

TIME USE ANALYSIS: WOMEN AND THEIR HOUSEHOLDS AS SITES FOR EVERYDAY NEGOTIATIONS AND ORGANIZING COMMUNITY LIFE

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ABSTRACT

Time use studies puts values to work that are outside the cash nexus and are not counted in national accounts. This exploratory research conducted between August to December 2012, aimed to provide a comprehensive presentation of work along paid and unpaid dimension across gender. It also explored the use of qualitative methodology as an adjunct to quantitative measurements in capturing time use data in agricultural farming communities. Using time use survey, individual interviews, and focus group discussion, time use specifically on paid and unpaid work were drawn from two municipalities in the province of Benguet.

Results show that women's multiple roles remain undervalued and unrecognized. There is a large disparity of time utilization across genders especially on unpaid work. Both genders spend their day in farm work but findings show that it is the women who perform paid and unpaid work simultaneously. While men spend more in 'paid work,' women spent three times more than men in performing unpaid work while spending a time in 'paid work.' Time poverty has been expressed as true more for women than men. Care for teenagers is the dominant care role undertaken by both parents where fathers usually provide for financial support while the mothers provide not only financial but also emotional, psychological, and social support.

Time use in qualitative terms defines the context as well as the meanings people give to this kind of work. Meanings therefore strongly influence what is seen and how situations are responded to. Care work for instance, has been traditionally associated with women, and is continuously being performed by the same women in the households who also maintain farming activities. In the absence of institutions of care, these are the areas that these women take on a negotiating attitude in relation to work: by simultaneously doing things together and many times by 'naturalizing' work traditionally associated to women.

With the competitive and market orientation of these communities, both men and women perform paid farm work, but women have to juggle time for housework and farm work, hence simultaneous work and increasing intensity of work are shouldered. Qualitative data reveal that these male-female divide with men focused on paid work and women negotiating paid and unpaid work, has been naturalized and essentialized. Yet when probed deeper, women expressed the desire to 'share' the work with other members of the household which can have implications to their well-being both in material and emotional-spiritual terms.

Once again, findings show that behind the seemingly accepted and stable paid and unpaid work performance in farming communities, time use framework is revealing in that what has been naturalized is actually more dramatic in terms of women performing gender-related household tasks. On the other hand there is expressed desire of sharing unpaid work with other members of the household.

Key words: *time use, paid work, unpaid work, negotiations*

INTRODUCTION

In gender studies, contribution of men and women to development as well as accounting for the benefit accruing to both men and women becomes important. Time use studies are considered as one critical step

in examining contribution of men and women in development. By looking at paid and unpaid work through time use, one can put value to work that are outside the cash nexus and work that do not get counted in the system of national accounts.

Unpaid work is work that are not remunerated and

yet necessary for the functioning of a household. For example, investing in human capital through care work i.e. cooking, helping school children in school work, caring for the young, is to have human capital investment at a very young age. In farming households like the Mountain Trail areas, men and women, adult and children contribute to farm work as well as domestic work.

With climate change, price fluctuation and the impending implementation of the Agreement on Agriculture, the household becomes the seat of everyday negotiations and navigations. It is therefore the interest of the study to look into the time use on paid and unpaid work across gender and more specifically to take a look into the caring role in households in an agricultural setting. The reason behind the specific interest in the care role is that the observed time poverty of farming households has many implications to the well-being status of each of the household member. This becomes striking especially in a situation where agricultural products become volatile and an increasingly observed ecological peril.

Time use data reveals an individual's activities that are specific as well as comprehensive. As a methodology, there are two means of doing data gathering- through survey and through face to face open-ended interviewing. The latter, however, remains unexplored and is wanting in terms of drawing data that are subjective yet meaningful to respondents. Time use data through survey, can parallel the input-output linear path with activities as the input and valuation of these activities as the output. Time use in qualitative terms will define the context as well as the meanings people give to this kind of work. Care work, for instance is being maintained by certain communities, despite the competitive and market orientation of present day societies. Child care and care for the sick remains at the household as there are no institutions of care among Asian countries, for instance (Durano,2008). Such are important for the healthy growth of children and well-being of families; care is at the centre of a family as it binds the members together with love (UN-ESCAP, 2003).

However, care work is a major component of unpaid domestic work. In a recent study in two

highland communities (Batani,2012) care work consumes three hours a day on the average and is simultaneously done with other tasks. A woman in a farming community normally spends 16 hrs in a 24-hour cycle.

This context of care work is a type of data captured in qualitative data gathering. It illuminates on the situation or conditions particularly in activities that are engaged by the people. Unfortunately, by performing care work, women are accorded lower status at home and outside – yet also hampering these carers for accessing other opportunities or worse. The recognition of these complexities led feminist groups to raise critical questions: how to maintain care in the family while at the same time allowing equal sharing of work.

State of the Art

While both men and women contribute to development, women's contribution is underestimated. Women have been visible in remunerated or paid work but also undertake a great deal of unremunerated or unpaid work. The underestimation of women's contribution to development contributes to the limited social recognition of this sector.

A gender sensitive support program starts at recognizing the contribution of all genders. The full visibility of the type, extent and distribution of this unremunerated work will also contribute to a better sharing of responsibilities (The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, UN, 1986).

Work is defined as activities where time and energy is expended. In the study, this will be taken in the context of understanding the contribution of men and women to the economy and to come up with evidence-based studies that captures what used to be 'invisible'.

With the increasing integration of subsistence or semi-subsistence villages into the market, ushered in by mining, logging and the engagement in semi-temperate vegetable production, the Cordillera household production activities have become more dynamic. Rural household bargaining already includes decision on labor market participation (Crisologo and Berlage, 2006) which also includes decisions on time allocation on more varied activities. The issue of gender in agriculture has been gaining much

interest because of the debate on the role of women in economic development, as well as the double burden that they encounter from both housework and agricultural work (Lu, 2007). The new developments and changing circumstances led to an increase in the number of women in the labor force, and the impact on their quality of life and decision making processes are many.

