked each respondent whether the following five statements are true or false:

1. Any poor woman can apply for khas land
2. According to Hindu religion, daughters do not have the right to inherit their parents' land
3. According to Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get a portion of their deceased husband's property if he does not have any children
4. Women have the right to get farmer cards
5. Women have the right to speak in community mediation

We assigned them a score of 1 for each correct response, and a score of 0 if they responded incorrectly or reported that they do not know. We then summed each respondent's score, replaced their score with a missing value if they did not respond to any of the five questions, divided by five (the maximum possible score), and multiplied by 100 to estimate the percentage of correct responses for each respondent.

We decided to exclude a question regarding whether only male community leaders can settle land disputes from the knowledge score because discussions between respondents and data collectors in the field revealed discrepancies in how respondents interpreted the question. While some understood that the question was about who has the right to settle land disputes, others interpreted the question to be about who should settle land disputes or who has settled land disputes in the past.

⁴ This is Standard Foreign Assistance Indicator GNDR-4 of the United States Government.

Attitude index: gender equality and WLR (Indicator 3b): We asked each respondent to what extent they agree or disagree with the following nine statements:

1. Women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men do
2. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women
3. When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women
4. Women and men should make the same daily wages
5. Women should be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture
6. Women can be just as good at farming as men
7. Women should not apply for khas land
8. Husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names
9. Women's names should not be included on land documents

For questions, 1, 4-6, and 8, we assign the following values to each response:

- 2 = Strongly Disagree
- 1 = Disagree
- 0 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- +1 = Agree
- +2 = Strongly Agree

For questions 2, 3, 7, and 9, we reverse the scoring as follows:

- +2 = Strongly Disagree
- +1 = Disagree
- 0 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Strongly Agree

Next, we summed each respondent's score, replaced their score with a missing value if they did not respond to any of the nine attitude questions, and divided by nine. This results in an index of each respondent's attitudes towards gender equality and WLR that is between -2 and 2. A higher score indicates greater agreement that men and women should have equal opportunities and equal rights to land and agricultural services.

Attitude index: gender equality (Indicator 3d/GNDR-4): To construct this index, we used a subset of the attitude questions about gender equality (questions 1-3 above). We scored the responses as described above, but we divided by three to estimate each respondent's score. A higher score indicates greater agreement that men and women should have equal opportunities.

Baseline Data Analysis: Demographic Information

Table 3 presents demographic information on women respondents. On average, women in the sample are 38 years old and have 2.9 children. The majority of women in the sample are currently married, ranging from about 84 percent in North Channel to almost 94 percent in Chealgazi. A high proportion of women in North Channel are widowed (14 percent). Abandonment, separation, and divorce are not common. There are no Indigenous or Hindu respondents in North Channel or Nazirpur, but over 6 percent of the respondents in Chealgazi identify as members of an Indigenous group and as Hindu. While most women can read and write, over one-third of the sample cannot read or write or can only sign. Levels of formal education for women are low, especially in North Channel, where almost 42 percent of respondents have received no education. In Chealgazi, over half of respondents completed primary school and many of them started but did not complete secondary school (about 44 percent). Almost 95 percent of respondents report their occupation as homemakers. However, most respondents also report participating in crop cultivation or livestock raising, ranging from 30 percent in Nazirpur to 72 percent in Chealgazi. Occupations outside of the home are slightly more common in Chealgazi than in the other two unions. Most households have roofs made of tin/cloth-inserted sheet rubber and use pit latrines.

Table 4 presents demographic information on women respondents. On average, husbands are older and less literate than women. In North Channel and Nazirpur, most husbands either cannot read or write or can only sign. In Chealgazi, most husbands (59 percent) can read and write. Levels of formal education are even lower for husbands than for women, which could reflect the older age of husbands if formal schooling became more widespread in recent years. In North Channel and Chealgazi, the most common occupation is working on one's own farm, while fishing is the most common occupation in Nazirpur. Not surprisingly, there is more diversity in husbands' occupations than we observed among women. A higher proportion of husbands than women report participating in crop cultivation or livestock raising, ranging from 34 percent in Nazirpur to 74 percent in North Channel.

In addition to standard demographic information, we also collected information from women on characteristics that are relevant to prioritization for distribution of khas land. Very few respondents have family members who were Freedom Fighters⁵ (about 3 percent). Among widows and abandoned women, about 81 percent have an able-bodied adult son, which is currently a requirement for receiving khas land. Since there are only 26 widowed or abandoned women in our sample, we refrain from drawing conclusions about differences across unions.

Table 3. Demographic information: Women

	Union			
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
	% or mean (std. dev.)	% or mean (std. dev.)	% or mean	% or mean
Age (years)	39.1 (14.6)	38.9 (14.9)	36.2 (15.2)	38.3 (14.9)
Number of children of respondent	3.0 (1.8)	2.9 (1.5)	2.6 (1.8)	2.9 (1.7)
Marital status				

Currently married	83.9%	92.6%	93.9%	90.4%
Widow	14.0%	7.4%	2.4%	8.0%
Abandoned	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Divorced	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%
Separated	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Member of an Indigenous group	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.6%
Religion				
Muslim	100.0%	100.0%	93.9%	98.4%
Hindu	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.6%
Literacy level				
Cannot read or write	7.5%	11.8%	19.5%	12.5%
Can sign only	32.3%	25.0%	12.2%	23.8%
Can read only	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	1.0%
Can read and write	60.2%	63.2%	64.6%	62.7%
Highest level of education completed				
No education	41.9%	24.3%	13.4%	26.7%
Incomplete primary	5.4%	25.0%	7.3%	14.5%
Complete primary	10.8%	16.2%	8.5%	12.5%
Incomplete secondary	29.0%	20.6%	43.9%	29.3%
Complete secondary	6.5%	3.7%	9.8%	6.1%
Higher education	6.5%	8.1%	0.0%	5.5%
Don't know	0.0%	2.2%	17.1%	5.5%
Occupation				
Day laborer (farm)	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	1.0%
Day laborer (non -farm)	2.2%	0.0%	2.4%	1.3%
Work on own farm	0.0%	1.5%	2.4%	1.3%
Homemaker	95.7%	98.5%	87.8%	94.9%
Petty/small Business	1.1%	0.0%	2.4%	1.0%
Teacher	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Student	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Participates in crop cultivation or livestock raising	64.5%	30.1%	72.0%	51.4%
Has at least one able-bodied adult son (if widowed or abandoned)	84.6%	90.0%	33.3%	80.8%
Family member was a Freedom fighter	3.2%	5.1%	0.0%	3.2%
Number of adult men (18+) in HH	1.3 (1.0)	1.3 (0.8)	1.6 (1.0)	1.4 (0.9)
Number of adult women (18+) in HH	1.1 (1.0)	1.5 (0.7)	1.4 (0.8)	1.4 (0.8)
Number of male children ages 5-17 in HH	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6

	(0.7)	(0.8)	(1.3)	(0.9)
Number of female children ages 5-17 in HH	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6
	(0.7)	(0.7)	(0.7)	(0.7)
Number of male children under age 5 in HH	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.4)	(0.4)
Number of female children under age 5 in HH	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
	(0.5)	(0.5)	(0.5)	(0.5)
Main roof type				
Semi Pucca /Tin- CI Sheet	10.8%	5.1%	43.9%	17.0%
Pacca/cement/concrete/tiled	1.1%	2.2%	3.7%	2.3%
Tin/CI sheet	88.2%	92.6%	52.4%	80.7%
Type of toilet facility				
No facility	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Hanging latrine	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Open latrine	0.0%	0.0%	8.5%	2.3%
Pit latrine	92.5%	61.0%	56.1%	69.1%
Water sealed/slab latrine	1.1%	30.1%	25.6%	20.3%
Septic tank/modern toilet	6.5%	8.1%	8.5%	7.7%
Frequency	93	136	82	311

Table 4. Demographic information: Husbands

	Union			Total % or mean (std. dev.)
	North Channel % or mean (std. dev.)	Nazirpur % or mean (std. dev.)	Chealgazi % or mean (std. dev.)	
Age (years)	47.8 (13.4)	44.8 (12.6)	41.5 (14.2)	44.7 (13.5)
Member of an Indigenous group	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.9%
Religion				
Muslim	100.0%	100.0%	93.9%	98.1%
Hindu	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.9%
Literacy level				
Cannot read or write	9.2%	17.1%	13.6%	13.6%
Can sign only	55.4%	45.1%	24.2%	41.8%
Can read only	1.5%	0.0%	3.0%	1.4%
Can read and write	33.8%	37.8%	59.1%	43.2%
Highest level of education completed				

No education	60.0%	43.9%	24.2%	42.7%
Incomplete primary	9.2%	20.7%	12.1%	14.6%
Complete primary	13.8%	3.7%	18.2%	11.3%
Incomplete secondary	9.2%	8.5%	18.2%	11.7%
Complete secondary	4.6%	8.5%	13.6%	8.9%
Higher education	3.1%	6.1%	3.0%	4.2%
Don't know	0.0%	8.5%	10.6%	6.6%
Occupation				
Day laborer (farm)	12.3%	8.5%	7.6%	9.4%
Day laborer (non -farm)	13.8%	7.3%	24.2%	14.6%
Work on own farm	43.1%	18.3%	36.4%	31.5%
Transport worker	12.3%	7.3%	7.6%	8.9%
Technical worker	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Govt/Semi Govt service	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
Private Service	9.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%
Homemaker	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Fishing	0.0%	29.3%	0.0%	11.3%
Petty/small Business	3.1%	19.5%	15.2%	13.1%
Large business	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Entrepreneur/Self employed	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Teacher	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	1.4%
Others (specify)	1.5%	3.7%	6.1%	3.8%
Participates in crop cultivation or livestock raising	73.8%	34.1%	71.2%	57.7%
Frequency	65	82	66	213

Given that we only surveyed 28 women leaders, we do not disaggregate the summary statistics by union (see Table 5). On average, women leaders are 39 years old. The majority are Muslim and do not identify as a member of an Indigenous group. They are more literate and educated than women community members. All of the women leaders can read and have completed at least primary school. Their occupations also differ from women community members, who are mostly homemakers. Among women leaders, 64 percent are social workers or public representatives, while 18 percent are homemakers.

Table 5. Demographic information (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	% or mean (std. dev.)
	28	
Age (years)		39.3 (9.7)
Member of an Indigenous group		
No	27	96.4%

Yes	1	3.6%
Religion		
Muslim	24	85.7%
Hindu	3	10.7%
Christian	1	3.6%
Literacy level		
Can read only	1	3.6%
Can read and write	27	96.4%
Highest level of education completed		
Complete primary	3	10.7%
Incomplete secondary	12	42.9%
Complete secondary	8	28.6%
Higher education	5	17.9%
Occupation		
Day laborer (farm)	1	3.6%
Govt/Semi Govt service	1	3.6%
Private Service	1	3.6%
Homemaker	5	17.9%
Social Work/public representative	18	64.3%
Teacher	1	3.6%
Student	1	3.6%

Table 6 presents demographic information on service providers. On average, service providers are 46 years old. Almost all service providers are Muslim and do not identify as a member of an Indigenous group. They can all read and write and are highly educated. About one-fifth completed secondary school and almost one-half completed higher education. We interviewed members and Chairmen of the three Union Councils, Agricultural Department Staff, Land Office Staff, and other service providers. The service providers are highly experienced, with 14 years, on average, in their current role.

Table 6. Demographic information (Service Providers)

	Frequency	% or mean (std. dev.)
	48	
Age (years)		46.4 (9.9)
Member of an Indigenous group		
No	47	97.9%
Yes	1	2.1%
Religion		
Muslim	44	91.7%

Hindu	4	8.3%
Literacy level		
Can read and write	48	100.0%
Highest level of education completed		
Incomplete primary	2	4.2%
Complete primary	2	4.2%
Incomplete secondary	11	22.9%
Complete secondary	10	20.8%
Higher education	23	47.9%
Professional title		
Chairman	3	6.3%
Member	27	56.3%
Agriculture Dept Staff	8	16.7%
Land Office Staff	4	8.3%
Others (specify)	6	12.5%
Years in this role		14.1
		(10.2)

Baseline Data Analysis on Women and Husbands: Land and Tenure Security

The Agricultural Khas Land Settlement Policy of 1997 defines a landless family as a family who depends on agriculture for their livelihood and either has no homestead and agricultural land or has no agricultural land and owns less than 0.10 acre of homestead land. The policy states that the following types of landless families should be prioritized for khas land distribution: 1) Destitute families of Freedom Fighters; 2) Families who have lost all of their lands due to river erosion; 3) Widow and abandoned women with adult sons; 4) Families with no homestead or agricultural land; 5) Families who become landless due to land acquisition for development work (Alam, 2004).

We include a series of survey questions that allow us to identify the proportion of respondents who might be considered landless and the proportion in each priority group. The descriptive statistics for women's responses are presented in Table 7 below. About one third of households depend on agriculture for their livelihoods, ranging from 16 percent in Nazirpur to 57 percent in Chealgazi. Most households have access to homestead land (93 percent), but only about half have access to agricultural land, ranging from 38 percent in Nairpur to 67 percent in North Channel. Among households that have homestead land, the average area is 10.5 decimals, or about 0.105 acre. Among households that have agricultural land, the average area is 134 decimals, or about 1.34 acres. About 15 percent of households have become landless due to land acquisition for development work. This issue is most prevalent in North Channel (22 percent of households). About 11 percent of households have lost all of their land due to river erosion. While only 1 percent of households in Chealgazi have experienced this, over 19 percent of households in Nazirpur have. About half of women report that someone in their household owns or cultivates land, ranging from about one third in Nazirpur to over two thirds in Chealgazi.

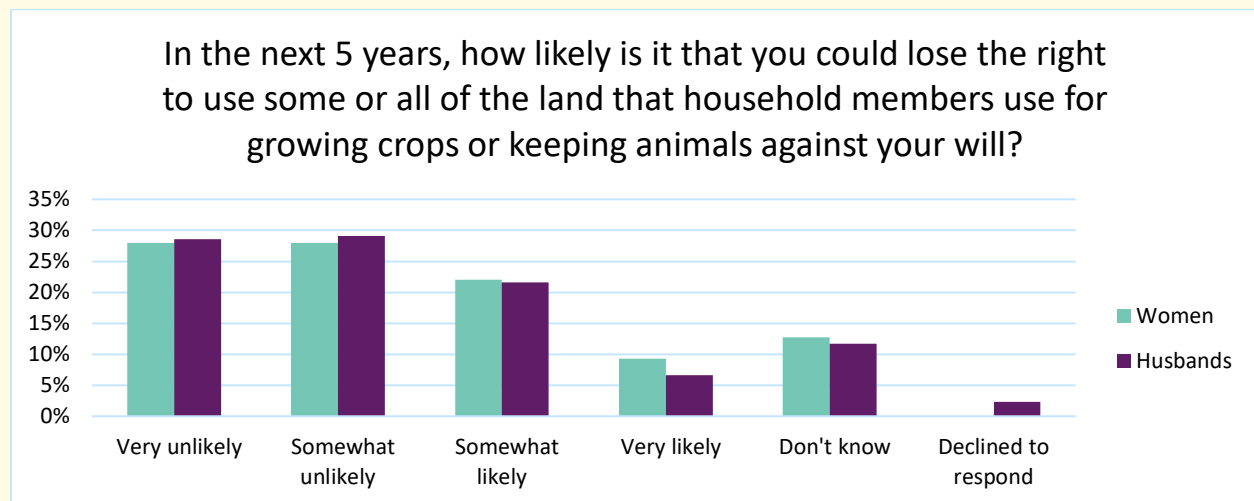
The most common form of tenure among households that own or cultivate land is landownership (67 percent of households), sharecropping (39 percent), and leasehold (22 percent). Over three quarters of households that own or cultivate land inherited the land. Land is also acquired or accessed via purchase (22 percent of households), sharecropping (23 percent), and leasing (17 percent). Typically, the husband of the woman respondent inherited the land (67 percent of households) from his father (79 percent). Most households use their land for farming (93 percent) or residential purposes (69 percent). Over three quarters of households have documents for the land that the household owns or cultivates, ranging from 68 percent in Chealgazi to 86 percent in North Channel. These documents are most often the original deed (74 percent of households) and list the name of the woman respondent's husband (68 percent) or her father-in-law (30 percent). Only 10 percent of women report that their name is listed as an owner/rightsholder on any formal documents.

We examine who holds different rights to land that households own or cultivate. Acknowledging that different people may share rights to the household's land, we asked the women respondents to select all relevant individuals. About 87 percent of husbands have the right to use the land, while 38 percent of women respondents have this right. In addition, almost one third of women respondents report that an adult male household member other than her father-in-law or father has the right to use the land. About 83 percent of husbands and 28 percent of women respondents decide how to use earnings from the sale of produce. We find that 82 percent of husbands and 19 percent of women respondents make decisions about using agricultural inputs. Both husbands and women respondents are less likely to have the right decide whether to sell the land (77 percent of respondents' husbands and 19 percent of women respondents) and whether the respondent can rent out, sub-lease, or sharecrop the land (69 percent of respondent's spouse and 15 percent of respondents). The proportion of households in which

the respondent's father-in-law hold rights to the land is remarkably consistent across the bundle of rights (15-17 percent).

The most common improvements that households have made to their land in the last two years are new terracing (39 percent), maintenance of terraces/contour bunds (23 percent), and new contour bunding (21 percent). However, over one third of respondents do not know what improvements have been made.

To assess perceptions of tenure security, we ask both women (Table 7) and husbands (Table 8) how likely it is that they, personally, could lose the right to use some or all of the land that household members use for growing crops or keeping animals against their will in the next 5 years. Most respondents report that this is very unlikely or somewhat unlikely (56 percent of women and 58 percent of husbands), implying that they perceive their tenure is secure. However, a high proportion report that it is somewhat or very likely (31 percent of women and 28 percent of husbands), implying that they are not tenure secure. We do not observe large difference across women and husband's responses (see figure below).



Among respondents who feel tenure insecure, the primary reasons are that the owner or renter may ask them to leave (90 percent of women and 67 percent of husbands), lack of money or resources to keep the property (15 percent and 23 percent of husbands). Women also cite river erosion as an important source of tenure insecurity (23 percent), while husbands cite disagreements with family or other relatives (33 percent) and that the government may seize the property (27 percent). Many respondents would not change their behavior if they felt more secure in their land rights (60 percent of women and 40 percent of husbands), but 15 percent of women and 18 percent of husbands would use more improved seed, 18 percent of husbands would plant perennial/long-term crops, 13 percent of women would use more or different inputs, 11 percent of women and 17 percent of husbands would plant more cash crops or high value crops. In addition, 11 percent of women would plant trees, but only 7 percent of husbands report this response.

Among respondents who feel tenure secure, the primary reasons are that their household has formal documents to their land (77 percent of women and 89 percent of husbands), their family has owned or used the plot for a long time (49 percent of women and 47 percent of husbands), and they have not had any prior problems (46 percent of women and husbands).

To assess sources of tenure insecurity that may disproportionately affect women, we also ask married respondents how worried they are that, if they got divorced, their spouse would have the right to stay but they would be forced to leave and how worried respondents are that, if their spouse passed away, their right to stay on the land would be taken away. Most married women respondents are very worried or somewhat worried that they would lose their rights in the case of divorce (70 percent) or death of their spouse (64 percent). By contrast, only 42 percent of husbands are very worried or somewhat worried that they would lose their rights in a divorce, and 45 percent are very worried or somewhat worried that they would lose their rights if their spouse died. Given that only 10 percent of women respondents have their names on land documents, this gender gap in perceptions of tenure security is not necessarily surprising. Additional research is needed to understand if adding women’s names to land documents increases their perceptions of tenure security, and the likelihood that they retain rights to land if their marriage dissolves.

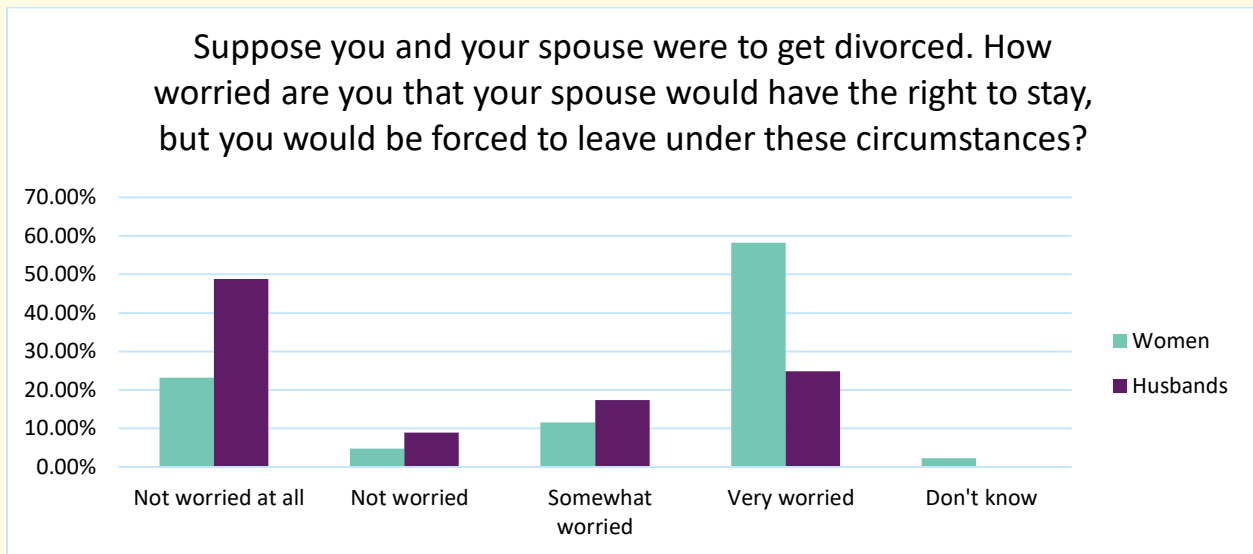


Table 7. Land and tenure security (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel % or mean (std. dev.)	Nazirpur % or mean (std. dev.)	Chealgazi % or mean (std. dev.)	Total % or mean (std. dev.)
Household depends on agriculture for livelihood	38.7%	16.2%	57.3%	33.8%
Household has homestead land	91.4%	94.9%	92.7%	93.2%
Household has agricultural land	66.7%	37.5%	51.2%	49.8%
What is the total area of your household's homestead land (in decimals)? (Among respondents whose HHs have any homestead land)	10.6 (7.3)	9.2 (12.9)	12.4 (15.0)	10.5 (12.2)
What is the total area of the agricultural land that your household owns and/or cultivates (in decimals)? (Among respondents whose HHs have any agricultural land)	124.9 (210.0)	141.4 (555.1)	138.3 (78.6)	134.0 (345.3)
Household has become landless due to land acquisition for development work	21.5%	14.0%	8.5%	14.8%
Household lost some or all lands due to river erosion				
None	51.6%	38.2%	93.9%	56.9%
Some	40.9%	42.6%	4.9%	32.2%
All	7.5%	19.1%	1.2%	10.9%
Anyone in household owns or cultivates land	53.8%	32.4%	68.3%	48.2%
Type of tenure (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Khas homestead land	2.0%	2.3%	5.4%	3.3%
Khas agricultural land	0.0%	6.8%	1.8%	2.7%
Common law freehold	4.0%	4.5%	26.8%	12.7%
Leasehold	12.0%	38.6%	17.9%	22.0%
Sharecrop (barga)	52.0%	31.8%	32.1%	38.7%
Own land	96.0%	61.4%	44.6%	66.7%
How was it acquired or accessed? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Inherited land	96.0%	61.4%	69.6%	76.0%
Purchased land	12.0%	25.0%	28.6%	22.0%
Sharecropped land	14.0%	27.3%	26.8%	22.7%
Leased land	4.0%	29.5%	17.9%	16.7%
Doesn't know how land was acquired or accessed	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Who in your household, if anyone, has inherited land?				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
No one in household	10.8%	7.4%	34.1%	15.4%
Respondent	4.3%	4.4%	1.2%	3.5%

