

A Time-Allocation Study on Rural Women: An Analysis of Productive and Reproductive Roles

■ Amara Soonthorndhada

■ Uraiwan Kanungsukkasem

■ Sirinan Saiprasert



COMMUNITY BASED INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT (CBIRD)
EVALUATION PROJECT

Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University

A TIME-ALLOCATION STUDY ON RURAL WOMEN : AN ANALYSIS OF PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE ROLES

- Amara Soonthorndhada
- Uraiwan Kanungsukkasem
- Sirinan Saiprasert

This report is one of a series of special topic studies under the CBIRD Evaluation Project at Nangrong District, Buriram Province. This evaluation project is implemented by the Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University and Financially supported by the International Development Research Centre.

IPSR Publication No. 105

ISBN 974-586-128-6

January 1987

PREFACE

The main objectives of the CBIRD Evaluation Project (CEP) is to measure changes and impact of the CBIRD on economic, environment and health development of rural population. To fulfill its objectives as a whole, this paper is one part of several other special topic studies under the CBIRD Evaluation Project at Nangrong District, Buriram Province.

The scope of the study is to examine various factors such as resource control and household's access to production which play a crucial role in maintaining the household economy. Also, the interrelationship between women's perceptions of their role and status with regard to their productive performance and reproductive behaviour are determined in the study.

Pramote Prasartkul, Ph.D.
CEP Project Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research is one part of the CBIRD Evaluation Project supported by the IDRC. The authors wish to express their appreciation for this sponsorship.

We are also indebted to Dr. Pramote Prasartkul, the Director of the Institute for Population and Social Research. Without his support and encouragement, this research would not have been possible. Our special thanks and gratitude are reserved to the people with whom we interviewed for showing great patience and participation during the research process. Moreover, the comments and suggestions given by Dr. Bencha Attig and George Attig were extremely valuable to the authors in constructing the ideas utilized in this report. We are grateful to their comments on an earlier version, but admit to stubbornness on some matters. Lastly, the authors are indebted to those individuals and if any errors are evident in this report, it is fully our responsibility.

Amara Soonthorndhada
Uraiwan Kanungsukkasem
Sirinan Saiprasert
January 1987

A Time-Allocation Study on Rural Women : An Analysis of Productive and Reproductive Roles.

Amara Soonthorndhada

Uraiwan Kanungsukkasem

Sirinan Saiprasert

**Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University, Thailand.**

ABSTRACT

The study examines various factors such as resource control and household's access to production which play a crucial role in maintaining the household economy. Also, the interrelationship between women's perceptions of their role and status with regard to their productive performance and reproductive behaviour were determined in this study. Two natures of investigation were employed, indepth interview and direct observation. Forty married women living in Buriram Province were randomly selected for data analysis. Findings showed that rural women contributed much to subsistence production to maintain their economy condition of their families. Women would allocate their time budget in a different way depending on their assets or the access of the means of production, the presence of the labours in the families and age hierarchies in terms of the division of labour.

CONTENTS

	Page	
Background of the study		
Objectives	3	
Some theoretical considerations	4	
Organization of the study		
Locale of the study	9	
Samples and Sampling	10	
Research Methodology	10	
Limitations of Research Design	12	
Definition of Research Terms	12	
Some important characteristics	14	
of the women under study		
Findings		
Part I	:	Productive Role Analysis
Household Structure and	18	
Productive Role		
Economic Contribution and Women Status	23	
Division of Labour and Women 's	29	
Productive Role		

		Page	
Part II	:	Reproductive Role Analysis	
		Women and Their Reproductive Role	35
		Women and Reproductive Role Under the Domestic Cycle Considerations	37
		The Timing of Nuptiality of Rural women	41
		Power on Fertility Regulation : Expectations and Conflicts	44
Part III	:	Direct Observation on Time-Allocation :	50
		The Case-Studies of Ten Women	
		Conclusions and Recommendations	75
		References	77
Annex I	:	Guideline for Focused Biography Approach	80
Annex II	:	Daily Activity Record Form.	86

A Time-Allocation Study on Rural Women : An Analysis of Productive and Reproductive Roles.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This study examines the role of women within the rural household economy and with regard to various household survival strategies. The Northeastern region of Thailand was the area in which the study was undertaken since it possesses various problems related to development (i.e., poverty, under-utilized land, inefficient cultivation, rapid population growth). In addition, many attempts from both the governmental and private sectors have been introduced into this region in order to improve living standards. The Population and Community Development Association (PDA) in collaboration with the Thai Government for instance had launched a project entitled the Community Based Integrated Rural Development Project (CBIRD) to be implemented in 40 villages in the Nang Rong District of Buriram Province. This project's aim concentrates on income generation, improvement of the environment and promotion of better health for the target villages' residents. The outstanding objectives of the CBIRD project are to make a permanent and quantitative improvement in living standards and the quality of life.

To fulfil these two objectives, special attention to income generating activities is one of the ~~immediate~~ alternatives. Specially designed economic activities are made available to villagers who expressed an interest in participating with the CBIRD's programs, and such programs include animal raising, crops, environment, home industries, open box component and health. Through these six programs, the villagers become active under four different credit extension systems, i.e., contract growing, revolving loan funds, cooperatives and credit. Since the CBIRD project is a multi-disciplinary project with strong components on income generating and environmental improvement being declared, all household members are equally important in terms of labour. If the household is the unit of production to generate income, the household should include a production surplus in terms of the bread-winners as well as the the domestic labourers. At this stage, it is quite important and interesting to examine how much the domestic labour, or the "inactive economy domain", influences the household economy.

It is hardly disputable now that rural women contribute their labour primarily within the realm of agricultural production. However, attempts to relate the above axiom to women's status in society within the overall processes of development and economic change have only been quite recent Furthermore, an even more

recent awareness of this issue lies in the significance of the relationship between women's roles at work and their roles at home. Work or production in terms of social relations that relate to the production of goods and services in addition to housework or human reproduction in terms of social relations which govern the formation of the families and the bearing and rearing of children have both been posited to determine the position of women in society. Although the establishment of this relationship between the reproductive and the productive processes has been much debated with views ranging from housework as a productive labour yielding surplus values to one which argues that housework lies outside of the capitalist mode of production (Fee, T. 1976). It is generally agreed that women's ongoing subordination within society lies in their prevailing role in the reproductive process. The production reproduction dichotomy, which corresponds to the public and private spheres of social existence, imposes an unequal sexual division of labour which assigns women to the reproductive, private sphere and therefore to a lower status-vis-a-vis men.

Objectives The study will cover 3 objectives. Those are as follows;

1. To examine how the domestic labour system operates within the rural community in determining women's social status through the nature of their involvement in production and reproduction.

2. To demonstrate the interrelationships between women's perceptions of their role and status with regard to their reproductive behaviour.
3. To examine various factors such as time allocation, resource control and household's access to production which play a crucial role in maintaining the household economy.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A focus on the domestication of women reveals linkages between aspects of women's status and mechanisms of production and reproduction. There are three components involved, namely the domestic cycle as a mechanism of family formation, the role and status of women and, lastly the sexual division of labour.

The stages of the female life cycle are developed through different life course events. With reference to rural women in less developed countries, Epstein (1982) postulated five phases of the domestic cycle, namely the preparation phase, adaptation phase, expansion phase, consolidation phase and lastly the dispersal phase. Each phase has different functions and determines the stage of family formation with respect to women. The preparation phase involves a process of socialization for the younger generation

through education in the values of life. The adaptation phase is the socialization process of the younger generation which crystallizes in the establishment of new domestic units. The expansion phase concerns the process of reproduction and child rearing. In this phase, women bear at least two burdens, looking after their children and participating in the labour market. Dixon has pointed out that the expansion phase would reflect on fertility behaviour. She hypothesised that an increase in women's productivity outside the home can lead to lower fertility. However, this hypothesis is debatable because women who participated in the labour force did not necessarily change their perception of having children. The consolidation phase is described as a stage when the children are old enough to contribute to the household and older siblings begin to get married. Lastly, the dispersal phase begins with the marriage of children. Women change their role to that of a grandmother so as to instruct the younger generation in traditional customs and norms.

As the domestic cycle indicates, there exists, regularities as women pass through the different phases in the domestic cycle. This approach provides a framework for the study of women's roles and status by using women rather than men as focal points in the examination of social relationships. It also has important policy implications, particularly for population development.

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Attempts to conceptualise the sexual division of labour in peasant society lead to differences among strata in the degree to which labour is divided according to the purpose of the activity. Among the poor and landless, women are more active in production, whether for use-value or exchange-value (Epstein, 1982). Among the upper strata, however, labour is divided in terms of who controls the outcome of the activity. For example, men control the market of cattle and of milk, even though women share responsibility in caring for the cattle. In landless families, women participate in the marketing of cattle, however small the sale (Deere 1978). Young (1977) stated the linkage between the sexual division of labour and female power in three important elements ; do women derive power, status and privileges by virtue of the system of allocation within the labour process or do they derive power, status and privileges by virtue of the system of exclusion to various productive roles which might be linked to a system of reinforcement of the social construction of gender, valuation, income derived, skill involved as such.