In other countries, care activities or unpaid domestic services are clamoured to be distributed among women and men, the private sector, the voluntary sector and the government (Hirway, 2011; ESCAP, 2000). It is important that women are adequately compensated for undertaking care activities. There are no firm rules about this. Each society has to work out its own rules. It is emphasized that care is important and that it should not be neglected (ESCAP, 2000). Otherwise, the erosion of family and community solidarity may impose enormous costs on society, especially in a society where there is

absence of formal institutions of care (Durano, 2008). **Analysis of the Problem**

Work as a concept has various meanings and interpretations depending on the context it is being understood. Generally, work is defined as any conscious, purposeful activity which serves the material and other-than-material needs of the individual and the community (Anderson, 1961 cited in UN-ESCAP, 2003). Work is not always paid work and in relation to this study, the classifications of 'paid and unpaid work' are taken as key concepts. Paid work, as the term itself convey, are activities engaged in with compensation either in cash or in kind; unpaid work is more complex. Unpaid work as defined by UN-ESCAP (2003) include strings of activities performed by an unpaid family member; work engaged in by households for own final use that includes subsistence production as well as unpaid volunteer services (Figure 1).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

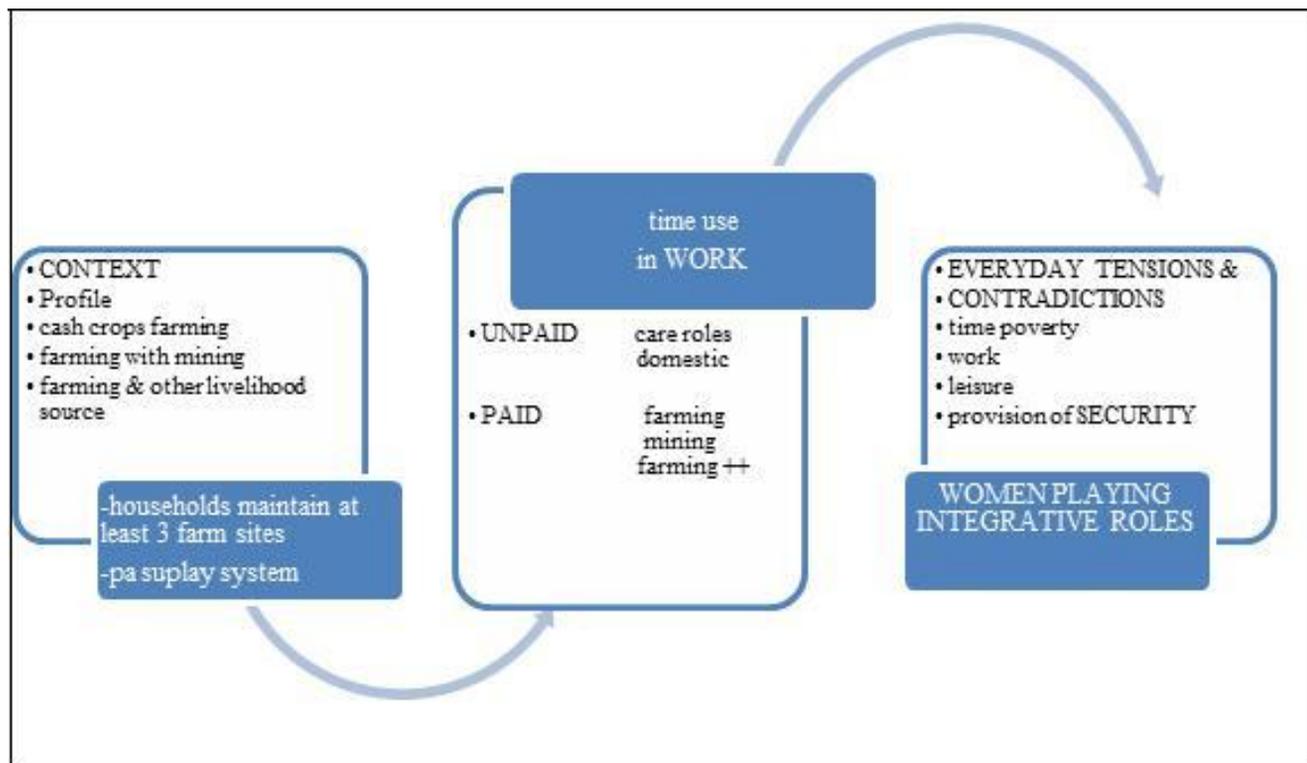


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the study

The framework begins with the view that ‘who does what’ in a day makes up the conditions of making life manageable for the household in everyday transactions. Secondly, the conceptualization of the framework also comes from recognition of gender in the division of labor.

Historically, the importance of gender has been given significance, that is why one does not speak only of ‘hunting societies’ but more appropriately of ‘hunting and gathering’ societies emphasizing on the role of women in food gathering including gathering of insects which, incidentally are the important source of nutrition (Eriksen, 2001).

The work of men and women, most especially women that do not involve money transactions and therefore are just imputed, has been referred to as ‘gross household product’ (Ironmonger, 1994) to put the value added by households in the production of goods and services. This is so, considering the fact that members of the households are willing to assume so-called productive yet unremunerated works.

The production of cash crop provides the important background as this defines the context of the daily life circumstances of the respondents. Specifically, the commercial orientation of farming is a determinant of the work environment. Mining is another work context but it is still done with farming –as a seasonal livelihood activity.

Using time use framework, that is, the time allocated for each activity, the question of ‘by whom and for whom’ becomes important. This forms part of the gender analysis of men and women’s paid and unpaid economic activity so that the recognition of gender contribution to development is achieved.

Time use studies also calls into operationalization of unpaid work such as care work, which cannot be measured considering the intangible aspect of it (*i.e.* care role means constant attention and emotional investment) usually born by women. The failure to recognize contribution leads to inadequate program/policies addressing such. To achieve inclusive development would also mean the need to address the perennial underestimation of women’s contribution, especially along unpaid activities.

