Changing Role of Women in Rural Agrarian Communities

Sharmini K. Kumara
P.R. Weerakkody

Research Report No: 138 March 2011

Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research and Training Institute
114, Wijerama Mawatha
Colombo 7
Sri Lanka

First Published: 2011

Typesetting and Lay-out: Dilanthi Hewavitharana

ISBN: 978-955-612-122-3

FOREWORD

Women in rural areas in Asian countries play a key role in smallholder agriculture. With economies in transition, rural women's daily life routines have changed. Threefold nature of the women's role disclose the different dimensions of infinite contribution provided by women to the national development which is yet insignificant in the national statistics.

This study provides a detailed description of this threefold contribution of women in rural agrarian communities through production, reproduction and community participation. An attempt has also been made to quantify their contribution to such areas. Thus, this report shows that not only women's participation in distinct tasks shapes their lifestyles, but also indicates that their contribution to development is measurable. It also leads to develop a discussion on how the farm family, farming community and women benefit through their roles in the threefold spheres. By disclosing the generational impact of risks, opportunities and coping mechanisms, the study shows a change in lifestyles through dislodging them from agriculture and agro-based industries.

Hence, it is hoped that this report would be useful to a vast range of stakeholders who are involved in gender and development.

Lalith Kantha Jayasekara
Director/HARTI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We, the Research Team are thankful to Mr. V.K. Nanayakkara the former Director, and Dr.W.G. Jayasena, the former Deputy Director, for giving us this opportunity to undertake this study.

We are eternally grateful to all the women who took time from their busy daily routines/schedules to help us understand how their lives have changed through the years. We are indebted to the graduates who worked as casual investigators and helped us to collect reliable and descriptive field information from the three locations of the project.

We appreciate the valuable comments and suggestions given to us by Dr. L.P. Rupasena, the Deputy Director (Research). Our sincere thanks go to Dr. Ramani Jayatilleke, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka, who reviewed the final version of the report and provided valuable comments and suggestions to improve its quality.

We also wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Lalith Kantha Jayasekera, the Director, HARTI for his support in bringing this report out as a publication.

Our sincere thanks go to Prof. W.I. Siriweera for the editing of the report and the Publication Unit for the final typesetting and page setting of the report. Finally, we wish to thank HARTI staff for their support which was extended to us in various ways until the report was finally published.

Sharmini. K. Kumara
P.R. Weerakoddy
Agricultural Resource Management Division
Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research and Training Institute.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the last few decades, the economy has been in transition, structurally. The influence this transition had on the role of women in low income farm households in the dry zone agricultural communities in Sri Lanka is the underlying theme of this study. The role of women was studied by employing the triple role framework and gathering data on key parameters which could influence the role of a woman, i.e. risks and opportunities and coping mechanisms employed. Taken in chronological order since the time of colonization of the dry zone, data were gathered on women representing several generations in three selected agrarian communities from villages of the dry zone namely; Bandagiriya, Aththanakadawala and Palugama.

As revealed, obvious changes are seen in the triple role of women i.e. productive, reproductive and community roles attributing to temporal variations of risks and opportunities and coping strategies employed by them. The women representing the 1950-1970 generation had faced a multitude of risks, but with the opportunities available in the subsistence agriculture, coping mechanisms were chosen to reduce the risks while confining them entirely to the productive and reproductive roles. With the gradual development of infrastructure, risks were reduced and opportunities increased for the 1970-1990 generation, but these were still in the agriculture sector in which they found coping mechanisms. The limited off- farm sector interventions did not provide them with adequate opportunities to choose distinct coping mechanisms which would propel them towards a changed role. Instead they continued with the traditional role in productive and reproductive spheres. With further improvements in rural infrastructure and facilities, the risks of the present generation women are curtailed, thus giving them a better quality of life in reproductive spheres. In contrast, emerging new risks stemming from population increase coupled with shortage of productive resources have resulted in limited opportunities to choose coping mechanisms from the agriculture sector too. The resultant decrease in time allocation for productive role in agriculture has been replaced by reproductive roles. This appears to be a pseudo replacement in the absence of reliable opportunities to effectively utilize the women's labour for productive roles either on-farm or off-farm. The role of the present generation women has taken a new turn with the addition of community roles with positive outcomes in terms of improved self esteem and better decision making in all spheres. The role of this generation of women denotes merely an underutilization of labour/surplus labour which can be effectively utilized to support these low-income farm households by providing appropriate coping mechanisms that fit the known gender relations at the household and society.

To achieve this, the study stresses the need to promote livelihood opportunities for diverse categories of women by increasing their access to inputs and improving infrastructure facilities for agricultural activities where necessary and feasible. In addition, addressing gaps in off-farm income generating activities, and promoting cottage industries that are compatible with gender relations would be another strategy. Another method would be to emphasize pro-livelihood improvement approaches at household level and extend support to economic empowerment projects and programmes for poor women through community based organizations.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

APPENDIXES

GLOSSARY

Grama Niladhari	A public official appointed by the Central government to carryout administrative duties in a *grama niladhari* division, which is an sub-unit of a Divisional Secretariat.
Purana village	An ancient village in Sri Lanka.
***Maha* Season**	Major cultivation season in Sri Lanka. The *Maha* Season from October-January or the period with excessive rainfall from the North-East monsoonal wind.
***Yala* Season**	This is the minor or dry season in Sri Lanka receiving rain from the South-East monsoon rains. *Yala* season is from March – June.
Chena	The many definitions are slash-and- burn cultivation or shifting cultivation, dry farming or swidden cultivation.
Bodhi pooja	The veneration of the *Bodhi*-tree by Buddhist.
Thovil	Is a ritual performed to recover from mental illnesses supposedly caused by demons and spirits.
Seetu	*Seetu* system is very popular money exchange/savings system where each member contributes an agreed amount every month or fortnight to a fund. Fund is disbursed among the members in an agreed method.
Pitanganaya	Common open area or space in front of the houses used as play area for children or to rear animals.
Pila	Verandah of a house.
Walawwa	Is the name given to a feudal/colonial manor house built by native headmen.
Gama Neguma	It is a large rural development and poverty alleviation program launched in 4,000 villages in Sri Lanka.
Api Wawamu Rata Nagamu	National campaign to motivate domestic food production.
Maga neguma	A Rural Road Development Programme initiated by the Sri Lanka Government to provide concrete roads to all villages.
Pola	Weekly outdoor market for sale of vegetables, fruits and other items**.**

Ayurvedic	A holistic approach to health that is designed to help people live long, healthy, and well-balanced lives
Roti	A South Asian bread made from whole meal flour and coconut.
Attam Labour	A traditional system of reciprocal labour exchange.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Study Background

Over the last few decades, the Sri Lankan economy has been in transition, structurally. This is clearly evident when one analyses data pertaining to agriculture sector vis-à-vis the agricultural contribution towards the Gross Domestic Product which has shown a decrease from 23.7% to 12.3%. Agricultural exports indicated a drastic reduction from 37.7% to 18.7% and agricultural employment dropped from 46.8% to 31.3% from 1990 to 2006 respectively (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2007). A variety of interventions varying from industrial expansion in remote areas, infrastructural development, technological innovations and organizational involvement have been some of the key factors behind the transition in different sections of the society. This is seen in the changing lifestyles and consumption patterns of the rural people. On the other hand, changes were also evident in crops grown, inputs, labour and use of machinery within the smallholder agricultural sector in the country where women play a key role.

Traditionally, the triple role of women vis-à-vis productive role in subsistence agriculture, and reproductive role within the household and the community role in the rural societies fashioned their lifestyles as appropriate to the circumstances prevailing in the diverse agrarian communities. As experienced by some Asian countries, women have become one of the key vulnerable groups of this transition (FAO, 1988). The question which now arises is what effects the said transition had on women in the rural sector which comprise 40.5% of the population in Sri Lanka (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2008). Some reviews and data establish that women in agriculture and agro-based livelihoods have been gradually displaced (Asian Development Bank, 2004). Thus, with dwindling opportunities, women in these agrarian communities had become one of the key vulnerable groups of this transition. How did women who led a traditional lifestyle cope with the said transition, how did they face the challenge of finding and granting better strategies to their next generations on how to cope with the transition, whether the said transition has provided them with better opportunities are some of the questions worth answering. This study is an attempt to generate detailed information on the impact of the said transition on the role of women in the dry zone agrarian communities in Sri Lanka.

1.2 The Research Problem

The main research question is, what is the fate of women in agrarian communities midst of the said transition? Many authors have documented a wealth of data on women's contribution in agriculture. For instance, Sirisena (1986), Gunawardena (1995) and Dhanapala (1998) on women's labour in agriculture, Kurian (1991) and Mehta (1991) on women in the plantation sector, Schijvers (1993) on Mahaweli settlements and Athukorale (1996) on irrigation, but none of them are upto date. Further, the implicit changes and outcomes could vary in extent and nature both temporally and spatially. There have been no studies to understand such variations. Thus, there exists an information gap owing to the lack of studies which helps one to

understand the impact of the said transition on the life of women in agrarian communities.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Lack of micro level studies on the aforesaid transition so as to support policy and program formulation for equitable development in the rural sector is a severe constraint. This study designed to explore the temporal variations of the role of women, reveals information pertaining to what risks women had faced and what opportunities and coping mechanisms were available to them? The triple role framework used in this analysis shows the reality in the household and the fact that unlike men, the women are inhibited due to the balancing act of the three roles. These circumstances have raised the issue of their inability to participate as equals in any planned interventions. By recognizing the multiple burdens on women's time, development interventions could be tailored to fit into her triple role. Moser (1993) emphasizes that, using the triple role analysis in any planning framework for development would be more effective through which gender needs of women could be fulfilled.

1.4 Study Objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the temporal variations of the role of women in agrarian communities in the dry zone of Sri Lanka.

1.4.1. Specific Objectives

1. To identify risks, opportunities and coping mechanisms available to women in different time contexts.
2. To differentiate the temporal changes in triple role of women.
3. To make appropriate recommendations to mainstreaming women more into rural development.

1.5 The Selection of Study Locations

In order to achieve the main study objective, namely exploration of the temporal variations of the role of women in agrarian communities, the following methodology was followed for choosing the study locations:

1. Method of irrigating agricultural crops: One of the key criterions which determine the nature of agricultural livelihoods of the agrarian communities in Sri Lanka is water. Hence, the selection of study locations was primarily stratified on the method of irrigation viz: whether irrigated by major schemes or by minor tanks or by rainwater.

   A settlement scheme is an integral part of irrigated agriculture in the country. In order to capture the temporal variations in the role of women in agrarian communities, attention was paid to choose both early and recent settlements while choosing study locations.

2. Spatial variation of the dry zone: The dry zone comprises of four main parts; North Central Dry Zone (NCDZ), Eastern Dry Zone (EDZ), North Eastern Dry Zone (NEDZ) and North Western Dry Zone (NWDZ). Due to the prevailing conflict situation, the selection of study locations was restricted to NCDZ, NWDZ and NEDZ and the villages were not chosen from the Eastern Dry Zone.