Sexual division of labour varies with the level of agricultural complexity and differentiation, the level of hierarchization of the community particularly in terms of land ownership and the purpose and scale of the economic activity performed. The role

of women and their familial status are less important if these three elements are dominated by men. Historically, the most common unit of agricultural production has been the household in which the domestic group jointly provided labour, possessed at least part of the means of production, and disposed of at least part of the product of its labour. Household production has understandably been the basis for attempts to characterise a type of economy (Chayanov 1924) or mode of production (Sahlins 1974) unique to agriculture. Such attempts assume that the identity of the productive units within the domestic group lends itself to universal character of economy. The economy is derived analytically by generalizing from the individual household.

If gender is taken into account in terms of household production, the total amount of subsistence work done by women usually is not recorded in most studies of the labour force, or in manpower studies and planning. Time - budget studies are just beginning to appear rather sporadically and they cover some or all aspects of women's work. With overwhelming uniformity, they depict rural women as working extremely long hours and expending energy without adequate rest on a wide variety of tasks : all of which are essential to a family's survival. However, there are inherent controversies when time-budget among rural women is considered. Some arguments cite the problem that women would not devote very much of

their time and energy to any innovations which might be implemented. Women's resistance to any increased expenditure of their time can be crucial to the acceptance, or otherwise, of a particular innovation. An example of unsuccessful implementation is a project by the BNI of Agriculture Engineering in Gambia which revealed that systems of primary cultivation resulted in increased weed growth thereby imposing greater demands on women's time. This was likely to lead to the loss of the whole crop because refused to weed it.

In the rural areas it seems widely true that women are overworked rather than underworked, in the sense that they work very long hours, are pressed by many duties and obligations, are responsible for much of the work in agricultural production as well as for virtually all the food preparation housework and the care of children. A time-allocation study in rural Bangladesh by Abdullah showed that women were spending 10-14 hours a day in productive work. Time allocation by age, women aged 30 and over, revealed 5.5 hours are spent everyday on domestic tasks most of which is on food preparation, 6.7 hours on income-earning tasks, for a total of 12.2 hours a day. For all women aged 15 and over, the total number of hours worked averaged 11.1 as compared to only 8.7 for the men. A study in Thailand (Jaisaard, 1980) revealed that women worked an average of 15.4 hours a day compared to 12.3 hours for men, leaving only 8.6 hours for resting and sleeping.

ROLE AND STATUS OF RURAL WOMEN

Most rural women have two things in common : responsibility for child rearing and household work, each of which reflects their role and status in the family. A woman's role refers to the way she is expected to behave in certain situations and her status indicates the esteem in which she is held by the different individuals and groups who come in contact with her. Therefore, the same woman is likely to behave differently in different situations as she proceeds through the different phases in her life cycle and be awarded different prestige ranking by different people within her social range.

It is debatable whether the declining role and status of rural women is due to their own perception of status as a subordinate to reproduce labour force. If so, their role and status are restricted to the household compound only. While males play their role as "bread winner" of the family, the productivity become less sufficient.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Locale of the study

One district of Nangrong, Buriram Province was selected as the study site and within it two research villages, namely Ban

Nong Krat and Ban Tan Banlang, were observed. There is little difference in terms of socio-economic and demographic characteristics between these two villages, except for occupation. In Ban Nong Krat, the villagers are involved primarily in farming activities while in Ban Tan Banlung, the population exhibits the two main occupations of paddy cultivation and the manufacture of lime for sale.

Samples and Sampling

Forty married women were drawn randomly from the total households of the two villages for our case-studies. These 40 cases are divided mainly into two categories based on age, namely the young group (< 35 yrs) and the old group (> 35 yrs) with none of them being household heads. In this situation, their roles and status would be examined under the scope of "household chores", which is related to the productive and reproductive functions of the individuals.

Research Methodology

To provide sufficient data, the focused biography mode of data collection was chosen as well as direct observation. An interview guide was used during the biographic interviews, while direct observation was assigned for a 14 hour period (05.00 - 19.00) to

provide data on how women allocate their time during the day to perform their domestic work as well as their productive work outside of the home. The direct observation was undertaken after the completion of the indepth interviews with only 10 households (5 households for each village) being chosen for observation due to a limited amount of time.

Two experienced interviewers spent almost a month collecting individual life histories and observing day to day activities. This approach is the most appropriate technique in bringing historical insights into examining social relations and interactions, institutional arrangements, motives, values, decisions and actions leading to change. It is assumed that information or opinions freely volunteered are likely to be more genuine than those elicited by direct questions and pre-coded responses. Thus for the specific topic selected, women were encouraged to give retrospective accounts of their past activities, feelings and attitudes and to discuss their current situations as well as expectations for the future. At the same time the interviews ranged widely enough to allow women the chance to report unanticipated items relevant to the enquiry, thus permitting further probing of attitudes to their two roles, productive and reproductive. Each woman had some control of the interview and could discuss topics she felt important and present her preferred version of events. However, the interviewers wisely had to interrupt

her if the conversations were somewhat repeated or sounded irrelevant.

For the direct observation, the two interviewers spent two days in each household. Utilizing a daily activity record, the interviewers noted down all the activities undertaken during the observed period both within and outside of the households.

Limitations of Research Methodology

Since the purpose of this study is qualitative and descriptive in terms of examining the interrelationships between the roles of production and reproduction of rural women with regard to the allocation of time, findings or interpretations were limited to the focused biography approach of 40 women in two villages. Thus, the representativeness of the samples is debatable. However, this methodology is conducive in uncovering some hidden points about the roles and status of rural women especially with regard to individual perceptions under the productive and reproductive dichotomy.

DEFINITIONS OF RESEARCH TERMS

The productive role refers to those social relations that relate to the production of goods and services, while the reproductive role refers to those social relations which govern family

formation (bearing and rearing of children). This productive-reproductive dichotomy with regard to the role of women has been posited to determine women's position in society. The establishment of the relationship between the reproductive and the productive processes has been much debated with views ranging from housework as productive labour producing surplus value to one that argues that it lies outside of the capitalist mode of production (Fee, T. 1976 in Mohamed, M. 1984).

Roles and status are situation-specific, yet defined in such a way that they retain meaning in different contexts. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences specifies that a role provides "a comprehensive pattern for behaviour and attitudes ; if constitutes a strategy for coping with a recurrent situation ; it is socially identified, more or less clearly, as an entity ; it is subject to being played recognisably by different individuals and it supplies a major basis for identifying and placing persons in society" (Turner, 1968). Status connotes evaluation ; hence honour, esteem, respect and prestige are its synonyms. Status in this sense is a gratification, and its loss, a deprivation (Zelditch. Jr., 1968). Accordingly, a woman's role refers to the way she is expected to behave in certain situations and her status indicates the esteem in which she is held by the different individuals and groups who come in contact with her. Therefore, the same women

is likely to behave differently in different situations as she proceeds through the different phases in her life cycle and be awarded different prestige ranking by different people within her social range (Epstein, 1982 in Anker, R. (Eds.).

SOME IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WOMEN UNDER STUDY

All of the women are involved in paddy cultivation and not all the households owned land. The maximum of a 52 rai landholding falls into only two households. This number does not include the land sharecropped with the parents. Significantly, in the peasant society the best indicator of the household's permanent income is its asset position, especially land and cattle holdings. In addition, these assets also influence the productivity of female and children's labour. Most of the latter's work is connected with crop cultivation and animal husbandry and is performed in family enterprises.

Out of forty households, eight households are landless. Ban Nong Krat possesses a smaller number of landless households than Ban Tan Banlang (only a two household difference). When assets in the households were observed, the number of cattle were counted and it was found that six households possessed no cattle and six households had at least one. On the average, they possessed three cattle. A maximum number of six cattle was found in three households.

Interestingly, half of the total households did not raise poultry for subsistence consumption. However, kitchen gardening was favourable among all of the households because of the necessity for family consumption during the dry season or even throughout a year.

Other assets for the cultivation process which farmers usually owned were basic tools and implements, and only few of them possessed a simple weaving tool. In Ban Nong Krat, half of the total households have this basic weaving tool while in Ban Tan Banlang only one sampled household possessed it.

The women in the study are in the age range from early twenties to late forties ; 50 years of age is the maximum. The highest number of living children is ten. Women in the younger group (< 35) borne four children as the maximum. Notedly, women in Ban Tan Banlang have exhibited lower fertility than the women in Ban Nong Krat.

Women also allocated their time and labour in non-productive income activities during the dry season. Those are mat weaving, preserving food, kitchen gardening, and such.