In this study, the ‘integrative roles’ played by the woman in the household is seen along the unpaid work. For instance, caring is an important dimension, and is part of the emotional economy which sustains the life of the household in the following manner: by assuming care work, it sustains human security; by taking care of the young, it ensures the human capital investment; and by stretching daytime activities until dusk, and the performance of simultaneous work, women ensure household capacities of each member.

This scenario harks back at a position statement from ‘The World’s Women’ in a UN session on unpaid work defined as any productive endeavor that is seen at the household level which includes “subsistence production of goods for their own households and non-economic activities such as domestic work, family and elderly care and lastly volunteer work for which individuals receive no remuneration” (UN, 2000).

Time use data reveals an individual’s activities that are specific as well as comprehensive. As a methodology, there are two means of doing data gathering- through survey and through face to face open-ended interviewing. The latter, however remains unexplored and is wanting in terms of drawing data that are subjective yet meaningful to respondents.

Time use data through survey, can parallel the input-output linear path with activities as the input and valuation of these activities as the output. Time use in qualitative terms will define the context as well as the meanings people give to this kind of work. Care work, for instance is being maintained by certain communities, despite the competitive and market orientation of present day societies.

However, care work is a major component of unpaid domestic work. In a recent study in two highland communities, care work consumes three hours a day on the average and is simultaneously done with other tasks. A woman in a farming community normally spends 16 hours in a 24-hour cycle. This context of care work is a type of data captured in qualitative data gathering. It illuminates on the situation or conditions particular activities are engaged in by people.

Unfortunately, by performing care work, women are accorded lower status at home and outside – yet also hampering these carers for accessing other opportunities or worse. The recognition of these complexities led feminist groups to raise critical questions: how to maintain care in the family while at the same time allowing equal sharing of work.

Objectives

A general objective of the study is to capture the context in which work in farming communities are undertaken, with focus on care work and issues and concerns surrounding it.

Specifically, the study aimed to establish the profile of respondents in two communities in Benguet area; determine the nature of paid and unpaid type of work these communities ‘engage in’ and determine the socio-cultural aspects characterizing work and ‘care roles’ of households in two communities in Benguet.

METHODOLOGY

Using time use statistics and in depth interviews, draw time use data using both qualitative and quantitative data gathering methods, survey instrument and interview guide questions were prepared.

As to the data gathering design, the study used both time use survey and individual in-depth interviews as well as focus group discussions. The household is the unit of analysis and a representative of a household was interviewed.

There were seven sites of the study located in two municipalities in the province of Benguet, namely Buguias and Tublay. Variables and key concepts investigated include paid work hours across gender, occupation, status and age, unpaid work hours, care work, and voluntary activities.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

While the study made use of a survey through customized time use interview schedule, only representative households from three sites in two municipalities have been included. These households were purposively sampled. The baseline information

as an expected output were also taken from these respondents.

Instrumentation

For the survey, customized time use questionnaire were distributed and retrieved later. Another instrument for the qualitative data was formulated – so called interview guide which is largely open ended. Time use customized survey is a shortened version of the time use diary where number of hours of household members for both paid and unpaid activities are recorded (AP-GEM, 2010) while the main respondent’s light diary activity for a regular day would also be recorded. The interviewer/researcher would record the responses in the given tables listed in the stylized time use survey.

Clustered random sampling was employed for this data gathering instrument. Number of households per sitio was grouped together and given a corresponding number as indicator of their inclusion as respondents

Data processing for the survey data made use of the SPSS software while the qualitative data were interpreted appropriately.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Profile of the Respondents

Total samples of 138 respondents were drawn from six villages in Buguias and two villages in Tublay. Majority of the respondents were females at 96 or 69% outnumbering males at 42 or 31%. Of the 96 female respondents, seven or 7.3% are widows with one single female respondent (Table 1). Most of the respondents declare a monthly income of PhP5,000 and below, with PhP5-10,000 income coming next and above PhP10,000 ranking third. In terms of the number of children, 57.2% of the respondents declared having 1 – 3 children and 28.3% of them declared having 4-6 children. 74.6% of the respondents declared that they are full time farmers. Years of farming declared to be below 10 years and up to 21 to 30 years (23.0%, 22.5%, and 23.1%).

In Tublay and Buguias, more than 74% females and 76% male respondents declared that they have been full time farmers and 33% of the respondents have been into farming for 11 to 20 years; farming is also done alternately with small scale mining. For

Table 1. Profile of respondents

| | | Female | Male | Total % |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------|------|---------|
| Gender | Frequency | 93 | 42 | 135 |
| | Percentage | 69% | 31% | |
| Age | 21-30 | 20.8 | 21.4 | 21.0 |
| | 31-40 | 22.9 | 23.8 | 23.2 |
| | 41-50 | 18.8 | 26.2 | 21.0 |
| | 51-60 | 26.0 | 23.8 | 25.4 |
| | 61 and Above | 11.5 | 4.8 | 9.4 |
| Civil Status | Married | 89.6 | 85.7 | 88.4 |
| | Separated | 2.1 | .0 | 1.4 |
| | Single | 1.0 | 14.3 | 5.1 |
| | Widow | 7.3 | .0 | 5.1 |
| HH Size | 1-3 | 28.1 | 40.5 | 31.9 |
| | 4-6 | 55.2 | 54.8 | 55.1 |
| | 7-9 | 11.5 | 4.8 | 9.4 |
| | 10 and Above | 5.2 | .0 | 3.6 |
| No. of Children | No Child | 1.0 | .0 | .7 |
| | 1-3 | 60.4 | 50.0 | 57.2 |
| | 4-6 | 26.0 | 33.3 | 28.3 |
| | 7-9 | 8.3 | 2.4 | 6.5 |
| | 10 and Above | 3.1 | .0 | 2.2 |
| Years of Farming | n/a | 1.0 | 14.3 | 5.1 |
| | 10 and Below | 20.8 | 31.0 | 23.9 |
| | 11-20 | 24.0 | 19.0 | 22.5 |
| | 21-30 | 22.9 | 23.8 | 23.2 |
| | 31-40 | 14.6 | 14.3 | 14.5 |
| | 41-50 | 12.5 | 9.5 | 11.6 |
| | 51 and above | 2.1 | .0 | 1.4 |
| | NF | 3.1 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| Mode of Work | Full Time | 74.0 | 76.2 | 74.6 |
| | Part Time | 22.9 | 21.4 | 22.5 |
| | NF | 3.1 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| | Can't estimate | 3.2 | 1.1 | 4 |
| Income range monthly* | 5,000 & below | 21.5 | 4.3 | 24 |
| | 5,001-10,000 | 14.0 | 10.8 | 23 |
| | 10,001-15,000 | 16.1 | 3.2 | 18 |
| | 15,001-20,000 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 8 |
| | Above 20,000 | 11.8 | 5.4 | 16 |