Spouse/Partner	57.0%	80.9%	54.9%	66.9%
Father-in-law	25.8%	14.0%	8.5%	16.1%
Father	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
Mother-in-law	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%
Mother	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Other adult male HH member	5.4%	4.4%	0.0%	3.5%
If any land was inherited, from whom was it inherited?				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Father	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.9%
Father-in-law	75.0%	77.8%	84.6%	78.9%
Mother-in-law	2.1%	11.1%	2.6%	4.4%
Deceased spouse/partner	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	0.9%
Other male relative	2.1%	11.1%	7.7%	6.1%
Other female relative	0.0%	3.7%	2.6%	1.8%
If any land was purchased, who in your household purchased it?				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Spouse/partner				88.0%
Father-in-law				12.1%
Father				3.0%
How is land currently used? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Farming (agricultural)	98.0%	90.9%	91.1%	93.3%
Residential	82.0%	68.2%	57.1%	68.7%
Under government possession	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Sub-leased	2.0%	6.8%	1.8%	3.3%
Does your household have documents for land that household owns or cultivates? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)				
No	0.0%	13.6%	23.2%	12.7%
Yes	86.0%	75.0%	67.9%	76.0%
Don't know	14.0%	11.4%	8.9%	11.3%
If yes, what documents?				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Original deed	67.4%	72.7%	81.6%	73.7%
Bia deed	4.7%	15.2%	31.6%	16.7%
Power of attorney documents	0.0%	0.0%	23.7%	7.9%
Settlement record (parcha)	4.7%	6.1%	23.7%	11.4%
Don't know	23.3%	21.2%	15.8%	20.2%
Whose names are listed as owners/rightsholders on the formal documents? (Among respondents who have formal documents)				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				

Respondent	6.1%	25.0%	0.0%	10.4%
Spouse/Partner	69.7%	70.8%	60.0%	67.5%
Father-in-law	30.3%	20.8%	40.0%	29.9%
Father	0.0%	4.2%	10.0%	3.9%
Mother-in-law	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	1.3%
Other adult female HH member	3.0%	4.2%	5.0%	3.9%
Other adult male HH member	9.1%	12.5%	5.0%	9.1%
Female child HH member	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%
Male child HH member	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%

Who has rights to use the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select all that apply

Respondent	34.0%	43.2%	37.5%	38.0%
Spouse/Partner	88.0%	84.1%	89.3%	87.3%
Father-in-law	12.0%	11.4%	25.0%	16.7%
Father	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.0%
Mother-in-law	8.0%	4.5%	19.6%	11.3%
Mother	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.7%
Other adult female HH member	8.0%	9.1%	8.9%	8.7%
Other adult male HH member	20.0%	34.1%	41.1%	32.0%
Female child HH member	14.0%	9.1%	14.3%	12.7%
Male child HH member	10.0%	9.1%	16.1%	12.0%
Other male relative outside HH	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
Landlord	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%	2.0%
Government	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.7%

Who can decide whether to sell the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select all that apply

No one	0.0%	15.9%	0.0%	4.7%
Respondent	28.0%	31.8%	1.8%	19.3%
Spouse/Partner	88.0%	68.2%	73.2%	76.7%
Father-in-law	14.0%	13.6%	19.6%	16.0%
Father	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.0%
Mother-in-law	14.0%	6.8%	1.8%	7.3%
Other adult female HH member	6.0%	6.8%	0.0%	4.0%
Other adult male HH member	12.0%	22.7%	7.1%	13.3%
Other male relative outside HH	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%
Landlord	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	5.3%

Who decides if respondent can rent out, sub-lease, or sharecrop the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select all that apply

No one	4.0%	15.9%	7.1%	8.7%
Respondent	26.0%	20.5%	1.8%	15.3%
Spouse/Partner	80.0%	70.5%	57.1%	68.7%
Father-in-law	14.0%	13.6%	17.9%	15.3%
Father	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.0%
Mother-in-law	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
Other adult female HH member	6.0%	4.5%	0.0%	3.3%
Other adult male HH member	12.0%	11.4%	1.8%	8.0%
Other male relative outside HH	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%
Landlord	0.0%	0.0%	17.9%	6.7%
Doesn't know	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%

Who makes decisions about using agricultural inputs on the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select all that apply

Respondent	24.0%	34.1%	1.8%	18.7%
Spouse/Partner	88.0%	84.1%	75.0%	82.0%
Father-in-law	14.0%	11.4%	23.2%	16.7%
Father	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.0%
Mother-in-law	10.0%	4.5%	0.0%	4.7%
Other adult female HH member	6.0%	2.3%	0.0%	2.7%
Other adult male HH member	14.0%	13.6%	3.6%	10.0%
Other male relative outside HH	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
Landlord	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.7%

Who decides how to use earnings from sales of the produce from the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select all that apply

Respondent	36.0%	50.0%	3.6%	28.0%
Spouse/Partner	88.0%	84.1%	76.8%	82.7%
Father-in-law	14.0%	11.4%	23.2%	16.7%
Father	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.0%
Mother-in-law	12.0%	6.8%	5.4%	8.0%
Other adult female HH member	8.0%	4.5%	0.0%	4.0%
Other adult male HH member	10.0%	15.9%	3.6%	9.3%
Other male relative outside HH	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%

In the last 2 years, what improvements - such as terraces, irrigation, trees, or structures - have been made on the land owned or cultivated by your household? (Among respondents in HHs that own or cultivate land)

Select multiple responses

New terracing	62.0%	31.8%	25.0%	39.3%
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New contour bunding	36.0%	11.4%	14.3%	20.7%
Maintenance of terraces/contour bunds	20.0%	15.9%	30.4%	22.7%
Cover crops or mulching	0.0%	2.3%	16.1%	6.7%
Dams, canals, furrows, and other erosion measures	0.0%	4.5%	3.6%	2.7%
Irrigation equipment	2.0%	0.0%	39.3%	15.3%
Buildings/structures on field	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	1.3%
Planted trees	4.0%	15.9%	8.9%	9.3%
Planted other perennials/long-term crops	0.0%	2.3%	14.3%	6.0%
Don't know	14.0%	50.0%	41.1%	34.7%
In the next 5 years, how likely or unlikely is it that you, personally, could lose the right to use some or all of the land that household members use for growing crops or keeping animals against your will?				
Very unlikely	18.0%	20.5%	42.9%	28.0%
Somewhat unlikely	56.0%	13.6%	14.3%	28.0%
Somewhat likely	16.0%	27.3%	23.2%	22.0%
Very likely	4.0%	11.4%	12.5%	9.3%
Don't know	6.0%	27.3%	7.1%	12.7%
Why do you think it is likely? (Among respondents who think it is likely or somewhat likely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Owner or renter may ask respondent to leave	94.3%	83.3%	90.9%	90.2%
Disagreements with family or relatives	20.0%	0.0%	15.0%	10.6%
Government may seize the property	20.0%	5.9%	5.0%	8.5%
Lack of money or other resources needed to keep this property	50.0%	5.9%	5.0%	14.9%
Missing or inaccurate land records	0.0%	5.9%	0.0%	2.1%
Ongoing or past disputes (not with relatives)	20.0%	5.9%	5.0%	8.5%
River erosion	10.0%	58.8%	0.0%	23.4%
What, if anything, would you do differently if you knew you could keep access to those lands? (Among respondents who think it is likely or somewhat likely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Nothing	10.0%	76.5%	70.0%	59.6%
Use more fertilizer	0.0%	5.9%	5.0%	4.3%
Use more improved seed	10.0%	11.8%	20.0%	14.9%
Use more or different inputs	10.0%	11.8%	15.0%	12.8%
Plant more cash crops or high value crops	10.0%	0.0%	20.0%	10.6%
Plant trees	40.0%	5.9%	0.0%	10.6%
Plant perennial/long-term crops	0.0%	5.9%	10.0%	6.4%
Access finance/credit/insurance	10.0%	0.0%	10.0%	6.4%
Discontinue participation in land use conserved	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	2.1%
Access other government programs/services	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	2.1%
Other soil/conservation practices	30.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.4%

Rent/lease out the land	0.0%	5.9%	0.0%	2.1%
Why do you think it is not likely? (Among respondents who think it is unlikely or somewhat unlikely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Household has formal document	54.1%	93.3%	96.9%	77.4%
Lack of prior problems	35.1%	33.3%	65.6%	46.4%
Family has owned/used the plot for a long time	54.1%	40.0%	46.9%	48.8%
Land has been surveyed	5.4%	0.0%	9.4%	6.0%
Local/ customary leaders will address problems	21.6%	0.0%	0.0%	9.5%
Suppose you and your spouse were to get divorced. How worried are you that your spouse would have the right to stay, but you would be forced to leave under these circumstances?				
Not worried at all	3.2%	50.7%	0.0%	23.2%
Not worried	9.7%	4.4%	0.0%	4.8%
Somewhat worried	0.0%	25.0%	2.4%	11.6%
Very worried	84.9%	18.4%	93.9%	58.2%
Don't know	2.2%	1.5%	3.7%	2.3%
We apologize as we know this may be hard to think about, but suppose your spouse was to pass away. How worried would you be that your right to stay on this land would be taken away from you if this occurred?				
Not worried at all	3.2%	52.9%	0.0%	24.1%
Not worried	8.6%	14.7%	1.2%	9.3%
Somewhat worried	2.2%	19.1%	7.3%	10.9%
Very worried	83.9%	11.0%	87.8%	53.1%
Don't know	2.2%	2.2%	3.7%	2.6%

Table 8. Land and tenure security (Husbands)

	Union			
	North Channel % or mean	Nazirpur % or mean	Chealgazi % or mean	Total % or mean
In the next 5 years, how likely or unlikely is it that you, personally, could lose the right to use some or all of the land that household members use for growing crops or keeping animals against your will?				
Very unlikely	24.6%	42.7%	15.2%	28.6%
Unlikely	38.5%	17.1%	34.8%	29.1%
Somewhat likely	13.8%	20.7%	30.3%	21.6%
Very likely	6.2%	4.9%	9.1%	6.6%

Don't know	16.9%	13.4%	4.5%	11.7%
Declined to respond	0.0%	1.2%	6.1%	2.3%
Why do you think it is likely? (Among respondents who think it is likely or somewhat likely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Owner or renter may ask respondent to leave	53.8%	57.1%	80.8%	66.7%
Disagreements with family or relatives	38.5%	28.6%	34.6%	33.3%
Government may seize the property	30.8%	4.8%	42.3%	26.7%
Lack of money or other resources needed to keep this property	30.8%	0.0%	38.5%	23.3%
Missing or inaccurate land records	0.0%	0.0%	15.4%	6.7%
Ongoing or past disputes (not with relatives)	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	1.7%
River erosion	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	5.0%
What, if anything, would you do differently if you knew you could keep access to those lands? (Among respondents who think it is likely or somewhat likely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Nothing	30.8%	71.4%	19.2%	40.0%
Use more fertilizer	7.7%	4.8%	19.2%	11.7%
Use more improved seed	7.7%	4.8%	34.6%	18.3%
Use more or different inputs	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	1.7%
Plant more cash crops or high value crops	15.4%	0.0%	30.8%	16.7%
Plant trees	30.8%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%
Plant perennial/long-term crops	0.0%	0.0%	42.3%	18.3%
Access finance/credit/insurance	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Discontinue participation in land use conserved	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Access other government programs/services	0.0%	0.0%	19.2%	8.3%
Other soil/conservation practices	15.4%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
Rent/lease out the land	0.0%	9.5%	3.8%	5.0%
Why do you think it is not likely? (Among respondents who think it is unlikely or somewhat unlikely)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
Household has formal document	82.9%	93.9%	87.9%	88.6%
Lack of prior problems	17.1%	59.2%	60.6%	45.5%
Family has owned/used the plot for a long time	36.6%	44.9%	63.6%	47.2%
Land has been surveyed	2.4%	0.0%	39.4%	11.4%
Local/ customary leaders will address problems	14.6%	0.0%	9.1%	7.3%
Suppose you and your spouse were to get divorced. How worried are you that your spouse would have the right to stay, but you would be forced to leave under these circumstances?				
Not worried at all	49.2%	87.8%	0.0%	48.8%
Not worried	1.5%	7.3%	18.2%	8.9%
Somewhat worried	9.2%	3.7%	42.4%	17.4%

Very worried	40.0%	1.2%	39.4%	24.9%
We apologize as we know this may be hard to think about, but suppose your spouse was to pass away. How worried would you be that your right to stay on this land would be taken away from you if this occurred?				
Not worried at all	47.7%	85.4%	0.0%	47.4%
Not worried	3.1%	11.0%	7.6%	7.5%
Somewhat worried	9.2%	2.4%	40.9%	16.4%
Very worried	40.0%	1.2%	51.5%	28.6%

Baseline Data Analysis on Women and Husbands: Behavior Change and Its Determinants

For the survey responses of women community members and their husbands, we provide tables and analysis on the following: demographic information, behavior change and its determinants, including knowledge, attitudes, perceptions of social norms, pluralistic ignorance, agency, social sanctions and reward, physical mobility, behaviors and intention to perform behaviors, and vignettes on conditionality of preferences. Finally, we end this section with a brief overall analysis of the findings on behavior change and its determinants for women and how the Coalition may usefully interpret and use the findings

Behavior Change and Its Determinants

The following section of the report describes the survey results on women and husbands' behavior change and what determines behavior. Later sections of the report describe women and husbands' responses to questions on access to land and agricultural services, land and tenure security, and climate change related questions.

Knowledge and attitude indicators

Below, we present baseline values for three project indicators (see Table 9). We will survey the same men and women at the end of the project to calculate the percent of respondents whose knowledge scores improved and whose attitudes shifted to be more supportive of gender equality and WLR.

Knowledge score (Indicator 3a): On average, respondents got 62% of the knowledge questions correct. Women responded correctly to 61% of the questions regarding women's land rights and their husbands responded correctly to 65% of questions. Individuals between the ages of 50 and 65 had the highest knowledge scores, and youth between the ages of 18 and 29 had the lowest knowledge scores.

Attitudes toward gender equality and WLR (Indicator 3b): On average, respondents scored 0.6, indicating that they somewhat agree that men and women should have equal opportunities and rights to land and agricultural services. Women have more supportive attitudes, on average, than men. Respondents who are at least 66 years of age have less supportive attitudes than respondents who are 65 and under.

Attitudes towards gender equality (Indicator 3d/GNDR-4): On average, respondents are neutral towards gender equality. Disaggregating by gender reveals that, while men somewhat disagree that men and women should have equal opportunities, women somewhat agree that men and women should have equal opportunities. Interestingly, the youngest and oldest respondents have lower scores than respondents in the middle of the age distribution.

Overall, respondents score lower on this gender equality attitude index than they do on the gender equality and WLR attitude index, suggesting that they are more supportive of WLR than they are of gender equality more broadly.

Table 9. Knowledge and Attitude Indicators (Women and Husbands), by gender and age group

Indicator #		Age group						66 plus
		Total	Husbands	Women	18-29	30-49	50-65	
3a	Knowledge score	62.1%	64.5%	60.5%	57.7%	63.0%	64.4%	63.5%
3b	Attitude index: gender equality and WLR	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.4
3d/ GNDR-4	Attitude index: gender equality	-0.0	-0.3	0.2	-0.1	-0.0	0.1	-0.1

Knowledge

Women's and husbands' responses to each true/false question on WLR are presented in Tables 10 and 11, respectively. Most women and husbands think that any poor women can apply for khas land (80 percent of women and husbands). However, this is incorrect because widows and abandoned women must have an adult able-bodied son to apply for khas land. Not surprisingly, knowledge about Hindu inheritance is lower in North Channel and Nazirpur unions, where all the respondents are Muslim, than in Chealgazi union, in which about 6 percent of respondents are Hindu. There is a large gender gap in knowledge on this topic, especially in North Channel. Most women and husbands know that, according to Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get a portion of their deceased husband's property if he does not have any children (89 percent of women and 94 percent of husbands), that women have the right to get farmer cards (75 percent of women and 73 percent of husbands), and that women have the right to speak in community mediation (72 percent of women and 82 percent of husbands). Women's knowledge scores are lowest in North Channel, with an average score of 56 percent, and highest in Nazirpur, with an average score of 64 percent. We observe the opposite pattern among husbands, whose knowledge scores are highest in North Channel (70 percent correct responses) and lowest in Nazirpur (59 percent correct responses). This results in a large gender gap in knowledge in North Channel that favors men, as well as a gender gap in knowledge in Nazirpur that favors women.

Table 10. Knowledge about WLR and Gender Equality (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
Any poor woman can apply for khas land				
True	73.1%	84.6%	79.3%	79.7%
False (correct)	2.2%	2.2%	3.7%	2.6%
Don't know	24.7%	13.2%	17.1%	17.7%
Hindu daughters do not have right to inherit parents' land				
True (correct)	36.6%	47.1%	81.7%	53.1%
False	6.5%	17.6%	4.9%	10.9%
Don't know	57.0%	35.3%	13.4%	36.0%
In Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get portion of deceased husbands' land if does not have any children				
True (correct)	86.0%	95.6%	81.7%	89.1%
False	7.5%	0.0%	12.2%	5.5%
Don't know	6.5%	4.4%	6.1%	5.5%
Women have the right to get farmer cards				

True (correct)	81.7%	81.6%	56.1%	74.9%
False	1.1%	2.2%	12.2%	4.5%
Don't know	17.2%	15.4%	31.7%	20.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Women have the right to speak in community mediation				
True (correct)	73.1%	94.1%	72.0%	82.0%
False	25.8%	4.4%	28.0%	17.0%
Don't know	1.1%	1.5%	0.0%	1.0%
Only male community leaders can settle land disputes (excluded from knowledge score)				
True	44.1%	59.6%	56.1%	54.0%
False	55.9%	37.5%	37.8%	43.1%
Don't know	0.0%	2.9%	6.1%	2.9%
Knowledge score	55.9%	64.4%	59.0%	60.5%

Table 11. Knowledge about WLR and Gender Equality (Husbands)

	Union			
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
Any poor woman can apply for khas land				
True	76.9%	73.2%	89.4%	79.3%
False (correct)	0.0%	2.4%	4.5%	2.3%
Don't know	23.1%	24.4%	6.1%	18.3%
Hindu daughters do not have right to inherit parents' land				
True (correct)	73.8%	53.7%	89.4%	70.9%
False	6.2%	6.1%	4.5%	5.6%
Don't know	20.0%	40.2%	6.1%	23.5%
In Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get portion of deceased husbands' land if does not have any children				
True (correct)	100.0%	100.0%	81.8%	94.4%
False	0.0%	0.0%	13.6%	4.2%
Don't know	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	1.4%
Women have the right to get farmer cards				
True (correct)	90.8%	57.3%	75.8%	73.2%
False	0.0%	7.3%	10.6%	6.1%
Don't know	9.2%	35.4%	12.1%	20.2%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Women have the right to speak in community mediation				
True (correct)	87.7%	80.5%	77.3%	81.7%
False	10.8%	17.1%	22.7%	16.9%
Don't know	1.5%	2.4%	0.0%	1.4%
Only male community leaders can settle land disputes (excluded from knowledge score)				

True	58.5%	58.5%	54.5%	57.3%
False	40.0%	37.8%	45.5%	40.8%
Don't know	1.5%	3.7%	0.0%	1.9%
Knowledge score	70.5%	58.8%	65.8%	64.5%

Table 12 shows women’s knowledge and skills to apply for khas land and obtain land documents in their name, and Table 13 presents the same for husbands. In addition to not knowing who can apply for khas land, very few women know that a landless certificate is required to apply for khas land (2 percent) or that landless certificates are obtained from the Union Council (7 percent). While only 11 percent of husbands report knowing how to apply for khas land, there is a clear gender gap in this knowledge. Most women and husbands (about 84 percent) report that they do not have the skills needed to apply for khas land. Similarly, the majority of women report that they do not know how to obtain land documents in their name or have the skills needed to obtain land documents, except in North Channel, where 55 percent of women believe they have the skills to obtain land documents. By contrast, the majority of men report knowing how to obtain land documents in their name (65 percent) and having the skills to do so (57 percent). Both women and husbands in North Channel are more likely to report having the skills to apply for khas land and obtain land documents than women and husbands in the other two districts. Interestingly, women in North Channel are more likely than husbands to report having the skills to apply for khas land (43 percent versus 26 percent), but the opposite is true in the other two unions. Across all three unions, husbands are more likely than women to report having the skills to obtain land documents (57 percent for husbands versus 25 percent for women).

Table 12. Knowledge and Skills to Perform Behaviors of Interest (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
To apply for khas land, what type of papers do you need?				
Landless certificate (correct)	2.2%	1.5%	2.4%	1.9%
Any other response	3.2%	5.1%	0.0%	3.2%
Don't know	94.6%	93.4%	97.6%	94.9%
Where do you get a landless certificate?				
From the Union Council (correct)	9.7%	5.9%	6.1%	7.1%
Any other response	1.1%	2.2%	2.4%	1.9%
Don't know	89.2%	91.9%	91.5%	91.0%
Do you know how to obtain land documents in your name?				
No	72.0%	82.4%	96.3%	83.0%
Yes	28.0%	17.6%	3.7%	17.0%
Do you have the skills needed to apply for khas land?				
No	54.8%	96.3%	96.3%	83.9%
Yes	43.0%	3.7%	3.7%	15.4%
Declined to respond	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Do you have the skills needed to obtain land documents in your name?				
No	45.2%	81.6%	96.3%	74.6%
Yes	54.8%	17.6%	2.4%	24.8%

	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
Table 13. Knowledge and Skills to Perform Behaviors of Interest (Husbands)				
	Union			
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
Do you know how to apply for khas land?				
No	84.6%	91.5%	89.4%	88.7%
Yes	15.4%	8.5%	10.6%	11.3%
Do you know how to obtain land documents in your name?				
No	27.7%	40.2%	36.4%	35.2%
Yes	72.3%	59.8%	63.6%	64.8%
Do you have the skills needed to apply for khas land?				
No	73.8%	87.8%	90.9%	84.5%
Yes	26.2%	12.2%	9.1%	15.5%
Do you have the skills needed to obtain land documents in your name?				
No	26.2%	40.2%	62.1%	42.7%
Yes	73.8%	59.8%	37.9%	57.3%

Attitudes

Overall, we find the greatest agreement that men and women should have equal opportunities and equal rights to land and agricultural services among women in North Channel, and the least support for gender equality and WLR among women in Chealgazi. We find very supportive attitudes among both women and their husbands towards women community members applying for khas land, spouses jointly registering land, and women obtaining land documents in their name. We also observe a gender gap in attitudes regarding joint registration of land and the inclusion of women's names on land documents. In addition, we find greater support for women applying for khas land than for adding women's names to land documents, which is not surprising since the former implies additional land for the household, while the latter potentially implies shifting some control of existing household land to women. However, given the low rates of divorce and separation in this setting, most respondents likely assume that adding women's names to land documents would help women if their spouse died, rather than allowing women to claim some of the land in the event of divorce or separation. This may contribute to the high proportion of husbands who support joint registration.

Tables 13 and 14 present responses to each attitude question for women and husbands, respectively. Most women agree or strongly agree that women and men should have equal rights and receive the same treatment (67 percent agree and 19 percent strongly agree), but it is worth noting that more than one quarter of women in Chealgazi strongly disagree or disagree with this statement (21 percent strongly disagree and 7 percent disagree). Most husbands also agree with equal rights (60 percent agree and 11 percent strongly agree), but their attitudes are less supportive, on average, than those of women. Interestingly, in North Channel, husbands are more supportive than women of equal rights, but the opposite is true in the other two unions. We observe some variation in attitudes about whether men make better political leaders than women and should be elected instead of women. On average across the three unions, the most common response among women and husbands is agreement with this statement. In North Channel, most women and husbands disagree with this statement, but in Nazirpur, most women and husbands agree. The women in Chealgazi are more evenly split (46 percent strongly

disagree or disagree, while 51 percent agree or strongly agree). There is a large gender gap in attitudes in Chealgazi, where 79 percent of husbands agree or strongly agree with this statement. We observe similar patterns for women and husbands regarding the statement that men should have more rights to jobs than women when jobs are scarce, but there is even more agreement with this statement in Nazirpur and Chealgazi.

Most women agree or strongly agree that women and men should make the same daily wages (82 percent), that the Department of Agriculture including women in agricultural trainings (95 percent), and that women can be just as good at farming as men (73 percent). While almost no women disagree with wage equality in North Channel, about 22 percent of women in the other two unions strongly disagree or disagree. Similarly, less than 8 percent of women in North Channel disagree that women can be as good at farming as men, but over 29 percent of women in the other two unions strongly disagree or disagree. The majority of husbands also agree or strongly agree that women and men should make the same daily wages (60 percent), that the Department of Agriculture including women in agricultural trainings (90 percent), and that women can be just as good at farming as men (53 percent). However, we observe a gender gap for each of these attitudes revealing that women are more supportive than their husbands of gender equality.