TABLE 1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

BAN NONG KRAT

Age of women	Number	Education	Number	Members in Household	Number
23	1	No education	1	3	2
26	1	3 years	1	5	5
28	2	4 years	14	6	7
29	1	5 years	1	7	2
30	2	6 years	1	8	2
31	1	7 years	2	9	2
32	2				
35	1				
36	1				
37	2				
39	1				
43	2				
47	2				
49	1				
Total	20		20		20

BAN TAN BANLANG

22	2	4 years	20	4	3
23	1			5	4
26	1			6	4
27	1			7	6
28	2			8	1
29	2			9	1
31	1			10	1
37	2				
40	1				
44	2				
45	1				
47	1				
48	1				
49	1				
50	1				
Total	20		20		20

TABLE 2 STATUS OF LAND OWNERSHIP**BAN NONG KRAT**

Landholdings (Rai)	Number of Households	Land Rent (Rai)	Number of Households	Sharecropped (Rai)	Number of Households
25	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
7	1	-	-	-	-
11	1	-	-	-	-
12	1	-	-	-	-
13	1	-	-	-	-
14	2	-	-	-	-
20	2	-	-	-	-
25	2	-	-	-	-
28	1	-	-	-	-
35	1	-	-	-	-
36	1	-	-	-	-
38	1	-	-	-	-
50	1	-	-	-	-
landless	3	15	1	-	-

BAN TAN BANLANG

4	1	-	-	4	-
5	1	-	-	12	1
6	1	-	-	15	1
7	1	10	1	-	-
9	1	-	-	20	2
10	1	-	-	20	1
11	1	-	-	-	-
14	1	-	-	-	-
15	1	-	-	-	-
17	1	-	-	-	-
20	2	10/18	2	-	-
22	2	-	-	-	-
40	1	-	-	-	-
52	1	-	-	-	-
landless	5	12	1	15/20	2

PART I

PRODUCTIVE ROLE ANALYSIS

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND PRODUCTIVE ROLE

Household structure reflects not only the fertility of women in the household but also decisions regarding joint living arrangements with the parents, siblings and dependent relatives in the larger kinship group. A large household size also may have economic disadvantages. Not only will large households be potentially burdened with unproductive members, but these households also may be disadvantaged in terms of asset dilution. Women with fewer assets may engage in miscellaneous income earning activities which require little capital such as handicrafts, hunting or trading. The work time of young women in a larger household is governed less by asset ownership than is the work time of women within the nuclear family.

The nature of Thai social structure has been a controversial issue for over the past thirty years (Yoddumnern, 1985). Embree (1950), denotes two major interpretations, a "loosely structured social system" and "rigidly organized". These interpretations have been elaborated on in many studies (Punyodyana, 1969, Calavan, 1974 and Moerman, 1966) to elucidate that Thai society is not

loosely integrated as Embree stated but is in fact formed by numerous structural principles, making the Thai social system intricately organized (Yoddumnern 1985). These structural principles reflect the way of life within the village or community.

Community members usually married within the same community even though there is some exception. However one social obligation which exists is the parental control of the marriage decision. The girl's parents expected their prospective son-in-law to be mature, well-behaved, and possessing an occupational skill. In rural Thai society the youth are usually obligated to consult with their parents when they start thinking about marriage. Along with a tight relationship between parents and the children especially the daughters, matrilocal residence is the post-marital residence pattern. Eventhough it would not be for an extended period of time, in the beginning stage of marriage, couples stayed with the girls parents until the birth of the couple's first or second child. Then, a separate nuclear household was established for the couple. Some couples however began their new family life away from the parental place and some were made a part of the same parental compound. The concept of an extended family and a nucleated family is problematical when applied to the Thai household structure. When girls married they sometimes lived with the husbands in a separate house apart from the girl's parents, cooking separately but eating

from the same granary and cultivating crops from the same piece of land. Some do stay in the same household with the woman's parents while earning their own income. The couple exchanges their labour for parental patronage whenever the family experiences economic hardship. Slight, but very significant, the status of rural women in Thai society might be a different and an exceptional case from the other societies when the parental patronage system is exclusively discussed.

Findings from our focused biography approach revealed that rural married women (40 cases) play important roles concerning different issues within the households. Since matrilocal residence after marriage (duration of staying was varied) was predominately practised among the 40 women studied they found it easier to earn their living. The couples sharecropped with the parents, and newly married daughters took a major part in the domestic activities. This division of labour was not static. The married daughters also took part in work outside of the household when they were free from household chores because field work entailed intensive labour with the complexities of the cultivation process requiring more labour in order to complete. The role of women would not change simultaneously when they produced children for the grandmother would assume the maternal role by looking after the children while the mothers put themselves in a productive scheme. On the

contrary, women in small or nucleated families would allocate their time in a different way. They usually had a longer work day with their productive role being compatible with their reproductive role. This indicated that the household structure determines the strata of women. In the nucleated family, women would participate in all sorts of work if the family income was mainly earned from agricultural production. This is debatable however in the case of women who spend their time much less productively during their motherhood stage. Unfortunately, the women would no longer spend their time at home during the busy season even though they had recently given birth to a child. Most rural women rested one or two months after their child's delivery, then continued to work in the field. During the indepth interviews, women told us that they took their babies with them to the paddy field and whenever the babies slept they would start to work, leaving the babies lying down in small, temporary hut located nearby. Their working time therefore was sometimes interrupted when the baby needed to be fed.

There are still some differences between women whose husbands earn wages and women who are involved in agricultural production. Women would spend more of their time at home when the head of household did wage labour. The husbands alone worked for the family if the wives had to look after their children. The wives in some situations would also work for wages together with the husbands

if someone took care of the young children, but this is quite seldom. Women at childbearing age with young children at home were less involved in production because they were tied to reproductive activities in the household.

"I put my baby into the cot. I go to the paddy field. My husband pulls up baby trees. I look after the kid. If my kid does not fall asleep, I keep my eyes on him. In the evening, I go back home and cook. When my kid sleeps I continue my work. When the kid awakes I feed him. When my kid falls asleep I go out for work again. After dinner I take a bath with my kids. It does not take time. My husband ploughs the land and I cook while my kids play around. When the kids need food I feed them and I send them to sleep. After that I feed the pigs."

The changing productive role of women also depends on the number of dependants in the households. It is quite common that when the family produced more labours, these labours would replace their parents responsibilities for family income earning. Women with fewer dependants and more labourers were secondarily responsible for economic activities. They could spend less time in the domestic domain as well as in the productive domain when the children worked for family income. However, household management remained the women's judgement and duty.

Economic Contributions and Women Status

Most of the women throughout their adult lives had been combining child-bearing and care with income generating activities. The status of women is apparent by their economic involvement and their contributions to family income. This means that the more women work as equally as men, the higher and more powerful they become with respect to control of the proceeds of means of production. This assumption must be taken into a consideration when the process of agricultural production, size of land owned and family structure are exclusively examined. Although such evidence is far from complete, these proximate determinants shed light on variations in productive working time by peasant women. Mueller (1979) postulates two theoretical considerations related to the generation of household income, namely the effect of household demographic characteristics on working time, and variation in the productivity of working time by age and sex of the family members.

Demographic characteristics of households aid in determining the working time of parents or children with regard to the assets of the households. A poored family with a large labour supply (more children) may not be able to earn more income unless

they own their land and cattle. The head of household might migrate to earn more income for the family while women spend more time on less productive activities. On the other hand, smaller households with their own assets for cultivation may allow labourers to be more efficiently utilized and flexibly mobilized. Women in such households would manage their working time without any certain arrangement. They would even work harder than men when working-time is compared. In such a situation, women's control over the family resources was of particular interest. Power over family resources or products varied from culture to culture. In African society, women in some tribal groups commandeered the proceeds to the means of production, even land, while women in Islamic society maintained less power and control over family possessions (Rogers 1980, . Oppong 1984). In Thai society, there are some exceptions when understanding the pattern of resource control. Because of differences in the family structure, husband-wife communications pertaining to household ventures are kept in balance and are more harmonious even when women are proclaimed to be "more powerful" or of a "higher status" This, depends on a series of events.

Our 40 female informants were asked their justifications on "power" and "authority" when particular decisions had to be undertaken, for example household commodity purchases, disposing of produce, and seeking money for family needs. The older women claimed

that they would directly manage or make a decision on the resolution. They complained that they only went to the neighbors or the relatives (some of them mentioned their parents) for money whenever the family was in need. However, women sought advice or an agreement from their husbands if a large amount of money was needed.

"When you are short of money, who will be the one to borrow money ?"

"I am responsible for that. I sell the product. I am responsible for it. I don't seek any advice."

(Older women)

"Are you involved with the money matters ?"

"Yes. Whenever the family needs money, I will borrow and pay back later when we have enough money."

"Do you have any solution for the money problems apart from borrowing ?"

"Yes. I sell sweets, just to earn a little money."

(Younger women)

"Wives should earn more money because we spend all the money. We should earn more than the husbands do"

(Older women)

"Nowadays both husbands and wives should earn money. We can sell our labours. When the children grow up we will have less trouble. If only the husband or the wife earns money then hardship will come. We may quarrel with each other."

(Older women)

Variations in the productivity of working time by age and sex of family members were observed in this study. The hierarchy of productive and reproductive roles of women falls into four categories :

- 1) Those who are fully involved in production with a minimal role in domestic work.
- 2) Those who are fully involved in both production and domestic work.
- 3) Those who participate minimally in production so as to cope with domestic work.
- and, 4) Those who are fully involved in reproductive work at home only.

But in these categories however, there is some overlap between classifications; whether women belonged to one category and at the same time to another category would depend on their status within the household. In our study, we found that older women worked in the rice field while younger women took care of household chores.

In the smaller household, husbands and wives are both involved in crop cultivation even though the tasks are seasonally determined. During land preparation, husbands and wives with their young children work differently from couples without young children. Women with very young children work less in the field yet managed the domestic work. After land preparation (ploughing), the next process of cultivation (e.g., pulling seedlings, transplanting and reaping) is assigned to female labours, while men are responsible for tending the crops (e.g., spraying insecticides, water supplying). When women possessed more assets and their husbands earned an income from other activities (apart from paddy cultivation), the women were fully involved in reproductive work at home only.