*Buguias only

Buguias, most of the respondents are vegetable farmers, with a few of them engaged in small scale business. An important work environment is the maintenance and operation of farms in two or more locations. This is partly to take advantage of ecological fragmentation (an area is reserved for *pagbunubunan* or seedling preparation to ensure viability of seedlings) where different crops are being planted. Another area/farm location is maintained for another crop, still as buffer to price fluctuations. This serves as buffer crops when one harvest or a cropping period fails. Farm owners/operators also engage in the *suplay* system, an informal credit and production arrangement enduring in the vegetable belt areas, wherein the farmer will ‘suplay’ (from the word ‘to supply’) another farmer either in terms of farm inputs only or farm inputs and a list of agreed food items. In this case, usually the farms of the one being supplied are located in another farm area or even another village. Again, this serves as insurance for the farmer-supplier when crops fail.

Paid and Unpaid work

Paid work comes in either formal or informal (like farming) that is remunerated. This will be taken in the context of gender distribution. Unpaid work, on the other hand, is work that does not have any remuneration usually carried out by women. This includes reproductive, domestic, care works and voluntary work at the household and community level. Paid work in literature is usually domain of the man-in-the-house. Yet data show that women, while undertaking unpaid work, are very visible in paid/farm work, too. A note on time use statistics

as a methodology, brings forward previously unrecognized household and farm dynamics – these include ‘simultaneous work’ and work frequency and intensity.

Table 2 shows the paid work or activities done by the respondents. The study of Batani (2012) reveals that weeding is dominantly a female task; similar results were obtained in this study that, women dominate in weeding. Overall, results show that males and females are spending almost the same time in weeding except for hilling-up and land preparation where males spend more time. This could be due to ‘simultaneous work’ in this case, women while weeding are also doing hilling-up or even weeding. On the other hand, males while doing hilling-up are also performing some weeding tasks. Still, another instance of simultaneous work is seen in women doing weeding, fertilizing and hilling-up. It is also interesting to note that in the study site, spraying has also become a woman’s task. Previous reports show that spraying was used to be the male’s domain.

Work intensity as points of ‘negotiations’

Except for the question of ‘do you have enough time for work, there has been no statistics taken for work intensity, yet one can already glean that semi-temperate vegetable gardening is time consuming. As shown in Table 2, both genders especially females declare both paid and unpaid work consume much of their time. Work intensity as defined by Pitchetpongsa and Floro’s (2010) is that which includes length of work day (paid and unpaid) as well as overlapping activities that are considered unpleasant. It could be noted that both male and female respondents are performing two to three hours of scattered work in

Table 2. Paid work on farm activities

| Activity | Who performs the work N=93 | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|-----------------|
| | Mother | Father | Both Mother & Father | Family | Oblantes/Pordia |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Weeding ** | 24.26 | 11.7 | 63.97 | 5.38 | 5.38 |
| Hilling up * | 18.40 | 25.60 | 56.00 | 15.05 | 15.0 |
| Spraying | 7.34 | 28.18 | 20.02 | 58.06 | 58.06 |
| Watering | 17.07 | 56.91 | 26.02 | 24.73 | 24.73 |
| Land Preparation | 13.04 | 30.43 | 56.52 | 15.05 | 15.05 |

*Simultaneous with fertilizer application; **simultaneous with hilling up; ***Simultaneous work

Table 3 . The most time consuming work as claimed by respondents

| | | Gender | | Total |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | Female% | Male% | |
| Time Consuming Activity | Paid Work | 19.8 | 81.0 | 38.4 |
| | Unpaid Work | 15.6 | 2.4 | 11.6 |
| | Paid and Unpaid Work | 61.5 | 16.7 | 47.8 |
| | No Data (ND) | 3.1 | .0 | 2.2 |

In Table 3, women's time use is seen in unpaid work with almost 16% of the respondents claiming; while only 2.4% male respondents declare unpaid work as consuming their time.

Both sexes spend their day in farm work but findings show that it is the women who perform paid and unpaid work simultaneously. 'Negotiation' are therefore seen within the domain of women's work – the simultaneous performance of paid and unpaid work. Quantitative results reveal that women spent almost 29 hours in a week doing unpaid work yet spend 9: 37 hrs a day doing paid work (including seeking 'pordia'), not far from the 11: 28 hrs a day spent by men.

Women's time use in a day is also extended due to the performance of care role. 'Adika- orasan di menaywan si onga weno masakit' (there is no definite time

in providing care either for the child or the sick), is the usual articulation of mothers who are providing care for others.

It is noted in Table 4 that males start early in their farm work, while females start later. The reason for this is that females still have to perform household chores before going to the farm. This is in the context of a farming household having three or more farm locations maintained at the same time.

This scenario, however, did not account for households having extra help on farm or family labor as additional resource. Nonetheless, the data is buttressed by the information that this scenario is a typical work schedule of a farming household with or without extra help. As far as ending the day's work is concerned, there is not much gap between the male and female respondents.