Next, we assess individual attitudes towards the behaviors targeted by the Coalition in Bangladesh. Fortunately, we find very supportive attitudes, but we also observe a gender gap in attitudes regarding joint registration of land and the inclusion of women's names on land documents. Most respondents strongly disagree or disagree that women should *not* apply for khas land (96 percent of women and husbands), agree or strongly agree that husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names (98 percent of women and 83 percent of husbands), and strongly disagree or disagree that women's names should *not* be included on land documents (93 percent of women and 83 percent of husbands).

According to women respondents, women should apply for khas land, spouses should jointly register land, and women's names should be included on land document to enhance women's security if they get divorced or their spouse passes away, because women have the right to land, and to promote women's independence. The three most important reasons differ somewhat across regions. For example, more women in Nazirpur cite economic empowerment and improved livelihoods than women in the other unions. Husbands provide similar rationales. However, husbands are more likely to cite economic empowerment than women's independence as an important reason why women should apply for khas land.

Since so few women think that women should *not* apply for khas land, that spouses should *not* jointly register land, or that women's names should *not* be included on land documents, we exclude responses to these questions from Table 14. Among the few women respondents who think women should *not* apply for khas land, the primary reasons for this attitude include: married women do not need land, women lack information, and it is a complex and bureaucratic procedure. The few women respondents who think spouses should *not* jointly register land or that women's names should *not* be included on land documents generally report that it is not a common practice, it is a hassle, that it can create mistrust between spouses, and that husbands will not be willing.

We similarly exclude husbands' responses regarding why women should *not* apply for khas land from Table 15. Among the few husbands who believe women should *not* apply for khas land, the main reasons they have this attitude are because they think that women do not go to land offices and that married women do not need land. We include husbands' responses regarding why spouses should *not*

jointly register land and why women’s names should *not* be included on land documents in Table 15 because over 30 husbands agreed with these statements. Husbands cite mistrust between spouses, that husbands will not be willing, and potential separation with their wives as the primary reasons why spouses should *not* jointly register land and why women’s names should *not* be included on land documents. Although a minority of husbands have these attitudes, these reasons suggest that there could be serious negative repercussions for their wives if they obtain land documents in their name. Due to the small number of husbands who replied to these questions, we do not disaggregate by union, but it is important to note that none of the husbands in North Channel cite potential separation as a rationale for this attitude.

Finally, we assess what respondents think should happen in the event of separation or death of one’s spouse. Most women and husbands in North Channel and Nazirpur think that, when a married couple separates, it would be best for the land to be divided according to whose name(s) is/are on the documents. In Chealgazi, most women think it would be best for the husband and wife to each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage. Many husbands in Chealgazi also think this is the best option (35 percent), but more husbands think land should be divided according to whose name(s) is/are on the documents (41 percent). Most respondents think that a widow should be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband (93 percent of women and 82 percent of husbands), but 17 percent of women and half of the husbands in Chealgazi think that widows should only be able to do this under certain conditions.

Table 14. Attitudes (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men do				
Strongly disagree	1.1%	0.7%	20.7%	6.1%
Disagree	1.1%	5.9%	7.3%	4.8%
Neither disagree nor agree	4.3%	3.7%	0.0%	2.9%
Agree	79.6%	61.0%	63.4%	67.2%
Strongly agree	14.0%	28.7%	8.5%	19.0%
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women				
Strongly disagree	2.2%	0.7%	25.6%	7.7%
Disagree	63.4%	25.0%	20.7%	35.4%
Neither disagree nor agree	5.4%	5.9%	2.4%	4.8%
Agree	28.0%	58.8%	40.2%	44.7%
Strongly agree	1.1%	8.8%	11.0%	7.1%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women				
Strongly disagree	2.2%	0.0%	24.4%	7.1%
Disagree	62.4%	20.6%	9.8%	30.2%
Neither disagree nor agree	11.8%	0.7%	0.0%	3.9%
Agree	21.5%	64.7%	56.1%	49.5%
Strongly agree	2.2%	14.0%	9.8%	9.3%

Women and men should make the same daily wages				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	1.5%	7.3%	2.6%
Disagree	2.2%	20.6%	14.6%	13.5%
Neither disagree nor agree	4.3%	0.7%	1.2%	1.9%
Agree	73.1%	58.1%	48.8%	60.1%
Strongly agree	20.4%	18.4%	28.0%	21.5%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Women should be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	0.0%	4.9%	1.3%
Disagree	0.0%	6.6%	3.7%	3.9%
Neither disagree nor agree	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Agree	86.0%	73.5%	64.6%	74.9%
Strongly agree	14.0%	19.1%	26.8%	19.6%
Women can be just as good at farming as men				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	1.5%	1.2%	1.0%
Disagree	7.5%	27.9%	28.0%	21.9%
Neither disagree nor agree	9.7%	1.5%	3.7%	4.5%
Agree	73.1%	55.9%	35.4%	55.6%
Strongly agree	9.7%	13.2%	31.7%	17.0%
Women should not apply for khas land				
Strongly disagree	21.5%	13.2%	36.6%	21.9%
Disagree	77.4%	80.9%	57.3%	73.6%
Neither disagree nor agree	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Agree	0.0%	5.1%	3.7%	3.2%
Strongly agree	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Disagree	0.0%	4.4%	1.2%	2.3%
Agree	78.5%	68.4%	61.0%	69.5%
Strongly agree	21.5%	25.7%	37.8%	27.7%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Women's names should not be included on land documents				
Strongly disagree	23.7%	12.5%	37.8%	22.5%
Disagree	76.3%	73.5%	58.5%	70.4%
Agree	0.0%	13.2%	3.7%	6.8%
Strongly agree	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Why should women apply for khas land? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that women should not apply for khas land)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
It is the right thing to do	19.4%	14.1%	35.1%	21.1%
Women have the right to land	43.0%	35.9%	37.7%	38.6%

Gender equality	2.2%	8.6%	31.2%	12.4%
Economic empowerment	12.9%	45.3%	33.8%	32.2%
Social recognition	0.0%	4.7%	1.3%	2.3%
Better livelihoods	24.7%	45.3%	16.9%	31.5%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	71.0%	54.7%	53.2%	59.4%
For their independence	62.4%	21.9%	18.2%	33.6%
Why should spouses jointly register land? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, agree, or strongly agree that spouses should jointly register land)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
It is the right thing to do	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	1.0%
Women have the right to land	52.7%	25.8%	51.9%	41.1%
Gender equality	2.2%	32.8%	21.0%	20.2%
Economic empowerment	5.4%	34.4%	23.5%	22.5%
Social recognition	0.0%	6.3%	3.7%	3.6%
Better livelihoods	15.1%	29.7%	9.9%	19.9%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	92.5%	62.5%	80.2%	76.5%
For their independence	59.1%	33.6%	23.5%	38.7%
Why should women's names be included on land documents? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that women's names should not be included on land documents)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
It is the right thing to do	16.1%	9.4%	21.5%	14.9%
Women have the right to land	57.0%	47.0%	64.6%	55.0%
Gender equality	1.1%	26.5%	22.8%	17.3%
Economic empowerment	4.3%	36.8%	25.3%	23.2%
Social recognition	0.0%	5.1%	2.5%	2.8%
Better livelihoods	15.1%	29.1%	6.3%	18.3%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	95.7%	59.8%	73.4%	75.1%
For their independence	61.3%	30.8%	39.2%	42.9%
When a married couple separates, which of these possibilities do you think is best?				
All land is divided equally	2.2%	3.7%	15.9%	6.4%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage	21.5%	16.9%	57.3%	28.9%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and land acquired during the marriage should stay with the husband	10.8%	1.5%	1.2%	4.2%
All the land stays with the husband	2.2%	23.5%	1.2%	11.3%
Land should be divided accordingly to whose name is/are on the documents	52.7%	53.7%	24.4%	45.7%
Declined to respond	10.8%	0.7%	0.0%	3.5%
Should a widow be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband?				
No	1.1%	1.5%	2.4%	1.6%

Yes, but only with some conditions	0.0%	2.9%	17.1%	5.8%
Yes	98.9%	95.6%	80.5%	92.6%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR	1.0	0.6	0.7	0.7
Attitude index: gender equality	0.6	-0.0	0.1	0.2

Table 15. Attitudes (Husbands)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men do				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	8.5%	13.6%	7.5%
Disagree	6.2%	6.1%	28.8%	13.1%
Neither disagree nor agree	1.5%	14.6%	7.6%	8.5%
Agree	87.7%	52.4%	40.9%	59.6%
Strongly agree	4.6%	18.3%	9.1%	11.3%
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	1.2%	7.6%	2.8%
Disagree	50.8%	13.4%	9.1%	23.5%
Neither disagree nor agree	4.6%	8.5%	4.5%	6.1%
Agree	33.8%	56.1%	42.4%	45.1%
Strongly agree	10.8%	20.7%	36.4%	22.5%
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%
Disagree	41.5%	9.8%	7.6%	18.6%
Neither disagree nor agree	9.2%	3.7%	0.0%	4.2%
Agree	36.9%	47.6%	39.4%	41.8%
Strongly agree	12.3%	37.8%	50.0%	33.8%
Women and men should make the same daily wages				
Strongly disagree	3.1%	8.5%	10.6%	7.5%
Disagree	15.4%	35.4%	27.3%	26.8%
Neither disagree nor agree	6.2%	3.7%	7.6%	5.6%
Agree	66.2%	37.8%	42.4%	47.9%
Strongly agree	9.2%	14.6%	12.1%	12.2%
Women should be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	2.4%	3.0%	1.9%
Disagree	4.6%	9.8%	9.1%	8.0%
Agree	87.7%	70.7%	62.1%	73.2%
Strongly agree	7.7%	17.1%	25.8%	16.9%
Women can be just as good at farming as men				

Strongly disagree	0.0%	11.0%	7.6%	6.6%
Disagree	27.7%	34.1%	40.9%	34.3%
Neither disagree nor agree	15.4%	2.4%	1.5%	6.1%
Agree	47.7%	48.8%	30.3%	42.7%
Strongly agree	9.2%	3.7%	19.7%	10.3%
Women should not apply for khas land				
Strongly disagree	36.9%	9.8%	12.1%	18.8%
Disagree	63.1%	86.6%	78.8%	77.0%
Neither disagree nor agree	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Agree	0.0%	2.4%	7.6%	3.3%
Strongly agree	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	2.4%	6.1%	2.8%
Disagree	1.5%	22.0%	15.2%	13.6%
Neither disagree nor agree	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Agree	78.5%	61.0%	63.6%	67.1%
Strongly agree	20.0%	13.4%	15.2%	16.0%
Women's names should not be included on land documents				
Strongly disagree	35.4%	7.3%	10.6%	16.9%
Disagree	61.5%	67.1%	68.2%	65.7%
Neither disagree nor agree	0.0%	4.9%	0.0%	1.9%
Agree	3.1%	18.3%	18.2%	13.6%
Strongly agree	0.0%	2.4%	3.0%	1.9%
Why should women apply for khas land? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that women should not apply for khas land)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
It is the right thing to do	29.2%	12.5%	15.0%	18.5%
Women have the right to land	43.1%	36.3%	71.7%	48.8%
Gender equality	6.2%	2.5%	36.7%	13.7%
Economic empowerment	21.5%	58.8%	21.7%	36.1%
Social recognition	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	1.0%
Better livelihoods	44.6%	17.5%	13.3%	24.9%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	21.5%	81.3%	73.3%	60.0%
For their independence	16.9%	10.0%	25.0%	16.6%
Why should spouses not jointly register land? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that spouses should jointly register land)				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
It is a hassle				33.3%
Mistrust between spouses				52.8%
Husbands won't be willing				41.7%
Potential separation				38.9%
Patriarchal society				13.9%
Not common practice				25.0%

Why should spouses jointly register land? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, agree, or strongly agree that spouses should jointly register land)

Select up to 3 most important reasons

It is the right thing to do	28.1%	11.3%	17.3%	19.1%
Women have the right to land	48.4%	45.2%	65.4%	52.2%
Gender equality	0.0%	16.1%	34.6%	15.7%
Economic empowerment	1.6%	37.1%	19.2%	19.1%
Social recognition	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	1.1%
Better livelihoods	3.1%	12.9%	1.9%	6.2%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	95.3%	85.5%	82.7%	88.2%
For their independence	18.8%	21.0%	46.2%	27.5%

Why should women's names not be included on land documents? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, agree, or strongly agree that women's names should not be included on land documents)

Select up to 3 most important reasons

It is a hassle				16.2%
Mistrust between spouses				48.6%
Husbands won't be willing				35.1%
Potential separation				59.5%
Not recognized socially				8.1%
Patriarchal society				16.2%
Not common practice				21.6%
Declined to respond				5.4%

Why should women's names be included on land documents? (Among respondents who neither disagree nor agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that women's names should not be included on land documents)

Select up to 3 most important reasons

It is the right thing to do	28.6%	7.7%	11.5%	16.1%
Women have the right to land	49.2%	49.2%	65.4%	53.9%
Gender equality	3.2%	12.3%	42.3%	17.8%
Economic empowerment	3.2%	43.1%	19.2%	22.2%
Social recognition	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	1.1%
Better livelihoods	3.2%	13.8%	1.9%	6.7%
Security in divorce or death of spouse	95.2%	86.2%	78.8%	87.2%
For their independence	33.3%	20.0%	50.0%	33.3%

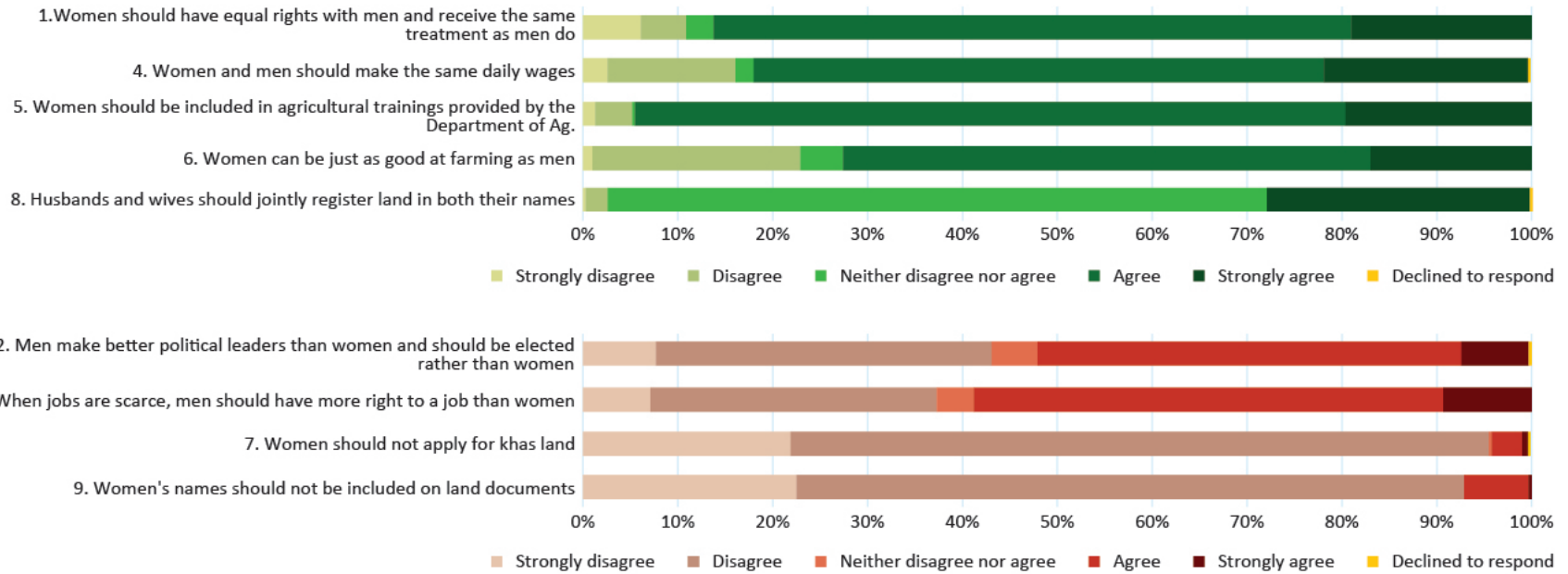
When a married couple separates, which of these possibilities do you think is best?

All land is divided equally	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.9%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage	7.7%	7.3%	34.8%	16.0%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and land acquired during the marriage should stay with the husband	6.2%	2.4%	6.1%	4.7%

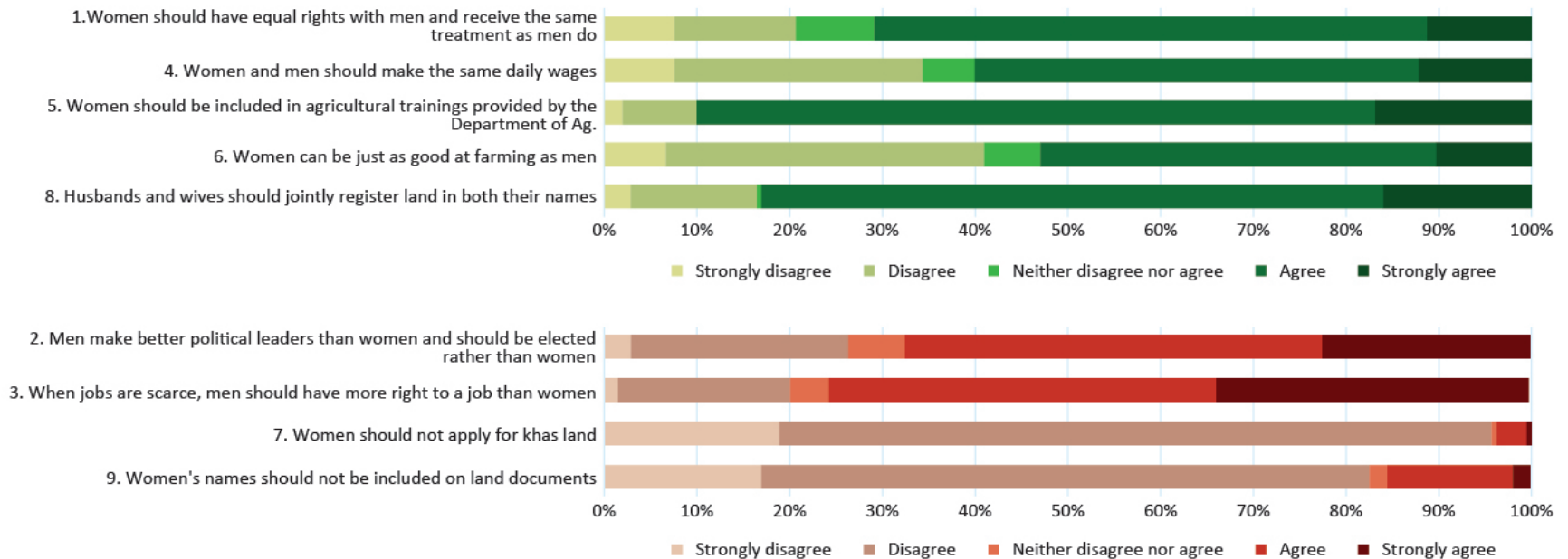
All the land stays with the husband	3.1%	8.5%	12.1%	8.0%
Land should be divided accordingly to whose name is/are on the documents	78.5%	81.7%	40.9%	68.1%
Declined to respond	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Should a widow be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her h				
No	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Yes, but only with some conditions	3.1%	1.2%	50.0%	16.9%
Yes	96.9%	96.3%	50.0%	82.2%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.4
Attitude index: gender equality	0.2	-0.4	-0.7	-0.3

Note: The questions regarding why one agrees or disagrees with specific statements are conditional on responses to the statements. As a result, only 36 men responded to the question, "Why should spouses not jointly register land?" and only 37 responded to the question, "Why should women's names not be included on land documents?" For this reason, we do not disaggregate these responses by union.

Attitudes (Women)



Attitudes (Husbands)



Perceptions of social norms (descriptive and injunctive)

To measure perceptions of descriptive norms, or what other women do, we asked each respondent how many women in their community have applied for khas land and how many have their name on land documents. We asked them to respond using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none and 10 is all. Most women and husbands do not know if women in their community have applied for khas land or have their names on land documents (see Tables 16 and 17). This is not necessarily surprising given that these behaviors are not easy to observe, but this finding also suggests that women do not often share this information with other people in their community. More women than husbands do not know how common these practices are. The responses of those who do provide estimates suggest that these behaviors are not common. Among respondents who estimate how many women in their community have applied for khas land, the most common response is that no women have applied. This response is especially common in North Channel, where 8 percent of women and 34 percent of husbands report that no women have applied for khas land. Among respondents who estimate how many women in their community have their name on land documents, the most common response is that 1 in 10 women have their names on land documents. In North Channel, 16 percent of women and 40 percent of husbands provide this estimate. There is more variation across the other two unions, but responses suggest that a higher proportion of women have their names on land documents.

To measure respondents' perceptions of injunctive norms, we ask what they think people in their reference group expect them to do. Although applying for khas land does not seem to be common practice, most married women in North Channel (63 percent) and Nazirpur (55 percent) think their husband expects them to apply. In Chealgazi, only one quarter of married women think their husband expects them to apply, while 43 percent think he has no expectations. In North Channel and Chealgazi, 13 percent of married women think their husbands expect them not to apply, compared to just 3 percent in Nazirpur. Most husbands report that they expect their wife to apply for khas land (71 percent in North Channel and 55 percent in Nazirpur). In Chealgazi, only 44 percent of husbands expect their wives to apply, and 38 percent expect them not to. Many husbands in Nazirpur have no expectations (37 percent).

On average, most women think that their husband expects them to obtain land documents in their name (52 percent) and most husbands do expect their wives to obtain land documents in their name (60 percent). In North Channel and Chealgazi, more wives think their husbands expect them to obtain land documents in their name than expect them to apply for khas land. However, we observe the opposite pattern in Nazirpur. Husbands' responses confirm these expectations, on average, in Chealgazi and Nazirpur. In North Channel, 71 percent of husbands expect their wives to apply for khas land and obtain documents in their name. We further examine the extent to which wives accurately report their husbands' expectations in the section on pluralistic ignorance below.

Many women think that other men and women in their immediate or extended family, men and women in their community, community leaders, or land officials either have no expectations, or they do not know what they expect them to do. A higher proportion of women report not knowing what others expect of them as we move further away from their inner social circle: about 30 percent do not know what their family expects them to do, about 65 percent do not know what other people in their community expect them to do, and over three quarters do not know what community leaders or land officials expect them to do. The patterns are similar for expectations regarding obtaining land documents: a large proportion of respondents report that others have no expectations or they do not know, and their lack of knowledge about what people expect increases as we move away from their inner social circle.

We also ask husbands how many service providers include women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture, and whether they expect service providers to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land and agriculture. About half of husbands do not know what proportion of service providers include women. Responses range from 0 service providers to 8 out of 10 service providers. Among those who estimated, the most common estimate is 0. In Chealgazi, however, over one quarter of husbands estimate that 3 in 10 service providers include women. In Nazirpur and Chealgazi, most husbands expect service providers to include women. However, in North Channel, only one third expect service providers to include women, 35 percent have no expectations, and 31 percent do not know.

Table 16. Perceptions of social norms (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
About how many women in your community have applied for khas land?				
0	7.5%	4.4%	0.0%	4.2%
2	1.1%	0.0%	2.4%	1.0%
3	0.0%	1.5%	1.2%	1.0%
5	1.1%	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%
9	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
10	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Don't know	90.3%	94.1%	92.7%	92.6%
About how many women in your community have their name on land documents?				
0	0.0%	4.4%	1.2%	2.3%
1	16.1%	6.6%	1.2%	8.0%
2	6.5%	3.7%	1.2%	3.9%
3	2.2%	1.5%	3.7%	2.3%
4	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
5	2.2%	1.5%	0.0%	1.3%
Don't know	73.1%	81.6%	92.7%	82.0%
Do you think your husband expects you to apply or not apply for khas land? (Among married respondents)				
Apply	62.8%	54.8%	24.7%	48.8%
Not apply	12.8%	3.2%	13.0%	8.5%
No expectations	19.2%	24.6%	42.9%	28.1%
Don't know	5.1%	17.5%	19.5%	14.6%
Do you think [other] men in your immediate or extended family expect you to apply or not apply for khas land?				
Apply	40.9%	30.9%	18.3%	30.5%
Not apply	4.3%	2.9%	8.5%	4.8%
No expectations	34.4%	27.9%	40.2%	33.1%
Don't know	20.4%	38.2%	31.7%	31.2%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think women in your immediate or extended family expect you to apply or not apply for khas land?				