Accordingly, the following three villages have been selected for the study subject to time and other constraints, the research team had to face:

1. Palugama village in Kelegama Grama Niladhari Division: This is a *purana* village in the NWDZ of Sri Lanka. The cropping pattern is characterized by cultivation of paddy in lowlands in both seasons and rain-fed vegetables and other field crops in highlands largely in *maha* season.

2. Bandagiriya village: This is also a *purana* village situated in the NEDZ that was later irrigated under Kirindi Oya Irrigation and Settlement Project (KOISP). The cropping pattern is characterized by the cultivation of paddy on irrigated lands in both *maha a*nd *yala* seasons, and rain-fed highland crops largely in *maha* season.

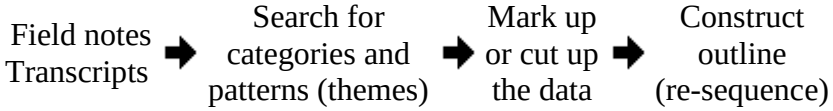
3. Aththanakadawala village: A village from Elahara scheme irrigated under the Mahaweli development project. Situated in the Polonnaruwa district, Aththanakadawala represents NCDZ. The cropping pattern is more or less similar to that of Bandagiriya.

1.5.1 Data Collection and Analysis

The design of inquiry for the collection of data comprised several steps:

1. Trained investigators were assigned to gather preliminary information on temporal variations in each village and base data pertaining to demography and resource profiles of the village.

2. The data collection and processing was based on two concepts, one of which was the conceptual framework given by Nigel Fielding (1993).



It is a qualitative method which is used to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meanings and 'definitions of the situation' presented by informants, rather than the production of a quantitative 'measurement' of their characteristics or behaviour.

3. Harvey (1990) has used a method of 'pile-building', in which data are first read 'vertically', usually in chronological order, to try and identify common themes and relations which are then coded. The data was then set up into 'piles' that

reflect the key themes. The re-ordered data was then re-read, enabling a sequential argument to be constructed.

4. Data collection for the study was primarily based on participatory methods. The data and information both quantitative and qualitative, were gathered through field notes and transcripts, were then examined to search for distinct categories of women based on their age range in which they gathered experience on productive functions from joining the labour force and the reproductive functions from joining the family life. Roughly, this age range was 20-45 years. Thus, three generations were identified with temporal demarcations;

   (a) 1950's to 1970's generation (b) 1970's to 1990's generation and (c) The present generation. The younger generation of school going age was not considered for data collection as this category had no experience on both productive and reproductive functions.

5. Thus, three generations were recognized from old settlements, Aththanakadawala and Bandagiriya, and were recognized as 50-70 generation, 70-90 generation and the present generation. There were three comparable generations in Palugama, a *purana* village. However, a few women of comparable 50-70 generation living in Palugama were unable to provide sufficient information of their early life and therefore data were largely gathered from 70-90 generation and the present generation.

6. Group discussions were held with women representing different generations in the study villages to gather data and information.

7. Meetings were held with the participation of village women in which they were grouped separately depending on which generation they could be placed. Then each group was separately invited to recall how most of them spent most of the days in the busy months of the year to gather data and information on the triple role of women.

8. In the group discussions, women from 50-70 generations who were almost above 80 years were asked to recall their early lifestyles and on how they allocate time for their daily activities. Unexpectedly, gathering data and information was difficult from this generation, but their daughters who were small children at that time supplemented the deficient information. Group discussions of the other two generations represented more women and they helped in preparing their activity schedules.

9. The data gathered through group discussions depicts a general picture about how an average woman in rural agrarian communities spent her time which could highlight important changes relating to triple roles both temporally and spatially. Gathered data were processed, analyzed with simple descriptive statistics and presented in tabular and graphical forms.

1.6 Limitations

The survey ran into a number of setbacks at the initial phase of the study. In the designing of the study, five locations were selected to represent different communities situated in diverse areas of Sri Lanka. However, due to the political situation which prevailed in the country, data at the time was not gathered from the Eastern part of the dry zone.

It was difficult to obtain comparable data from the 50-70 generation in Palugama, since the few representatives of the 50-70 generation found it difficult to recall incidents from their distant past.

1.7 Study Report

The introductory chapter provides a detailed introduction to this study and its outcome. The second chapter is a brief account of literature on the triple role concept of women and certain explanations on key terms used throughout this report. Chapter three illustrates the diversity of selected communities with a brief account of rural development which has taken place in the villages. Chapter four presents the results and discussions followed by the last chapter allocated for conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the triple role concept and how and where there have been changes. Also, a summary of the role of women in Sri Lankan agriculture is included at the end of the chapter.

2.2 Triple Role Concept

The notion of triple roles was used to analyze the gender distribution of roles within households. While women and men within the household may take part in all areas of activity, the division of roles between them is never homogeneous. Moser (1989) formulated the "Triple Roles" to draw attention to the multiplicity of demand of women's time mainly in low income households in the third world**.** Women in most societies, be it the developed or underdeveloped, assume and undertake reproductive, productive and community roles, while men are involved in productive and community politics.

1. **The productive roles:** This can be defined as income earning tasks, work done by either men or women for a payment in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange-value, and subsistence/home production with actual use-value, and also potential exchange-value. For women in agricultural production, this includes work as independent farmers, peasant wives and wage workers.

2. **The reproductive roles:** Women are seen to have primary responsibility in reproductive activities which refers to the care of children and tasks performed in the domestic sphere, such as child-bearing/rearing responsibilities, guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. It also includes not only biological reproduction, but also the care and maintenance of the work force (male partner and working children) and the future work force (infants and school-going children).

3. **The community roles**: The community roles are further divided by Moser (1989) into two sections; community-managing activities and community politics. Community work refers to involvements in community organizations such as organizing social functions and activities to improve the community and collective well-being. Community managing activities are generally performed by women, while men are involved primarily in the community politics (organizing political activity at the community level). Activities undertaken mainly by women at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role are ensuring the provision and maintenance of scarce resources, such as health care and education. This is voluntary unpaid work, undertaken during 'free' time.

2.3 The Role of Women in Agriculture

Women play a major, but largely unrecognized role in agriculture in most countries of the world. Though unrecognized, for the successful completion of agricultural work, the work of men and women are complementary. This failure to recognize their roles has led to skewed policies and programs, higher levels of poverty, food and nutrition insecurity and a decrease in agricultural output and other snags in women reaching their true potential. As Gunawardena (1990) points out, the invisibility of women is due to the nature of work they perform in the household and a multitude of tasks they are responsible for, in the farm.

Women are not only invisible in the conventional statistics in Sri Lanka but data or research on women and their lifestyles to a large extent is unknown and undocumented. Micro studies have employed time use data to show women's participation in agriculture through type of work, time spent on each activity of various members in the family and other aspects to detail out how women have actively worked in both productive and reproductive spheres.

In the Asian farm household, it is both the men and women who contribute to agricultural production. Evidence show that women contribute significantly to the household by their active labour participation. Gunawardena's time allocation study in Udawalawe in 1995 provides data to show the important role that women play, both at the domestic and productive spheres in their lives.

Where agriculture is the main stay of economic activity, women are always seen toiling in the paddy fields or in *chenas* either planting, transplanting, manuring, weeding, irrigating, harvesting and engaging in post-harvest activities. From pre-colonial times, women have worked along with men in the paddy fields and there are certain activities which are seen as specially delegated to women (Jayatilleke, 1990; Siriwardena, 1990). These subsistence activities which have been expressed as women's activities had ceased with the advent of commodity production generally seen as men's activities. While paddy is the main crop cultivated in the smallholder sector under major and minor irrigation, a proportion of land is under large range of subsidiary food crop sector. There is a clear division of labour as shown in many studies (Lund, 1979; Schrijver, 1985) both with regard to paddy and *chena* cultivation. Men were generally responsible for land preparation where tilling and ploughing are the more difficult jobs, and women were entrusted with jobs that were deemed easier such as sowing, transplanting, weeding and harvesting. Some authors show that in the initial settlement schemes, women's contribution in *chena* was mainly restricted to harvesting and processing of the produce as there were traditional rituals which debarred them due to the belief that they could add to pollution in certain circumstances. The introduction of new agricultural technologies necessitated wage labour and the migrant labour (Rajapakse, 1989). This led to a blurring of lines between a majority of agricultural tasks as both male and female wage labourers had no choice in the tasks. In the dry zone, preference is for women as migrant workers in the paddy field as they are considered better workers, cheaper source of labour and work longer hours (Sirisena, 1986; Siriwardena, 1990).

The main trend in agricultural development in the country has been through government sponsored resettlement schemes and irrigation development. With respect

to agricultural transformation taking place in the country, many studies have focused on women in settlement schemes like the "Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme" and the "Kirindi Oya Irrigation and Settlement Project" (KOISP). A detailed study on "Peasant Women in the Mahaweli System", elucidates how women's position in agriculture has been marginalized (Schrijver, 1985 and 1993). This marginalization is due to system of land ownership from share ownership to individual ownership, increase of wage labour and erosion of *chena* cultivation which was mainly conducted by women and increasing cash based crops. Unlike in *purana* villages; in the settlement and colonization schemes, there had been detrimental effects on the social fabric of women's lives. Lund (1979) points out that colonization programmes have led to social segregation of women. Investigation by Rajapaksha (1989) in Mahaweli areas shows the impact of new agricultural technology on women. Here the author demonstrates that new technology has impacted on the traditional systems of exchange labour and slow change in the traditional gender divisions in labour in agriculture. Another aspect that has seen change is, how development has caused environmental degradation which has impacted on rural women, which is due to the lack of local natural resources for food, water and fuel wood for subsistence (Ulluwishewa, 1995).

2.4 Risks, Opportunities and Coping Strategies

Risks, opportunities and coping strategies are defined and explained by many authors in different ways. Risks arise from many different factors, both predictable and unpredictable (UNDP 2007). Events such as illnesses, accidents, death of breadwinner, crop failure and disasters are a few factors which cause a risk to a household. The uncertainties of droughts, floods, pest attacks and rains are some of the risks that poor women in rural areas whose livelihood depend on agriculture have to struggle. Adverse measures and a limited capacity to cope with these conditions interrupt household welfare.

This study looks at risks faced by rural women in their productive and reproductive functions in their daily lives.

Farmers who are exposed to risks, utilize various coping strategies to ensure survival despite all odds. Coping strategies can be classified into ex ante and ex post, depending on whether risks are reduced or they reduce the impact of risk (IFAD, 2009). Further ex ante strategies can be grouped into two, where risks are reduced by diversification or where there is a greater flexibility in decision-making. Diversification is where a person will branch into alternatives, whereas flexibility has the ability to switch between activities as and when demanded.