Table 4. Time start, time end, time spent in farming activities

| Farming Activities | | Male | Female | Both |
|--------------------|------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Time Start | Weeding | 6:05 AM | 7:18 AM | 6:59 AM |
| | Hilling Up | 6:11 AM | 7:24 AM | 7:07 AM |
| | Land Preparation | 6:04 AM | 7:13 AM | 6:53 AM |
| Time End | Weeding | 5:31 PM | 5:22 PM | 5:36 PM |
| | Hilling Up | 5:14 PM | 4:57 PM | 5:35 PM |
| | Land Preparation | 4:36 PM | 4:46 PM | 5:37 PM |
| Time Spent (HRS) | Weeding | 11:18 | 9:50 | 10:18 |
| | Hilling Up | 10:53 | 9:20 | 10:22 |
| | Land Preparation | 10:27 | 9:30 | 10:21 |

Table 5. Selected respondent's farming activities, number of farms and perception on time use

| | Crops planted | Number of Farm sites | Activity/site/day | Time poor? |
|----------|------------------------------------|----------------------|--|------------|
| Buguias | | | | |
| Farmer 1 | Cabbage, potatoes | 3 | Weeding, hilling up, Spraying | yes |
| Farmer 2 | Cabbage, potatoes, Chinese cabbage | 4 | Weeding, spraying, watering | yes |
| Farmer 3 | Chinese cabbage, Potatoes, cabbage | 5 | hilling up, weeding, spraying | yes |
| Farmer 4 | Chayote, leeks Potatoes | 3 | watering, hilling up leaf pruning | yes |
| Tublay | | | | |
| Farmer 5 | Chayote, petchay | 3 | Watering, hilling up, Spraying, cleaning or Leaf pruning | yes |
| Farmer 6 | Chayote, leeks | 5 | Watering, hilling up, Leaf pruning | yes |

Watering has not been included in the overall time use for paid farm work since irrigation is through the use of rain burst or water sprinkler. Both men and women take turns in the setting-up the irrigation sprinklers (rain bird), however initial observation and qualitative data show that women volunteer to perform the task of ensuring its (watering) efficiency during the watering period, while at the same time doing other farm tasks.

Results show that the sprinklers are moved to another strategic location every two to three hours. To move the sprinklers requires attention and regular checking and this is done mostly by women. Watering is also simultaneously done with other activities such as weeding or even hilling-up. As for Tublay, chayote farmers make use of water hose which facilitates watering activities. It is done usually by males singly or with the assistance of another person.

Socio-cultural determinants of work and time poverty

As a vegetable farming community, farmers usually grow in alternate pattern cabbages, potatoes, chayote, Chinese cabbage, leeks and other highland vegetables,

with the trend towards mono cropping system. Cropping pattern is usually an attempt to respond to the market behaviour, especially in relation to price. The moodiness of the market is a concrete reality vegetable farmers have to play with. One setback in a market oriented farming system is that one has to gamble with the market: either one goes broke for one or two cropping or one can chance on a jackpot price.

A jackpot price can go as high as half a million pesos in a half or even a fourth of a hectare of vegetable farm. Stakes are also high, considering that vegetable production, as of the data gathering period, remains highly dependent on agrochemicals. In a study done in the Mountain Trail areas, chemical inputs for cabbage production eats up 67% of the cost of production (Batani *et al.*, 2012).

The intensity and frequency of work and the 'sensing' of time poverty is traced back primarily to the reality that vegetable farmers have to maintain three or more farm sites at the same time. Tublay farmers maintain two to three sites not only as buffer to damage caused by unfavourable weather conditions such as typhoons but also as income buffer crop dies not produce yield

or when prices fluctuate. It is also mentioned that farmers' income are not disposable income, so that to cushion the irregularity of income, farmers need to maintain diversity of crops.

Buguias farmers maintain three to five farm locations, again to serve as buffer for fluctuating market price as well as increasingly unpredictable climate scenarios. From the interview data, it was claimed that the maintenance of several farm locations is also a way to maximize the utilization of chemical usage. An excess herbicide used in one farm for instance is used in the second farm location. It was also articulated by respondents that there is reduce risks through staggered planting and dispersed garden sites.

Figure 2 shows a summary graph on the time use of both male and female in unpaid work. Note that care work has not been presented as part of the 'unpaid work' because the respondents do not consider it as work but more as a simultaneous activity. For example, a mother is taking care of her baby while cooking or washing. When probed, however, there is the expressed time poverty in relation to the performance of unpaid work, including care work. As informants would claim, '*haan nga malmalpas ti trabaho ti balay...pipiya pay ti trabaho ti garden ta adda makita nga malpas*'... 'work inside the house is endless...sometimes work in garden is better because one can see some finished tasks in between...' This is in the context of 'caring work' while doing