Apply	40.9%	25.7%	18.3%	28.3%
Not apply	3.2%	8.1%	6.1%	6.1%
No expectations	37.6%	30.9%	40.2%	35.4%
Don't know	18.3%	35.3%	35.4%	30.2%
Do you think that men in your community expect you to apply for khas land?				
Apply	10.8%	4.4%	9.8%	7.7%
Not apply	2.2%	11.8%	4.9%	7.1%
No expectations	20.4%	23.5%	15.9%	20.6%
Don't know	66.7%	60.3%	69.5%	64.6%
Do you think that women in your community expect you to apply for khas land?				
Apply	15.1%	3.7%	11.0%	9.0%
Not apply	2.2%	8.8%	3.7%	5.5%
No expectations	17.2%	26.5%	14.6%	20.6%
Don't know	65.6%	61.0%	70.7%	65.0%
Do you think that community leaders expect you to apply for khas land?				
Apply	2.2%	2.9%	6.1%	3.5%
Not apply	2.2%	8.1%	4.9%	5.5%
No expectations	14.0%	22.8%	4.9%	15.4%
Don't know	81.7%	66.2%	84.1%	75.6%
Do you think that land officials expect you to apply for khas land?				
Apply	2.2%	1.5%	6.1%	2.9%
Not apply	1.1%	6.6%	4.9%	4.5%
No expectations	15.1%	20.6%	4.9%	14.8%
Don't know	81.7%	71.3%	84.1%	77.8%
Do you think your husband expects you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	69.2%	42.9%	49.4%	52.0%
Not obtain documents in your name	2.6%	8.7%	6.5%	6.4%
No expectations	17.9%	27.0%	32.5%	26.0%
Don't know	10.3%	21.4%	11.7%	15.7%
Do you think [other] men in your immediate or extended family expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	35.5%	20.6%	25.6%	26.4%
Not obtain documents in your name	1.1%	8.1%	4.9%	5.1%
No expectations	36.6%	32.4%	48.8%	37.9%
Don't know	26.9%	39.0%	19.5%	30.2%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think women in your immediate or extended family expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	31.2%	15.4%	24.4%	22.5%
Not obtain documents in your name	0.0%	12.5%	4.9%	6.8%
No expectations	37.6%	30.9%	46.3%	37.0%

Don't know	31.2%	41.2%	23.2%	33.4%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think that men in your community expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	2.2%	2.2%	3.7%	2.6%
Not obtain documents in your name	1.1%	11.8%	11.0%	8.4%
No expectations	23.7%	25.7%	12.2%	21.5%
Don't know	73.1%	60.3%	72.0%	67.2%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think that women in your community expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	8.6%	2.9%	7.3%	5.8%
Not obtain documents in your name	1.1%	9.6%	4.9%	5.8%
No expectations	20.4%	25.0%	13.4%	20.6%
Don't know	69.9%	62.5%	73.2%	67.5%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think that community leaders expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	1.1%	1.5%	6.1%	2.6%
Not obtain documents in your name	0.0%	6.6%	2.4%	3.5%
No expectations	18.3%	27.9%	6.1%	19.3%
Don't know	80.6%	64.0%	84.1%	74.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Do you think that land officials expect you to obtain land documents in your name?				
Obtain documents in your name	0.0%	2.2%	6.1%	2.6%
Not obtain documents in your name	0.0%	2.9%	2.4%	1.9%
No expectations	19.4%	27.2%	4.9%	19.0%
Don't know	80.6%	67.6%	85.4%	76.2%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%

Table 17. Perceptions of social norms (Husbands)

	Union			Total %
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	
About how many women in your community have applied for khas land?				
0	33.8%	3.7%	3.0%	12.7%
1	1.5%	3.7%	1.5%	2.3%
2	0.0%	4.9%	0.0%	1.9%
3	0.0%	1.2%	9.1%	3.3%
4	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%
5	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
8	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%

10	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Don't know	63.1%	82.9%	83.3%	77.0%
About how many women in your community have their name on land documents?				
0	1.5%	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%
1	40.0%	11.0%	3.0%	17.4%
2	6.2%	13.4%	6.1%	8.9%
3	0.0%	11.0%	4.5%	5.6%
4	4.6%	1.2%	4.5%	3.3%
5	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Don't know	47.7%	61.0%	81.8%	63.4%
About how many service providers (staff in land and agricultural offices, Union Council members and Chairman) include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?				
0	32.3%	12.2%	19.7%	20.7%
1	6.2%	9.8%	1.5%	6.1%
2	6.2%	2.4%	16.7%	8.0%
3	1.5%	6.1%	25.8%	10.8%
4	3.1%	1.2%	3.0%	2.3%
6	1.5%	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%
8	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Don't know	49.2%	64.6%	33.3%	50.2%
Do you expect your wife to apply or not apply for khas land?				
Apply	70.8%	54.9%	43.9%	56.3%
Not apply	21.5%	6.1%	37.9%	20.7%
No expectations	7.7%	36.6%	18.2%	22.1%
Don't know	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Declined to respond	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Do you expect your wife to obtain or not obtain land documents in her name?				
Obtain documents in your name	70.8%	46.3%	65.2%	59.6%
Not obtain documents in your name	26.2%	7.3%	19.7%	16.9%
No expectations	0.0%	40.2%	13.6%	19.7%
Don't know	3.1%	6.1%	1.5%	3.8%
Do you expect service providers to include women in or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?				
Include	33.8%	74.4%	65.2%	59.2%
Exclude	0.0%	2.4%	15.2%	5.6%
No expectations	35.4%	11.0%	4.5%	16.4%
Don't know	30.8%	12.2%	15.2%	18.8%

Pluralistic ignorance

Pluralistic ignorance describes a situation in which individuals mistakenly believe that most other people have opinions that differ from their own. Table 18 examines the extent to which wives' beliefs about

their husband’s expectations align with her husband’s reports about his own expectations. About half of the wives in the sample correctly report on their husband’s expectations regarding whether they apply for khas land. Less than 2 percent of wives report that they think their husband expects them to not apply, but their husband expects them to apply. About 10 percent of wives think that their husband has no expectations, but their husband expects them to apply. Similarly, just under half of wives correctly report on their husband’s expectations regarding whether they obtain land documents in their name, and about 3 percent of wives report that they think their husband expects them to not obtain land documents, but their husband expects them to obtain land documents. About 10 percent of wives think that their husband has no expectations, but their husband expects them to obtain land documents. Although about half of wives do not accurately understand their husband’s expectations of them, there are no clear patterns to the discordance that suggest the existence of pluralistic ignorance.

Table 18. Pluralistic ignorance					
	Wives: Do you think your husband expects you to apply or not apply for khas land				
	Apply	Not apply	No expectations	Don't know	Total
Husbands: Do you expect your wife to apply or not apply for khas land?					
Apply	37.3%	1.9%	9.9%	7.5%	56.6%
Not apply	3.3%	4.7%	10.8%	1.9%	20.8%
No expectations	7.1%	1.9%	7.1%	6.1%	22.2%
Don't know	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%
Total	47.6%	8.5%	27.8%	16.0%	100.0%
Number of couples					212

	Wives: Do you think your husband expects you to obtain or not obtain land documents				
	Obtain	Not obtain	No expectations	Don't know	Total
Husbands: Do you expect your wife to obtain or not obtain land documents in her					
Obtain	38.5%	3.3%	10.3%	7.5%	59.6%
Not obtain	7.0%	1.9%	5.6%	2.3%	16.9%
No expectations	6.1%	1.4%	7.5%	4.7%	19.7%
Don't know	1.4%	0.0%	1.9%	0.5%	3.8%
Total	53.1%	6.6%	25.4%	15.0%	100.0%
Number of couples					213

Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control)

Next, we assessed women’s perceived self-efficacy in applying for khas land and obtaining land documents in their name (see Table 19). Many women (42 percent) are not at all confident or somewhat unconfident that they can apply for khas land if their family opposes them, but a similar proportion (43 percent) are somewhat confident or very confident that they can do so. Women in North Channel are

more confident than women in the other two unions. We observe similar patterns for questions regarding how confident women are that they can resist pressure from others to not apply for khas land, find a solution if they are facing challenges because they want to apply for khas land, and stand up to someone who does not want you to apply for khas land. Responses to the same set of questions regarding obtaining land documents in their name are similar. Women feel the least confident that they can stand up to someone who does not want them to apply for khas land (44 percent are not at all confident or somewhat unconfident) or obtain land documents in their name (51 percent are not at all confident or somewhat unconfident).

To measure perceived control, we asked how easy or difficult they think it is to apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name. Most women think it is somewhat or very difficult to apply for khas land (64 percent) or obtain land documents in their name (63 percent). Only 3 percent of women think it would be somewhat easy to apply for khas land, and none think it would be very easy. However, about one fifth of respondents think obtaining land documents in their name is very easy or somewhat easy, suggesting that more women perceive they can control whether they obtain land documents in their name than can control whether they apply for khas land.

Table 19. Women only: Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control)

	Union			Total
	North Channel	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	
How confident are you that you can apply for khas land, even if your family opposes you?				
Not at all confident	20.4%	45.6%	43.9%	37.6%
Somewhat unconfident	2.2%	5.9%	2.4%	3.9%
Neutral	1.1%	0.0%	3.7%	1.3%
Somewhat confident	38.7%	32.4%	15.9%	29.9%
Very confident	24.7%	11.0%	4.9%	13.5%
I don't qualify to apply for khas land	6.5%	0.7%	22.0%	8.0%
Don't know	6.5%	4.4%	7.3%	5.8%
How confident are you that can resist pressure from others to not apply for khas land, if you try hard enough?				
Not at all confident	18.3%	44.1%	43.9%	36.3%
Somewhat unconfident	6.5%	5.9%	4.9%	5.8%
Neutral	2.2%	2.2%	4.9%	2.9%
Somewhat confident	44.1%	33.1%	15.9%	31.8%
Very confident	17.2%	9.6%	2.4%	10.0%
I don't qualify to apply for khas land	5.4%	0.7%	22.0%	7.7%
Don't know	6.5%	4.4%	6.1%	5.5%
If you are facing challenges because you want to apply for khas land, how confident are you that you can find a solution?				
Not at all confident	15.1%	36.0%	40.2%	30.9%
Somewhat unconfident	11.8%	6.6%	4.9%	7.7%
Neutral	1.1%	4.4%	6.1%	3.9%
Somewhat confident	43.0%	34.6%	17.1%	32.5%
Very confident	17.2%	10.3%	2.4%	10.3%
I don't qualify to apply for khas land	4.3%	0.7%	22.0%	7.4%

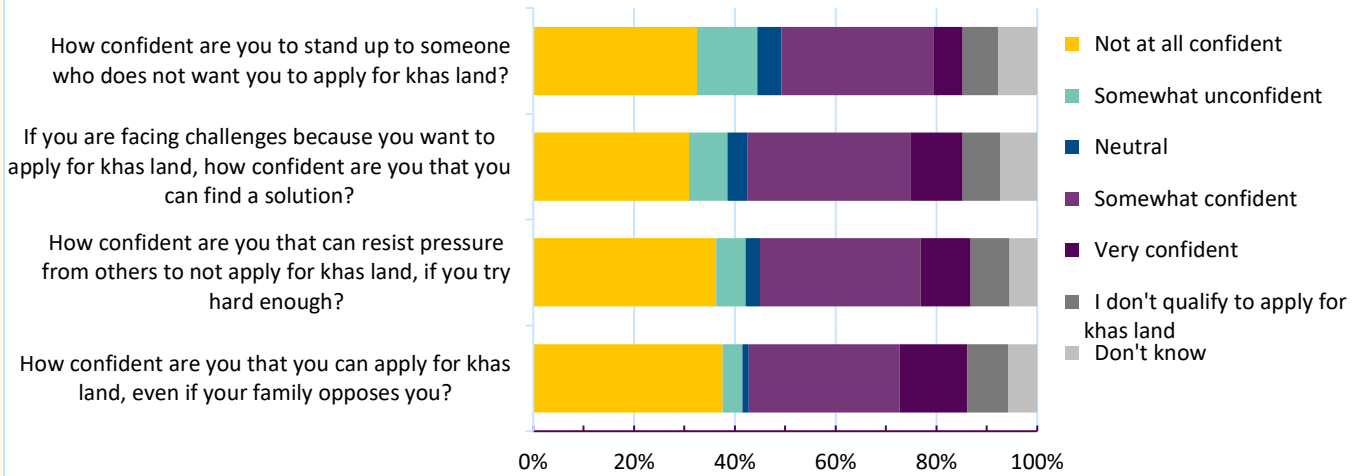
Don't know	7.5%	7.4%	7.3%	7.4%
How confident are you to stand up to someone who does not want you to apply for khas land?				
Not at all confident	18.3%	35.3%	43.9%	32.5%
Somewhat unconfident	22.6%	6.6%	8.5%	11.9%
Neutral	5.4%	4.4%	4.9%	4.8%
Somewhat confident	32.3%	38.2%	14.6%	30.2%
Very confident	9.7%	5.9%	1.2%	5.8%
I don't qualify to apply for khas land	4.3%	0.7%	20.7%	7.1%
Don't know	7.5%	8.8%	6.1%	7.7%
How confident are you that you can obtain land documents with your name on them, even if your family opposes you?				
Not at all confident	18.3%	43.4%	43.9%	36.0%
Somewhat unconfident	8.6%	5.1%	14.6%	8.7%
Neutral	2.2%	2.2%	6.1%	3.2%
Somewhat confident	52.7%	33.1%	32.9%	38.9%
Very confident	14.0%	12.5%	2.4%	10.3%
Don't know	4.3%	3.7%	0.0%	2.9%
How confident are you that can resist pressure from others to not obtain land documents with your name on them, if you try hard enough?				
Not at all confident	19.4%	40.4%	39.0%	33.8%
Somewhat unconfident	12.9%	8.8%	13.4%	11.3%
Neutral	2.2%	1.5%	12.2%	4.5%
Somewhat confident	45.2%	33.8%	31.7%	36.7%
Very confident	15.1%	10.3%	3.7%	10.0%
Don't know	5.4%	5.1%	0.0%	3.9%
If you are facing challenges because you want to obtain land documents with your name on them, how confident are you that you can find a solution?				
Not at all confident	15.1%	33.8%	37.8%	29.3%
Somewhat unconfident	23.7%	8.8%	18.3%	15.8%
Neutral	3.2%	5.1%	4.9%	4.5%
Somewhat confident	37.6%	34.6%	35.4%	35.7%
Very confident	14.0%	8.1%	3.7%	8.7%
Don't know	6.5%	9.6%	0.0%	6.1%
How confident are you to stand up to someone who does not want you to obtain land documents with your name on them?				
Not at all confident	18.3%	33.1%	42.7%	31.2%
Somewhat unconfident	28.0%	10.3%	25.6%	19.6%
Neutral	9.7%	2.9%	3.7%	5.1%
Somewhat confident	29.0%	33.8%	25.6%	30.2%
Very confident	8.6%	9.6%	1.2%	7.1%
Don't know	6.5%	10.3%	1.2%	6.8%
In your opinion, how easy or difficult is applying for khas land?				

Somewhat easy	4.3%	3.7%	0.0%	2.9%
Neither easy nor difficult	0.0%	2.9%	7.3%	3.2%
Somewhat difficult	17.2%	19.1%	8.5%	15.8%
Very difficult	57.0%	39.7%	53.7%	48.6%
Don't know	21.5%	34.6%	30.5%	29.6%

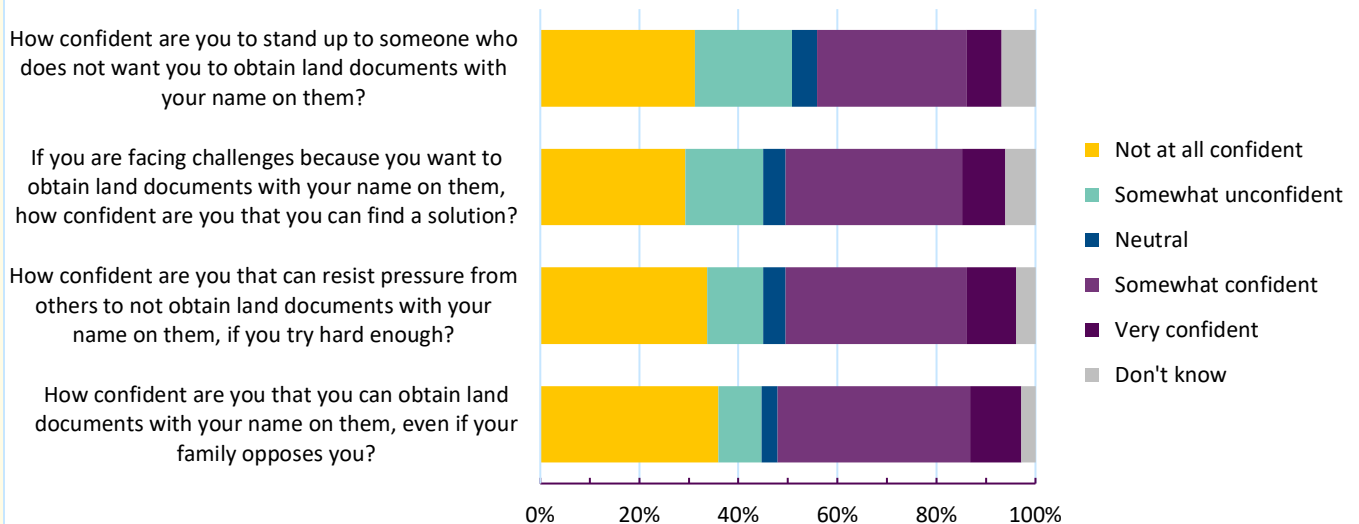
In your opinion, how easy or difficult is obtaining land documents with your name on them?

Very easy	2.2%	0.0%	3.7%	1.6%
Somewhat easy	16.1%	22.1%	13.4%	18.0%
Neither easy nor difficult	4.3%	1.5%	12.2%	5.1%
Somewhat difficult	32.3%	19.9%	17.1%	22.8%
Very difficult	40.9%	35.3%	46.3%	39.9%
Don't know	4.3%	21.3%	4.9%	11.9%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%

Self-efficacy to apply for khas land (Women)



Self-efficacy to obtain land documents in one's name (Women)



Social sanctions and reward

Social norms are often held in place by social sanctions, or punishments, for deviating from norms, and social rewards, or benefits, for complying with them. Tables 20 and 21 present women's and husbands' perceptions of the social sanctions associated with women applying for khas land or obtaining land documents in their name and the social rewards associated with not doing so. About 37 percent of women and 58 percent of husbands report that there are no social sanctions associated with women applying for khas land. About 45 percent of women and 63 percent of husbands say there are no social sanctions for women obtaining land documents in their name. However, one third of women report that bullying is associated with women applying for khas land or obtaining land documents. Fewer husbands report bullying (16 percent for khas land and 14 percent for land documents). Almost one-fifth of women and 9 percent of husbands report that applying for khas land negatively affects the woman's reputation; 16 percent of women and 11 percent of husbands report the same for obtaining land documents. Almost all respondents say that they would not sanction a woman who has applied for khas land (93 percent of women and 91 percent of husbands) or obtained land documents in their name (85 percent of women and 91 percent of husbands). Women report that they are more likely to be sanctioned by others.

Most respondents also report that there are no social benefits associated with *not* applying for khas land (55 percent of women and 68 percent of husbands) or *not* obtaining land documents in their name (57 percent of women and 69 percent of husbands). This ranges from about 41 percent of women in North Channel to 94 percent in Chealgazi. However, about 18 percent of women and 6 percent of husbands say that *not* applying or *not* obtaining documents positively affects the woman's reputation. Most respondents say that they would not reward a woman for *not* applying for khas land (80 percent of women and 78 percent of husbands) or *not* obtaining land documents (74 percent of women and 79 percent of husbands). Many women do not know how likely they are to be rewarded by others for *not* applying for khas land (47 percent) or *not* obtaining land documents (41 percent). Among those who estimate the likelihood, 28 percent say that it is not at all likely that they would reward a woman for *not* applying for khas land and 27 percent say the same for *not* obtaining land documents. Most respondents say there is a 50 percent chance or greater that they would publicly support a woman who decides to apply for khas land (72 percent of women and 74 percent of husbands). While most women say there is a 50 percent chance or greater that they would publicly support a woman who obtains land documents in their name (65 percent), 74 percent of husbands say there is no chance that they would support a woman for doing this. Although the majority of respondents have not publicly supported a woman who has applied for khas land (57 percent of women and 51 percent of husbands) or obtained land documents in their name (66 percent of women and 53 percent of husbands) in the past two years, many respondents also report that they are not aware of any women applying for khas land (41 percent of women and 46 percent of husbands) and not aware of women obtaining land documents in that period (30 percent of women and 45 percent of husbands). Over three quarters of husbands report that they would be supportive of their wife if she applied for land documents, while about 19 percent would not be supportive.

Table 20. Social sanctions and rewards (Women)

	Union			
	North	Nazirpur	Chealgazi	Total
	Channel %	%	%	%
In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with women applying for khas land?				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
None	39.8%	33.8%	37.8%	36.7%
Social exclusion	2.2%	0.0%	1.2%	1.0%
Bullying	30.1%	31.6%	37.8%	32.8%
Negatively affects woman's reputation	6.5%	22.1%	29.3%	19.3%
Negatively affects reputation of woman's family	7.5%	9.6%	20.7%	11.9%
Negatively affects woman's relationships with her immediate family	6.5%	2.2%	6.1%	4.5%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	7.5%	1.5%	0.0%	2.9%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with friends/neighbors	6.5%	2.9%	4.9%	4.5%
Jealousy of family, friends and/or neighbors	10.8%	5.9%	17.1%	10.3%
Loss of influence in the community	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%
May result in violence	8.6%	1.5%	0.0%	3.2%
Don't know	28.0%	25.7%	3.7%	20.6%
How likely are you to sanction a woman who has applied for khas land?				
0	96.8%	87.5%	97.6%	92.9%
1	0.0%	2.2%	1.2%	1.3%
2	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
3	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
4	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
5	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%
6	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Don't know	1.1%	6.6%	0.0%	3.2%
How likely are you to be sanctioned by others if you applied for khas land?				
0	25.8%	25.0%	17.1%	23.2%
1	0.0%	2.9%	3.7%	2.3%
2	2.2%	5.9%	12.2%	6.4%
3	3.2%	9.6%	6.1%	6.8%
4	4.3%	6.6%	8.5%	6.4%
5	5.4%	5.1%	4.9%	5.1%
6	9.7%	3.7%	7.3%	6.4%
7	4.3%	2.9%	6.1%	4.2%
8	6.5%	2.2%	7.3%	4.8%
Don't know	38.7%	36.0%	26.8%	34.4%

In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women not applying for khas land?

Select up to 3 most important reasons

None	40.9%	41.2%	93.9%	55.0%
Social inclusion	0.0%	8.8%	0.0%	3.9%
Positively affects woman's reputation	17.2%	26.5%	3.7%	17.7%
Positively affects reputation of woman's family	19.4%	10.3%	0.0%	10.3%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	14.0%	2.2%	0.0%	5.1%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%
Positively affects woman's relationship with friends/neighbors	8.6%	0.7%	0.0%	2.9%
Increases her influence in the community	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Increases likelihood of receiving safety net benefits	0.0%	4.4%	0.0%	1.9%
Don't know	30.1%	27.2%	2.4%	21.5%

How likely are you to reward a woman for not applying for khas land?

0	83.9%	68.4%	93.9%	79.7%
1	1.1%	0.7%	1.2%	1.0%
2	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
3	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%
4	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
5	0.0%	8.8%	2.4%	4.5%
6	1.1%	1.5%	2.4%	1.6%
7	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
8	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
10	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Don't know	12.9%	12.5%	0.0%	9.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%

How likely are you to be rewarded by others if you do not apply for khas land?

0	25.8%	26.5%	31.7%	27.7%
1	0.0%	1.5%	2.4%	1.3%
2	3.2%	2.2%	1.2%	2.3%
3	3.2%	2.2%	2.4%	2.6%
4	2.2%	2.9%	0.0%	1.9%
5	6.5%	5.9%	7.3%	6.4%
6	3.2%	3.7%	11.0%	5.5%
7	2.2%	0.0%	4.9%	1.9%
8	1.1%	0.7%	7.3%	2.6%
10	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
Don't know	52.7%	52.9%	31.7%	47.3%

How likely are you to publicly support a woman who decides to apply for khas land?