2.5 Summary

The significance of considering women and men separately in economic roles lies in the notions of gender roles and relations. Utilization of the triple role framework as an analytical tool, gives one a better understanding of women's involvement in multitude of tasks in productive, reproductive and community spheres. The post independent Sri Lanka development was a gender neutral exercise with an expectation that there would be equitable development regardless of differences. But, what had occurred

was inequity in many terms. In facing risks, women have utilized various coping strategies to overcome events such as drought or food scarcity.

CHAPTER THREE

Temporal Changes in Dry Zone Agrarian Communities

3.1 Introduction

The development of rural areas has been largely through a progression of state interventions from the early 50's. While economic and agricultural development policies and plans have exerted an influence on rural agricultural development, physical development of rural areas has largely been confined to infrastructure development in irrigation and transportation to institutionalization of other services such as health and education. State-sponsored welfare policies have reached the people in the form of free education and health services and numerous other government services. This section gives a brief account of rural development which has taken place in the agrarian communities selected for this study.

3.2 Aththanakadawala Village

Aththanakadawala 29th North colony in the GN division of the Elahara Pradeshiya Saba is one of the oldest colonization schemes (1950's) in the Polonnaruwa district. The Amban ganga was dammed and Elahara *anicut* was initially built during the reign of King Vasabha in the first century A.D. The Yoda Ela was rehabilitated in 1949 after centuries of neglect, and it is through this canal that water was diverted for cultivation. The Yoda Ela is presently fed from waters of the Bowatenna reservoir after the completion of the Mahaweli development project. In the 1950's the jungle area was cleared and 93 families from the Central Province from areas of Matale, Dumbara, Harispatuwa and Kandy were settled. Each settler family had to comprise of husband and wife with or without children. The village now has people of four generations of which three generations were considered for data collection.

Table 3.1 illustrates the important changes that have taken place in this rural community since its inception and some of the highlights are as follows:

a. **Housing:** People were settled in 1953 in temporary houses both sheltered and covered with cadjan. Later houses termed as colony houses were built with cement, brick and tiles. Each house consisted of two rooms and a temporary kitchen. With passage of time they have been converted to permanent houses, comparatively more comfortable than the original colony houses, but most of them are not yet completed.

b. **Sources of Energy:** The conventional means of lighting houses i.e. the kerosene oil lamps, have been replaced by electricity in 85 percent of houses and by a few solar power equipment. Firewood gathered from the surroundings or bought from sellers is still the source of energy for cooking.

Table 3.1: Changes in Infrastructure and Other Facilities over Generations in Aththanakadawala Village

Infrastructure & other Facilities	50-70 Generation	70-90 Generation	Present Generation
Housing	93 temporary houses Later colony houses	200 original colony houses Several temporary houses	Few colony houses 493 permanent houses
Energy **Lighting** **Cooking**	Kerosene oil lamps Firewood	Kerosene oil lamps Firewood	Electricity - 85% houses, Solar power in few, kerosene oil lamps in the rest. Firewood- 95% houses, occasional use of gas and electric power
Water **Portable** **Other**	Provided by the government Wells, springs and small water holes	Wells and tube wells Wells, canals .	Piped borne water in 75% houses, wells, tube wells. Canals
Toilets	Not available, later pit toilets	Pit toilets in all homes	Water-sealed toilets
Health	Mobile clinic Later rural hospital Traditional treatment Persons practiced *Ayurvedic* medicine	Rural hospital upgraded *Ayurvedic* doctors	Rural hospital further upgraded
Education	Primary school	Primary school upgraded	*Nawodaya* School Two pre-schools
Roads	Gravel road Cart tracks	Main road tarred Gravel roads	Main road tarred, gravel and concrete roads
Communication	No village post office, letters telegrams	Village post office, letters and telegrams	Land /mobile phones for 95% houses, internet for 4 families

Source: Survey Data, 2009

c. **Water:** At the beginning, the government provided water using bowsers twice a week for drinking. For other purposes, wells, springs and water holes were utilized. Tube wells were later constructed by the government, but these are not working properly at the moment. Then, the government with the support of the Canadian government set up a water scheme in 2002 and 75 percent of families from the village have benefited from this scheme.

d. **Health:** There was a clinic manned by a doctor who visited twice a week in 1953 from the Matale hospital. Initial settlers used traditional treatment such as devil dance, *bodhi pooja,* and *thovil*. There were also persons who knew *ayurvedic* medicine. A rural hospital had been constructed in the village recently and has two wards. It is manned by three medical officials. A maternity clinic is under construction at present.

e. **Education:** Primary school which functioned in an impermanent building was developed through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) funds. It is now upgraded to a *Navodya* school. There are two pre-schools in the village.

f. **Roads:** The main roads which were gravel paths and cart tracks have gradually given way to tarred and concrete roads in the majority of the areas of the village.

g. **Food Processing:** Initially paddy was milled manually at home by women. This has changed with the establishment of two mills in the village. Now the number of mills have increased to 5.

h. **Interventions and Aids:** The initial generation was supported by the World Food Programme through food rations. The government continuously intervened in health and education. There was a rapid development through Mahaweli development project after 1975 due to expansion and rehabilitation of irrigation canals and construction of a building for administrative activities. In the early 1980's a Vocational Training Centre for cloth weaving was established. In the 1990's, Nanasala e-Sri Lanka and a Cultural Development Centre were established. *Sarvodhya,* a Non-governmental organization (NGO) has set up offices in the village. The village has benefited from the national programmes for poverty alleviation and through the recent *gama naguma* programme

All these changes have had an impact on agriculture, the main livelihood of the people at the initial stage as evident from the data in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Changes in Agriculture related Statistics over Generations in Aththanakadawala Village

Particulars	50-70 Generation	70-90 Generation	Present Generation
Upland availability	3 ac/family	1.5 -1 ac	1-0.5 ac
Lowland availability	5 ac/family	1.5 -1ac	1-1/2 ac
Source of seeds	*Purana* villages Government provided	DOA* own seeds	DOA, Own seeds Private sector
Use of agro-chemicals	Only organic manure *Kem* methods	Chemical fertilizer and weedicides	Large amounts of agro-chemicals
Paddy milling for consumption	Manual home made	2 village mills	5 village mills
Source of power for agriculture	100% Buffaloes	70% buffaloes 30% machinery	100% machinery
Formal Credit Sources	DOAS**	Government banks	Government banks, Rural societies
Informal Credit Sources	Relations, money lenders, traders	Relations, money lenders, traders	*Seettu*
Marketing of Produce	Co-operative outlet	Paddy Marketing Board (PMB), collectors and small retail stores	Collectors from large mills, and retail stores in the town

* Department of Agriculture
**Department of Agrarian Services
Source: Survey Data, 2009.

Table 3.2 shows changes which have taken place in terms of availability of agricultural resources, access to supportive services and some indicators which reflect the nature of agricultural activities carried out by the people over generations.

Drastic observable changes are;

a. Decreased availability of land due to division of land among the latter generations as it is customary in the country where the children inherit land from their parents. But, these lands are not legally divided.

b. Disappearance of the use of organic manure, gradual drop of soil fertility plus increased use of agro-chemicals with the advent of the green revolution package of technology.

c. Drastic reduction in the use of draught power due to mechanized sources of land preparation such as the 2 and 4 wheel tractor. With agricultural technology continuing to break new ground, the use of the combined harvester for a multitude of tasks for harvesting, threshing, winnowing and packaging of paddy by the present generation has increased.

d. Gradual disappearance of seed security and its replacement by the private sector.

e. Disappearance of *Kem* methods, the traditional methods of plant protection.

f. While sources of informal credit have remained the same, avenues of formal credit have expanded giving a better choice of government banks and other organizations such as non-governmental organizations.

g. Expansion of formal credit sources to give a better choice of government banks and other organizations such as the Co-operative Credit Society can be observed. There was little attempt to obtain money from money lenders but use of other informal methods such as *seettu* have been practiced.

h. Gradual expansion of marketing avenues from co-operatives, Paddy Marketing Board to private sector could be observed. This is due to better infrastructural developments in the village such as roads which brought in dealers to the village and also due to policy changes giving farmers a wider choice for the sale of their produce.

3.3 Palugama Village

The Kelegama GN division in the Galgamuwa Divisional Secretariat in the Kurunegala District consists of three villages namely, Kelegama, Palugama and Hapukumbura. Of these, Palugama village was selected for detailed data collection. The entrance to the village is along the Kurunegala - Anuradhapura road and it is 4 k.m. away from Galgamuwa town. The village is characterized by rainfed minor irrigated agriculture system in the North Western part of the dry zone. This *purana* village has been renowned for its pottery from ancient times. Pottery has been the main source of livelihood for most of the villagers. They obtained raw materials for clay pots from the village tanks during the dry periods. Pottery was sold to people in the surrounding areas who came specially to buy their requirement of utensils. They exchanged clay utensils for vegetables and rice on barter system.

The people now living in this village represent four generations, but there are only a handful of persons from the oldest generation which is tentatively comparable to 50-70 generation of the settlement village. Information of 50-70 generation was sketchy in nature as the re-collection of those interviewed was poor. More detailed information was gathered from the 70-90 and present generations.

Table 3.3: Changes in Infrastructure and Other Facilities over Generations in Palugama Village

Infrastructure & other Facilities	50-70 Generation	70-90 Generation	Present Generation
Housing	Around 60 temporary houses	Semi-permanent houses	Around 200 permanent houses
Energy **Lighting** **Cooking**	 Kerosene lamps Firewood	 Kerosene lamps Firewood	 Electricity and kerosene lamps Firewood
Water **Portable** **Other**	 *Wewa* *Wewa*	 *Walawwa* well *Wewa*	 Own wells *Wewa*
Toilets	*No toilets*		Own pit toilet
Health	Ayurvedic medicine	Hospital in Galgamuwa town 4 km from village	
Education	No formal school	School in Buduruwakanda outside the village	
Interventions & Aids	Non	Ration card World Food Programme	Built tanks. "Api Wawamu Rata Nagamu" Programme
Roads	Gravel paths	Gravel paths	One concrete road gravel roads
Communication	Through friends	Post office in the town	Mobile phones and land phones
Religious Institutions	No temple in the village		

Source: Survey Data, 2009

Table 3.3 illustrates the transitions which had taken place over generations in the village. Given below are some of the important developments that have made an impact on the village:

a. **Housing**: Houses which were built in a semi-circle in the central area clustered together in an area of 2 acres amidst the jungle. In the middle was a common open space called the *pitanganaya* for purposes of rearing animals and a play area for children. The houses were made of clay, smeared with cow dung and covered with cadjan and had a living room called *pila* and an internal area. Over time, the individual families have moved away from community living to an individualized style of living. Later, houses were built of brick and tiles. Most of these houses consisted of living room, bedroom, kitchen and toilet. Even today more than 3/4 of the houses are in the process of being built.