Interestingly, those women who are in category one (fully involved in production with minimal role in domestic work) and category two (fully involved in both production and domestic work), play an important role in family management regardless to age, family size, land holdings and economic activities (wages or permanent income from cash crops). Most of them claimed that they controlled "the purse" and managed to dispose of the products (monetary management).

"I control the purse. I don't work but I must control the purse."

(Older women)

"I manage to sell the products. If I want to sell rice, I do. But we don't have much left for sale"

(Older women)

"Women don't know how to earn money. We tell them (the husbands) and suggest ways to earn money. We give them the idea of finding an employment. If we don't tell them to go, they don't know where to go".

"I manage the money matters myself. Whenever my husband earns some money he gives it all to me."

(Older women)

"I don't save. I spend it all. Only a little money is left and I keep it. We have to invest all our money for the plantation for example to hire the labourers."

(Younger women)

Moreover, the hierarchy of productive and reproductive roles of rural women differed among age group. The older women, with children who contribute income to the family, are accorded a higher status in the family compared with their younger counterparts who were residing in the extended family.

The Division of Labour and Women's Productive Role

Youssef (1982) pointed out that the significance of the division of labour in the rural households is in determining its effect on the productive and reproductive roles of rural women.

Several key questions have been raised such as;

(1) Under what conditions does a specific patterning in the sexual division of labour within the household generate a resource base for women ?

(2) Under what conditions are resource bases for women translated into power in other spheres and into the development of higher status for women ?

(3) How do specific patternings in the sex-based division of labour interact with components of women's status to influence reproductive behaviour ?

It has been observed that in these two villages, Ban Tan Banlang and Ban Nongkrat, tasks pertaining to paddy cultivation appear not to be a generalized instance as in other paddy growing areas where mechanization was introduced. Gender divisions in paddy cultivation may only reflect the extension of traditional roles among men and women, particularly women's link to the reproductive process which constrained their physical mobility. Since the man as the household head, his power accrues from his position as the family leader and this may reflect the division of labour within the household.

In these two villages, the most labour intensive tasks, such as pulling paddy seedlings, transplanting, and reaping, are solely done by women. These tasks are so labour intensive that hardly any farmers can depend on family labour alone. For those with larger landholdings, wage labour must be employed. The other essential tasks like ploughing and threshing which are normally performed by males are sometimes mechanized. However, the different tasks carried out by men and women not only serve to compliment each other but help to keep a harmonious balance in the family. Gender specific specializations in work is thus a key factor in determining women's roles.

The extent and type of female family labour in agricultural work are conditioned by the interaction between differences in the technical nature of farming operations and systems of cultivation. As agricultural complexity and differentiation increase, the demand for female labour in agriculture decreases and the role of women in the agricultural production process becomes less visible (Youssef 1982). Boserup (1970) classifies systems of subsistence farming according to whether fieldwork is done almost exclusively by women, predominantly by women, or predominantly by men. In systems of shifting cultivation where the plough is not used, women play a very active part in agricultural production. When ploughing of permanent fields is introduced in lieu of shifting

cultivation, a radical shift in sex-role specialization occurs. Basically, the female farming system disappears. The plough is used by men, and women are left to perform manual operations. The productivity of women's agricultural labour is further reduced with the introduction of improved agricultural technology and cash crops, for men are thought to be primary income-producers.

Deere (1978) and Young (1977) argue that the division of labour between the sexes also can be determined in terms of access to the means of production. They explain that lack of land requires the poorest peasant strata to depend on nonagricultural activities for their livelihood and forces them into the sale of labour power vis-a-vis wages. Access to sufficient resources allows other elements of the peasantry to purchase wage labour to carry out productive activities and to engage in petty commodity production. The farmers having their own land can now hire wage labour for most of the agricultural work while farmers who are landless or own only a small piece of land for cultivation use the labour of women and children in the household as much as possible. The women in the households with land ownership can devote themselves largely to work within the home and leave the fieldwork to male family members and hired labours. Among the landless farmers or those who own a small piece of land, female family members participate equally in all kinds of agricultural activities, use most tools and implements, and

have equal control with men over the disposition of both produce and the proceeds from its sale. Women make their own decisions when the family needs money for survival. Women make their adjustment in the quantity of products to be sold. When the question "who will be responsible for selling rice ?" is raised, women identified themselves as the ones who would be responsible for such transactions. Interestingly, farmers with a small amount of produce will sell rice occasionally, whenever the family faces some problems such as when a family member is sick, or when they want to buy clothes and basic subsistence items for their family. Farmers prefered storing rice for family consumption throughout the year and women would manage the produce as their duty. There is an exception if husbands earn much income in other economic activities. They would be involved in controlling and marketing the produce much more than a family in which the husbands contribute family income as equally as the wives.

"I did everything, grind the grains. There was no windmill in those days. I worked when my kids slept."

(Older women)

"When the harvesting season comes, I prepare meals and go to the rice field about 8 or 9 o'clock. I bring with me my kids and return in the evening for cooking."

(Older women)

"During the harvesting season, I awake **very** early and cook and then feed the pigs. I look after my children, take them for a bath. I pack my lunch and go for the rice field. I bring along my kids to the field and I work in the field. I let my child play around. In the evening I prepare the meal and feed the pigs."

"We help each other to plant the rice. I help my husband when my kids sleep. My husband and I take turns to look after the kids. When I come back from the paddy field I tie my kid around my waist with a loincloth. It's a really hard time.

(Older women)

(Younger women)

"In the morning I graps all the work ie, fetching water, cooking, washing. In the evening my mother prepares meals for us."

"Do you have any machinery like a manual tractor to help you working in the field ?"

"No, we don't use one. We use water buffalos instead. Next year we are planning to buy a manual tractor."

"Can you tell me the difference is the work load during the dry and peak seasons ?"

"It's so different."

"We work hard during the busy season. We stay at home when the dry season comes, looking after the children."

"Wives work hard during the busy season and husbands work harder in the dry season because they have to go out of the village collecting rock and wood for producing lime."

"Do you think you have too much time for leisure ?"

"No. We are busy most of the time, We're free when we sleep. We work and work till late evening."

PART II

REPRODUCTIVE ROLE ANALYSIS

Women and Their Reproductive Role :

In so far as the definition concerns, the reproductive role entails social relations which govern the formation of families (bearing and rearing of children) Further, the productive-reproductive dichotomy of the women has been posited to determine women's position in society.

It is too early to conclude that rural women's actual entry into production and reproduction comes later in their life. However, it is sufficient to recognize here that women's involvement in production is very much dependent on household resources. For example when land and labour for both productive and reproductive work as well as on the incidence of fertility when women's labour in production is crucial to the economy of the household, it is the structure and composition of the household that will make the difference between the amount of work and social status. Women who do large amounts of work are mostly from younger households. The nucleated structure of these households do not include other female members who can provide additional labour. These women have little time to indulge in other socially gratifying

activities, such as participating in community activities, spending time attending meetings, or even for leisure activities; Women from poorer households will normally spend their afternoon gathering shoots and greens in the surrounding forests suggesting the relative poverty of their households.

Rural women also work as wage earners even temporarily during the dry season. They are concentrated in the least permanent and least paid activities. Their participation is viewed as secondary and their income considered supplementary to the household income. Women therefore are involved in productive activities that are compatible with their reproductive functions.

The reproductive role of rural women at the same time reflects expectations and conflicts with respect to different levels of access to the means of production. A peasant women needs more children to help with domestic and agricultural tasks and therefore is not so worried about birth spacing thereby producing more children than her urban counterparts. This is not a conclusive axiom because conflicts and expectations as to the number of children a peasant women desires exist especially in terms of the number of siblings and land-ownership. In peasant society, due to the need of more hands in the field for more production, higher parities mean more labours and products.

Women and Reproductive Role under the Domestic Cycle Considerations

Fortes (1966) postulated three main phases of domestic cycle in an understanding the stage of physical and social reproductive if a society is to maintain itself. Those three phases are : expansion phase, dispersion or fission and lastly replacement phase. Epstein (1982) elaborated on this concept with reference to rural women in less developed countries and in particular the poorer strata. She described the developmental cycle of family formation within five phases ; preparation, adaptation, expansion, consolidation and dispersal. (see the chart on page 39)

In applying this concept, this part of the report centers on an examination of the changes in family formation of the peasant women as they pass through the domestic cycle and in response to their reproductive role. Since the preparation phase begins with the process of socialization of the younger generation by educating the values of life formation, one may argue that the young members of the peasant society would enter this phase much earlier as compared with the young members of a different group. A girl's school attendance is also curtailed by several obstacles, for instance, the economic conditions in her parental home. Formal education represents one of the most significant events in reshaping the lives of peasant girls during their first stage of the domestic

cycle. After this event, they become an economic burden to the parents who desire to marry them off. In our discussions, women in older generation (> 35 years of age) agreed that they entered into their conjugal life too early. This declaration was supported when the question "did you think it was too early for you to get married at that age?", most of the older women considered their age at marriage was inappropriate. These findings are disputable because uncertainty exists about the standard age at marriage expressed by the older women. It is possible to claim that it might not be a proper age since older women idealized this age without relating their idea to the present situation. Their experience differ from their counterparts leading to a time gap. The older women considered that women should get married when they are 20 years old or older.