0	1.1%	14.0%	1.2%	6.8%
1	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%

2	2.2%	6.6%	2.4%	4.2%
3	7.5%	1.5%	1.2%	3.2%
4	10.8%	8.8%	0.0%	7.1%
5	17.2%	21.3%	17.1%	19.0%
6	17.2%	16.2%	17.1%	16.7%
7	9.7%	6.6%	35.4%	15.1%
8	22.6%	2.9%	18.3%	12.9%
9	2.2%	0.0%	6.1%	2.3%
10	4.3%	9.6%	0.0%	5.5%
Don't know	3.2%	11.0%	1.2%	6.1%
Declined to respond	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%

In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman who has applied for khas land?

No	69.9%	55.1%	43.9%	56.6%
Yes	0.0%	0.7%	3.7%	1.3%
To my knowledge, no women have applied	28.0%	42.6%	52.4%	40.8%
Don't know	2.2%	1.5%	0.0%	1.3%

In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with women obtaining land documents in their name?

Select up to 3 most important reasons

None	39.8%	50.7%	42.7%	45.3%
Social exclusion	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
Bullying	31.2%	28.7%	41.5%	32.8%
Negatively affects woman's reputation	11.8%	18.4%	15.9%	15.8%
Negatively affects reputation of woman's family	14.0%	2.9%	12.2%	8.7%
Negatively affects woman's relationships with her immediate family	4.3%	0.0%	2.4%	1.9%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	11.8%	0.0%	1.2%	3.9%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with friends/neighbors	16.1%	0.0%	4.9%	6.1%
Jealousy of family, friends and/or neighbors	10.8%	5.1%	11.0%	8.4%
Loss of influence in the community	2.2%	0.0%	3.7%	1.6%
May result in violence	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%
Don't know	22.6%	16.2%	7.3%	15.8%

How likely are you to sanction a woman who has obtained land documents in her name?

0	88.2%	75.7%	97.6%	85.2%
1	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	1.3%
2	0.0%	5.1%	1.2%	2.6%
3	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
4	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
5	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
6	2.2%	2.2%	0.0%	1.6%
7	1.1%	1.5%	0.0%	1.0%
8	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%

Don't know	4.3%	9.6%	1.2%	5.8%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
How likely are you to be sanctioned by others if you obtained land documents in your name?				
0	22.6%	35.3%	17.1%	26.7%
1	2.2%	2.2%	3.7%	2.6%
2	4.3%	7.4%	14.6%	8.4%
3	2.2%	9.6%	13.4%	8.4%
4	5.4%	2.9%	1.2%	3.2%
5	4.3%	6.6%	8.5%	6.4%
6	9.7%	1.5%	8.5%	5.8%
7	2.2%	0.7%	3.7%	1.9%
8	5.4%	0.0%	6.1%	3.2%
9	0.0%	0.7%	2.4%	1.0%
10	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Don't know	41.9%	32.4%	19.5%	31.8%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women not obtaining land documents in their name?				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
None	43.0%	45.6%	93.9%	57.6%
Social inclusion	0.0%	8.1%	1.2%	3.9%
Positively affects woman's reputation	16.1%	27.9%	3.7%	18.0%
Positively affects reputation of woman's family	20.4%	11.8%	2.4%	11.9%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	16.1%	2.2%	0.0%	5.8%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	18.3%	0.7%	2.4%	6.4%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	7.5%	1.5%	0.0%	2.9%
Increases her influence in the community	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	1.6%
Increases likelihood of receiving safety net benefits	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
Don't know	26.9%	21.3%	1.2%	17.7%
How likely are you to reward a woman for not obtaining land documents in her name?				
0	71.0%	65.4%	90.2%	73.6%
1	1.1%	0.7%	3.7%	1.6%
2	4.3%	7.4%	1.2%	4.8%
3	3.2%	2.9%	0.0%	2.3%
4	1.1%	1.5%	1.2%	1.3%
5	3.2%	7.4%	0.0%	4.2%
6	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	1.6%
7	1.1%	0.7%	1.2%	1.0%
10	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Don't know	14.0%	9.6%	2.4%	9.0%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%

How likely are you to be rewarded by others if you do not obtain land documents in your name?

0	19.4%	29.4%	32.9%	27.3%
1	1.1%	1.5%	3.7%	1.9%
2	0.0%	3.7%	4.9%	2.9%
3	3.2%	7.4%	1.2%	4.5%
4	4.3%	5.1%	1.2%	3.9%
5	8.6%	8.1%	8.5%	8.4%
6	1.1%	2.2%	7.3%	3.2%
7	5.4%	0.0%	6.1%	3.2%
8	2.2%	0.0%	4.9%	1.9%
9	1.1%	0.0%	6.1%	1.9%
10	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Don't know	53.8%	41.9%	23.2%	40.5%

How likely are you to publicly support a woman who decides to obtain land documents in her name?

0	4.3%	15.4%	1.2%	8.4%
1	10.8%	2.2%	0.0%	4.2%
2	5.4%	7.4%	0.0%	4.8%
3	5.4%	8.1%	1.2%	5.5%
4	11.8%	3.7%	2.4%	5.8%
5	18.3%	22.8%	12.2%	18.6%
6	9.7%	16.2%	26.8%	17.0%
7	5.4%	6.6%	34.1%	13.5%
8	12.9%	2.2%	9.8%	7.4%
9	4.3%	0.0%	8.5%	3.5%
10	3.2%	8.1%	1.2%	4.8%
Don't know	8.6%	5.9%	1.2%	5.5%
Declined to respond	0.0%	1.5%	1.2%	1.0%

In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman who has obtained land documents in her name?

No	79.6%	71.3%	41.5%	65.9%
Yes	1.1%	2.2%	7.3%	3.2%
To my knowledge, no women have obtained documents	19.4%	25.0%	51.2%	30.2%
Don't know	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%

Next, we assess husbands' perceptions of the social sanctions associated with service providers including women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture, displayed in Table 21. Most husbands (73 percent) report that there are no social sanctions associated with service providers including women, ranging from 52 percent in North Channel to 89 percent in Chealgazi. In North Channel, about one tenth of husbands report that service providers including women is associated with bullying, negatively affects their relationship with extended family, friends, and/or neighbors. Similarly, most husbands (74 percent) report that there are no social benefits associated with service providers excluding women, ranging from 52 percent in North Channel to 94 percent in Chealgazi. About one tenth of husbands in North Channel report that excluding women has a positive effect on the service provider's reputation. Fortunately, almost all husbands report that they would not sanction a service provider for including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture (93 percent) and

that they would not reward a service provider for excluding women (86 percent). On average, there is a 47 percent likelihood that husbands would publicly support a service provider who includes women. Although most husbands have not publicly supported a service provider who included women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture in the last two years (58 percent), many husbands report that, to their knowledge, no service providers have included women (37 percent).

Table 21. Social sanctions and rewards (Husbands)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with eligible women applying for khas land?				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
None	50.8%	53.7%	71.2%	58.2%
Social exclusion	0.0%	1.2%	4.5%	1.9%
Bullying	12.3%	19.5%	13.6%	15.5%
Negatively affects woman's reputation	0.0%	15.9%	10.6%	9.4%
Negatively affects reputation of woman's family	1.5%	8.5%	7.6%	6.1%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	4.6%	1.2%	7.6%	4.2%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	7.7%	3.7%	4.5%	5.2%
Jealousy of family, friends, and/or neighbors	4.6%	3.7%	10.6%	6.1%
Loss of influence in the community	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
May result in violence	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
Don't know	36.9%	18.3%	4.5%	19.7%
How likely are you to sanction a woman who has applied for khas land?				
0	96.9%	86.6%	89.4%	90.6%
1	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
2	0.0%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%
3	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	1.4%
4	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
5	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	1.4%
7	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Don't know	1.5%	6.1%	0.0%	2.8%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women not applying for khas land?				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
None	49.2%	59.8%	95.5%	67.6%
Social inclusion	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Positively affects woman's reputation	4.6%	11.0%	1.5%	6.1%
Positively affects reputation of woman's family	7.7%	3.7%	3.0%	4.7%

Positively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	9.2%	4.9%	4.5%	6.1%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	9.2%	1.2%	1.5%	3.8%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%
Increases likelihood of receiving safety net benefits	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Don't know	36.9%	28.0%	0.0%	22.1%
How likely are you to reward a woman who is eligible for but has not applied for khas land?				
0	80.0%	72.0%	84.8%	78.4%
1	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
2	4.6%	1.2%	1.5%	2.3%
3	1.5%	4.9%	3.0%	3.3%
4	1.5%	1.2%	1.5%	1.4%
5	4.6%	1.2%	3.0%	2.8%
6	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%
8	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Don't know	6.2%	15.9%	3.0%	8.9%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
How likely are you to publicly support a woman who decides to apply for khas land?				
0	1.5%	12.2%	3.0%	6.1%
1	0.0%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%
2	0.0%	7.3%	1.5%	3.3%
3	3.1%	11.0%	3.0%	6.1%
4	3.1%	8.5%	10.6%	7.5%
5	29.2%	17.1%	19.7%	21.6%
6	6.2%	6.1%	21.2%	10.8%
7	20.0%	11.0%	22.7%	17.4%
8	23.1%	4.9%	10.6%	12.2%
9	9.2%	0.0%	3.0%	3.8%
10	4.6%	17.1%	0.0%	8.0%
Don't know	0.0%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman who has applied for khas land?				
No	26.2%	52.4%	72.7%	50.7%
Yes	1.5%	3.7%	4.5%	3.3%
To my knowledge, no women have applied	72.3%	42.7%	22.7%	45.5%
Don't know	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with women obtaining land documents in their name?				
<i>Select up to 3 most important reasons</i>				
None	50.8%	64.6%	74.2%	63.4%
Social exclusion	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Bullying	10.8%	14.6%	16.7%	14.1%

Negatively affects woman's reputation	3.1%	14.6%	15.2%	11.3%
Negatively affects reputation of woman's family	3.1%	8.5%	9.1%	7.0%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	1.5%	3.7%	6.1%	3.8%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	3.1%	1.2%	4.5%	2.8%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	7.7%	3.7%	3.0%	4.7%
Jealousy of family, friends, and/or neighbors	6.2%	2.4%	7.6%	5.2%
Loss of influence in the community	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
May result in violence	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Don't know	35.4%	11.0%	0.0%	15.0%

How likely are you to sanction a woman who has obtained land documents in her name?

0	100.0%	87.8%	84.8%	90.6%
1	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
2	0.0%	1.2%	6.1%	2.3%
3	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
4	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
5	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
6	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
8	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Don't know	0.0%	7.3%	0.0%	2.8%

In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women not obtaining land documents in their name?

Select up to 3 most important reasons

None	52.3%	63.4%	90.9%	68.5%
Social inclusion	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
Positively affects woman's reputation	6.2%	12.2%	6.1%	8.5%
Positively affects reputation of woman's family	6.2%	1.2%	1.5%	2.8%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	7.7%	12.2%	6.1%	8.9%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	6.2%	2.4%	0.0%	2.8%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	3.1%	0.0%	7.6%	3.3%
Increases her influence in the community	1.5%	1.2%	1.5%	1.4%
Increases likelihood of receiving safety net benefits	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
Don't know	35.4%	23.2%	0.0%	19.7%

How likely are you to reward a woman for not obtaining land documents in her name?

0	90.8%	70.7%	77.3%	78.9%
1	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
2	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%
3	1.5%	2.4%	4.5%	2.8%
4	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
5	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%

6	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	1.4%
8	0.0%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%
10	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Don't know	7.7%	17.1%	3.0%	9.9%
How likely are you to publicly support a woman who decides to obtain land documents in her name?				
0	84.6%	65.9%	72.7%	73.7%
1	0.0%	2.4%	4.5%	2.3%
2	1.5%	3.7%	0.0%	1.9%
3	1.5%	2.4%	3.0%	2.3%
4	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
5	1.5%	7.3%	3.0%	4.2%
6	0.0%	2.4%	9.1%	3.8%
7	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
8	1.5%	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%
10	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Don't know	9.2%	12.2%	3.0%	8.5%
In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman who has obtained land documents in her name?				
No	27.7%	54.9%	75.8%	53.1%
Yes	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
To my knowledge, no women have obtained land documents in their name				
	70.8%	42.7%	22.7%	45.1%
Don't know	1.5%	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%
Would you be supportive of your wife if she applied for land documents?				
No	1.5%	24.4%	30.3%	19.2%
Yes	95.4%	65.9%	69.7%	76.1%
Don't know	1.5%	9.8%	0.0%	4.2%
Declined to respond	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with service providers including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?				
<i>Select multiple responses</i>				
None	52.3%	75.6%	89.4%	72.8%
Social exclusion	1.5%	0.0%	4.5%	1.9%
Bullying	9.2%	4.9%	6.1%	6.6%
Negatively affects reputation	0.0%	3.7%	1.5%	1.9%
Negatively affects relationship with immediate family	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Negatively affects relationship with extended family	9.2%	1.2%	0.0%	3.3%
Negatively affects relationship with friends/neighbors	10.8%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
Negatively affects relationship with male participants in trainings and programs	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%
Losing political support	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
Loss of influence in the community	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	1.4%
May result in violence	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Don't know	35.4%	18.3%	0.0%	17.8%

How likely are you to sanction a service provider for including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

0	98.5%	92.7%	89.4%	93.4%
1	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
2	0.0%	2.4%	3.0%	1.9%
3	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
4	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
5	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%
Don't know	0.0%	3.7%	1.5%	1.9%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%

In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with service providers excluding women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

Select multiple responses

None	52.3%	75.6%	93.9%	74.2%
Social inclusion	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Positively affects reputation	10.8%	0.0%	3.0%	4.2%
Positively affects reputation of family	7.7%	0.0%	1.5%	2.8%
Positively affects relationship with immediate family	4.6%	0.0%	1.5%	1.9%
Positively affects relationship with extended family	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
Positively affects relationship with friends/neighbors	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	0.9%
Positively affects relationship with male participants in trainings and programs	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
Don't know	35.4%	24.4%	0.0%	20.2%

How likely are you to reward a service provider for excluding women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

0	90.8%	78.0%	90.9%	85.9%
1	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
2	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
3	0.0%	1.2%	3.0%	1.4%
4	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
6	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Don't know	9.2%	17.1%	1.5%	9.9%

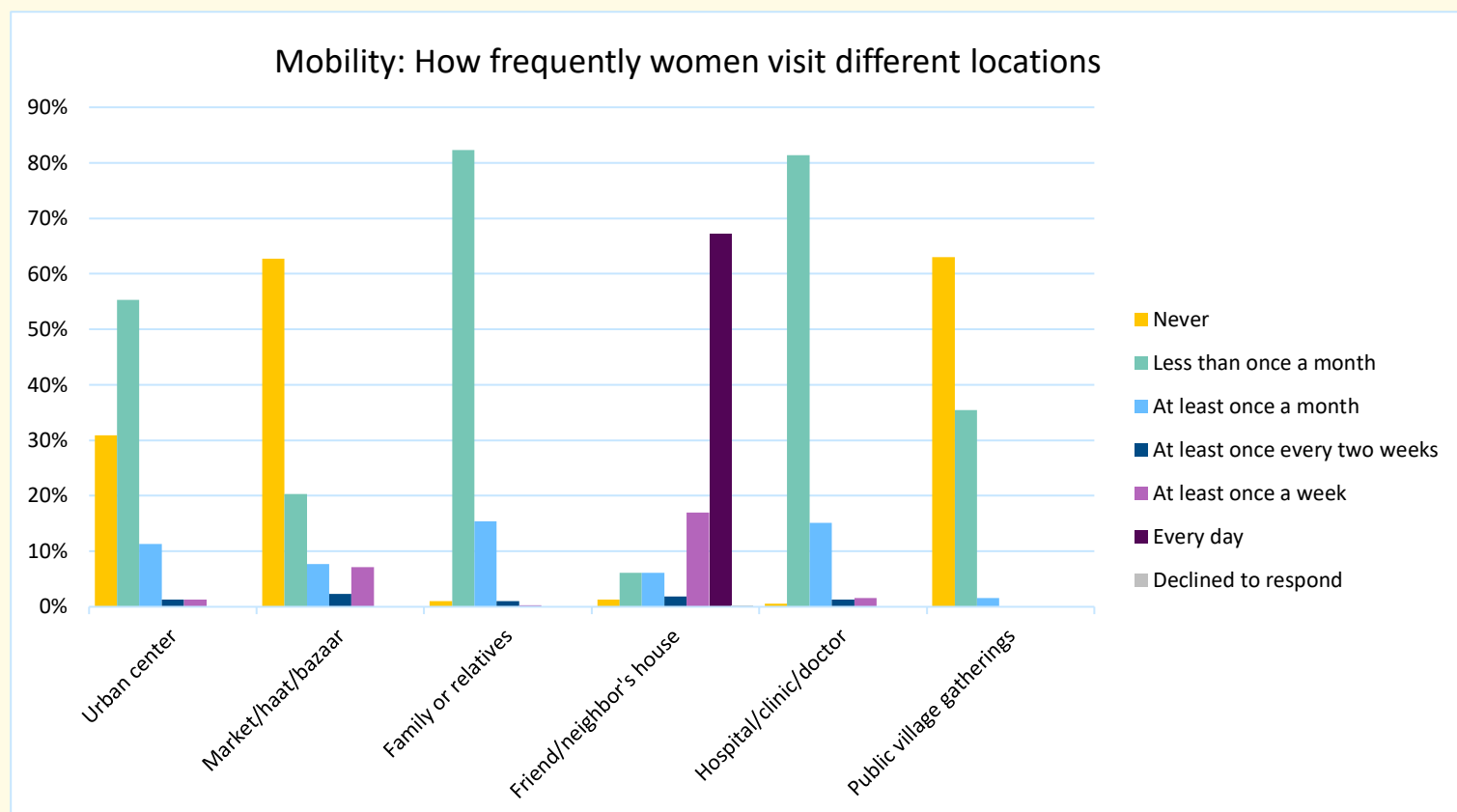
How likely are you to publicly support a service provider who includes women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

0	0.0%	35.4%	7.6%	16.0%
1	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
2	1.5%	7.3%	1.5%	3.8%
3	4.6%	11.0%	10.6%	8.9%
4	15.4%	8.5%	13.6%	12.2%
5	16.9%	11.0%	24.2%	16.9%
6	4.6%	6.1%	19.7%	9.9%
7	18.5%	6.1%	16.7%	13.1%
8	32.3%	3.7%	6.1%	13.1%
9	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%

10	1.5%	7.3%	0.0%	3.3%
Don't know	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
In the past two years, have you publicly supported a service provider who included women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?				
No	49.2%	52.4%	72.7%	57.7%
Yes	4.6%	4.9%	6.1%	5.2%
To my knowledge, no service providers have included women				
Don't know	46.2%	41.5%	21.2%	36.6%
	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%

Physical mobility

The findings presented in Table 22 reveal that women's mobility is extremely limited, which is not surprising given the norms around female seclusion in Bangladesh (see, for example, Rao et al., 2015). Most women travel less than once a month to visit an urban center (55 percent), family or relatives (82 percent), a hospital, clinic or doctor to seek health services (81 percent). About 63 percent of women never visit a market/haat/bazaar or public village gatherings. Women most frequently visit the homes of their friends and neighbors. About 67 percent report visiting their friends/neighbors daily.



Husbands typically decide whether women can go to an urban center (86 percent), a market/haat/bazaar (80 percent), visit family or relatives (87 percent), a hospital/clinic/doctor (86

percent), or public village gatherings (90 percent). Acknowledging that multiple people may make decisions about women’s mobility, we allow respondents to indicate everyone who usually decides where they can go. While respondents are less likely to make these decisions than their spouses, many respondents participate in decisions about visiting an urban center (51 percent), a market/haat/bazaar (60 percent), visit family or relatives (49 percent), a hospital/clinic/doctor (54 percent), or public village gatherings (59 percent). If couples make these decisions together, we do not know the extent to which each individual has a say in the decisions.

Some women report that their husband or another household member objects to them going alone to an urban center (22 percent), a market/haat/bazaar (19 percent), to visit family or relatives (18 percent), to a hospital/clinic/doctor (23 percent), or to public village gatherings (30 percent). There are large variations across unions, with the least women reporting objections in North Channel and the most reporting objections in Chealgazi. In general, the respondent’s husband or other household member would not object if the respondent has company. Many respondents also indicate that there would not be objections to them visiting certain locations if they follow purdah/dress acceptably. In most cases, if the respondent’s husband or another household member objects to them visiting a location alone, these objections prevent the respondent from doing so.

We observe a different pattern of behavior for visiting a friend/neighbor’s house. Most women visit a friend/neighbor’s house daily (67 percent) and respondents usually decide whether they can visit their friends or neighbors (84 percent). Only 16 percent of women report that their spouse usually makes this decision. Almost no women report that their husband or other household members object to the respondent going alone to a friend or neighbor’s house (1 percent).

Table 22. Women only: Physical mobility

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
How often do you visit an urban center?				
At least once a week	0.0%	0.7%	3.7%	1.3%
At least once every two weeks	3.2%	0.0%	1.2%	1.3%
At least once a month	10.8%	14.7%	6.1%	11.3%
Less than once a month	82.8%	39.7%	50.0%	55.3%
Never	3.2%	44.9%	39.0%	30.9%
Who usually decides whether you can go to an urban center?				
<i>Select all that apply</i>				
Spouse/partner	77.8%	94.7%	88.0%	86.0%
Father	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.5%
Mother-in-law	5.6%	4.0%	18.0%	7.9%
Father-in-law	2.2%	4.0%	16.0%	6.0%
Adult daughter	4.4%	1.3%	0.0%	2.3%
Adult son	10.0%	1.3%	0.0%	4.7%
Respondent	55.6%	60.0%	30.0%	51.2%
Husband or other HH member objects to respondent going alone to an urban center	7.8%	26.7%	42.0%	22.3%
Under what circumstances would this person NOT object to your going to an urban center?				