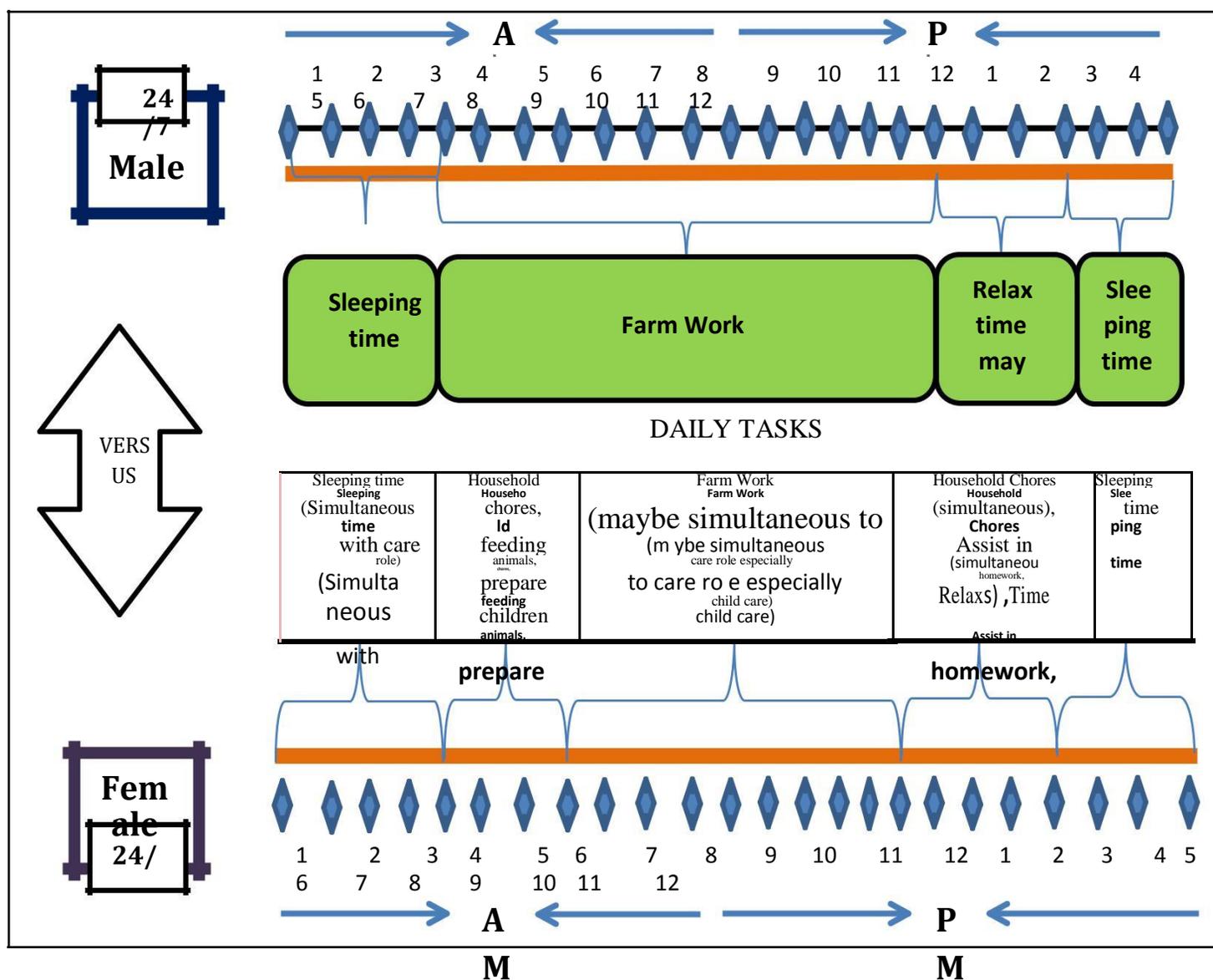


Figure 2. Time use in a day's work

other work. There is an on going debate about this culturally and contextually defined nature of ‘care’ activity. The nature of care activity in the study sites has been presented in the ensuing discussions. Nevertheless, the figure already reveals a time use disparity between male and female respondents where women figure in the unpaid work (cooking, cleaning, washing) excluding care work.

In terms of paid work (farm and non-farm), again women figure. One would therefore expect much more time use for women if care work is included as part of the unpaid work. Details of care work is discussed in the next presentation.

Care Role. ‘Caring’ falls in the realm of emotional economy because as a labor process it involves close personal and emotional interaction (Folbre, 2006; Carrasco, 2011).

The results of care work are inputs into the production and maintenance of the human labor force (Braunstein et.al 2011) and in this case, for other members of the household to be able to perform and sustain their everyday activities. In the country, in the context and tradition of patriarchy, care work mainly rests on women.

From the data, ‘care role’ is overwhelmingly undertaken by women, first as mothers only which recorded 87% as against 10% fathers only, while 2% is undertaken by mothers with the help of other relatives such as grandmothers or elder sister. Care

role also recorded 18% as undertaken by both mother and father.

Care here means infant care, caring for the children, caring for the elderly and caring for the sick. Data show (Table 7) that care for teenagers (33) is the dominant care work being undertaken by both mother and father but mostly by mothers.

Qualitative data reveal that the father’s role is to share with the financial care of teenagers while the mother’s caring is not only financial but also to provide for other emotional and psychological needs of these teenagers. A case in point is a teen child identified as ‘suicidal’ with the mother expressing the need to provide constant encouragement and other ‘advising’ role.

Second is the care work for grade school children. Reports (Folbre, Yoon et.al 2011) claim that time use in caring for infants up to the grade school eat so much time resource. This will have implications to the participation of women in the paid work as well as in the enjoyment of leisure time.

While Crisologo, Mendoza and Berlage (2006) argued that “households participating in the commercial economy comes with the ‘opportunities’ for couples to reallocate their available time between leisure and on-and-off-family farm labor”, In this particular context, households have experienced ‘time poverty.’ This means that households, specifically women, experienced difficulty of time allocation, thus impeding them opportunities for leisure.

Table 6. Time use on care activity: Who performs what activities

| Household member | Who performs care roles N=93 | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| | Frequency | Percentage |
| Father only | 9 | 9.6 |
| Mother only | 81 | 87.0 |
| Mother & Other relatives | 2 | 2.1 |
| Both father & mother | 17 | 18.2 |
| Total | 109 | |

Table 7 . Nature of caring and who performs care, Buguias respondents

| Who are being Cared | Number | Who performs care role | | | |
|---------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|--------------------------|------|
| | | Father | Mother | Mother & Other relatives | Both |
| Elderly | 3 | | ✓ | | |
| Sick | 2 | | ✓ | | |
| Infant | 23 | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Teens | 10 | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| | 33 | | ✓ | | ✓ |

Also, care as a concept does not correspond exactly to the performance of a specific set of activities. Care is also, and especially a state of devotion and involves emotion the fact that it comes with responsibilities, in the affective more than the mind set. As Folbre *et al.* (2005), it involves attention, availability or watchfulness which is difficult to measure. Yet, caring for infants and young children is also simultaneously done with other activities.

Also explored in the study is an interesting dimension of emotions which is relational and therefore invokes the caring system. Although it is still initial, a Kankanaey deep-seated relational expression of emotion which can be pivotal in the understanding of indigenous notions of care has been seen in the deployment of *apos*, or *tampo* in Tagalog. The shared meaning of *apos* is that it is a

form of communication that is highly relational in that the deployment of such signals attention and care. To assuage someone in a state of *apos*, is an important if not the only acceptable form of showing 'care.' In the context of farming for the market, this important notion of 'care' unfortunately is being slowly side tracked.

Table 8 shows an attempt to summarize a valuation of unpaid work shouldered mostly by women. The computation for the estimated value in pesos is based on current rates for domestic helpers. If these will be paid for the work spent on household chores from cooking to washing clothes to caring roles, a conservative estimate reveals a PhP 500 daily money valuation of this unpaid work. One realizes the significant contribution of this unpaid work in the management of the households.