b. **Sources of Energy**: Sources of lighting have changed from kerosene lamps purchased at 12 cents/bottle in the earlier days to electricity which was supplied to the village in the year 2000. Firewood gathered from the homestead was used as the source of energy for cooking over generations.

c. **Water:** Water for all purposes was taken initially from the tanks and was purified using seeds called 'Igini' (*Strychnos potatorum)* for drinking purposes. During the dry season, the villagers had to trek miles into the jungles to find water sources. The latter generations obtained water for drinking purposes from the *Walawwa* well which was situated in the compound of the richest and high caste family in Kelegama village. Gradually with time, wells were built in each individual home. The village still does not have its own water supply scheme and therefore, no piped borne water is available to individual houses.

d. **Education:** Unlike in other villages, there is no school in the village. During the initial generation, children were taught by the elders in the village. This had gradually changed in the 70's with children going to a school 2 km. away from the village. The school initially had only one teacher and very few pupils, and gradually expanded with the number of pupils and, is presently a fully fledged school. This school was/is known as the Buduruwakanda school.

e. **Roads:** The main roads were initially gravel paths and with time one main road leading to the Kurunegala-Anuradhapura road was constructed under the *Gama Neguma* Programme.

f. **Health:** There is neither a dispensary nor a clinic in the village. Villagers obtained medical facilities from the hospital in the Galgamuwa town which was only 4 km away. During the earlier years of 1950's and 1960's most of the population did not rely on western medicine. They depended on Ayurvedic medicine" for almost all illnesses.

g. **Interventions and Aids**: The village had no intervention from any outside agency in the past, except some help from the government under the World Food Programme. The major government interventions in the village is the recent food drive, *Api Wawamu Rata Nagamu* programme and the tank rehabilitation work under 10,000 tank rehabilitation scheme. Under the *Maga Neguma* programme, there are several programmes that are to be initiated in the coming year.

Table 3.4 illustrates the changes in the village which occurred in the agriculture sector in the course of time.

a. Unlike in other locations, there had been an increase of private land from 2 to 5 to 6 acres due to purchasing of land with money earned from pottery.

b. There is a reduction in the use of draught power. Animal power has been replaced with machinery owned by most of the households using money made out of pottery.

Table 3.4: Changes in Agriculture related Statistics over Generations in the Palugama Village

Particulars	50-70 generation	70-90 generation	Present generation
Upland availability	2 ac /family	1-5 ac /family	½-6 ac/family
Lowland availability	3 ac /family	1-5 ac /family	¾-6 ac/family
Source of seeds	Own seeds		Government certified seeds producers
Use of agrochemicals and fertilizer	Organic	Chemical fertilizer and organic fertilizer like hay	Chemical fertilizer and organic fertilizer use both pesticides and weedicides
Paddy milling for household needs	Manually		One mill in the village
Source of power for agriculture	100% draught power		100% machinery
Formal credit	No sources of credit	Government banks	Women's society and Samurdhi Bank, Rural Bank,*Wayamba* Development Bank
Informal credit	Relations and friends		
Marketing of produce -Agricultural Food -Pottery	No marketable surplus Certain quantity of pottery made was sold	No marketable surplus Exchanged pots with food items	20 families sell paddy and a few vegetables and OFC, tamarind traders who come to the village and at the weekly *Pola*

Source: Survey Data, 2009

c. Replacement of traditional methods of plant protection and manuring with chemical methods.

d. Disappearance of seed security among farmers with more dependence on the open market.

e. Expanded access to a variety of government and private sector banks in Galgamuwa town. Informal credit sources have remained the same.

f. Surplus of paddy, vegetables and other field crops (OFC) and tamarind are sold at the weekly *pola* or to traders who come to the village. Diversified the pottery items and moved away from barter system to a cash based system.

3.4 Bandagiriya Village

Bandagiriya is located in the Lunugamvehera Divisional Secretariat (DS) in the Hambantota district in the South Eastern part of the dry zone. There is historical evidence of a temple built by King Mahanaga. The name Bandagiriya was derived from *Badda-u-giriya* (the joined rocky mountain). This is one of the oldest settlement schemes in the Southern Province where people were settled in three phases. The initial settler families were young married families with either one child or two children or newly married couples. In 1956, around 300 families were settled from 18 villages from Hambantota, Koholankala, Kahandamodara, Lewaya Egodaha, Tissamaharamaya, Pallemalala and Weligatta. Each family was given 2 acres of upland and 3 acres of lowland. In the 2nd phase in 1965, another 500 families were settled. And in the 3rd phase, 100 families were settled in 1973. The village now has four generations of which three generations were selected for data collection.

Table 3.5 illustrates the important developments that had taken place from the time of the initial settlement to the present day.

a. **Housing:** The original houses built were temporary mud huts till the government provided the settlers with "colony houses" which were one room roof tiled cemented homes. These houses were gradually converted into bigger houses to accommodate the growing number of children in the families. Of the total number of 288, only 61 houses have cadjan as roofing material.

b. **Sources of Energy**: Till 1985, all families had used kerosene oil lamps. Now 250 houses have electricity, while the rest use kerosene oil lamps. For cooking purposes, firewood is still utilized in almost all the homes.

c. **Water:** During the initial period, there was an immense problem with portable water and for a span of nearly 10 years water was given to settlers by the government through bowsers. After the completion of the Lunugamwehera reservoir, a drinking water project was initiated in 1992. Another rural water scheme for obtaining drinking water was completed in 2004 which supplied water to each household at a cost. Water for other purposes was obtained from the Bandagiriya tank.

Table 3.5: Changes in Infrastructure and Other Facilities over Generations in Bandagiriya Village

Infrastructure & other Facilities	50-70 Generation	70-90 Generation	Present Generation
Housing	Temporary shelters Colony houses	Colony houses	288 permanent houses
Energy Lighting	Kerosene oil lamps	Kerosene oil lamps and electricity in 1985	Electricity in 250 houses
Cooking	Firewood	Firewood	Firewood
Water Portable	Government provided	Government provided	Lunugamwehera water supply scheme & Mau Ara tank since 2004
Other purposes	Bandagiriya tank	Bandagiriya tank	Lunugamwehera irrigation scheme
Toilets	No toilets	Pit toilets	240 pit and water sealed toilets
Health	Central dispensary and *Ayurvedic* Medical Center	Bandagiriya entral Dispensary and *Ayurvedic* Medical Center	Bandagiriya Central Dispensary
Education	Village school	Bandagiriya Primary and Secondary school	Bandagiriya Maha Vidyalaya
Roads & Transportation	Gravel paths, Bullock carts	Tarred road and bus service	Tarred road, bus service, motorbikes and push bicycles
Communication	Village post office	Village post office	Mobile and land phones

Source: Survey Data, 2009

d. **Health:** A central dispensary was built in 1965. But, due to the shortage of doctors and financial difficulties, this was closed down in 1978 and re-opened only in 1992. During this period the villagers had to go to the town for their medical needs. *Ayurvedic* Medical Centre was established in 1978 which flourished as many a person especially from the older generation preferred the use of ayurvedic medicine.

e. **Education:** The primary school (Bandagiriya school) which commenced in 1957 is presently a fully fledged school (both secondary and primary). In 1992, the school received foreign funds to expand and renovate its building.

f. **Roads and transportation**: Initially people had to walk around 5 miles by foot to reach the nearest town. Later a gravel road was cut across the jungle in

1966. Vehicular transportation was started in 1967 with a private bus plying from the village to town. Operating a Ceylon Transport Board (CTB) bus started in 1973.

g. **Communication:** A village post office was established in 1978 which broadened the communication opportunity for the villages.

h. **Interventions and Aids**: In 1956, the tank bund was raised by 10 feet and later it was further raised to 14 feet to help impound a larger quantity of water. CIDA and the NGO Mercy Corps built a new community hall in 2007.

Table 3.6 illustrates the changes in the village which occurred in the agriculture sector in the course of time.

a. Decreased availability of agricultural land from 3 to 1-1/2 acre/family.
b. Gradual disappearance of traditional plant protection and manuring methods.
c. Increased use of mechanized agricultural activities with combined harvesters and threshers for harvesting.

Table 3.6: Changes in Agriculture related Statistics over Generations in the Bandagiriya Village

Particulars	50-70 generation	70-90 generation	Present generation
Upland availability	2 ac/family	1 ac/ family	1- ½ ac /family
Lowland availability	3 ac/family	1- ½ ac/family	1- ½ ac/family
Source of seeds	Government provided	Own seeds, DOA	Own seeds, DOA and the private sector
Use of agro-chemicals	*Kem* methods for pest control, organic manure	Pesticides, weedicides and chemical fertilizer	Same
Paddy milling for consumption	Manually	One village mill	Many village mills
Source of power for agriculture	100% draught power	Draught power and machinery	Machinery
Formal credit	None	Government sources	Co-operative bank Government banks and private sector banks
Informal credit	Village money lender	No change	
Marketing of produce	Co-operative outlet	Private sector buyers and PMB*	Private sector buyers

*Paddy Marketing Board
Source: Survey Data, 2009

d. Moving away from a dependency on government sources for seeds to own seeds plus seeds obtained from private sources.
e. Improved paddy milling facilities.
f. Lack of a variation in the formal and informal sources of credit as in other areas.
g. Paddy marketed through co-operatives, PMB and private sector vendors.

3.5 Summary

Changes have taken place within the communities, be it the provision of infrastructural or basic needs of people. All communities have experienced a gradual improvement in facilities from bigger and larger schools to electricity in homes, use of advanced agricultural technologies to produce a marketable surplus of agricultural products, establishment of outside links with the village, expanded job opportunities, access to input and product markets, and outside interventions to the village. This has changed the lifestyles of the population in many ways. Though overall development has taken place among these communities in Palugama, it still does not have a pipe borne water system.

CHAPTER FOUR

Role of Women in Agrarian Communities

4.1 Introduction

The central objective of this study is to explore the likelihood of a temporal and spatial variation of the triple role of women in agrarian communities attributing the changes to the risks and opportunities existing over generations. The structural transition of economy could have far reaching implications on the given risks and opportunities and thereby on the role of women in agrarian communities. This chapter discusses women's experiences set in the different chronological situations through generations which give an impression as to how they fit or adjust to the given risks and opportunities during different generations of their lives. Diverse locations in the dry zone, both irrigated and rain-fed, have been studied to shed some light on the impact of the spatial variation of the role of women in agrarian communities since the date they could recall.

4.2 The Role of Women in 50-70 Generation

At the beginning, settled areas of two communities were forest areas. The initial settlers had to establish a new agricultural system on the cleared jungle area. Women of this generation had a very complicated life as they were living in an environment which was very inhospitable. Having come to the colony, they had to struggle with hostile environmental conditions to establish a new lifestyle to suit the new environment.