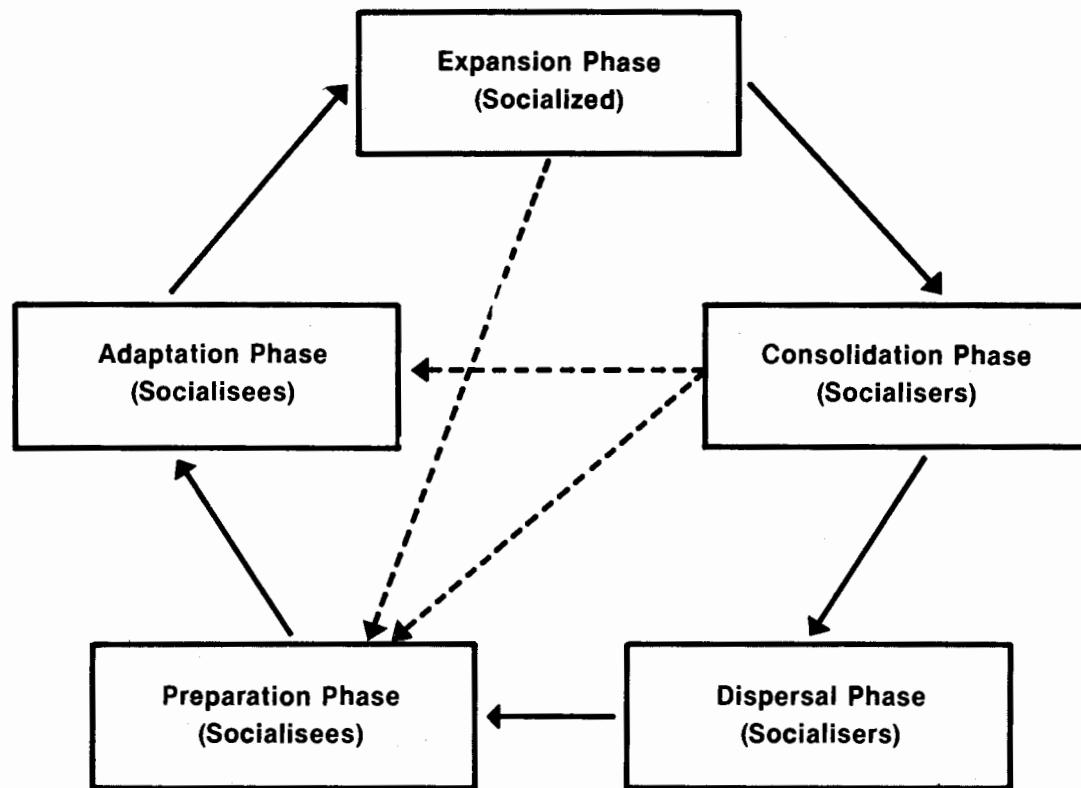
"When we are 25, we are mature enough. But people think that to marry at 21 years of age is too late already. So I decided to marry when I was young."

"It was too soon. I did not want to marry but my father wanted me to. It was too soon when I got married at the age of 19."

"Did you choose your spouse yourself?"

"No. My parent did."

The Different Phases Through which Women Pass in the Domestic cycle



_____ = Sequential Phase Relationship

----- = Interactional Phase Relationship

(Excerpt from Epstein S.T. 1982)

After the establishment of new households, rural women found themselves tied to both domestic work and productive functions. This depends on whether they were a part of an extended family or a nuclear family. If they co-resided with the bride groom's parents, the women might contend with her female affines spending their time for work under the restricted supervision. If not, women also found themselves more busy with all kinds of tasks (looking after children, home making, cooking, laundry, animal raising for subsistence consumption, working in the field, etc.) All rural women could not avoid such burdens when the adaptation phase came to them. The adaptation phase and the expansion phase are of central concern in the process of reproductive behaviour. Epstein (1982) described these stages "a women's dilemma". Women were forced to do more work because their reproductive role was compatible with their productive functions. Their time attributed to arduous tasks would be over when they came to consolidation and dispersal phases. At these stages, their children were grown up and could contribute more in relieving both domestic chores and productive activities from the parents especially the mothers. Therefore, the women would be able to allocate their time for their personal needs and in turn produce additional support to the family by taking care of household.

"Now I am so happy. My children have grown up already and now they work for me."

(Older women)

"In fact, I want my children living with me as long as possible. But it's hard for them and I feel pity for them. I encouraged them to get married but they refused."

(Older women)

The Timing of Nuptiality of Rural Women

In a peasant community, unmarried daughters are not economic burdens to the family. However, poverty is one of the main reasons for inducing family members to leave their parents' home in order to reduce the burden of too many children. The most widely accepted way of relieving the burden is to marry off daughters as soon as possible. Parents began to search for a man who has some income and has no bad habits such as drinking and gambling. When this "Standard" is found, the family council will immediately approve of the marriage, and the girls take no part in making the decision. This appears to be a traditional way of life, but, in practice, the decision-making process pertaining to marriage varies depending on the situations the girls are facing. By using our biographical focus approach, different episodes assigned to different stages of life course of the women under study flow through

the conversations. Some recalled that they decided to get married because of poverty. No one would look after them and no one would give them a happy life. Marriage was the only alternative that could take them away from hunger and bring them a better life. However, it is hard to conclude that a lack of potential access to one's livelihood is the proximate determinant in understanding the life course of the rural women.

Cultural or social commitments also are the "chores" to which rural women are born. Girls, when out of school, usually work for the family with their labour falling to domestic work or family production like working in the farm. Their status changes from the burden of the family to economic proceeds to the means of production. At this stage, they perform a double-day work, both house work and productive work. Their "double-day work" depends on the wealth of the family. For poorer farmers, the role and status of women are predominated by men especially if their livelihood solely depends on intensive agriculture. Parents cannot feed their children longer and seek more labourers or financial relief by marrying off their daughters. That means parents have more power to "allocate the time" for their dependants. Girls from poor families who lack land for cultivation or even a small proportion of land would marry soon when compared with the girls from "higher strata families". A study of the relationship between age of

marriage and household resources in Thailand revealed that age at marriage is directly related to the quantity of landholdings (Podhisita 1983). In his study, Podhisita notes that the tendency toward later marriage among women from the better off households is of interest but no conclusions are put forth.

In this present study, household sources were observed. The women were asked to rank their family strata in terms of resource holdings. Most of them expressed that they belonged to a poor family. Even after marriage, some of them remained in their parents residence and the land was sharecropped. The discussions shown here reflect the "pressure" which rural women are faced with and their resolutions as they lead to marriage.

(Among older women)

"My parents found my spouse for me. They requested me to marry him and I obeyed them."

"Why did you obey them?"

"I thought I was grown up enough and my parents allowed me to do so."

"If I did not marry soon, I would have less chance to get married. To get married is to be assured that I would have someone looking after me."

"Yes, I did not refuse to marry. I was so stupid at that time because I did not know that to marry someone means I have to sleep with a man."

"My Father died when I was very young. I decided to marry. because our family was so poor. I would not die of starvation if I got married. My future husband would take care of me."

Most women perceived marriage as a very important factor for a woman's economic status and quite important for her personal happiness and companionship. However, they rank it as the second most important role after motherhood. This is evidence from the discussion when the women were asked their feeling toward their conjugal life. They recalled their happy time and easy-going life when they were still single. Interestingly, most of the women, particularly the older, missed their happy time when they were single and they felt regret in getting married.

Power on Fertility Regulation : Expectations and Conflicts

Most women perceived the expectations of their children in a very optimistic way. They wanted their children to have access to educational opportunities, and their expectations were more than simply letting their children to earn their living as farmers. However, poverty bars them from such an aspiration. They could not

afford it, and, if their children are in school, it would be too much of a burden for the parents to work alone on the farm. All women expressed that they need more children in order to share the duties and work among them. They told us that the girls would be responsible for domestic chores while the boys would tend the cattle and collect water and fuel. The women preferred to be a part of a larger family (more siblings) in order to provide additional security in their old age. Findings from the interviews indicated that rural women still preferred producing more children and they were looking forward to producing more offspring in the hope that their children would help relieve the work burden which they presently carried on their shoulders. The older women preferred having six or more children while the younger women chose three or four children as their desired family size. Interestingly, when women were asked their opinions about their neighbors concerning the number of children which the neighbors would like most. Almost all of our samples expressed fewer children as their neighbor's desire when compared with their own desire. The plans for their children were repeated and shared in common between the old and the young women :

"If my children cannot find a good job, the only thing they can do is to work as farmers like their parents. If they can get into some other profession I will let them go. I won't stop them."

(Older women)

"I don't want to see my children working like their parents. We have only a small piece of land and it is not possible to share it among them. If they can work in another job they can go and I will let those who have no alternative work in the field!"

(Older women)

"I do not think that my children should work in the field like their parents. It's a really hard life."

(Younger women)

"I want 4 children because they can help me a lot. I see my neighbors working with their children and I want to be like them."

(Younger women)

(Among older women)

"It is not too less or too many to have 7 children. They will go away when they grown up. When I am sick I will have my children looking after me. If we have only a few children, they may die before the parents."