Table 8. Valuation of unpaid work of a woman in a day

| ACTIVITY | TIME USE (daily) | ESTIMATED VALUE |
|--|--|-----------------|
| Cooking, washing dishes, Cleaning, feeding, sending and fetching children to school, Food shopping/collecting | 2 to 3 hours (usually 2 episodes) | PhP 200-300 |
| Washing clothes | 3 to 5 hrs (weekly basis) | PhP 300-P350 |
| Caring (Sick, elderly, child care, Teen care) | 8 to 10 hrs a day (simultaneous Work) | PhP 200.00 |
| TOTAL | PhP 500 (est) a day | |

*Opportunity cost-value= time spent x wage rate for jobs with persons qualifications (UNDP-AP-GEM, 2010)

An often heard idiom when listening to farmers' stories is *biag di galdenero*, (life of a gardener) which usually is their way of concluding how their life as farmers look like. 'Catching up with time: time to grow crops, time to transport crops, time to plant, all because a farmer has to catch up with the 'moodiness of the market' *tan masambot di presyo* 'to catch up with the market price' are "themes" that comes with *biag di galdenero*. *Tan masambot di presyo* (to catch up with the market price) parallels what Hart has to say about market as 'exercising power over us' (Hart, 2000) in this case, the market price being animated in the lives of these gardeners, who have to live with their farms trying to catch up with the unpredictable market price.

Drawing from Marx' fetishism on commodities, Keith Hart (2000) argues that it is this market force that comes in money form that 'undermines our ability to manage our own lives.' But this is just the 'farm work scenario' – this has not factored in the farm-housework scenario measured against the time use of men and women farmers.

Closer examination of the dynamics of the households reveal a human face with women lamenting the fact that their lives are running after time yet they are losing time to communicate to their children.

Time poverty is very evident and to make up for the lost time, parents give children 'cash' so they can eat in school and be on their own. Because of the desire to balance losses, a farming household is confronted with moralistic choices such as this.

This is the significance of putting value to men and women's work - to give recognition to the contributions of each sector and managing the household should be included. Evidently household management is central the fact that this kind of work eats up much of the time of women in the household; yet it remains unrecognized. Yet, too, these house works are necessary for the household and the community to maintain its life. And this reality has been 'naturalized and essentialized.'

Study shows that there is lean changes on the recognition of women unpaid works since time immemorial. In this study, data show that some

mothers lament about the non-recognition and non-valuation of their unpaid work.

One respondent said that, "*nu laeng kuma ag payso nga masweldo an ti ina nga agrabaho ti balay ket mayat tapno maiconcentrate ket haan nga gumudwa ti pordia iti oras*", 'if only mothers will be given compensation in doing household work, it result to better focus in doing the work; housework will not have to compete with the need to do daily paid work.'

It can be gleaned from the above statement that some women unknowingly expressed their lamentations in their role in the households. They have also expressed their desire for husbands to help in the unpaid work, especially in the care roles. For them, husbands assuming some tasks inside the home will make their work easy and manageable.

Women's works indeed follows a cycle that seem to never end. Work for these women starts at sun rise and ends in the sun set. These simultaneous work and the undervaluation of their work, forms part of their everyday negotiations.

Table 9 shows the participation rate of women and men who have performed at least 5 minutes of the activity in the twenty-four hour period. It can also be gleaned in the table that men spend more time in farm work, which is paid work while women spend off- farm work as such formal employment while at the same time attending to doing household work.

Is there enough time? An overwhelming answer across gender is that 'there is not enough time' for work and leisure as well (Figure 2). More specifically, women say there is not enough time to do everything in a day. One respondent stated that, '*uray gedwa en ti bagi iti tallo ket kurang latta ti maysa nga aldaw nga mangaramid an ti trabaho*, 'even if you divide yourself into three for a day, it is never enough to finish the work.'

The mothers in one group discussion also reiterated that, '*kasapulan nga palpasen amin nga matrabaho itata nga aldaw tapno no bigat ket haan nga isu pay nga mainayon kar-karon to nga kurang ti oras. Kas kasdaaw laeng nga iso nga isu ti araramiden ti inaldaw. No enya ti inpalpas mo itata, agrugi ka manen no bigat. Mangkantiyaw pay ti asawa ket*

Table 9. Participation rates and average time spent in various activities day in minutes

| Primary Work Activities | Women | | Men | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Participation Rate(Percent) | Mean Time (min per day) | Participation Rate (Percent) | Mean Time (min per day) |
| Own Farm Work | 75.00 | 570 | 80.95 | 685 |
| Hired Farm Work | 0.00 | 0 | 2.38 | 570 |
| Off-farm Work | 5.21 | 645 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Salary/Wage Employment | 14.58 | 570 | 16.67 | 510 |
| Household Work | | | | |
| Domestic | 97.92 | 226 | 14.29 | 170 |
| Childcare | 86.46 | *simultaneous | 20.45 | *simultaneous |