The initial temporary houses lacked basic facilities and on rainy days surroundings became muddy. These families had many children from eight to ten in number, diseases were common and families experienced high death rates of two to three per family. Life was very insecure that they often faced problems of infectious diseases, frequent droughts and wild animals' threats to cultivated fields and even to their homesteads. When husbands were in the *chena* , the women kept awake at night to safeguard the home. The burden of family welfare fell squarely on women's shoulders as the men were busy working in the paddy fields or away in the *chena.*

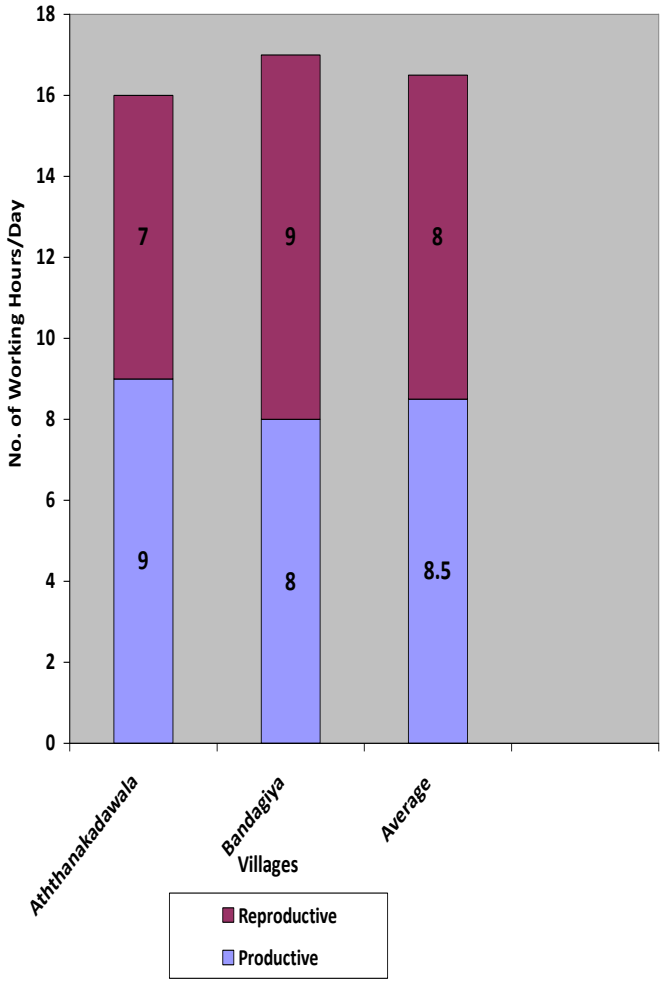
There were food insecurity problems during the initial period. The only assistance provided by the government was cash amounting to Rs.500/= per month. This was an allowance for food and other basic needs till the settlers could obtain the first harvest. The food ration was limited to only food items like rice, flour, tinned-fish, dry-fish, dhal, sugar and tea as the settlers did not produce food. Some families brought food items from their home villages. Other nutritious foods like vegetables and fruits were hard to find in the initial period and women had to search the surrounding areas for these items.

Having come to the new settlement, they faced severe scarcity of water for all purposes, and that made their new lives very difficult. Only a small quantity of water was supplied from bowsers every 2 days at the initial stages and this system lasted for nearly ten years. For the rest of the water requirements, women had to collect water from sources distances away. During severe drought periods they dug pits in dried

tanks and sometimes waited till midnight till they were filled with water. There were a number of families who returned to their original villages at one time or the other due to the shortage of water for cultivation.

Figure 4.1 indicates how women in the 50-70 generation allocated their time to perform productive and reproductive functions to maintain their family. Though there is a slight spatial variation in the total number of daily working hours (Appendixes 1 and 2), it is obvious that women had worked longer hours to perform the twin role which totals to 16 hours in Aththanakadawala and 17 hours in Bandagiriya with an average of 16.5 hours. The time allocation between twin roles also varied by villages which amounted to 9 and 7 hours in Aththanakadawala and 8 and 9 hours in Bandagiriya respectively for productive and reproductive functions. According to their schedules, there was no time for leisure. More or less equal attention was paid to productive and reproductive functions.

Figure 4.1: Time Allocation by Women of the 50-70 Generation in Study Locations



Source: Survey Data, 2009

4.2.1 Reproductive Role

The womenfolk of these early settlers had a very difficult and tiring work load to attend to from the time they woke up in the morning. On an average, women in the 50-70 generation had allocated 8.5 hours to perform their reproductive role within the daily work schedule which comprised many functions. The allocation of time between these tasks revolved within two marked time slots; one in the morning for a few hours from the time they woke up till they started their productive functions and the other which began with setting off for productive work till they went to sleep.

The morning household chores began with the preparation of both, breakfast and lunch. Mostly, yams or *roti* were made for breakfast whereas lunch was prepared with rice, dhal, and a vegetable, if available. Having completed the cooking, women attended to children's work and sent them to school. Then they attended to other household tasks such as cleaning both inside and outside the home. Taking food and tea to husbands working in the paddy field or *chena* was also a women's task. This was attended to in the morning or at noon as the need arose.

Having completed the domestic work in the morning, and partaking in breakfast, they attended to productive work, had lunch and a short rest at noon and then went back to productive work. The break in the day's productive work was in the evening. A bath was usually taken on the way back from the tank (*Bandagiriya wewa, Karamba wewa)* or water canals in Aththanakadawala. Usually on the way back from the bath, women and the older children brought home water for household activities. Firewood was usually collected from the surrounding areas which in the initial stages was jungle or shrub land. Returning home, the women cooked dinner, which proved to be a tiring task which entailed hard work due to the necessity of grinding spices, hand milling of rice and cooking over the firewood hearth. One of the main tasks in the night was to grind *kurakkan* manually and this was after a day's hard work in the field. After dinner and completion of the daily task, women retired for the day till the dawn of the next day, waking up early morning to continue with the daily routine once again.

The reproductive responsibilities also included the protection and welfare of children but no details were reported regarding attending to children's school work by women in the 50-70 generation. Women were also aware of the fact that it was in their hands to keep aside, save and store food till the next harvest. In addition, they made it a point to store a part of the grains as seeds for the next season. This was the case in all the three locations of Aththanakadawala, Palugama and Bandagiriya where the initial settlers stored *kurakkan* (finger millet), maize, sorghum, sesame and other vegetable seeds to be used for the next season.

4.2.2 Productive Role

On an average, women have allocated around 8 hours for their productive functions where they played a very active role like their husbands. The productive tasks continued in between the two time slots in which women performed their reproductive role. Having completed the domestic work in the morning, they attended to productive tasks which were basically three types of agricultural work.

1. **Home Gardening:** At the initial stages, one of the responsibilities of women in all communities was to cultivate home gardens which provided them with many food and medicinal items. Women cleared the land, made beds and did other work necessary for cultivation of the home garden at the onset of rain. Items grown were *kurakkan* the vegetables, corn, mung bean, sorghum and millet.

2. ***Chena* Cultivation:** After several years, settlers had started *chena* cultivation in the closest forest in the *maha* season. They worked in *chena* till late evening, clearing scrub lands and preparing the land. Crops grown were *kurakkan*, sesame, maize, vegetables and yams. Women did weeding and other activities in the *chena* till the harvest. They also spent long hours to protect the seeds sown and crops from birds and animals. Women also contributed to harvesting.

3. **Paddy Cultivation:** Women performed a number of tasks in the paddy fields from clearing jungles for land preparation to uprooting roots, sowing paddy, weeding, harvesting and carrying bundles of paddy to the *kamatha*. There was a fairly rigid division of labour in paddy cultivation. Women were mainly involved in weeding and harvesting, while the activities of using draught power, sowing, manuring and threshing were the main functions of men. Both involved in manual land preparation, winnowing and tending to draught animals.

4.2.3 Community Role

Initial settlers belonged to a diverse community in terms of caste, class and place of origin. Therefore, the social interaction between families was minimum. So were the community functions of women among these settler families. Hence, no marked allocation of time could be seen for community functions by women in this generation. Caste issues, especially in Aththanakadawala at the initial stages created problems and this had led to absence of any community activity among the families. Families had to struggle to reach a certain economic standard for which both the husband and wife worked together as much as possible. In addition, the tiring life of women who bore the responsibility of almost all the household functions did not permit them to build relationship with villagers for several years. Seldom visiting a temple, women prayed daily at home. The initial land was given to the family where the male was the head of the family. Therefore, women's access to resources and services were mainly through males.

In Aththanakadawala, initially there was only the farmer organization where men were involved. The Death Donation Society and the Grama Sanwardana Samithiya were added in the course of time. In Palugama, there were no organizations of any kind. In Bandagiriya, there was only a Death Donation Society and a farmer organization.

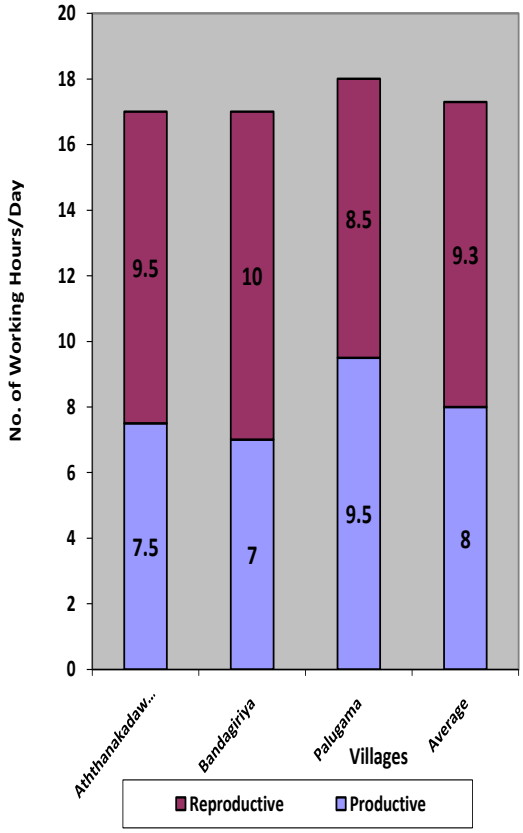
The settler's practiced beliefs and rituals which had been passed down through generations regarding agricultural practices. Most of the rituals were performed to protect the family from diseases, and crops from diseases, pest attacks and climatic disasters.

4.3 The Role of Women in 70-90 Generation

With the passing of years, as in the rest of the country, there were signs of development taking place in the study villages. Development in fact has taken many forms. Unlike the previous generation who had to trek long distances to reach the main road, accessibility was made more convenient from village to town with tarred roads and bus services. There were improved health and communication services due to setting up of a dispensary and a post office. Schools were upgraded. Unlike the early generation, 70-90 generation was more assured of water for cultivation in both *maha* and *yala* seasons in Bandagiriya and Aththanakadawala. Therefore, there was work in the agricultural sector throughout the year, but they hardly found any other means of generating an income. Nevertheless, the role of women representing the 70-90 generation of the two settlement schemes had not shown a marked change (Figure 4.2). They also have worked longer hours amounting to 17 hours on an average. This time set apart to perform productive and reproductive roles, was 7.5 and 9.5 hours in Aththanakadawala and 7 and 10 hours in Bandagiriya, respectively. This shows that unlike the 50-70 generation, they had worked more in domestic spheres (Appendixes 3, 4 and 5) than in the productive sphere. With links built among the new neighbours in the community, women tended to share their labour in agricultural activities. Some of the women worked for a payment, while the rest utilized their labour for many household chores.