If respondent has company		80.0%	100.0%	91.7%
If respondent can arrange own transport		0.0%	0.0%	2.1%
If respondent follows purdah/dresses acceptably		30.0%	47.6%	39.6%
Under no circumstances would respondent be allowed to go		30.0%	4.8%	18.8%
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to urban center	28.6%	95.0%	19.0%	52.1%
How often do you visit a market/haat/bazaar?				
At least once a week	5.4%	7.4%	8.5%	7.1%
At least once every two weeks	3.2%	2.9%	0.0%	2.3%
At least once a month	8.6%	9.6%	3.7%	7.7%
Less than once a month	4.3%	37.5%	9.8%	20.3%
Never	78.5%	42.6%	78.0%	62.7%
Who usually decides whether you can go to a market/haat/bazaar?				
Spouse/partner	35.0%	93.6%	72.2%	80.2%
Mother-in-law	0.0%	5.1%	0.0%	3.4%
Father-in-law	0.0%	5.1%	0.0%	3.4%
Adult daughter	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.9%
Adult son	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	1.7%
Respondent	85.0%	51.3%	72.2%	60.3%
Husband or other HH member objects to respondent going alone to a market/haat/bazaar	0.0%	22.1%	27.8%	19.1%
Under what circumstances would this person NOT object to your going to a market/Hat/Bazaar?				
If respondent has company	N/A	94.1%	100.0%	95.5%
If respondent follows purdah/dresses acceptably	N/A	35.3%	20.0%	31.8%
Under no circumstances would respondent be allowed to go	N/A	11.8%	0.0%	9.1%
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to a market/haat/bazaar	N/A	94.1%	60.0%	86.4%
How often do you visit family or relatives?				
At least once a week	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
At least once every two weeks	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
At least once a month	9.7%	25.0%	6.1%	15.4%
Less than once a month	89.2%	70.6%	93.9%	82.3%
Never	1.1%	1.5%	0.0%	1.0%
Who usually decides whether you can visit family or relatives?				
Spouse/partner	81.5%	91.8%	86.6%	87.3%
Mother	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Mother-in-law	8.7%	7.5%	9.8%	8.4%
Father-in-law	3.3%	6.0%	11.0%	6.5%
Adult daughter	3.3%	0.7%	0.0%	1.3%
Adult son	6.5%	3.7%	2.4%	4.2%
Respondent	64.1%	47.0%	34.1%	48.7%
Husband or other HH member object to respondent going alone to visit family or relatives	3.3%	19.4%	31.7%	17.9%

Under what circumstances would this person NOT object to your vesting to family/relative's house?				
If respondent has company	92.3%	100.0%	96.4%	
If respondent can arrange own transport	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	
If respondent follows purdah/dresses acceptably	26.9%	19.2%	23.6%	
Under no circumstances would respondent be allowed to go	19.2%	0.0%	14.5%	
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to visit family or relatives	76.9%	42.3%	56.4%	
How often do you visit a friend/neighbor's house?				
Every day	75.3%	54.4%	79.3%	67.2%
At least once a week	18.3%	15.4%	18.3%	17.0%
At least once every two weeks	1.1%	2.9%	1.2%	1.9%
At least once a month	1.1%	13.2%	0.0%	6.1%
Less than once a month	3.2%	11.0%	1.2%	6.1%
Never	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	1.3%
Declined to respond	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Who usually decides whether you can visit a friend/neighbor's house?				
Spouse/partner	8.7%	28.8%	4.9%	16.3%
Mother	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.3%
Mother-in-law	3.3%	5.3%	9.8%	5.9%
Father-in-law	0.0%	3.0%	1.2%	1.6%
Adult daughter	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.3%
Adult son	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	1.6%
Respondent	97.8%	72.0%	89.0%	84.3%
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to a friend/neighbor's house	N/A	100.0%	50.0%	66.7%
How often do you visit a hospital/clinic/doctor to seek health services?				
At least once a week	2.2%	2.2%	0.0%	1.6%
At least once every two weeks	3.2%	0.7%	0.0%	1.3%
At least once a month	20.4%	17.6%	4.9%	15.1%
Less than once a month	73.1%	79.4%	93.9%	81.4%
Never	1.1%	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%
Who usually decides whether you can go to a hospital/clinic/doctor?				
Spouse/partner	81.5%	88.2%	87.7%	86.1%
Mother	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Mother-in-law	8.7%	6.6%	8.6%	7.8%
Father-in-law	5.4%	4.4%	9.9%	6.1%
Adult daughter	8.7%	3.7%	0.0%	4.2%
Adult son	15.2%	8.1%	1.2%	8.4%
Respondent	75.0%	47.1%	40.7%	53.7%
Husband or other HH member object to respondent going alone to seek health services	6.5%	22.1%	43.2%	23.0%
Under what circumstances would this person NOT object to your visiting to a hospital/clinic/doctor?				

If respondent has company		90.0%	100.0%	95.8%
If respondent can arrange own transport		0.0%	0.0%	1.4%
If respondent follows purdah/dresses acceptably		23.3%	28.6%	28.2%
Under no circumstances would respondent be allowed to go		20.0%	0.0%	11.3%
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to a hospital/clinic/doctor	33.3%	86.7%	40.0%	59.2%
How often do you visit public village gatherings?				
At least once a month	0.0%	2.9%	1.2%	1.6%
Less than once a month	9.7%	69.1%	8.5%	35.4%
Never	90.3%	27.9%	90.2%	63.0%
Who usually decides whether you can go to public village gathering?				
Spouse/partner	66.7%	92.9%	75.0%	89.6%
Mother-in-law	0.0%	8.2%	25.0%	8.7%
Father-in-law	0.0%	6.1%	12.5%	6.1%
Adult daughter	0.0%	2.0%	12.5%	2.6%
Adult son	0.0%	4.1%	0.0%	3.5%
Respondent	88.9%	53.1%	100.0%	59.1%
Husband or other HH member objects to respondents going alone to public village gatherings	0.0%	33.7%	25.0%	30.4%
Under what circumstances would this person NOT object to your going to public village gathering?				
If respondent has company	N/A	87.9%	100.0%	88.6%
If respondent follows purdah/dresses acceptably	N/A	33.3%	0.0%	31.4%
Under no circumstances would respondent be allowed to go	N/A	21.2%	0.0%	20.0%
Objections prevent respondent from going alone to public village gatherings	N/A	87.9%	100.0%	88.6%

Note: We exclude from the table any questions that had less than 30 responses. We do not disaggregate results across unions for questions with less than 30 responses per union.

Behaviors and intention to perform behaviors

Recognizing that intention to perform a behavior is the most important determinant of whether an individual performs the behavior, we assessed the likelihood that women will apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name (Table 23). A large proportion of women report that there is no chance that they will ever apply for khas land (42 percent). On average, there is a 31 percent likelihood that women will apply for khas land. We find the highest average likelihood in Nazirpur (42 percent) and the lowest in Chealgazi (21 percent). Only two percent of women have applied for khas land in the past. This confirms that the behavior is extremely uncommon, which aligns with the perceptions of respondents who estimated how common the behavior is. In Chealgazi, 29 percent of women report that they are not in a group that is prioritized for khas land, while almost no one in the other two unions reports this. Among those who have ever applied for khas land, everyone in North Channel did so in the past two years, no one in Nazirpur did so in the past two years, and Chealgazi has an even split.

For comparison, we also assessed how likely husbands are to apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name (Table 24). This helps us understand whether there is a gender gap in these behaviors. About one third of husbands report that there is no chance that they will ever apply for khas land. On average, there is a 39 percent likelihood that husbands will apply for khas land. While we do not observe a gender gap in Nazirpur, husbands in the other two unions are much more likely than women to apply for khas land. In the past, more husbands than women have applied for khas land (7 percent of husbands, compared to 2 percent of women), ranging from 2 percent in North Channel to 15 percent in Nazirpur.

Similar to the findings on khas land, 41 percent of women report that there is no chance they will ever obtain land documents in their name. There is a 22 percent average likelihood that women will obtain land documents in their name, ranging from 18 percent in North Channel to 26 percent in Nazirpur. Less than 5 percent of women already have land documents in their name. On average, there is a 28 percent likelihood of husbands ever obtaining land documents in their name, ranging from 17 percent in North Channel to 43 percent in Chealgazi. This is lower than the likelihood of husbands applying for khas land because about one third of husbands already have land documents in their name, ranging from 17 percent in Nazirpur to 57 percent in North Channel. The gender gap is largest in North Channel.

To understand respondents' perceptions of trends, we ask how opinions and practices have changed over the past two years and how they expect them to change over the next two years. While most women in North Channel (83 percent) don't know how the number of women who apply for khas land will change, if at all, most women in the other two unions think that it will slightly increase. Most women in North Channel (79 percent) and Nazirpur (57 percent) do not know how, if at all, opinions of people in their community changed on women applying for khas land over the past two years. However, most women in Chealgazi (60 percent), think that people are slightly more supportive. The patterns are similar for women obtaining land documents.

Table 23. Behaviors and intention to perform them (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
What is the likelihood that you will ever apply for khas land?				
0	44.1%	30.1%	59.8%	42.1%
1	14.0%	3.7%	1.2%	6.1%
2	5.4%	2.2%	2.4%	3.2%
3	4.3%	6.6%	1.2%	4.5%
4	4.3%	4.4%	7.3%	5.1%
5	8.6%	16.9%	8.5%	12.2%
6	4.3%	8.8%	3.7%	6.1%
7	4.3%	5.9%	2.4%	4.5%
8	7.5%	5.9%	3.7%	5.8%
9	1.1%	0.7%	1.2%	1.0%
10	2.2%	14.0%	4.9%	8.0%
I have already applied for khas land	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.7%	2.4%	1.0%
Have you ever applied for khas land?				
No	98.9%	94.9%	68.3%	89.1%

Yes	1.1%	2.2%	2.4%	1.9%
I am not in a group that is prioritized for khas land	0.0%	2.2%	29.3%	8.7%
Don't know	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Have you applied for khas land in the last 2 years? (Among respondents who have ever applied)				
No	0.0%	100.0%	50.0%	66.7%
Yes	100.0%	0.0%	50.0%	33.3%
What is the likelihood that you will ever obtain land documents in your name?				
0	33.3%	43.4%	46.3%	41.2%
1	25.8%	2.2%	7.3%	10.6%
2	4.3%	8.1%	4.9%	6.1%
3	4.3%	11.8%	8.5%	8.7%
4	8.6%	1.5%	4.9%	4.5%
5	8.6%	14.0%	6.1%	10.3%
6	5.4%	2.9%	7.3%	4.8%
7	1.1%	1.5%	1.2%	1.3%
8	1.1%	2.9%	1.2%	1.9%
9	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%
10	1.1%	8.1%	2.4%	4.5%
I already have land documents in my name	6.5%	3.7%	4.9%	4.8%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%
Think about two years from now. Do you think the number of women in your community who apply for khas land will be much less, slightly less, about the same, slightly more, or much more than now?				
Much less	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
About the same	3.2%	0.7%	4.9%	2.6%
Slightly more	12.9%	50.0%	70.7%	44.4%
Much more	1.1%	2.9%	3.7%	2.6%
Don't know	82.8%	46.3%	19.5%	50.2%
How, if at all, have the opinions of people in your community changed on women applying for khas land over the past two years?				
People are now much more supportive	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
People are now slightly more supportive	11.8%	15.4%	59.8%	26.0%
It's about the same	9.7%	25.0%	20.7%	19.3%
People are now slightly less supportive	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
Don't know	78.5%	56.6%	18.3%	53.1%
Think about two years from now. Do you think the number of women with their name on land documents will be much less, slightly less, about the same, slightly more, or much more than now?				
Much less	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
About the same	3.2%	2.9%	7.3%	4.2%
Slightly more	15.1%	44.1%	68.3%	41.8%
Much more	1.1%	5.1%	9.8%	5.1%
Don't know	80.6%	47.1%	14.6%	48.6%

How, if at all, have the opinions of people in your community changed regarding including women's names on land documents over the past two years?

People are now much more supportive	0.0%	2.2%	3.7%	1.9%
People are now slightly more supportive	12.9%	22.1%	58.5%	28.9%
It's about the same	11.8%	19.9%	20.7%	17.7%
People are now slightly less supportive	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	1.3%
Don't know	75.3%	52.9%	17.1%	50.2%

Table 24. Behaviors and intention to perform them (Husbands)

	Union			Total %
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	
What is the likelihood that you will ever apply for khas land?				
0	33.8%	22.0%	43.9%	32.4%
1	3.1%	12.2%	3.0%	6.6%
2	1.5%	7.3%	1.5%	3.8%
3	3.1%	7.3%	1.5%	4.2%
4	6.2%	8.5%	3.0%	6.1%
5	7.7%	7.3%	13.6%	9.4%
6	6.2%	6.1%	4.5%	5.6%
7	16.9%	6.1%	4.5%	8.9%
8	7.7%	2.4%	16.7%	8.5%
9	4.6%	3.7%	6.1%	4.7%
10	9.2%	15.9%	0.0%	8.9%
I have already applied for khas land	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
Have you ever applied for khas land?				
No	90.8%	82.9%	84.8%	85.9%
Yes	1.5%	14.6%	3.0%	7.0%
I am not in a group that is prioritized for khas land	7.7%	2.4%	12.1%	7.0%
Have you applied for khas land in the last 2 years? (Among respondents who have ever applied)				
No	0.0%	100.0%	50.0%	86.7%
Yes	100.0%	0.0%	50.0%	13.3%
What is the likelihood that you will ever obtain land documents in your name?				
0	10.8%	24.4%	1.5%	13.1%
1	1.5%	22.0%	0.0%	8.9%
2	0.0%	4.9%	1.5%	2.3%
3	4.6%	2.4%	4.5%	3.8%
4	1.5%	1.2%	3.0%	1.9%
5	9.2%	3.7%	3.0%	5.2%
6	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	1.4%

7	1.5%	1.2%	6.1%	2.8%
8	1.5%	6.1%	24.2%	10.3%
9	9.2%	0.0%	10.6%	6.1%
10	0.0%	11.0%	3.0%	5.2%
I have no land and never expect to have land in future	3.1%	6.1%	4.5%	4.7%
I already have land documents in my name	56.9%	17.1%	31.8%	33.8%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Think about two years from now. Do you think the number of women in your community who apply for khas land will be much less, slightly less, about the same, slightly more, or much more than now?				
Slightly less	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
About the same	1.5%	7.3%	9.1%	6.1%
Slightly more	24.6%	37.8%	66.7%	42.7%
Much more	1.5%	7.3%	7.6%	5.6%
Don't know	72.3%	47.6%	15.2%	45.1%
How, if at all, have the opinions of people in your community changed on women applying for khas land over the past two years?				
People are now much more supportive	0.0%	2.4%	3.0%	1.9%
People are now slightly more supportive	43.1%	34.1%	57.6%	44.1%
It's about the same	12.3%	20.7%	24.2%	19.2%
People are now slightly less supportive	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Don't know	44.6%	42.7%	13.6%	34.3%

Women only: Vignettes on Conditionality of Preferences

To establish whether people engage in certain behaviors because of social norms, we need to measure whether their preferences are conditional. We measured this using vignettes, which allows us to randomly vary whether a behavior is common or not (descriptive norms) and whether people think an individual should perform a behavior or not (injunctive norms). This results in the following stories related to khas land (Table 25) and obtaining land documents in one's name (Table 26).

Table 25. Vignettes on khas land		Descriptive norms	
		Behavior is not common	Behavior is common
Injunctive norms	Approval is low	(A) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village that has available khas land. In the past, no women in her village applied for khas land, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that few women in her village apply for khas land, and few people in her village say that women should apply for khas land. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?	(C) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. In the past, no women in her village applied for khas land, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that almost all women in her village now apply for khas land, but at the same time, few people in her village say that women should apply for khas land. In this case,

			what would [Woman's name] do?
	Approval is high	(B) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. In the past, no women in her village applied for khas land, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that few women in her village apply for khas land, but at the same time, almost all people in her village now say that women should apply for khas land. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?	(D) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. In the past, no women in her village applied for khas land, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that almost all women in her village now apply for khas land, and almost all people in her village say that women should apply for khas land. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?

Table 26. Vignettes on obtaining land documents

		Descriptive norms	
		Behavior is not common	Behavior is common
Injunctive norms	Approval is low	(A) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. Her household has formal documents for the land that they own, but only her husband's name is listed on the documents. In the past, no women in her village had their name listed on land documented, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that few women in her village have their names on land documents and few people in her village say that women should have their names on land documents. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?	(C) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. Her household has formal documents for the land that they own, but only her husband's name is listed on the documents. In the past, no women in her village had their name listed on land documented, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that almost all women in her village have their names on land documents, but at the same time, few people in her village say that women should have their names on land documents. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?
	Approval is high	(B) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. Her household has formal documents for the land that they own, but only her husband's name is listed on the documents. In the past, no women in her village	(D) [Woman's name] lives in a nearby village. Her household has formal documents for the land that they own, but only her husband's name is listed on the documents. In the past, no

		had their name listed on land documented, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that few women in her village have their names on land documents and few people in her village say that women should have their names on land documents. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?	women in her village had their name listed on land documented, including [Woman's name]. [Woman's name] has learned that almost all women in her village have their names on land documents, and almost all people in her village say that women should have their names on land documents. In this case, what would [Woman's name] do?
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Each respondent to the women’s survey was randomly assigned to hear one story about khas land and one story about obtaining land documents.

Table 27 presents women’s responses to each vignette. Across all vignettes, most respondents report that the woman in the story would apply for khas land and obtain land documents in her name, regardless of how common the behavior is or whether people approve of it.

Table 27. Women only: Vignettes

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Khas Land: Vignette A				
[Woman's name] would apply for khas land	94.4%	94.1%	100.0%	95.9%
Don't know	5.6%	5.9%	0.0%	4.1%
Khas Land: Vignette B				
[Woman's name] would apply for khas land	100.0%	97.3%	81.3%	95.3%
Don't know	0.0%	2.7%	18.8%	4.7%
Khas Land: Vignette C				
[Woman's name] would apply for khas land	90.0%	79.3%	100.0%	89.6%
Don't know	10.0%	20.7%	0.0%	10.4%
Khas Land: Vignette D				
[Woman's name] would apply for khas land	90.9%	94.4%	93.8%	93.2%
[Woman's name] would not apply for khas land	0.0%	2.8%	0.0%	1.4%
Don't know	9.1%	2.8%	6.3%	5.4%
Land Documents: Vignette A				
[Woman's name] would add her name to the land documents	100.0%	87.9%	100.0%	94.4%
[Woman's name] would not add her name to the land documents	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Don't know	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	4.2%
Land Documents: Vignette B				
[Woman's name] would add her name to the land documents	82.8%	92.7%	100.0%	91.2%

[Woman's name] would not add her name to the land documents	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
Don't know	13.8%	7.3%	0.0%	7.7%
Land Documents: Vignette C				
[Woman's name] would add her name to the land documents	83.3%	100.0%	94.1%	92.9%
Don't know	16.7%	0.0%	5.9%	7.1%
Land Documents: Vignette D				
[Woman's name] would add her name to the land documents	82.6%	84.8%	91.3%	86.1%
[Woman's name] would not add her name to the land documents	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	1.3%
Don't know	17.4%	15.2%	4.3%	12.7%

Table 28 presents the tests for conditionality of preferences. We find that preferences are not conditional. That is, the probability that respondents think the woman would apply for khas land or obtain land documents is not statistically significantly higher among respondents who are told a story in which the behavior is common than among respondents who are told a story in which the behavior is not common. For the first set of vignettes related to khas land, we find that, while not statistically significant, the difference is negative. This is the opposite of what we would expect if preferences related to women applying for khas land were conditional on how common the behavior is. For the second set of vignettes related to obtaining land documents, we find that the difference is positive, as we would expect if preferences were conditional on how common the behavior is, but the difference is not significant. These results indicate that these behaviors cannot be described as descriptive norms, which also implies that they are not social norms. We also conduct a joint test of whether preferences are conditional on descriptive and injunctive norms, finding that there is no statistically significant difference in whether respondents say that women would apply for khas land or obtain land documents regardless of how common the behavior is and whether people approve of the behavior. In almost all cases, respondents say that women would apply for khas land or obtain land documents.

Table 28. Women only: Conditionality of preferences

	T-test for descriptive norms			
	Behavior common (Vignettes C and D)	Behavior not common (Vignettes A and B)	Diff	p-value (one- sided test)
Probability that woman would apply for khas land	0.993	1.000	-0.007	0.853
Probability that woman would obtain land documents	0.993	0.987	0.006	0.319

Joint test for descriptive and injunctive norms	
	p-value (two-sided test)
Probability that woman would apply for khas land	0.351
Probability that woman would obtain land documents	0.813

Analysis of Behavior Change and Its Determinants: Women and Husbands

For women community members, we focus our brief analysis of social norms and behavior change on two behaviors: (1) applying for khas land and (2) adding their names to land documents.

Since most women do not know whether other women have applied for khas land or obtained land documents, it seems unlikely that descriptive norms, or perceptions about what other people do is an important determinant of their behavior. Moreover, since most women think that people in their reference group expect them to apply for khas land or obtain land documents, have no expectations, or they do not know their expectations, injunctive norms, or perceptions about what other people think they should do are not important determinants of their behavior. Despite these findings, it is likely that social norms contribute to these behaviors in less direct ways. For example, social norms limit women's physical mobility and their interactions with men outside of their family, both of which complicate women's ability to take the necessary steps to apply for khas land and obtain land documents. While there is still much room for improvement in attitudes, especially attitudes related to gender equality, most women agree that women and men should have equal rights to land and agricultural services. At the same time, most women do not know how to apply for khas land or obtain land documents in their name, nor do they report having the skills to do so. This suggests that interventions providing women with greater legal literacy to strengthen their capacity are likely to help change women's behaviors.

Baseline Data Analysis on Women Leaders: Behavior Change and Its Determinants

For the survey responses provided by women leaders, we provide tables and analysis on behavior change and its determinants, including on knowledge and attitude indicators, knowledge, attitudes, perceptions of social norms, agency, social sanctions and rewards, and behaviors and intention to perform them.

Knowledge and attitude indicators

Not surprisingly, women leaders have higher knowledge scores than women community members and their husbands. On average, women leaders respond correctly to 74 percent of the knowledge questions about WLR (see Table 29). Women leaders also express greater agreement with gender equality in general and WLR in particular than women community members and their husbands. Recall that a score of 1 on the attitude index implies agreement with WLR and/or gender equality, and a score of 2 implies strong agreement. On average, women leaders scored a 1.4 on the gender equality and WLR attitude index and 1.0 on the gender equality attitude index. Similar to women community members and their husbands, there is greater support for WLR than there is for gender equality in general.

Table 29. Knowledge and Attitude Indicators

	Mean
Knowledge score	73.6%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR	1.4
Attitude index: gender equality	1.0

Knowledge

While all women leaders incorrectly state that any poor woman can apply for khas land, most women leaders respond correctly to the other knowledge questions (see Table 30). Women leaders know less about Hindu inheritance rights and women’s rights to speak in community mediation than they do about Islamic inheritance rights and women’s rights to get farmer cards. About 71 percent of women leaders believe they have the knowledge and skills to support women in their communities to access services related to land and agriculture (see Table 31).

Table 30. Knowledge about WLR and Gender Equality (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	% or mean
Any poor woman can apply for khas land	28	
True	28	100.0%
Hindu daughters do not have right to inherit parents' land		
True (correct)	23	82.1%
False	3	10.7%
Don't know	2	7.1%
According to Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get a portion of their deceased husband's property if he does not have any children		
True (correct)	27	96.4%
False	1	3.6%

Women have the right to get farmer cards		
True (correct)	28	100.0%
Women have the right to speak in community mediation		
True (correct)	25	89.3%
False	3	10.7%
Only male community leaders can settle land disputes		
TRUE	6	21.4%
FALSE	22	78.6%
Knowledge score		73.6%

Table 31. Knowledge and Skills to Perform Behaviors of Interest (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	% or mean
Do you know how to provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
No	8	28.6%
Yes	20	71.4%
Do you have the skills needed to provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
No	8	28.6%
Yes	20	71.4%

Attitudes

Table 32 presents the detailed responses of women leaders to questions about their attitudes towards gender equality and WLR. Most women leaders agree or strongly agree that women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men (100 percent), women and men should make the same daily wages (96 percent), be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture (96 percent), women can be just as good at farming as men (96 percent), and that spouses should jointly register land in both of their names (100 percent). In addition, most women leaders disagree or strongly disagree that men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women (78 percent), men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce (71 percent), women should not apply for khas land (100 percent), and women should not obtain land documents in their name (100 percent). The primary reasons for which they believe that women should apply for khas land, spouses should jointly register land, and women should obtain land documents in their name are because women have the right to land, to promote women's security in the event of divorce or death of their spouse, gender equality, and economic empowerment.

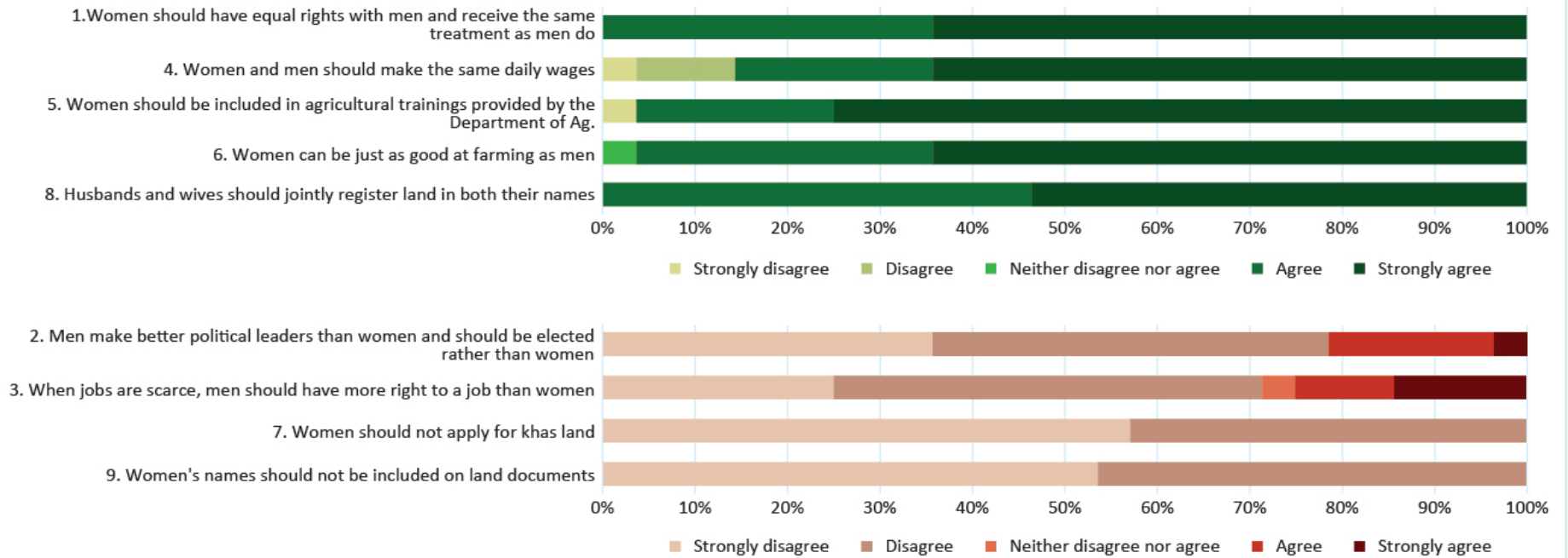
If a married couple separates, just over half of women leaders believe the best option is for the husband and wife to each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage. About one third think it is best if they divide the land based on whose name(s) is/are on the land documents. All women leaders think that a widow should be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband, but about one fifth believe this should only happen under certain conditions.