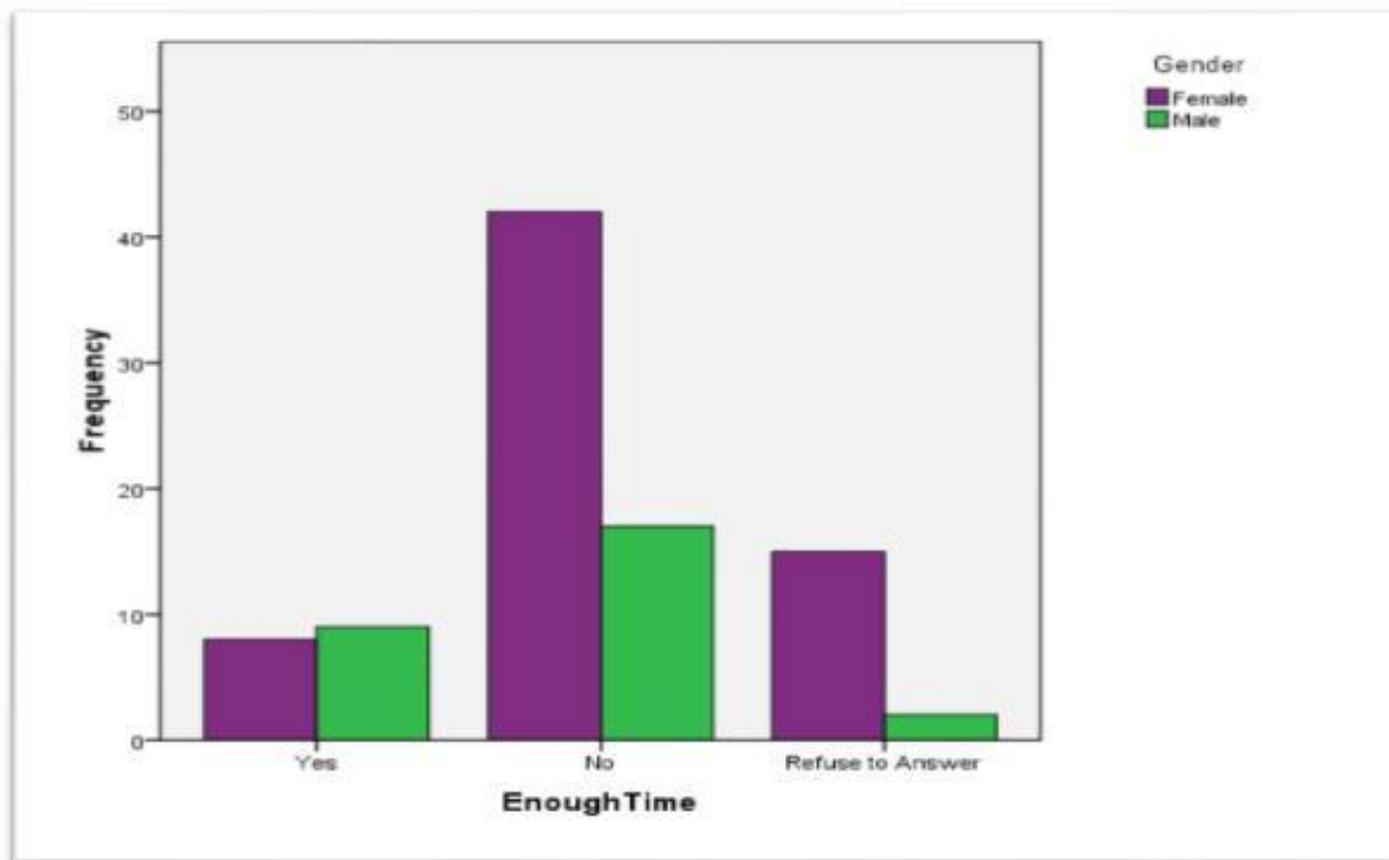


Figure 2. Respondent's view of time allocation

kasla awan ti malmalpas ti babae ti maysa aldaw...
 'one has to accomplish all the household work or else it will just be added work for the next say.

A mother's day to day is cyclical, from paid to unpaid work, with emphasis on care role and so an unfinished task from yesterday is but another burden of today.' Perhaps, husbands also see the 'never ending cycle' of women in the household, that some of them would tease and throw humor about women's work. Yet, in terms of care work, which women deliver well, women who have teenage children, still feel emotional inept in their parenting roles. Several women respondents lament the fact that they can no longer perform with satisfaction their care roles, especially in giving constant advice and guidance to their children. This entails so much time resource. Yet, the households remain resilient – and from the initial data, women have become the de facto safety nets.

It is also interesting to note that men spent more leisure time with neighbors or other farmers while women articulated that their leisure time normally is simultaneous to caring roles or performance of other unpaid work. Well-being, on the other hand, is contextualized not just in physical relaxation but also with emotional and spiritual rejuvenation.

In Tublay, rest and leisure is in the form of 'adivayan' where one visits the neighbourhood, share stories and whenever available, share food. They spend what is free from their strenuous day in the spirit of communion. Night time is a sleep time after a strenuous day, Sunday is supposed to be rest time, but in between, work is still around. Despite these strenuous work, thoughts of reunion with friends, old parents and other members of the community, is said to be comforting. 'When things go right,' that is, they are able to juggle work and time-out, they are able to visit friends or just make do with shortened chats with neighbours.

Participation in community activities is interestingly gendered too. Spiritual gatherings, school and community activities are participated in by women; pesticide company sponsored meetings are attended dominantly by men. Respondents also mentioned that women's organizations are active in community mobilization activities including

roadside cleaning.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings show that in a day, there is a large disparity of time utilization across genders especially on unpaid work. Both genders spend their day in farm work but it is the women who perform paid and unpaid work simultaneously. Time poverty has been expressed more for women. Care for teenagers is the dominant care undertaken by both parents and qualitative data reveal that the fathers usually provide for financial support while the mother provides emotional, psychological, and even academic assistance. The results of the study show that women's multiple roles remain undervalued and unrecognized. Sharing the performance of unpaid work between genders even at the household level can make a significant difference.

Focus group discussions as a data gathering methodology or as an adjunct to time use surveys bring about more productive data, hence, is recommended as a tool for data gathering in time use studies. Practical recommendations include sharing of unpaid work, mostly household chores between members of the household as well as across genders. This will certainly make a significant contribution to the improvement of household time poverty and burden of unpaid work.

In policy advocacy where institutional support could be provided in terms of health care facilities that are accessible and affordable to households as far as governance is concerned, specifically for LGUs, the initial information can be an input for gender sensitive policies and educational activities. LGUs, could further enhance its support to 'Day Care facilities', and other existing mechanisms that are helpful to gendered caring concerns, as evident in the study. The findings of the study can offer some methodologies in accounting for men and women's

contribution to work and development. This can also be a productive research area in the GAD research and advocacy activities.

In terms of research agenda, the study initially found out that an interesting dimension to explore is the indigenous notions of 'care' which can have great implications in public health care.

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