Palugama is an old village where there are differences when compared to communities who inhabit settlement villages. In addition to farming activities, women in Palugama were involved in pottery, a cottage industry which was traditional to this village over generations. They had worked longer hours than women in many settlement schemes, i.e 9.5 and 8.5 hours in productive and reproductive functions respectively with a total of 18 hours (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Time Allocation by Women of 70-90 Generation in Study Locations



Source: Survey Data, 2009

4.3.1 Reproductive Role

As in the 50-70 generation, women's workload in the reproductive sphere in their own household remained more or less the same, and was within two discrete time slots of the day. In the morning, women started the domestic chores such as attending to children, preparing breakfast and lunch, collecting water and cleaning the house and the surroundings and attending to children's work before sending them off to school. In the evening, having completed the domestic tasks they went to bathe in the waterways in the village such as tanks (*Palugama wewa*) or canals in settlement schemes. Having returned home, started the evening chores of preparing dinner. Usually they ended the day by going to sleep as soon as work was completed. In places like Aththanakadawla women went to bed as early as 7 p.m. as young children slept early and also due to fear of wild animals.

Though the domestic workload remained similar to the role of the earlier generation the tasks became little easier. Food preparation was not a tedious task as milled rice was available to this generation.

4.3.2 Productive Role

Wage and *attam* labour are the new aspects of the productive role of women in two settlement schemes. By this time they spent less time on productive work compared to that of the 50-70 generation owing to changes in labour use, reduced availability of land for cultivation and the use of machinery to a certain extent. In addition to making pottery which was practiced over generations in Palugama, they also participated in *attam* labour. They spent long hours (9 hours) both in pottery making and in agriculture. They had sufficient land, as they purchased land with income from pottery.

The multitudes of productive functions are detailed below:

1. **Paddy cultivation:** It was the era of the green revolution where new varieties and new techniques had been introduced to paddy farming. Most of the techniques were more labour intensive and women worked alongside men in the fields. In addition to paddy cultivation activities done by women in the previous generation, 70-90 generation women collected fodder for cows and were involved in transplanting which was introduced for short-term paddy varieties.

2. **Home gardening:** Home gardening was also continued by women in this generation in the upland area allocated to them as the homestead.

3. ***Chena* cultivation:** Even though this was termed *chena*, they did not go to the forest area. It was a type of permanent dry land cultivation in which shrubs were cut and burnt and seeds of *kurakkan* were sown, along with a mix of seeds including grains, vegetables and yams with the onset of rains. Sowing sesame was popular in Palugama in mid-March and was harvested in June. They also used the income from *thalahena* or sesame cultivation for leisure activities such as pilgrimages in August.

4. ***Attam* and wage labour:** With the advent of mechanization, two-wheel and four-wheel tractors replaced draught power and work carried out by village women in agriculture also had changed. There was flexibility in the divisions of tasks even in paddy cultivation. In the course of time, there was a scarcity of labour in settlement schemes due to a multitude of factors, main among which was the opening of new lands for cultivation in the settlement schemes. Therefore, there arose the trend towards use of both male and female wage labour. Thus, some of the women worked for a payment while others shared labour with links built among the new neighbours.

5. **Pottery:** During periods when there was no agricultural work, the women in Palugama were involved in pottery which they carried out throughout the year in varying degrees. In the pottery industry, peak work period were during the months of January to March just before the New Year. This was the period all homes bought brand new pots for the New Year festivities. In-between January and March, particularly in February, Palugama women were involved in harvesting paddy and millet. Therefore, they did not work in the pottery industry during harvesting times. After the New Year, pottery work decreased

due to two reasons. One is that, there was less demand and the other was the rainy weather which did not permit drying of clay pots till June. In July, August and September, the women spent some hours in the business of selling pottery in far off villages along with men. With the onset of the rains, the making of pots was temporarily stopped and women busied themselves in cultivation. The drying of pots was impossible during the rainy months namely October, November and December in which both *chena* and paddy cultivation activities had to be undertaken and in January once again women busied themselves in pottery industry.

4.3.3 Community Role

The community role of women in settlement villages expanded over time with developing associations with neighbors and the establishment of village level community organizations. As a result the child care was easier as there was always some other place of a neighbour where children could be looked after while a mother was away at work. During this period, there were women's organizations in Aththanakadawala, namely Sudharana Kalungana Samithiya and Mahila Samithiya. These were mostly religious and/or charity organizations and helped women in many forms: (a) Assembling together for activities of common concerns such as *katina* ceremony of the temple where women played a greater role in *dana* preparation and sharing activities, (b) Helping families bereaved after a death by donating money plus helping in funerals, weddings and alms givings.

The community role played by Palugama women was very small. Time availability to women after attending to both their productive and reproductive activities was limited. It was through Death Donation Societies which met once a month or through religious activities held at the village temple, women congregated together and participated in community activities. Almost all the villagers were related to each other by ties of kingship and they helped each other in all events.

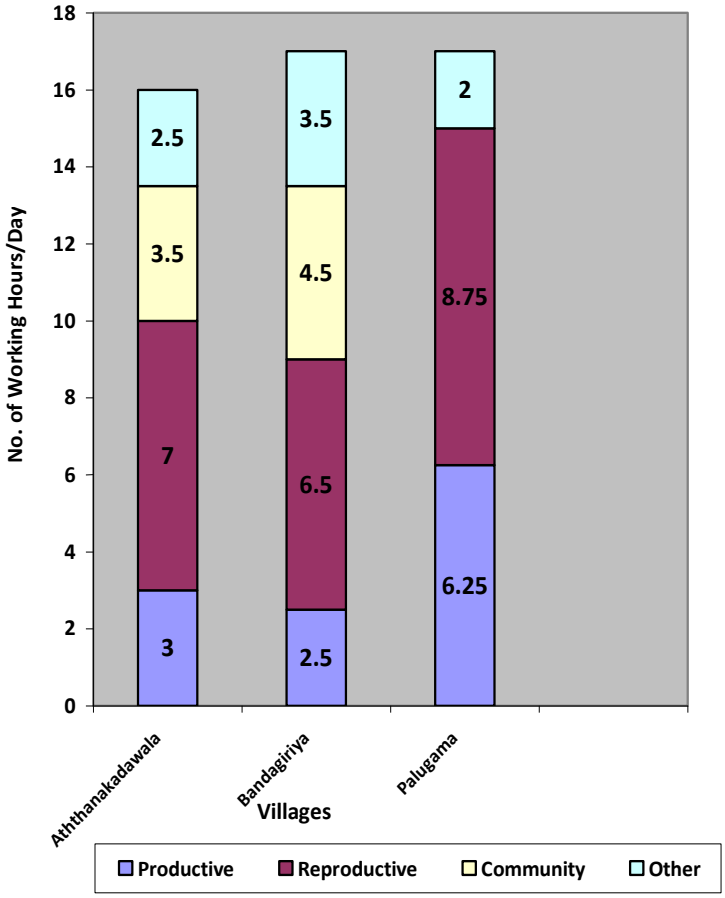
4.4 The Role of Women of the Present Generation

Recent technological changes in farming have replaced both men and women to a certain extent from their traditional tasks in production. Overall, this has caused a reduction in women's role in paddy cultivation as the latest interventions of paddy harvesting machines have replaced women from harvesting, collection, food supply and other post harvest activities of paddy. Yet, wage and *attam* labour continue to exist to a certain extent. Lack of shrub lands due to encroachments and continuing uncertainty of the rainfall have resulted in a drastic reduction in *chena*/dry land cultivation thereby resulting in a decreased contribution of women to agriculture. Small scale home gardening by women is in existence though on a limited scale. Almost all crops cultivated through these activities are subject to damage by wild animals including elephants.

Further, the villagers have moved to new crops such as tobacco, gherkin, winged bean, banana and papaw. Some of these crops are grown by agreement with private companies which provide all fertilizer and agro-chemicals on condition that farmers supply their products. The farmers have found this comparatively convenient, less risky and profitable.

Furthermore, better educational facilities and acquired qualifications through education have raised expectations for women to engage in non-farm sector employment. One source of employment for women was migration to Middle Eastern countries as unskilled labour leaving the responsibility of children and household to their elderly parents. Some of the younger women have sought non-agricultural employment in sectors like the garment sector. Women's Societies are functioning though they face many constraints mainly due to lack of funds and, in certain instances due to limited membership

Figure 4.3: Time Allocation by Women of the Present Generation in Study Locations



Source: Survey Data, 2009

Compared to the other two generations where a women's daily routine was divided between reproductive and productive roles, the present generation in addition to the community roles had spare time to utilize for other work (Appendixes 6, 7 and 8). Here, 'other' indicates time she spends on leisure activities. This is similar in all three villages. As shown in the figure 4.3, a maximum of 2 to 3.5 hours per day are spent on leisure activities. It is only in Palugama, the women's involvement in productive role is visible due to her involvement in the pottery industry. In the settlement villages,

women's contribution is limited to food supply and through very limited hours in *attam* labour, which could be categorized under reproductive and community roles respectively. Women's interventions in the productive sector are mainly in the management of crops. They have access to agricultural loans through the women's societies which have helped to tide over the shortfall of cash at the start of the cultivation season. This has helped them to have a better say in agricultural decision making. Women's intervention is also found in times of labour shortage where they worked as hired labour. In case of certain products, women lend a helping hand in the marketing of the produce. In Attanakadawala and Bandagirya, the present generations of women hardly spend any time in productive work, except in maintaining a home garden with a few plants of chillies and other vegetables grown during the rainy season. A larger part of the day is spent in her reproductive role.

4.4.1 Reproductive Role

Women of the present generation spend many hours for reproductive functions, 8.75 hours in Palugama, 7 hours in Aththanakadawala and 6.5 hours in Bandagiriya, an average of 7.40 hours. Unlike in the previous generations, they prepare all three meals at a particular time, cook breakfast in the morning before children leave for school, and lunch at noon, in time for the children to come home to a hot meal, and dinner in the evening. Care of children, their education and extra curricular activities take a major portion of women's time. Taking children to and from school especially smaller children is done by most mothers. Also the preparation of food and feeding of children when they return from school and keeping constant watch over children are important reproduction work of this generation. After attending to work in the household and attending to children's needs, the women work on their pottery at Palugama for a few hours in the morning. But this type of involvement is not commonly found in other two settlements. The burden of having to spend time doing laborious household chores of grinding, milling, fetching water have become things of the past. Water has reached the doorsteps of most of the households in settlement villages except in Palugama. In the dry season when there are no rains, the women at Palugama have to trek an additional mile or two, to find water for their daily bath and other activities.