Table 32. Attitudes (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	%
	28	
Women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men do		
Agree	10	35.7%
Strongly agree	18	64.3%
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women		
Strongly disagree	10	35.7%
Disagree	12	42.9%
Agree	5	17.9%
Strongly agree	1	3.6%
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women		
Strongly disagree	7	25.0%
Disagree	13	46.4%
Neither disagree nor agree	1	3.6%
Agree	3	10.7%
Strongly agree	4	14.3%
Women and men should make the same daily wages		
Strongly disagree	1	3.6%
Disagree	3	10.7%
Agree	6	21.4%
Strongly agree	18	64.3%
Women should be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture		
Strongly disagree	1	3.6%
Agree	6	21.4%
Strongly agree	21	75.0%
Women can be just as good at farming as men		
Neither disagree nor agree	1	3.6%
Agree	9	32.1%
Strongly agree	18	64.3%
Women should not apply for khas land.		
Strongly disagree	16	57.1%
Disagree	12	42.9%
Husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names		
Agree	13	46.4%
Strongly agree	15	53.6%
Women's names should not be included on land documents		
Strongly disagree	15	53.6%
Disagree	13	46.4%
In your opinion, why should women apply for khas land?		
It is the right thing to do		10.7%
Women have the right to land		71.4%
Gender equality		46.4%
Economic empowerment		42.9%
Social recognition		21.4%

Better livelihoods		14.3%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		50.0%
For their independence		32.1%
In your opinion, why should husbands and wives jointly register land in both their names?		
It is the right thing to do		17.9%
Women have the right to land		60.7%
Gender equality		32.1%
Economic empowerment		50.0%
Social recognition		10.7%
Better livelihoods		3.6%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		78.6%
For their independence		32.1%
In your opinion, why should women's names be included on land documents?		
It is the right thing to do		10.7%
Women have the right to land		85.7%
Gender equality		46.4%
Economic empowerment		32.1%
Social recognition		32.1%
Better livelihoods		7.1%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		60.7%
For their independence		17.9%
When a married couple separates, which of these possibilities do you think is best?		
All land is divided equally	3	10.7%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage	15	53.6%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and land acquired during the marriage should stay with the husband	1	3.6%
Land should be divided accordingly to whose name is/are on the documents	9	32.1%
Should a widow be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband?		
Yes, but only with some conditions	6	21.4%
Yes	22	78.6%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR		1.4
Attitude index: gender equality		1.0

Attitudes (Women Leaders)



Perceptions of Social Norms

On average, about 30 percent of women leader provide support to women in their community to access services related to land and agriculture (see Table 33). Most women leaders think that community chiefs (57 percent), Union Council members (82 percent), land officials (54 percent), and agricultural officers (71 percent) expect them to provide such support. Only half of women leaders think religious leaders in their community expect them to provide this support.

Table 33. Perceptions of social norms (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	% or mean
About how many women leaders in your community (such as teachers, maternal figures, or elected women) provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
2	5	17.9%
3	12	42.9%
4	4	14.3%
5	1	3.6%
7	1	3.6%
9	1	3.6%
Don't know	4	14.3%
Do you think community chiefs in your community expect you to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	16	57.1%
Not support	12	42.9%
Do you think religious leaders in your community expect you to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	14	50.0%
Not support	12	42.9%
No expectations	2	7.1%
Do you think Union Council members in your Union expect you to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	23	82.1%
Not support	5	17.9%
Do you think land officials in your community expect you to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	15	53.6%
Not support	5	17.9%
No expectations	5	17.9%
Don't know	3	10.7%
Do you think agricultural officers in your community expect you to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	20	71.4%

Not support	5	17.9%
No expectations	2	7.1%
Don't know	1	3.6%

Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control)

Almost all women leaders are somewhat confident or very confident that they can provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture, even if community members oppose them (97 percent), resist pressure from others to not provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture, if they try hard enough (100 percent), find a solution if they are facing challenges because you want to provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture (89 percent), and stand up to someone who does not want them to provide support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture (89 percent). However, half of the women leaders report that it is somewhat or very difficult to provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture (see Table 34).

Table 34. Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control) (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	% or mean
How confident are you that you can provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture, even if community members oppose you?		
Neutral	1	3.6%
Somewhat confident	8	28.6%
Very confident	19	67.9%
How confident are you that can resist pressure from others to not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture, if you try hard enough?		
Somewhat confident	15	53.6%
Very confident	13	46.4%
If you are facing challenges because you want to provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture, how confident are you that you can find a solution?		
Not at all confident	1	3.6%
Somewhat unconfident	2	7.1%
Somewhat confident	10	35.7%
Very confident	15	53.6%
How confident are you to stand up to someone who does not want you to provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Not at all confident	1	3.6%
Somewhat unconfident	2	7.1%
Somewhat confident	15	53.6%
Very confident	10	35.7%
In your opinion, how easy or difficult is providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Very easy	3	10.7%

Somewhat easy	10	35.7%
Neither easy nor difficult	1	3.6%
Somewhat difficult	12	42.9%
Very difficult	2	7.1%

Social sanctions and rewards

Table 35 presents information on the social sanctions associated with women leaders providing support to women in their community to access services related to land and agriculture and the social rewards for not doing so. Most women leaders report that bullying is associated with women providing such support (64 percent). However, over a quarter of women leaders report no social sanctions. Most women leaders report that they are not at all likely to sanction a woman leader who has helped women in their community access services related to land and agriculture (64 percent). The average likelihood that a woman leader would sanction another leader who has provided this support is 13 percent. The average likelihood that a woman leader would be sanctioned by someone else is 33 percent. Most women leaders assert that there are no social rewards associated with *not* providing support to women to access land and agricultural services (64 percent). One quarter of women leaders report that *not* providing this support positively affects their reputation and over one fifth report that it positively affects the reputation of their family. Most women leaders report that they are not at all likely to reward a woman leader for *not* supporting women to access land and agricultural services (60 percent). The average likelihood that they would reward a woman leader for *not* supporting women to access services is 20 percent. The average likelihood that woman leaders would be rewarded by others is 14 percent. Women leaders report a 67 percent likelihood that will publicly support a woman leader who provides support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture. In the past two years, most women leaders have publicly supported women leaders for modeling this behavior (64 percent).

Table 35. Social sanctions and rewards (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	%
	28	
What are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with women leaders providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
None		28.6%
Social exclusion		10.7%
Bullying		64.3%
Negatively affects woman's reputation		14.3%
Negatively affects reputation of woman's family		21.4%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family		14.3%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with her extended family		7.1%
Negatively affects woman's relationship with friends/neighbors		14.3%
Loss of influence in the community		7.1%
Don't know		3.6%
How likely are you to sanction a woman leader who has provided support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
0	18	64.3%
2	4	14.3%

3	2	7.1%
4	2	7.1%
7	1	3.6%
8	1	3.6%

How likely are you to be sanctioned by others if you provided support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

0	8	28.6%
1	1	3.6%
2	2	7.1%
3	3	10.7%
4	3	10.7%
5	4	14.3%
6	3	10.7%
7	3	10.7%
8	1	3.6%

What are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women leaders not providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

None	64.3%
Social inclusion	14.3%
Positively affects woman's reputation	25.0%
Positively affects reputation of woman's family	21.4%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her immediate family	7.1%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her extended family	3.6%
Positively affects woman's relationship with her friends/neighbors	3.6%
Increases her influence in the community	3.6%
Don't know	3.6%

How likely are you to reward a woman leader for not providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

0	17	60.7%
2	2	7.1%
3	2	7.1%
5	1	3.6%
6	2	7.1%
7	3	10.7%
8	1	3.6%

How likely are you to be rewarded by others if you do not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

0	13	46.4%
1	3	10.7%
2	4	14.3%
3	2	7.1%
4	2	7.1%
6	1	3.6%
8	1	3.6%
Don't know	2	7.1%

How likely are you to publicly support a woman leader who provides support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

1	1	3.6%
2	1	3.6%
4	1	3.6%
5	2	7.1%
6	9	32.1%
7	5	17.9%
8	3	10.7%
9	2	7.1%
10	4	14.3%

In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman leader who provides support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

No	7	25.0%
Yes	18	64.3%
To my knowledge, no women leaders have provided such support	3	10.7%

Behaviors and intention to perform them

Table 36 presents information on the extent to which women leaders intend to and already have supported women in their community in access services related to land and agriculture. Women leaders report a high likelihood that they will help women in their community access land and agricultural services (64 percent likelihood). Three quarters of women leaders have already provided such support in the past two years. The most common type of support they have provided include physically accompanying women to a land office, agricultural office, or training, verbally encouraging women to attend trainings, and verbally encouraging women to apply for khas land. According to most women leaders, the women that they supported have attended trainings. Some women leaders report that women they supported have accessed other services, such as receiving inputs, adding their name to land documents, applying for khas land, and receiving equipment. Almost all women leaders suggest that raising awareness would help them support the women in their community to access land and agricultural services (96 percent) and over half recommend increasing mobility to land and agricultural offices.

Table 36. Behaviors and intention to perform them (Women Leaders)

	Frequency	%
	28	
What is the likelihood that you will ever provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
2	1	3.6%
3	2	7.1%
4	2	7.1%
5	2	7.1%
6	9	32.1%
7	5	17.9%
8	3	10.7%
9	1	3.6%
10	3	10.7%

Have you ever provided support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
No	7	25.0%
Yes	21	75.0%
Have you provided support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture in the last 2 years?		
No	8	28.6%
Yes	20	71.4%
What kind of support did you provide? (Among respondents who have provided support) <i>Select multiple</i>		
Physically accompanied women to land office, agricultural office, or training		81.0%
Verbally encouraged women to attend trainings		76.2%
Verbally encouraged women to apply for khas land		47.6%
Verbally encouraged women to add their name to land documents		28.6%
Verbally encouraged women to access other services related to land/agriculture		23.8%
Shared information/knowledge with women about how to access services related to land/agriculture		33.3%
What kind of services did women that you supported access? (Among respondents who have provided support) <i>Select multiple</i>		
None		21.4%
Attended trainings		64.3%
Applied for khas land		25.0%
Added their name to land documents		28.6%
Received inputs		42.9%
Received equipment		7.1%
What would help you provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Raising awareness		96.4%
Provide training on land matters		35.7%
Increase mobility to land/agricultural offices		53.6%
Advice from opinion leaders		39.3%
Making information accessible		10.7%
Don't know		3.6%

Baseline Data Analysis on Service Providers: Behavior Change and Its Determinants

For the survey responses of service providers, we include tables and analysis on behavior change and its determinants, including on knowledge and attitude indicators, knowledge, attitudes, perceptions of social norms, agency, social sanctions and rewards, and behaviors and intention to perform them,

Knowledge and attitude indicators

On average, service providers respond correctly to 75 percent of the knowledge questions about WLR (see Table 37). This score is similar to that of women leaders, and higher than the scores of community women and their husbands. On average, service providers scored a 1.0 on the gender equality and WLR attitude index, indicating agreement with gender equality and WLR, and 0.4 on the gender equality attitude index, indicating that they fall somewhere between neutral and agreeing with gender equality. Like all other respondents, service providers express greater support for WLR than for gender equality in general.

Table 37. Knowledge and Attitude Indicators (Service Providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
	48	
Knowledge score		74.6%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR		1.0
Attitude index: gender equality		0.4

Knowledge

Most respond correctly to the knowledge questions (see Table 38).⁵ Slightly fewer service providers know about Hindu inheritance rights and women’s rights to farmer cards than they do about Islamic inheritance rights and women’s rights to speak in community mediation. Most service providers believe they have the knowledge (71 percent) and skills (73 percent) to include women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture (see Table 39).

Table 38. Knowledge about WLR and Gender Equality (Service Providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
	48	
Any poor woman can apply for khas land		
True	46	95.8%
Don't know	2	4.2%
Hindu daughters do not have right to inherit parents' land		
True (correct)	41	85.4%
False	4	8.3%
Don't know	3	6.3%

⁵ Most of the service providers responded that it was true that any poor woman can apply for khas land. This seems to contradict the requirement that single or widowed women must have an able-bodied son in order to apply. This may be a matter of interpretation because service providers may understand that any poor woman can apply, but that her application will only be prioritized if she has an able-bodied son.

According to Islamic Inheritance Law, wives get a portion of their deceased husband's property if he does not have any children		
True (correct)	47	97.9%
Don't know	1	2.0%
Women have the right to get farmer cards		
True (correct)	44	91.7%
False	2	4.2%
Don't know	2	4.2%
Women have the right to speak in community mediation		
True (correct)	47	97.9%
False	1	2.0%
Only male community leaders can settle land disputes		
TRUE	15	31.3%
FALSE	33	68.8%
Knowledge score		74.6%

Table 39. Knowledge and Skills to Perform Behaviors of Interest (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
Do you know how to include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
No	14	29.2%
Yes	34	70.8%
Do you have the skills needed to include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
No	13	27.1%
Yes	35	72.9%

Attitudes

Table 40 presents the detailed responses of service providers to questions about their attitudes towards gender equality and WLR. Most service providers agree or strongly agree that women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men (90 percent). Although over half of service providers disagree or strongly disagree that men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women (57 percent), one third agree or strongly agree with this statement. Moreover, over half of service providers agree or strongly agree that men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce (54 percent). These responses reflect that many service providers do not agree with completely equal opportunities for men and women.

By contrast, most service providers agree or strongly agree that women and men should make the same daily wages (81 percent), be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture (96 percent), women can be just as good at farming as men (88 percent), and that spouses should jointly register land in both of their names (90 percent). In addition, most service providers disagree or strongly disagree that women should not apply for khas land (100 percent), and women should not obtain land

documents in their name (92 percent). The primary reasons for which they believe that women should apply for khas land, spouses should jointly register land, and women should obtain land documents in their name are because women have the right to land, to promote women's security in the event of divorce or death of their spouse, and economic empowerment.

If a married couple separates, just over half of service providers think it is best if they divide the land based on whose name(s) is/are on the land documents. Just over one quarter believe the best option is for the husband and wife to each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage. All service providers think that a widow should be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband, but about 29 percent believe this should only happen under certain conditions.

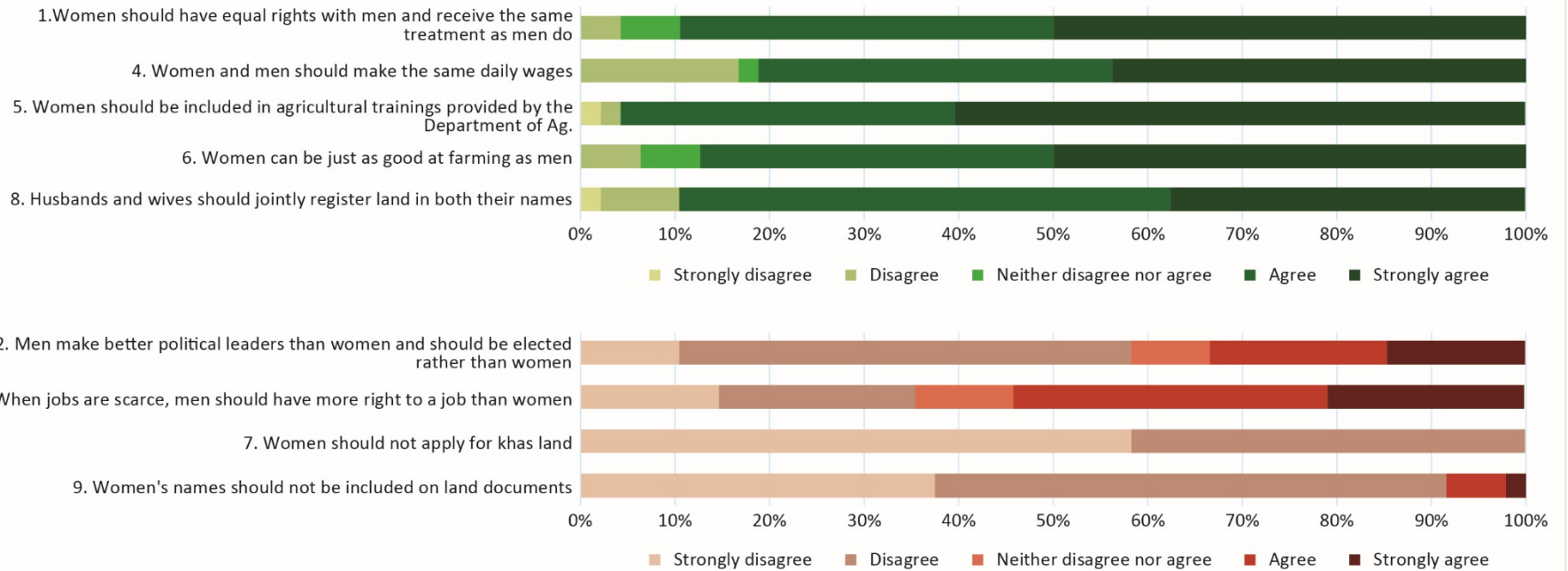
Table 40. Attitudes (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
	48	
Women should have equal rights with men and receive the same treatment as men do		
Disagree	2	4.2%
Neither disagree nor agree	3	6.3%
Agree	19	39.6%
Strongly agree	24	50.0%
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women		
Strongly disagree	5	10.4%
Disagree	23	47.9%
Neither disagree nor agree	4	8.3%
Agree	9	18.8%
Strongly agree	7	14.6%
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women		
Strongly disagree	7	14.6%
Disagree	10	20.8%
Neither disagree nor agree	5	10.4%
Agree	16	33.3%
Strongly agree	10	20.8%
Women and men should make the same daily wages		
Disagree	8	16.7%
Neither disagree nor agree	1	2.1%
Agree	18	37.5%
Strongly agree	21	43.8%
Women should be included in agricultural trainings provided by the Department of Agriculture		
Strongly disagree	1	2.1%
Disagree	1	2.1%
Agree	17	35.4%
Strongly agree	29	60.4%
Women can be just as good at farming as men		

Disagree	3	6.3%
Neither disagree nor agree	3	6.3%
Agree	18	37.5%
Strongly agree	24	50.0%
Women should not apply for khas land		
Strongly disagree	28	58.3%
Disagree	20	41.7%
Husbands and wives should jointly register land in both their names		
Strongly disagree	1	2.1%
Disagree	4	8.3%
Agree	25	52.1%
Strongly agree	18	37.5%
Women's names should not be included on land documents		
Strongly disagree	18	37.5%
Disagree	26	54.2%
Agree	3	6.3%
Strongly agree	1	2.1%
In your opinion, why should women apply for khas land?		
It is the right thing to do		25.0%
Women have the right to land		70.8%
Gender equality		31.3%
Economic empowerment		58.3%
Social recognition		8.3%
Better livelihoods		10.4%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		43.8%
For their independence		33.3%
In your opinion, why should husbands and wives jointly register land in both their names?		
It is the right thing to do		11.6%
Women have the right to land		62.8%
Gender equality		27.9%
Economic empowerment		32.6%
Social recognition		4.7%
Better livelihoods		4.7%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		83.7%
For their independence		44.2%
In your opinion, why should women's names be included on land documents?		
It is the right thing to do		15.9%
Women have the right to land		63.6%
Gender equality		22.7%
Economic empowerment		43.2%
Social recognition		9.1%
Better livelihoods		2.3%
Security in divorce or death of spouse		75.0%
For their independence		43.2%
When a married couple separates, which of these possibilities do you think is best?		
All land is divided equally	2	4.2%

The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and divide equally land acquired during marriage	13	27.1%
The husband and wife should each keep any land they had before the marriage and land acquired during the marriage should stay with the husband	6	12.5%
All the land stays with the husband	2	4.2%
Land should be divided according to whose name is/are on the documents	25	52.1%
Should a widow be able to inherit the land where she lived and farmed with her husband?		
Yes, but only with some conditions	14	29.2%
Yes	34	70.8%
Attitude index: gender equality and WLR		1.01
Attitude index: gender equality		.44

Attitudes (Service Providers)



Perceptions of social norms

Next, we assess service providers' perceptions of how many officials provide women with land and agricultural services (descriptive norms) and whether people in their reference group expect them to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land and agriculture (injunctive norms). On average, 39 percent of officials provide women with land and agricultural services. Most service providers think that their colleagues, superiors, married men in their community, community members who elected them, religious leaders, and other political supporters typically expect them to include women land and agriculture training and services. This suggests that, although most service providers do not provide women with these services, this behavior is not driven by perceptions of injunctive norms.

Since service providers are an important reference group for women leaders, we also ask them how common it is for women leaders to support women in their community to access land and agricultural services and whether they expect women leaders to provide this support. On average, service providers estimate that 28 percent of women leaders provide this support. However, 96 percent of service providers expect them to do so.

Table 41. Perceptions of social norms (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
About how many officials in your Union provide women with land/agricultural services (such as including women in trainings or distributing agricultural equipment to women)?		
0	3	6.3%
1	1	2.1%
2	2	4.2%
3	10	20.8%
4	14	29.2%
5	4	8.3%
6	5	10.4%
7	1	2.1%
8	1	2.1%
10	3	6.3%
Don't know	4	8.3%
Do you think your colleagues expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	45	93.8%
No expectations	1	2.1%
Don't know	2	4.2%
Do you think your superiors expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	12	100.0%
Do you think married men in your community expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	37	77.1%
Exclude	2	4.2%
No expectations	7	14.6%
Don't know	2	4.2%

Do you think that community members who elected you expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	27	90.0%
Don't know	3	10.0%
Do you think that religious leaders expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	22	73.3%
Exclude	1	3.3%
No expectations	6	20.0%
Don't know	1	3.3%
Do you think that other political supporters expect you to include or exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Include	27	90.0%
Don't know	3	10.0%
About how many women leaders provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
0	4	8.3%
1	5	10.4%
2	5	10.4%
3	6	12.5%
4	13	27.1%
5	3	6.3%
7	2	4.2%
8	1	2.1%
9	1	2.1%
10	1	2.1%
Don't know	7	14.6%
Do you expect women leaders to provide support or not provide support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?		
Support	46	95.8%
No expectations	2	4.2%

Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control)

Almost all service providers are somewhat confident or very confident that they can include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture, even if men in their community oppose them (94 percent). However, close to half of the service providers (46 percent) also report that it is somewhat or very difficult to include women in trainings or to provide them with land/agricultural services (see Table 42).

Table 42. Agency (self-efficacy and perceived control) (Service Providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
How confident are you that you can include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture, even if men in your community oppose you?		
Not at all confident	1	2.1%

Somewhat unconfident	1	2.1%
Neutral	1	2.1%
Somewhat confident	12	25.0%
Very confident	33	68.8%
In your opinion, how easy or difficult is including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
Very easy	9	18.8%
Somewhat easy	15	31.3%
Neither easy nor difficult	2	4.2%
Somewhat difficult	20	41.7%
Very difficult	2	4.2%

Social sanctions and rewards

In general, service providers convey that there are no social sanctions for including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture, and no social rewards for excluding them (see Table 43). Thus, if norms around these behaviors exist, they are not particularly salient. Most service providers report that there are no social sanctions associated with providing services to women (71 percent), though over one fifth report that they may be bullied if they include women. Most service providers report that they are not at all likely to sanction a woman leader who has helped women in their community access services related to land and agriculture (90 percent). The average likelihood that a service provider would sanction someone who includes women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture is very low (less than 4 percent). According to service providers, the average likelihood that they would be sanctioned by someone else is 14 percent.