"If I have only two children I would be so lonely when my children left me. When I am sick no one will take care of me. I have no one living with me."

"I think it is good to have more children. They can help me. The elder will look after the younger and the mother can prepare food for them or can do more work."

"When my children grow up, they will help me. They will cook for me and look after the younger ones for me."

Findings from the focus group discussion done in Thailand (Knodel 1983) showed that "Thai women nowadays believe they have considerable influence over reproductive decisions." Participants were asked their opinions about whether the husbands or wives should exercise control over use of birth control as well as who had the ultimate say in deciding on the number of children to have. A number of participants in the older generation indicated that when they were young there were no decisions made about birth control or the number of children and thus neither spouse could be thought of as having the primary influence over reproductive decisions. Among the other older generation participants and among younger generation participants, the most common opinion expressed was that reproductive decisions were a matter to be decided on jointly by husband and wife. This finding illustrates the status of women in terms of their esteem and power in making the decision concerning their family formation (Knodel 1985). Furthermore, findings from this present study noted a strong decision making power among the older

generation when they needed to stop giving births while attributes for birth control were something hidden behind the bushes in those days. From the indepth interviews, it was found that at least 3 out of 20 women stated that they had practised induced abortion for birth spacing. Subsequently, the question "who made that decision and did you tell your husband before the abortion was undertaken ?" was raised. The women gave their reasons on the final decision and they themselves made the decision.

Turning to the point, if greater equality between spouses is associated with greater ability to achieve common goals of all kinds including fertility goals as pointed by Mason (Mason, 1971), then several assumptions are built into this hypothesis. This must be tested in the field before we can predict whether the women's domestic authority in family decision-making is a necessary or sufficient condition for changing reproductive behaviour and fertility ideals.

"was it an induced abortion or spontaneous one ?"

"Induced"

"Why ?"

"I had no money. There was a drought, no money, no rice, no rain. We did not know where to go for food and money. I went to see the quack in Buriram. The drug was poisonous and the womb was infected. So I went to the hospital."

(Younger women)

"We have an equal right. I have my right to abort if we have too many children. I used to induce an abortion, more than once. I did not seek any advice. I told my husband straight that I did not want the baby anymore."

"Why did you need an abortion ?"

"It was too short spacing. I am too tired. I can't take pills. I get sick whenever I take pills."

"I never adopted any method of birth control. In those days, no one did. We just let them come. There was no injection. Whatever it would be, too short or too long an interval, it would be."

(Older women)

PART III

DIRECT OBSERVATION ON TIME-ALLOCATION : THE CASE-STUDIES OF TEN WOMEN

This section concentrates on the interpretations which led to the highlights of the time-allocation patterns among the rural women in the peasant society. For the purposes of the direct observation, ten married women were drawn randomly from the total sample of 40 households. All activities undertaken by the selected women within 14 hours (from 05.00 to 19.00) were recorded. This observation was done within the span of a couple of days for each household.

Of the ten households, to be more specific, three categories of female characteristics were introduced on the basis of the domestic cycle ;

Category A : women in the expansion phase.

Category B : women in the consolidation phase.

Category B : women in the dispersal phase.

Findings :

From the direct observation utilizing these three categories, there were 5 women described as "the expansion phase", 4 for "the consolidation phase" and only one case for "the dispersal phase"

Findings revealed that women in category A spent their time on both productive and reproductive functions much more than women categorized in category B and category C in general. They have a longer day work.

However, this axiom must be examined with special attention to some significant determinants. Those significant determinants included residential patterns, family size, and access to the means of production. These proximate determinants were assumed in this study to determine the pattern of the allocation of mother's time and roles in relation to production and reproduction dichotomy. Provided the women did not join the residence of their parents after marriage, they usually spent much more time on their productive functions especially if they were engaged in the intensive agricultural sectors without any helpers within their family. That means their children are still an economic burden. In contrast, if the family is involved in wage income, the finding showed that the women in such a family spent less of their time-budget in non-productive functions. This is because the head of household earns wages for the family while the wife is responsible for domestic chores only. The women in category A spent most of their time in the paddy field during the peak season while the domestic chores like home making or child care were briefly managed. From our direct observation, we found that the women in category A occupied

themselves in the field for nine to ten hours (from 8 o'clock to 5 or 6 o'clock in the afternoon). The working time was even longer during peak seasonal periods. The women in category B and category C undoubtedly occupied themselves in work less than the women in category A. Their children took on the responsibility for crop cultivation while the mothers were involved in taking care of homes. In this stage, the division of labour among the family members is well organized with children participating more in everyday work. We found that the daughters would work in the field while the boys tended the cattle and involved themselves in the cultivation process. The women in such a family were put in a secondary position in terms of economic performances. The question is raised then as to how the women in category B and category C spent their time during the day. Though the women in category B and category C were partly working in the field, they were still active and always engaged themselves in all kinds of activities for family subsistence. They cooked and packed food for their children who worked in the field and looked after their grandchildren during the day. They also spent the rest of the day fetching and gathering greens and roots for family consumption apart from spending their time for leisure.

Case study I - Prachuab :

Prachuab, a 40 year old housewife, gave birth to four children in all. Three of them are in school and one of her children dropped his education to help the family working in the field.

Her husband is a village headman and he is now an external student of the Open University. Her family owns 40 rai of land. Prachuab and her husband cultivated the land with the help of her children and at the end of the year they produced 50 sacks of rice. When asking about household assets, she declared that she possessed 6 buffalos, 3 pigs, 4 chicken, 1 ricemill, 1 small truck, 1 television set and 1 bicycle. Prachuab, is a good example of a women in the expansion phase, as she has full responsibility for household activities which range from housework to productive activities. She is quite busy since her husband occupies himself in official duties as a headman and these commitments take up much of his time. As a housewife, Prachuab has to prepare packed lunches for her children as well as for her husband and herself when going to work in the rice fields. In the evening her children cook rice and she will prepare some meals after coming back from work. During the busy season, she leaves home after finishing all the routine housework. Her husband and herself go off for planting. She spends the whole day working in the fields and goes home in the late evening. Apart from her household jobs, Prachuab also helps her husband managing the ricemill. She earns monthly 600 baht from this business. Her time-budget and time-allocation are shown in table 1. She spends approximately 3 hours and a half for housework before going out to the paddy field. She gets up early and cooks breakfast, prepares packed lunches for the children and herself, and

feeds her domestic fowls, buffalos, pigs and chicken. From 10 o'clock to almost two o'clock in the afternoon, Prachuab works in the rice field. After a short break for her lunch, she continues planting again and finishes her work around six o'clock.

Case study II : Pan

Pan, a housewife with 2 children, is 30 years old living with her husband and her brother. She earns a living from the products cultivated from 12 rai of land. Her husband earns extra income by working as a labourer in a casava plantation. The employer pays him 25 baht a day. His employment is terminated within 25-30 days. Pan is also a good example of women in the expansion phase. She has no helping hands apart from her husband. Her children are still too young, 3 years old for the eldest and only 6 months old for the younger. Her possessions include one buffalo, three chicken, basic tools for cultivation and one mat weaver. Since her youngest sibling is too young to allow Pan to participate in any other productive activities, she apparently spends most of the time taking care of household chores and her children. Most of her day time is spared for her two young children and cooking. Her husband sometimes takes care of their 3 year old son by bringing him along when he grazes the cattle. Table 2 showed how Pan arranges her time-budget.

Case Study III : Noi

Noi is 28 years old. She has two siblings. The eldest one is 7 and is in school while the younger one is 2 years old. Her family has no land. Noi and her husband sharecrop with her parents. Every year she gains 9 sacks of rice from her parents. Her familial possessions include 3 buffalos, 5 chicken, 1 bicycle and some basic tools for cultivation. Noi does not grow a kitchen garden because of a lack of water. Her husband is mainly responsible for cultivation. Every early morning he goes to the field 3 kilometres away from home. Since Noi works for her parents, she may have less work load compared to her counterparts. She may or may not need to go to the paddy field everyday with her husband even though she has no baby to look after. From a couple of days observation, we found that her time allocation pattern was totally different from day to day. On the first day of our observation, we found that Noi spent almost 9 hours working in the paddy field. When the second day of the observation was taken, Noi stayed at home managing all the house work. Now, let's observe how Noi spent her time when she was not in the paddy field. Table 3 shows that within a 14 hour observation, Noi spent almost 6 hours for leisure. During her long hours for leisure, Noi did not perform any productive activities as such.

Case Study IV : Prew

Prew, a housewife with 3 children, possesses 22 rai of land. She gains 50 sacks of rice a year but even with that much yield, it is sufficient for the family consumption only. Prew and her husband can earn more money from producing and selling lime which gives the family 3000-4000 baht a year. To produce lime is quite hard work especially for the head of the household. He has to go and collect specific materials to manufacture lime. Sometime he has to go miles away from the village in order to seek raw materials. It might take him a month for one trip depending on the availability of the required materials. Prew and her husband help each other in manufacturing lime. Her husband mixes the raw materials which is so hard and demands a lot of energy. Prew helps her husband to mould the mixture into a round shape and burn it for at least 3-4 hours. This job is carried out after the transplanting but they don't need to go to the paddy field everyday. Prew may be different from her counterparts by keeping herself busy within both the peak season and the dry season. Nevertheless, she does not possess more assets to make her burdens less. Her possessions include four buffalos, eight chicken, one electric rice cooker, a machine for pulling water, a bicycle, big water containers and some basic tools for cultivation. Since all her children are still in school, they can be more helpful to the mother in helping

with some housework after coming back from school. However, during the peak season, Prew passes most of her time working in the paddy field. Table 4 shows her time-budget and her allocation of time.