Unlike the women of the previous generations, the present generation women also spend a certain part of the day involving in leisure activities such as watching television and visiting relatives. As most of the houses have electricity, women spend time for watching television at night. As the educational levels of these women are comparatively higher, they utilize this to see that their children have a better education by providing them with necessary support required to further their studies.

4.4.2 Productive Role

1. **Cash crop cultivation**: Women are involved in a number of tasks in the cultivation of cash crops such as tobacco in Aththanakadawala and banana in Bandagiriya**.**

2. **Paddy and OFC Cultivation:** In the *maha* season, the peak period of activity is between February and April and then again in mid August to September. In the latter season paddy is cultivated in the lowlands while *kurakkan*, maize,

chilli and vegetables are cultivated in the highlands. In addition to working in the field for a few hours in the morning, they spend another few hours working before returning home in the evening. Upland crops cultivated in the *maha s*eason are green gram, maize and vegetables.

The engagement of Palugama women in agriculture is only for a brief span of 3 months in April, November and December in which drying of pots is impossible due to the wet weather. With the onset of rains by mid October, the women are involved in the cultivation activities in both highland and lowland which continue till December. Crops grown are paddy, vegetables such as okra and chilli, mung bean, *kurukkan* and millet.

3. **Home gardening**: Home gardening is limited to a few plants of chilli and a variety of other vegetables during the rainy season.

4. **Pottery:** Women in Palugama have a different lifestyle from that of the other two villages. Their involvement in agriculture as a whole has been reduced as there is an increased involvement in pottery. They are involved for 6.25 hours per day during more than 9 months of the year in the pottery business. From January onwards, they engage in pottery to meet the higher demand in the New Year season. By mid April, the production decreases after the festival season and also due to rains. Again in May, they start making pottery and continue till mid October. With the onset of rains, pottery making decreases and they are involved in agricultural activities till January, the next year.

4.4.3 Community Role

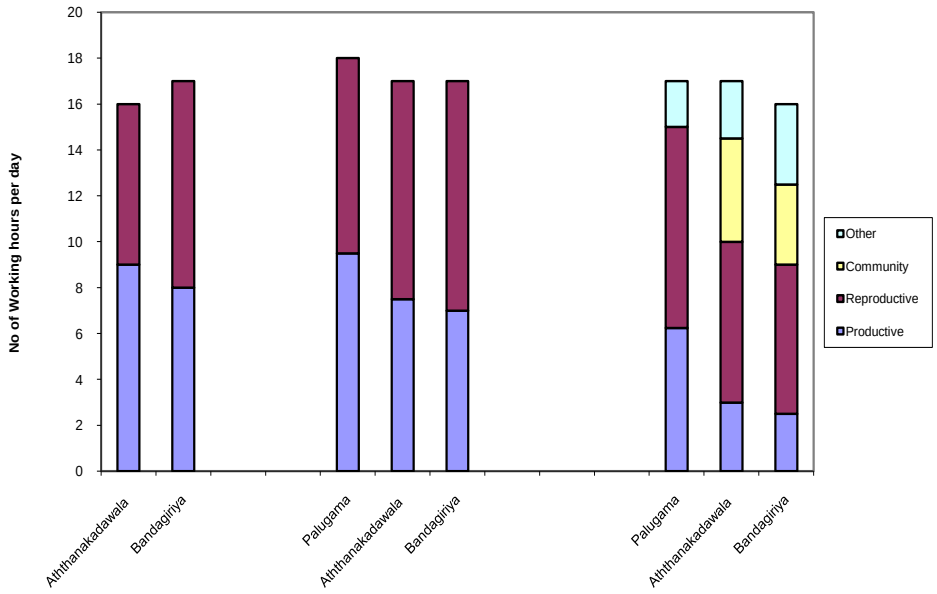
Women of this generation in the two settlement schemes, Aththanakadawala and Bandagiriya have become dynamic and gregarious and they play an active role in community affairs through various organizations. There are a number of organizations which have been set up in Aththanakadawala such as Elder's Society, *Samurdhi* Society, Co-operative Credit Society, School Development Society, Youth Service Society and *Lakmini* Rural Development Society. In Bandagirya, there are several societies such as Women's Society, Fisheries Society, Sports Society, Village Development Society and the Tsunami Relief Society. Most of the women are members of 2 to 3 societies and majority of them take an active interest in the running of the societies. They have benefited through these societies in a number of ways: (a) Empowerment through the training programmes that have been offered by these organizations, (b) Carrying out common activities for the benefit of the village, such as *sharamadana* and religious activities, (c) Arranging of loans which help in getting the services of hired labour and marketing of agricultural produce.

Women in Palugama have shown no interest towards societies. There is no community approach towards the pottery industry. This is because the industry is a diversified venture and individual needs have been found to be heterogeneous. Women find that remuneration obtained from the time spent in these societies is too little, compared to what they gain by time spent in the pottery industry. Recently they have set up a women's organization, *Vishaka Swashakti Kantha Samithiya* which is not very successful.

4.5 Temporal Variation of Women's Role in Selected Communities

The figure 4.4 depicts several aspects of the triple role of women in selected communities. It is evident that, in the course of time the allocation of time for different tasks shows considerable changes. The time allocation for the triple role of women in study locations by generations are presented in Table 4.1.

Figure 4.4: Time Allocation for Triple Role of Women in Study Locations by Generations



50-70 Generation 70-90 Generation Present Generation

Source: Survey Data, 2009

Table 4.1: Time Allocation for Triple Role of Women in Study Locations By Generations

		Productive	Reproductive	Community	Other
Initial Generation	Aththanakadawala	9	7	0	0
	Bandagiriya	8	9	0	0
	Palugama	9.5	8.5	0	0
Middle Generation	Aththanakadawala	7.5	9.5	0	0
	Bandagiriya	7	10	0	0
Present Generation	Palugama	6.25	8.75	0	2
	Aththanakadawala	3	7	4.5	2.5
	Bandagiriya	2.5	6.5	3.5	3.5

Source: Survey Data, 2009

4.6 Summary

If one considers the transformation that had taken place in the course of time, it can be concluded that development process taking place in the country had gradually helped in changing women's lifestyles. The 50-70 generation of women had faced a large number of risks and opportunities in her productive and reproductive roles. Besides, women of that generation were solely responsible for the household and had no close kith and kin for any help in daily domestic life.

The risks faced by the 70-90 generation women, gradually lessened with development of infrastructure and with better basic amenities. An avenue or opportunity arose for women to utilize the labour in the form of wage and *attam* labour and in traditional pottery in Palugama. Her role in the community sphere widened as her associations with neighbours increased and there emerged increasing number of village organizations.

Present generation of women face different set of risks and have better opportunities than their ancestors. The changes in the productive functions have contributed to a change in the allocation of their labour and increased relations in the community. While improved infrastructure and convenience in domestic work have made rural women's domestic tasks easier and they had spare time for leisure. With the decreased role in the productive sphere, due to less involvement in agriculture with mechanization of the whole agricultural process, labour of women is underutilized. Their access to income-generating opportunities as well as land and cash are limited.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

There was a long felt need to carry out a study on the role of women in agrarian communities due to a multitude of reasons. Discussions at academic forum, observations made during field visits and conversations with women from various communities in rural areas have given rise to an array of queries on risks faced by women, opportunities available to them and coping strategies employed by them to reduce risks and to uplift the overall status of the farm households.

The study was designed to examine the situation described above in detail through generations of women in low income farm households in three dry zone agriculture communities. The selection of women comprising several generations in the low income households has resulted in this unique attempt to document their lifestyles as well. Three generations were identified with temporal demarcations; 1950's to 1970's generation, 1970's to 1990's generation and the present generation. Data was gathered from Aththanakadawala, Badagiriya and Palugama, three agrarian communities in the dry zone.

5.2 Findings

i. The 50-70 generation of women in the settlement schemes had faced a large number of risks such as lack of basic amenities namely; housing, health and sanitary services, shortages of water, wild animal threats, lack of tools and equipments and infectious diseases, while they performed both productive and reproductive functions. Despite all these, they have been able to switch between paddy and *chena* cultivation, the only coping strategy available for survival at the time. This has been supported by the only derivable opportunity, the pool of resources, land and family labour.

ii. Lack of kith and kin in the new environs was a major handicap faced by this generation. Diversity of settlers in terms of a number of sociological parameters including, place of origin and caste, non-availability of opportunities for developing close relationships with neighbours had resulted in minimal relations among settler women of this first generation.

iii. The role of 50-70 generation of women was confined to performing the twin role of productive and reproductive functions for longer hours with a slight spatial variation, sixteen hours in Aththanakadawala and seventeen hours in Bandagiriya, an average of 16.5 hours.

iv. The spatial variation for time allocation between the twin roles varied from village to village amounting to nine and seven in Aththanakadawala and eight and nine hours in Bandagiriya respectively for productive and reproductive functions with approximately equal attention paid to the twin roles.

v. The 70-90 generation of women faced fewer risks as a result of gradual seeping of development into the settlement villages such as improved housing, electrification and availability of water and sanitation facilities. Comparatively better basic amenities lessened the tedious workload in the reproductive sphere. They had more time in hand to be occupied in other activities.

vi. The 70-90 generation women were better off than the women in the 50-70 generation with added family labour due to increased family size and *attam* labour owing to improved community relations. Their coping strategies seem to have been diverse. Family labour, *attam* and hired labour played a vital role in the domestic labour market in paddy and *chena* cultivations. Another opportunity for hired labour was found with the opening of Middle East job market for domestic and unskilled labour. With all these, they had more opportunities for community participation and benefits both from on-farm and off-farm activities.

vii. The role of women representing the 70-90 generation of the two settlement schemes had not shown a marked change. They had also worked longer hours amounting to 17 hours on average. Their time has been divided for performing productive and reproductive roles, 7.5 and 9.5 hours in Aththanakadawala and 7 and 10 hours in Bandagiriya respectively.

viii. The women of the present generation, in addition to spending time in the two main roles of productive and reproductive, play a community role and have greater time for leisure activities such as watching television.

ix. The women in the settlement schemes of the 70-90 generation spent a maximum of 2 to 3.5 hours per day on leisure activities which has been highlighted as 'other role' for the particular need of this study, though it is a part of her reproductive role

x. In the *purana* village Palugama, the rural development interventions in terms of infrastructure were minimal during the initial stages. As in the case of settlement villages, the reproductive role of women has been constrained by quite a number of risks and absence of basic amenities, infectious diseases, wild animal threats and seasonal water scarcity. However, unlike women in settlement schemes, they have had unbroken community relations with the villagers even though data obtainable was limited. They have had a plenty of opportunities due to the abundance of labour both family and *attam*. In spite of seasonal water scarcity, the women managed to cope with the cultivation of paddy and *chena* crops. The cottage industry inherent to the village had given the women of Palugama an ample opportunity to utilize their labour for pottery though at a subsistence level.

xi. Unlike women in the 70-90 generation of the settlement schemes, the role of women in Palugama has not shown drastic changes and labour has been utilized for agriculture and pottery depending on the seasonality of both activities.

xii. In Palugama village, the role of present generation women is predominant in productive functions due to pottery industry which has reached a commercial

standard with the demand created throughout the country owing to diversification of products.

xiii. The pottery has also created a demand for hired labour within and outside the village.