Most service providers assert that there are no social rewards associated with *excluding* women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture (85 percent). Most service providers report that they are not at all likely to reward a service provider who *excludes* women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture (79 percent). The average likelihood that they would reward this behavior is 14 percent. Similarly, most service providers are not at all likely to be rewarded by others for excluding women (70 percent). The average likelihood that service providers would be rewarded by others is 15 percent. Service providers report a 71 percent likelihood that will publicly support a service provider who includes women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture. In the past two years, about 58 percent of services providers have publicly supported someone for including women.

Next, we ask service providers about the social sanctions associated with women leaders providing support to women in their community to access services related to land and agriculture, and the social rewards for not engaging in this behavior. Reassuringly, most service providers report that there are no social sanctions associated with women leaders providing this support (90 percent). There is just a 5 percent reported likelihood that services providers would sanction a woman leader who has provided support to women. Most service providers also report that there are no social rewards associated with women leaders *not* providing support to women in their community (85 percent). There is only a 10 percent likelihood of public service providers rewarding a woman leader for not providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture. The likelihood that service providers would publicly support a woman leader who provides support to women in their community to access services related to land/agriculture is 73 percent. Most service providers report that they have publicly supported a woman leader who provides support to women in their community in the past two years (65 percent).

Table 43. Social sanctions and rewards (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
	48	
In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
None		70.8%
Social exclusion		2.1%
Bullying		20.8%
Negatively affects reputation		8.3%
Negatively affects reputation of family		6.3%
Negatively affects relationship with immediate family		6.3%
Reduces likelihood of being promoted		2.1%
Losing political support		4.2%
Don't know		4.2%
How likely are you to sanction someone who includes women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
0	43	89.6%
1	1	2.1%
3	2	4.2%
5	2	4.2%
How likely are you to be sanctioned by others if you include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
0	28	58.3%
1	5	10.4%
2	3	6.3%
3	4	8.3%
4	2	4.2%
5	3	6.3%
6	2	4.2%
8	1	2.1%
In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with excluding women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
None		85.4%
Social inclusion		2.1%
Positively affects reputation		2.1%
Increases influence in the community		6.3%
Don't know		6.3%
How likely are you to reward someone who excludes women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
0	38	79.2%
3	1	2.1%
6	4	8.3%
7	1	2.1%
8	4	8.3%
How likely are you to be rewarded by others if you exclude women from trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		

0	34	70.8%
3	2	4.2%
4	2	4.2%
5	4	8.3%
6	3	6.3%
7	3	6.3%

How likely are you to publicly support someone who includes women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

0	1	2.1%
3	1	2.1%
4	3	6.3%
5	8	16.7%
6	3	6.3%
7	11	22.9%
8	5	10.4%
9	8	16.7%
10	8	16.7%

In the past two years, have you publicly supported someone who included women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?

No	17	35.4%
Yes	28	58.3%
To my knowledge, no women have applied	3	6.3%

In your opinion, what are the social sanctions (punishments) associated with women leaders providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

None	89.6%
Bullying	8.3%
Don't know	2.1%

How likely are you to sanction a woman leader who has provided support to women

0	40	83.3%
2	1	2.1%
3	3	6.3%
4	1	2.1%
5	2	4.2%
Don't know	1	2.1%

In your opinion, what are the social benefits (rewards) associated with women leaders not providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

None	85.4%
Increases her influence in the community	4.2%
Don't know	10.4%

How likely are you to reward a woman leader for not providing support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

0	40	83.3%
5	3	6.3%
6	1	2.1%
7	4	8.3%

How likely are you to publicly support a woman leader who provides support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

3	1	2.1%
4	2	4.2%
5	7	14.6%
6	9	18.8%
7	7	14.6%
8	7	14.6%
9	6	12.5%
10	9	18.8%

In the past two years, have you publicly supported a woman leader who provides support to women in your community to access services related to land/agriculture?

No	14	29.2%
Yes	31	64.6%
To my knowledge, no women leaders have provided such support	3	6.3%

Behaviors and intention to perform them

Table 44 presents information on the extent to which service providers intend to and already have included women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture. According to service providers, there is a 62 percent likelihood that they will include women. Two thirds of service providers have ever included women in trainings and other services related to land and agriculture, 88 percent of whom have included women in the past two years. Almost all service providers think that the number of women who participate in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture will increase over the next two years (98 percent). In addition, about 83 percent of service providers report that the opinions of people in their community have become slightly more or much more supportive of including women in the last two years.

Table 44. Behaviors and intention to perform them (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
What is the likelihood that you will ever include women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
0	1	2.1%
1	2	4.2%
2	1	2.1%
3	2	4.2%
4	4	8.3%
5	12	25.0%
6	3	6.3%
7	7	14.6%
8	7	14.6%
9	3	6.3%
10	6	12.5%
Have you ever included women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture?		
No	16	33.3%

Yes	32	66.7%
Have you included women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture in the last two years?		
No	4	12.5%
Yes	28	87.5%
Think about two years from now. Do you think the number of women who participate in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture will be much less, slightly less, about the same, slightly more, or much more than now?		
About the same	1	2.1%
Slightly more	25	52.1%
Much more	22	45.8%
How, if at all, have the opinions of people in your community changed on including women in trainings and other services related to land/agriculture in the last two years?		
People are now much more supportive	8	16.7%
People are now slightly more supportive	32	66.7%
It's about the same	6	12.5%
Don't know	2	4.2%

Baseline Data Analysis: Women and Husbands experience with agricultural programming and services

In this section we explore the findings related to women and men's experience accessing agricultural programming and services. Overall, we find limited access to land and agricultural programming and services among both women (see Table 45) and their husbands (see Table 46), but husbands are more likely than women to receive agricultural equipment and inputs. Raising awareness of programming and services and specifically inviting women could go a long way to increasing many women's access to these services. For some women, more targeted efforts such as offering women-only or women-led trainings or providing trainings and services at more convenient times and locations for women, will be necessary to ensure that they access these services.

Very few women have ever visited a land office. Among the few women who have, half in North Channel and a quarter in Nazirpur and Chealgazi visited a land office in the past 2 years. Husbands are much more likely than women to have visited a land office. The majority of men in North Channel have visited land offices, over one third in Nazirpur, and almost half in Chealgazi.

About one quarter of both women and husbands report that they or someone in their household had a disagreement or dispute about land in the past 5 years in North Channel. While a similar proportion of women report having a dispute in Chealgazi, almost one third of husbands report this. On the other hand, women in Nazirpur are twice as likely as husbands to report that they or someone in their household had a dispute (12 percent versus 6 percent). In North Channel, both women and husbands in households that had experienced disputes typically went to the Union Council or a village leader for help resolving the dispute. In Nazirpur, almost all women rely on family members for help (81 percent), while almost all husbands rely on formal sources of help (80 percent went to a court or land tribunal). In Chealgazi, the most common source of help for women was courts/land tribunals, but almost one quarter report not seeking help from anyone. Among husbands, the most common source of help was from Union Councils, courts/land tribunals, and Union land officials.

Most women in North Channel report that people in their community can easily get information and help related to land and agricultural matters. Husbands are more likely to report that such information and help are not available. In Nazirpur, on the other hand, women are more likely than husbands to report that this information and help are not available. In Chealgazi, both women and husbands report that this information and help is not available. Almost no women or husbands have farmer cards in North Channel or Nazirpur. However, there is a substantial gender gap in Chealgazi, where one fifth of husbands have farmer cards, but no women do.

Almost all women and husbands report attending no meetings or events about land held by paralegals or NGOs in the past 2 years. In Nazirpur, almost one-fifth of women and husbands report that no such services exist in their area. Similarly, almost all women also report attending no meetings or trainings organized by the agricultural and/or land office, receiving no equipment or inputs from the agricultural office, and not accessing any agricultural services provided by the Union Council in the past two years. We observe the greatest access to services for women in North Channel, where 14 percent of women report receiving agricultural equipment or inputs from the agricultural office in the previous 2 years. While these services are also lacking for husbands, more husbands than women in North Channel and Chealgazi have accessed these services.

Only 8 percent of the service providers that we interviewed conduct trainings on land. They report that other services such as trainings on agriculture (35 percent), distributing equipment (35 percent), and distributing agricultural inputs (73 percent) are more common. The majority of service providers report serving an even split of men and women, especially for agricultural trainings. However, a high proportion report distributing agricultural equipment (41 percent) and other inputs (46 percent) to men only or mostly men. About 69 percent report helping an even split of men and women apply for land documents, but approximately 23 percent help mostly men apply for documents.

In all three unions, most women report that being invited would help them attend trainings or attend more trainings on land/agriculture. About one-fifth to over one-third of respondents report that trainings just for women, or trainings led by women would help them attend. Many women also report that trainings close to home would help them attend. In Chealgazi, almost one-third of women report that welcome children or providing childcare at meetings would help them attend, but this was less important for women in the other unions.

Similarly, most women across all three unions report that they did not attend any trainings on land/agriculture because they were not invited. The other primary reasons for not attending vary across unions. In North Channel, 13 to 15 percent of women cite lack of time, childcare responsibilities, and trainings conducted far away as reasons for not attending any trainings on land/agriculture. In Chealgazi, about one-fifth of women do not attend because they are uncomfortable attending trainings with men, 16 percent do not consider themselves farmers, 14 percent have a family member who does not want them to attend, and 11 percent report that women do not typically attend. About 7 percent of women in Nazirpur also report that women do not typically attend such trainings.

Not surprisingly, most women report that awareness raising would help them access other services related to land and agriculture. Other common responses reveal that providing services at convenient times, providing greater access to information, and support from women in their community would help women access other services related to land and agriculture.

Table 45. Experience with land and agricultural programming and services (Women)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Ever visited a land office	8.6%	2.9%	9.8%	6.4%
Visited a land office in the past 2 years (among respondents who have ever visited a land office)	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	35.0%
In the past 2 years, how many meetings or events about land held by paralegals or NGOs have you attended?				
0	98.9%	77.9%	100.0%	90.0%
1	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
2	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
3	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
5	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
No relevant services in this area	0.0%	19.1%	0.0%	8.4%
In the past 2 years, have you gone to a paralegal or NGO for a question or help with a problem related to land?				
No	94.6%	95.6%	84.1%	92.3%

Yes	2.2%	0.7%	2.4%	1.6%
I have not had any problems related to land	3.2%	1.5%	12.2%	4.8%
Don't know	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%
Refusal	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
In the past 5 years, have you or anyone in your household had a disagreement or dispute about land or the place where you stay? The disagreement could be within your family or with neighbors or people outside the community.				
No	75.3%	85.3%	72.0%	78.8%
Yes	24.7%	11.8%	25.6%	19.3%
Don't know	0.0%	2.9%	1.2%	1.6%
Refusal	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Whom did you go to for help? (Among respondents who had a dispute)				
<i>Select multiple responses</i>				
No one	4.3%	0.0%	23.8%	10.0%
Family member	17.4%	81.3%	9.5%	31.7%
Paralegal	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	1.7%
NGO	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%
Customary/traditional leader	8.7%	18.8%	0.0%	8.3%
Village leader	56.5%	43.8%	9.5%	36.7%
Union land official	30.4%	0.0%	4.8%	13.3%
Union Council	73.9%	25.0%	14.3%	40.0%
Court/land tribunal	26.1%	25.0%	42.9%	31.7%
People in my community can easily get information and help for land matters				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	0.7%	19.5%	5.5%
Disagree	10.8%	44.9%	63.4%	39.5%
Neither disagree nor agree	16.1%	23.5%	7.3%	17.0%
Agree	72.0%	28.7%	6.1%	35.7%
Strongly agree	1.1%	0.0%	3.7%	1.3%
Refusal	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
People in my community can easily get information and help for agricultural matters				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	0.0%	17.1%	4.5%
Disagree	7.5%	33.1%	57.3%	31.8%
Neither disagree nor agree	22.6%	24.3%	11.0%	20.3%
Agree	69.9%	40.4%	9.8%	41.2%
Strongly agree	0.0%	0.0%	4.9%	1.3%
Refusal	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%
Do you have a farmer card?				
No	97.8%	99.3%	96.3%	98.1%
Yes	2.2%	0.7%	0.0%	1.0%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	1.0%
In the past 2 years, how many meetings or trainings organized by the agricultural and/or land office have you attended?				

0	97.8%	99.3%	98.8%	98.7%
1	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
2	1.1%	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%
5	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%

In the past 2 years, have you received any agricultural equipment or inputs from the agricultural office?

No	86.0%	97.1%	92.7%	92.6%
Yes	14.0%	2.2%	1.2%	5.5%
Don't know	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.6%

In the past 2 years, have you accessed any agricultural services provided by the Union Council?

No	97.8%	98.5%	93.9%	97.1%
Yes	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%
Don't know	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.6%

What would help you attend trainings or attend more trainings on land/agriculture?

Select multiple responses

Being invited	64.5%	91.9%	84.1%	81.7%
Trainings just for women	25.8%	33.8%	19.5%	27.7%
Trainings led by women	17.2%	20.6%	37.8%	24.1%
Convenient time of day	16.1%	23.5%	14.6%	19.0%
Convenient day of week	5.4%	1.5%	12.2%	5.5%
Children welcome/childcare	11.8%	2.2%	31.7%	12.9%
Snacks	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Convenient location	19.4%	10.3%	7.3%	12.2%
Training close to home	43.0%	27.2%	23.2%	30.9%
Attending with other women	4.3%	0.7%	7.3%	3.5%
Don't know	0.0%	2.9%	3.7%	2.3%
Declined to respond	5.4%	1.5%	0.0%	2.3%

Why do you not attend any trainings on land/agriculture?
(Among respondents who did not attend any trainings)

Select multiple responses

Not invited	73.6%	97.8%	92.6%	89.3%
Trainer would not welcome respondent	3.3%	0.7%	2.5%	2.0%
Uncomfortable with male trainer	2.2%	1.5%	6.2%	2.9%
Other trainees would not welcome respondent	3.3%	0.0%	2.5%	1.6%
Uncomfortable attending training with men	7.7%	0.7%	19.8%	7.8%
Inconvenient days	8.8%	0.0%	2.5%	3.3%
Inconvenient times	6.6%	0.7%	1.2%	2.6%
Childcare responsibilities	14.3%	0.0%	1.2%	4.6%
Lack of time	15.4%	0.7%	2.5%	5.5%
Inconvenient location	2.2%	0.7%	0.0%	1.0%
Far away	13.2%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%
Not comfortable traveling alone	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Don't consider themselves a farmer	4.4%	0.7%	16.0%	5.9%
Don't think they would benefit	0.0%	0.7%	8.6%	2.6%

Family member doesn't want them to	0.0%	0.7%	13.6%	3.9%
Women don't typically attend	2.2%	7.4%	11.1%	6.8%
Declined to respond	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
What would help you access other services related to land/agriculture?				
<i>Select multiple responses</i>				
Awareness raising	88.2%	79.4%	93.9%	85.9%
Access to information	3.2%	10.3%	26.8%	12.5%
A dedicated women's desk at ag. offices	4.3%	13.2%	11.0%	10.0%
A dedicated women's desk at land offices	9.7%	0.0%	4.9%	4.2%
Services provided at more convenient times	31.2%	14.0%	6.1%	17.0%
Services provided at more convenient locations	21.5%	19.9%	6.1%	16.7%
Support from women in my community	5.4%	12.5%	15.9%	11.3%
Don't know	1.1%	16.9%	6.1%	9.3%
Declined to respond	6.5%	1.5%	0.0%	2.6%

Table 46. Experience with land and agricultural programming and services (Husbands)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Ever visited a land office	67.7%	35.4%	47.0%	48.8%
Visited a land office in the past 2 years	61.4%	34.5%	64.5%	54.8%
In the past 2 years, how many meetings or events about land held by paralegals or NGOs have you attended?				
0	100.0%	96.3%	72.7%	90.1%
1	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
2	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%
3	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
No relevant services in this area	0.0%	2.4%	19.7%	7.0%
In the past 2 years, have you gone to a paralegal or NGO for a question or help with a problem related to land?				
No	75.4%	72.5%	69.8%	72.7%
Yes	3.1%	0.0%	30.2%	9.1%
I have not had any problems related to land	21.5%	27.5%	0.0%	18.2%
In the past 5 years, have you or anyone in your household had a disagreement or dispute about land or the place where you stay? The disagreement could be within your family or with neighbors or people outside the community.				
No	75.4%	93.9%	65.2%	79.3%
Yes	24.6%	6.1%	31.8%	19.7%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
Whom did you go to for help? (Among respondents who had a dispute)				
<i>Select multiple responses</i>				

No one	0.0%	20.0%	4.8%	4.8%
Family member	18.8%	0.0%	19.0%	16.7%
Paralegal	0.0%	0.0%	9.5%	4.8%
NGO	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	2.4%
Customary/traditional leader	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Village leader	43.8%	20.0%	9.5%	23.8%
Union land official	31.3%	0.0%	28.6%	26.2%
Union Council	75.0%	20.0%	47.6%	54.8%
Court/land tribunal	31.3%	80.0%	47.6%	45.2%
People in my community can easily get information and help for land matters				
Strongly disagree	0.0%	1.2%	16.7%	5.6%
Disagree	49.2%	26.8%	54.5%	42.3%
Neither disagree nor agree	18.5%	32.9%	4.5%	19.7%
Agree	32.3%	39.0%	21.2%	31.5%
Strongly agree	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
People in my community can easily get information and help for agricultural matters				
Strongly disagree	1.5%	1.2%	10.6%	4.2%
Disagree	41.5%	22.0%	50.0%	36.6%
Neither disagree nor agree	21.5%	37.8%	4.5%	22.5%
Agree	33.8%	39.0%	31.8%	35.2%
Strongly agree	1.5%	0.0%	3.0%	1.4%
Do you have a farmer card?				
No	98.5%	100.0%	78.8%	93.0%
Yes	1.5%	0.0%	19.7%	6.6%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
In the past 2 years, how many meetings or trainings organized by the agricultural and/or land office have you attended?				
0	98.5%	97.6%	68.2%	88.7%
1	1.5%	0.0%	4.5%	1.9%
2	0.0%	0.0%	7.6%	2.3%
3	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
No relevant services in this area	0.0%	2.4%	18.2%	6.6%
In the past 2 years, have you received any agricultural equipment from the agricultural office?				
No	80.0%	97.6%	83.3%	87.8%
Yes	20.0%	2.4%	13.6%	11.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%
In the past 2 years, have you received any agricultural equipment from the agricultural office?				
No	90.8%	97.6%	83.3%	91.1%
Yes	9.2%	2.4%	13.6%	8.0%
Don't know	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%

Table 47. Experience with land and agricultural programming and services (Service providers)

	Frequency	% or mean
	48	
What types of services do you provide related to land and/or agriculture?		
Trainings related to land		8.3%
Trainings related to agriculture		35.4%
Distributing agricultural equipment		35.4%
Distributing other inputs (seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, herbicides, etc.)		72.9%
Helping individuals apply for land documents (for private land, khas land, etc.)		27.1%
Other		8.3%
Declined to respond		2.1%
Who typically attends trainings related to agriculture?		
Mostly men	2	11.8%
Even split of men and women	14	82.4%
Depends on the specific training	1	5.9%
To whom do you typically distribute agricultural equipment?		
Men only	4	23.5%
Mostly men	3	17.6%
Even split of men and women	10	58.8%
To whom do you typically distribute other inputs?		
Men only	5	14.3%
Mostly men	11	31.4%
Even split of men and women	18	51.4%
Declined to respond	1	2.9%
Whom do you typically help apply for land documents?		
Mostly men	3	23.1%
Even split of men and women	9	69.2%
Depends on the specific training	1	7.7%

Baseline Data Analysis: Women and Husbands experience with river erosion and climate shocks

Because of the huge impact that river erosion and climate shocks can have on communities in Bangladesh, we also asked a short series of questions on this topic to learn more about the impact and variation between the three communities.

While river erosion is not common in Chealgazi, many households in the surveyed villages in North Channel (48.4 percent) and Nazirpur (61.7 percent) have lost some or all of their land due to river erosion. Despite the risks of river erosion, especially in North Channel and Nazirpur, most women respondents report that they have not taken any actions to manage or prevent river erosion (66 percent in North Channel and 96 percent in Nazirpur). The proportion of women who have taken actions to manage or prevent river erosion is highest in North Channel. Floods have significantly affected most households in all three unions during the last 5 years, ranging from 63 percent in Chealgazi to 93 percent in Nazirpur. Cyclones/storm surge have also affected most households in Nazirpur (87 percent). Respondents affected by these two shocks report that most households in their village experienced the shock.

Table 48. River erosion and climate shocks (women only)

	Union			
	North Channel %	Nazirpur %	Chealgazi %	Total %
Have you taken any actions to manage or prevent river erosion?				
No	65.6%	95.6%	36.6%	71.1%
Yes	23.7%	2.9%	3.7%	9.3%
My land is not at risk of river erosion	9.7%	1.5%	53.7%	17.7%
Don't know	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Declined to respond	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	1.6%
Which climate shocks have significantly affected your household (income or livelihood) during the last 5 years?				
<i>Select multiple responses</i>				
Heat wave	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Drought	23.7%	4.4%	13.4%	12.5%
Floods	73.1%	92.6%	63.4%	79.1%
Sea level rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Cyclones/storm surge	21.5%	86.8%	30.5%	52.4%
Changes in precipitation	37.6%	0.7%	18.3%	16.4%
Cold spells	5.4%	0.0%	4.9%	2.9%
For Drought (if applies), how widespread was the shock?				
Some households in village	0.0%	16.7%	63.6%	20.5%
Most households in village	50.0%	83.3%	9.1%	43.6%
Many households in the district	50.0%	0.0%	27.3%	35.9%
For Flood (if applies), how widespread was the shock?				

Some households in village	45.6%	5.6%	15.4%	18.7%
Most households in village	45.6%	69.8%	32.7%	55.3%
Many households in the district	8.8%	18.3%	51.9%	22.8%
All households in the district	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	3.3%
For Cyclone/storm surge (if applies), how widespread was the shock?				
Some households in village	0.0%	11.0%	84.0%	20.9%
Most households in village	95.0%	61.9%	16.0%	58.9%
Many households in the district	5.0%	16.1%	0.0%	12.3%
All households in the district	0.0%	11.0%	0.0%	8.0%
For Change in precipitation pattern (if applies), how widespread was the shock?				
Some households in village	25.7%	0.0%	93.3%	45.1%
Most households in village	37.1%	0.0%	6.7%	27.5%
Many households in the district	37.1%	0.0%	0.0%	25.5%
All households in the district	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	2.0%

Note: We exclude responses from this table regarding how widespread heat waves and cold spells were because less than 30 wives reported that these climate shocks significantly affected their household.

Recommendations

This report provides a very detailed analysis of the baseline survey results. One of its key purposes will be to compare against the endline survey to determine the impact of the project. We will also use the survey findings to help the Coalition design and implement its activities for best impact. As such, based on our assessment of the panel surveys, we provide the following high-level recommendations for consideration in implementing local activities.

Community women and men

- Provide land literacy trainings on land documents, the process for applying for khas land, the process for adding names to land documents, and inheritance procedures. This is especially important for community women but would also be beneficial for community men. Include simple handouts or graphics that attendees can take away to help them remember key procedures.
- Encourage and support women's mobility and ability to visit land/agricultural offices by organizing women into groups for visits. Community dialogue meetings can also be held to encourage husbands to understand and permit greater mobility for women in accessing land and agricultural services.
- Create case studies or short films showcasing women visiting the land or agricultural office to apply for khas land and/or attend a training. For khas land, include all of the steps necessary, including obtaining the landless certificate from the Union Council.

Women leaders

- Encourage women leaders to continue to support women, individually and in groups, to visit land and agricultural offices and attend trainings. For example, women leaders can organize regular group visits to land and agricultural offices to make demands, receive services, and/or attend trainings.
- Support women leaders to visit service providers and advocate methods for providers to invite and better include women in their provision of services. The project could create a simple list of "dos and don'ts" for including women for the women leaders to discuss and share with the service providers.

Service providers

- Encourage community women and women leaders to speak with service providers to explain the importance of inviting women and how women can be better included. Supportive male community leaders could also be requested to provide their support for this cause.
- Encourage community women and women leaders to request that service providers provide them with specific desired services, such as suitable agricultural training and the provision of inputs, and women's inclusion on landless persons lists for consideration in distributing khas land.

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