Case Study V : Sanit

Sanit gave birth to only a daughter for her husband. Her daughter is only 5 years old and Sanit is 32. She still has more chances to bear more children. Her parents gave her 8 rai of land to earn a living. Sanit also sells her labour by working in the field for her neighbors. She is paid 30 baht a day. This kind of job is available for only a short period of time, 10 or more days during the transplanting or the reaping period. Those who have more land will hire labourers to assist them. The labourers will be recruited within the villages. Sanit possesses 3 buffalos, 1 pig, basic tools for cultivation, 1 bicycle and water containers. She does not perform any other productive activities apart from working in the paddy field and her household chores. Her time budget is solely for rice cultivation and housework (see Table 6)

Case Study VI : Alai

Alai is 47 years old living with her husband and her six children. She had only 3 years of education. Her eldest son is 21 years old and the youngest is six. Alai is different from her

counterparts (in the same phase of the domestic cycle) because she has 3 adolescent daughters who can help her with the housework as well as the productive activities. None of her children were married off. In this situation, she has more helping hands. This leads to the changing pattern of her time budget. The division of labour within her household is quite organized. The young members are responsible for heavy work while the mother or the youngest take care of miscellaneous work ie, cleaning the house, feeding poultry and cattle. Her family owns 28 rai of land, 2 buffalos, 2 pigs, 1 manual weaver, basic tools for cultivation, one bicycle and one hand-puller for fetching water. Alai spends less of her time in the rice field but she takes care of household chores by feeding the poultry, gathering greens and roots for family consumption. She also spends her time thinning bamboo sticks for making baskets or fish-traps. Her time-budget and time allocation are illustrated in Table 6. From Table 6, it is revealed that Alai spends most of her time for household chores rather than working in the field. Her children are grown up and they replace their parent's role by taking care of the productive activities. Alai supports her family by looking after household chores. From the record, Alai spends almost 5 hours making bamboo baskets and 3 hours for food gathering. These two activities can be considered as economic productivity because she produces those assets for

family consumption. In this way she does not need to spend money for basic subsistences. On the contrary, it means that women who enter the consolidation phase have a longer day for leisure even though they occupy themselves by having something to do. It is more pleasant than having nothing to do at home while their children are working in the paddy field.

Case Study VII : Chua :

Chua, a mother of 5 teenagers, is 45 years old. It is a common pattern of the women in the consolidation phase the way they manage the division of labour within the household. The women will either take care of all household chores or crop husbandry. If they prefer crop husbandry, their daughters will work for all house-keeping activities (cooking, cleaning, washing, animal husbandry etc). On the contrary, the mother will be responsible for all household activities if the children work in the field. Chua prefers working in the field instead. With more helping hands, Chua found it less difficult to work in the paddy field. Her daughters and her son in-law take care of all hard work. They sleep in the hut nearby the field during the peak season. Her son in-law grazes the cattle and he is also responsible for crop-tending, water supplying etc. However, as a housewife, her performance for both productive and non-productive activities shows that her time-budget in some degree was allocated efficiently. During the off-season,

she and her four children are employed as labourers in the casava plantation. They are paid 30 baht a day. Living in a big family, Chua possesses only 7 rai of land and 10 rai of rented land, 4 buffalos; 4 pigs; 8 ducks, 4 chicken, 1 bicycle and basic tools for cultivation. At the end of the year, the family gains 20 sacks of rice. Table 7 shows her activities during the daytime.

Case Study VIII - Aum :

Aum is the wife of the village headman. She is 49 years old and she gave birth to 7 children in all. All of them work for the family. The youngest sibling is 12 years old. None of them are in school. All of her children had at least 6 years of education which is quite uncommon among the children in the same village. They normally have 4 years of education. However, her children have to work as farmers and none of them are married yet. The eldest sibling is 28 years old. Aum may enter into a dispersal phase soon when one of her children is married off. Having many children, Aum had a hard time when her children were young. Nowadays, Aum does not have to work so hard as in those days. Her daughters help her in cooking and housework while her sons take care of animal husbandry and even to seek for food like fishes, greens and roots. Her husband is no longer the bread-winner of the family. It's not because of his age but rather his heavy

drinking habit. She does not bother very much about her husband since her children can work and bring in support for family. She spends most of her time for leisure or doing some work at home. Her time-budget and her allocation of time were shown in Table 8.

Case Study IX : Cham :

Cham earns a living by working in the paddy field as well as manufacturing lime for sale. Her husband and herself can earn 3000-4000 a year from selling the product. Cham might be richer than some of her neighbors since her family earns more. She possesses 52 rai of land, 6 buffalos, 2 ducks, 7 chicken, 1 electric rice cooker, a machine for pulling water, a bicycle and basic tools for cultivation. With 52 rai of land there is a need for more helping hands for plantation. Cham has no problem for labourers because she has 5 grown up children and all of them except the youngest who is in school are fully responsible for all productive activities. Cham awakes at 5 o'clock helping her daughter preparing breakfast and feeding the domestic fowls before going out for work in the paddy field. With other members of the family, Cham works in the field from 10 o'clock till 4 o'clock. When she gets back home, she cooks for the family and at the same time she feeds the pigs and chicken. Table 9 gives more details on her allocation of time and the time-budget.

Case Study X : Amnuay :

Amnuay is 48 years old. She has 3 children. The eldest daughter is married with 3 children and still living with the parents. Amnuay possesses only .25 rai of land and rents one rai of land. The main occupation of the family members is to work for wages as labourers in rice cultivation. Since the family owns only a small piece of land, the productive activities within this household are less when compared with the other households. Amnuay spends her time at home cooking and preparing food for the family members. She also spends 2-3 hours gathering mushrooms nearby her house for meals. This means she has a long day for leisure because her children and her son-in-law work outside the home for wages. Her daughters cultivate the land with the help of her husband and her younger brother who grazes the cattle. Amnuay, like any other woman who change their role from a mother to a grandmother, apparently performs a less productive role. Instead of working in the paddy field, she might make herself more useful to the family by taking care of her grandchildren when the mother has to work in the field. Her time-budget was shown in Table 10.

TABLE 1 (expansion phase)

TABLE 2 (expansion phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. preparing breakfast and breastfeeding the baby			→												
2. feeding the children				→											
3. washing clothes			→												
4. breakfast					→										
5. taking care of a baby						→	→								
6. fetching water											→				
7. dinner preparation												→	→		
8. feeding the baby												→			
9. taking care of children												→			
10. dinner												→			

TABLE 3 (expansion phase)

First Day Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking			→												
2. gathering greens for meals	→	→													
3. cooking			→												
4. working in the field				→	→	→	→	→							
5. lunch									→						
6. working in the field										→	→	→	→		
7. cooking													→		

TABLE 3 (expansion phase)

Second Day Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking			→												
2. gathering greens for meals		→	→												
3. breakfast			→	→											
4. leisure					→	→	→	→							
5. lunch									→						
6. cleaning house										→					
7. taking a rest											→				
8. cooking												→			
9. dinner and rest													→		

TABLE 4 (expansion phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking	→														
2. collecting greens for breakfast	→														
3. cleaning house	→														
4. preparing packed lunch	→														
5. breakfast	→														
6. working in the rice field					→										
7. lunch								→							
8. working in the field								→							
9. cooking											→				
10. dinner + leisure												→			

TABLE 5 (expansion phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking and having breakfast		→													
2. washing clothes			→												
3. working in the rice field				→	→										
4. taking a rest					→										
5. working in the rice field						→	→								
6. lunch and taking a rest							→	→							
7. working in the rice field								→	→						
8. cooking									→						
9. dinner										→					
10. leisure											→				

TABLE 6 (consolidation phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. gets up and helps daughter preparing breakfast	→														
2. mushroom gathering			→												
3. making a bamboo basket						→									
4. cooking							→								
5. lunch								→							
6. feeding domestic fowls									→						
7. making a bamboo basket									→						
8. cooking										→					
9. shearing bushes around the house											→				
10. dinner (every body)												→			
11. leisure													→		

TABLE 7 (consolidation phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. feeding domestic fowls and cleaning house.	→														
2. mending clothes for children		→													
3. working in the rice field.				→											
4. lunch							→								
5. working in the rice field								→							
6. dinner and leisure									→						

TABLE 8 (consolidation phase)

First Day Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking		→													
2. breakfast			→												
3. sleeping				→											
4. sweeping the lawn					→										
5. chatting with neighbors						→									
6. sewing							→								
7. leisure								→							
8. cooking									→						
9. leisure										→					
10. dinner											→				

TABLE 8 (consolidation phase)

Second Day Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking			→												
2. breakfast				→											
3. thining bamboo sticks					→	→	→	→	→						
4. lunch									→						
5. thining bamboo sticks										→	→	→	→	→	→
6. cooking											→				
7. dinner												→			

TABLE 9 (consolidation phase)

Activities	Time observed														
	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. cooking			—→												
2. animal husbandry			—→												
3. chatting with the husband.			—→												
4. preparing packed lunch			—→												
5. breakfast			—→												
6. working in the rice field						—→									
7. lunch								—→							
8. working in the rice field								—→							
9. cooking									—→						
10. animal husbandry									—→						
11. dinner										—→					

TABLE 10 (dispersal phase)

Conclusion and Recommendations :

This study focused on the social and cultural contexts in understanding women's time allocation strategy rather than culminating the exact hours spent on productive and reproductive functions among the rural women. Thus, an analysis of the findings attempts to bring out more descriptive aspects of the reflections of time-budget and time-use patterns of the rural women. This is accomplished by taking a close look at its effects on the productive and reproductive roles.

Importantly, women in the agricultural sector passed their life course under specific sets of social and cultural obligations. Their roles and status are posited under the social constructions of gender. That means their productive role is compatible with their reproductive role. Rural women contributed much to subsistence production to maintain their economy condition of their families. Findings from the study revealed that women would allocate their time budget in a different way depending on their assets or the access of the means of production, the presence of the labours in the families, and age-hierarchies in terms of the division of labour.

If the questions on how could the role and status of rural women be improved for the purposes of economic development then, these following recommendations are suggested :

1) Women won't be able to participate in any scheme of economic development fully unless they can cope with their productive and reproductive dichotomy roles.

II) Any sort of economic implementation activities introduced to the rural women would be fruitful provided those activities would not take them away from their routine burdens.

REFERENCES

Becker, Gary (1965). A Theory of the Allocation of Time. *Economic Journal* Vol. 75 (1965).

Boserup, E (1970). Women's Role in Economic Development. Unwin and Allen, London.

Deer, C.D. (1976). Rural Women's Subsistence Production in the Capitalist Periphery. *Review of Radical Political Economics*. 8, 7.

Epstein, T. Scarlett (1982). A Social Anthropological Approach to Women's Role and Status in Developing Countries : The Domestic Cycle. In Anker, R. (Eds.), *Women's Roles and Population Trends in The Third World*. London : Croom Helm, 1982.

Fee T. (1976). Domestic Labour : An Analysis of Housework and Its Relation to the Production Process. *Review of Radical Political Economics*.

Hareven, Tamara K. (1978). Cycles, Courses and Cohorts : Reflections on Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Historical Study of Family Development. *Journal of Social History*, 1978. 12(1)

Jaisaard, R. (1981). The Allocation of Mothers Time to Household and Economic Activities and its Effects on Fertility. Faculty of Agriculture Chieng Mai University Thailand

Knodel, J. et al. (1983). A Tale of Two Generations :
A Qualitative Analysis of Fertility in Thailand.
Institute for Population and Social Research.
Mahidol University. 1983.

Maznah M. (1984). Gender, Class and the Sexual Division of Labour in
a Rural Community. Paper prepared for Research Seminar
on Third World Urbanization and the Household Economy.
15 - 16 August 1984. Universiti Sains Malaysia,
Penang. Malaysia.

Mueller, Eva. (1982). The Allocation of Women's Time and Its Relation
to Fertility, In Anker, R. et al (Eds.) Women's
Roles and Population Trends in the Third World.
London : Croom Helm 1982.

Podhisita, C. (1983). Marriage in Rural Northeast Thailand : A
Household Perspective. A paper prepared for the conference on
Marriage Determinants and Consequences
Pataya Thailand. May 30 - June 3, 1983.

Yoddumnern, B. (1985). Continuity and Change in a Northern Thai
Village : Determinants and Consequences of Fertility
Decline on Northern Thai Family Structure unpublished
Ph.D. Thesis.

Young, k (1978). Modes of Appropriation and the Sexual Division of Labour : A Case Study from Oaxaca, Mexico, in A Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (eds.), Feminism and Materialism, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Youssef H.N. (1982). The Interrelationship between the Division of Labour in the Household on Fertility in Anker R. (Eds.) Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World. London : Croom Helm, 1982.

ANNEX I

Guideline for Focused Biography Approach

A. Productive Role :

I. Details on productive and non-productive activities during daytime, peak season, dry season.

II. Functions and Performances, time-budget provided for household chores and productive activities.

Discussions covered;

- division of labour among household members.
- resource control and household management (income, cycle of family subsistence, products released.)

III. Power and Authority for Decision-Making Process.

Discussions covered;

- household assets purchase
- products released
- monetary management

B. Reproductive Role :

I. Demographic and Socio-Economic characteristics of the household in general ie, number of family members, number of children, age of the children,

number of dependents, income, occupation etc.

II. Perceptions on Family Formation. Discussions covered;

- age at marriage
- mate selection
- number of children desired
- childrearing
- time-budget for childcare
- time-allocation pattern between husband and wife
- expectations for the children
- role and status of woman as a mother
- ways of life before and after marriage
- contraceptive use

Household Census
A Time-Allocation Study on Rural Women
An Analysis of Productive and Reproductive Roles

ID.....

Household members	Household status	Marital status	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation
1. -----						
2. -----						
3. -----						
4. -----						
5. -----						
6. -----						

Income earnings apart from main occupation of the family, if any, please identify those who are involved in.

Persons who earn	Occupation	Place	Duration of job	Wage
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

Items of household belongings :

Landownership (in amount)

- a) your own land _____
- b) land rented _____
- c) sharecropped _____

Animal husbandry (in amount)

- buffalos _____
- cows _____
- pigs _____
- ducks _____
- chicken _____
- others (specify) _____

Kitchen gardening

Yes _____

No _____

specify vegetables grown

Purposes _____

- household consumption
- for sale
- other (specify) _____

Duration

throughout the year
 during rainy season
 other (specify) _____

Tools for cultivation and domestic use available in the household

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

ANNEX II

Daily Activity Record Form

Village No. I.D. of Respondent Month Date First Day Second Day

Recent Publications
Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University

(97) ไยธิน แสงดี, กฤตยา อาชวนิจกุล และอภิชาติ จำรัสฤทธิรงค์, ความยากจนกับการย้ายถิ่น : การศึกษาแบบจัดกลุ่มชนบท, ๒๕๒๘.

(98) Aphichat Chamratrithirong and Elizabeth Hervey Stephen, Determinants of Contraceptive Method Choice in Thailand, 1986.

(99) จารยา เศรษฐบุตร และศิรินันท์ สายประเสริฐ, การศึกษาการยอมรับการวางแผนครอบครัวตามธรรมชาติ, ๒๕๒๘.

(100) ปราโมทย์ ประสานกุล, อภิชาติ จำรัสฤทธิรงค์, แอนโทนี เบนเนต และไยธิน แสงดี, ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อการไม่ใช้เวชคุณกำเนิดในกลุ่มชาวไทยชนบทที่พูดภาษาเบมร, ๒๕๒๘.

(101) ชาญ โพธิสิตา, ความเสี่ยง ความไม่แน่นอนกับพฤติกรรมทางเกษตร ข้อพิจารณาเกี่ยวกับการยอมรับนวัตกรรมของชาวนา, ๒๕๒๘.

(102) Aphichat Chamratrithirong, S. Philip Morgan and Ronald R. Rindfuss, When to Marry and Where to Live ? A Study of Post-nuptial Residence and Age of Marriage among Thai Women, 1986.

(103) Sivaporn Pokpong, Factors Affecting the Household Indebtedness : A Case Study in Nongrong District, 1986.

(104) Amara Soonthorndhada, The Effects of Informal Communication on Vasectomy Practice in Rural Areas of Thailand, 1987.

(105) Amara Soonthorndhada, Uraiwan Kanungsukkasem and Sirinan Saiprasert, A Time Allocation Study on Rural Women : An Analysis of Productive and Reproductive Roles, 1987.

(106) อมรา สุนทรชาดา และอรพินทร์ พิทักษ์มหากดุ, การศึกษาคุณภาพ ปริมาณและพฤติกรรมการใช้น้ำดื่มของชาวชนบทในประเทศไทย, มกราคม ๒๕๓๐.

(107) อรพินทร์ พิทักษ์มหากดุ และจารยา เศรษฐบุตร, คู่มือการพิมพ์วิทยานิพนธ์, มกราคม ๒๕๓๐.

THE IPSR PUBLICATION SERIES

Research Reports of the IPSR - Mahidol University appear several times a year to disseminate results of important projects and to provide an on-going assessment of socio-demographic change in Thailand.

OUTSIDE MANUSCRIPTS WELCOME The IPSR encourages local researchers and institutions to submit completed research papers for publication in this series. A panel of reviewers will screen submissions on the basis of relevance and importance of the topic and on the quality of the presentation. Submission should be in English, typed and double spaced. The IPSR will provide editing services for accepted papers.

OTHER FORUMS FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF POPULATION RESEARCH In addition to the "Research Reports" series described above, the IPSR - Mahidol University also produces a bi-monthly Population and Development Newsletter. This newsletter is an appropriate forum for capsule summaries of on-going or completed research and news.

Submission for either the Research Reports or the Newsletter should be directed to:

Promote Prasartkul
Director
Institute for Population and Social Research
Mahidol University
25/25 Salaya
Nakorn Pathom 73170
Thailand