5.3 Conclusions

i. It is evident from the study that there has been a transformation in the rural sector due to gradual developments that had been taking place. The said transformation which women have experienced has gradually led to changes in their lifestyles in terms of risks, opportunities and coping strategies and thereby changes in the triple roles performed by women in agrarian communities.

ii. A different set of risks and opportunities present themselves to the present generation of women in the settlement schemes. The advent of mechanization seems to be a major disadvantage which has gradually replaced women from traditional productive functions of paddy farming. Land scarcity has restricted the involvement of the present generation of women in *chena* cultivation. Non-availability of sources of water has severely constrained home-gardening or any other small scale cultivation activities.

iii. The resultant decrease in productive role has been replaced by increasing reproductive roles. But, this appears to be pseudo-replacement in the absence of reliable opportunities to effectively utilize women's labour for productive spheres.

iv. Neither the recent food drive nor the rural development initiatives such as *Gama Neguma* have paved the way for exploiting this underutilized labour of the present generation women in the settlement schemes.

v. These women cannot be freed from their compulsory reproductive functions, but the loss of their importance as active partners in the production activities has kept them un-empowered, particularly in economic terms. The off-farm income-generating opportunities or promoting them therefore, is a pre-requisite for efficient utilization of the present generation of women in the old settlement schemes.

vi. The youngest generation of women in all the settlement schemes have a host of aspirations more towards off-farm income-generating opportunities. The surplus labour of this generation resulting from lack of opportunities in the agriculture sector needs to be effectively utilized to support their low income households by providing appropriate strategies that fit the known gender relations at the household and the society.

vii. Despite the increased importance of viability of pottery, lack of enthusiasm prevailing amongst the present generation women at Palugama, about their daughters becoming involved in pottery is attributed to low status level given to the pottery industry. This is largely due to non-modernization of traditional

technologies which prevail in the pottery industry. This is an area which requires attention by the policy-makers.

viii. Overall, one can conclude that both adjustments in development programmes and approaches and rural development which filtered into the villages have resulted in a transformation in the lifestyles of women over generations. However, the said transformation has not adequately guaranteed women as participants as beneficiaries of the development programs. Thus, the opportunities to empower women by themselves and thereby enhance the economic position of their families adequately have been necessarily curtailed.

ix. The recommendations given below could help women in diverse agrarian communities to empower themselves and enhance the economic position of their families.

5.4 Recommendations

Promotion of livelihood opportunities for economic empowerment of diverse categories of women in a village through diverse strategies such as:

i. Ensuring increased access to inputs, services and infrastructure for the promotion of attractive agricultural activities in settlement schemes.

ii. Addressing the needs for operational improvements of non-agricultural income generating activities in the villages such as cottage industries in which women are presently involved.

iii. Investigating into the promotion of appropriate food securing and income generating opportunities both on farm and off-farm which are compatible with the triple role of women that enable mainstreaming underutilized women's labour into development through organized community based mechanisms.

iv. Promoting traditional cottage industries which fit to gender relations of women in low income families by improving respectability of such industries and through protecting them.

v. Ensuring increased attention of line agencies and authorities working in the area of rural development (such as the Ministry of Nation Building, and Women Empowerment) in order to focus on household level livelihood improvement within their own development agenda (such as *Gama Neguma*).

vi. Strengthening women's societies at rural level, evaluation and supporting their development proposals and helping in executing them through grants in order to make sure that women in low income families are employed to support their households.

Appendix 1: Daily Activities of 50-70 Generation Women at the Aththanakadawala Village

Time	Activity	No. of hrs	Role
5.00 a.m.	Wake up	-	-
5.00 a.m.-7.00 a.m	Preparing breakfast and lunch, cleaning home and home garden, children's work, collecting water, partaking breakfast	2.0	R
7.00 a.m-10.00 a.m	Work in the paddy field	3 .0	P
10.00 a.m-10.30 a.m	Preparing, serving and taking tea to field	0.5	R
10.30 a.m-12.30 p.m	Work in the paddy field	2.0	P
12.30 p.m-1.30 p.m	Lunch & leisure time	1.0	R
1.30 p.m-5.30 p.m	Work in the paddy field	4.0	P
5.30 p.m-6.30 p.m	Collecting leafy vegetables, water and fire wood, bathing children and her self	1.0	R
6.30 p.m-9.00 p.m	Preparing, serving and partaking dinner	2.5	R
9.00 p.m	Going to bed	-	-
Total working Hours		16	

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive time = 7 hrs, Productive time= 9 hrs
Source: Survey Data, 2009

Appendix 2: Daily Activities of 50-70 Generation in Bandagiriya Village

Time	Activity	No. of Hours	Role
4.00 a.m-7.00 a.m	Waking up, preparing breakfast and lunch	3.0	R
7.00 a.m-8.00 a.m	Partaking breakfast	1.0	R
8.00 a.m-12.30 p.m	Going to paddy field or *chena*	4.5	P
12.30 p.m-1.30 p.m	Lunch	1.0	R
1.30 p.m-5.00 p.m	Engaging in field work	3.5	P
5.30 p.m-6.30 p.m	Having a bath and returning home	1.0	R
6.30 p.m-8.00 p.m	Preparing dinner	1.5	R
8.30 p.m-10.00 p.m	Partaking dinner & milling of grain for the next day	1.5	R
10.00 p.m	Going to bed	-	-
Total working Hours		17	-

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive =9 hrs, Productive= 8 hrs
Source: Survey Data 2009

Appendix 3: Daily Activities of 70-90 Generations of Women in Aththanakadawala Village

Time	Activity	No. of hrs	Role
4.00 a.m.	Wake up	-	-
4.00 a.m-6.00 a.m	Preparing breakfast and lunch, cleaning home and home garden, children's work, collecting water, consuming breakfast	3.5	R
6.00 a.m-7.00 a.m	Working in the home garden	0.5	P
7.00 a.m-10.00 a.m	Working in the paddy field	2.5	P
10.00 a.m-10.30 a.m	Preparing, serving and having tea	1.5	R
10.30 a.m-12.30 p.m	Work in the paddy field	2 .0	P
12.30 p.m- 1.00 p.m	Lunch	0.5	R
1.00 p.m-4.00 p.m	Work in the paddy field or *chena*	2.5	P
4.00 p.m-4.30 p.m	Bathing & collecting water	1.5	R
4.30 p.m- 7.00 p.m	Preparing, serving and partaking dinner	2.5	R
7.00 p.m	Going to bed	-	-
Total Working Hours		17	

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive time = 9.5 hrs, Productive time = 7.5 hrs,
Source: Survey Data 2009

Appendix 4: Daily Activities of 70-90 Generation of Women in Palugama Village

Time	Activity	No. of hrs	Role
4.00 a.m. -6.00 a.m	Waking up, preparing breakfast and lunch	2.0	R
6.00 a.m-9.30 a.m	Going to paddy field or *chena* and helping in cultivation	3.5	P
9.30 a.m-10.00 a.m	Partaking in breakfast	0.5	R
10.00 a.m-12.00 p.m	Engaging in field work/pottery	2.0	P
12 p.m-12.30 p.m	Lunch	0.5	R
12.30 p.m-4.30 p.m	Engaging with field work/pottery	4. 0	P
4.30 p.m-6.00 p.m	Having bath and returning home	1.5	R
6.00 p.m-7.30 p.m	Preparing dinner	1.5	R
7.30 p.m- 8.00 p.m	Dinner	0.5	R
8.00 p.m-10.00 p.m	Engaging in grinding millet	2. 0	R
Total working hours		18	

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive time = 8.5 hrs, Productive hours = 9.5 hrs
Source: Survey Data 2009

Appendix 5: Daily Activities of 70-90 Generation of Women in Bandagiriya Village

Time	Activity	No. of Hours	Role
5.00 a.m-7.00 a.m	Waking up, preparing breakfast, cleaning up house and helping children	2.0	R
7.00 a.m-8.00 a.m	Breakfast	1.0	R
8.00 a.m-12.30 p.m	Going to paddy field or *chena*	4.5	P
12.30 p.m-2.00 p.m	Lunch	1.5	R
2.00 p.m-4.30 p.m	Engaging in field work	2.5	P
4.30 p.m-5.30 p.m	Having a bath and returning home	1. 0	R
5.30 p.m-6.30 p.m	Supporting children in home work	1.0	R
6.30 p.m-8.30 p.m	Preparing dinner	2.0	R
8.30 p.m-10.00 p.m	Partaking dinner and chatting with household members	1.5	R
10.00 p.m	Going to bed	-	-
Total Working Hours		17	

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive time =10 hrs, Productive time = 7 hrs
Source: Survey Data 2009

Appendix 6: Daily Activities of Present Generation Women in Aththanakadawala Village

Time	Activity	No. of hrs	Role
5.00 a.m.	Wake up	-	-
5.00 a.m-7.00 a.m	Preparing tea & breakfast	2.0	R
7.00 a.m-8.00 a.m	children's work, taking children to school, having breakfast	1.0	R
8.00 a.m-8.30 a.m	Coming back, cleaning home & utensils	.05	R
8.30 a.m-9.30 a.m	Washing clothes, collecting water and fire wood, tending ornamental/flower plants, cleaning home garden, having tea, preparing lunch	1.0	R
9.30 a.m-11.00 a.m	Working in the garden vegetable plot	1.5	P
11.00 a.m-1.30 p.m	Community work such as visiting neighbours, banking, societies	2.5	C
1.30 p.m-2.30 p.m	Taking children home. Lunch & leisure time, bathing children and attending to children's studies, having tea	1.0	R
3.00 p.m-4.00 p.m	Working in the garden vegetable plot	1.5	P
4.00 p.m-6.00 p.m	Societies	2.0	C
6.00 p.m-7.00 p.m	Preparing dinner	1.0	R
7.00 p.m-9.30 p.m	Partaking dinner, leisure time watching television,	2.5	O
9.30 p.m-10.00 p.m	Cleaning kitchen, attending to children's studies & preparing clothes	0.5	R
Total	Going to bed	17	-

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time

Reproductive time = 7 hrs, Productive = 3 hrs, Community = 4.5 hrs, Other = 2.5 hrs

Source: Survey Data 2009

Appendix 7: Daily Activities of Present Generation Women in Palugama Village

Time	Activity	No. of hrs	Role
5.00 a.m-6.30 a.m	Waking up, preparing both breakfast and lunch (rice and curry)	1.5	R
6.30 a.m-8.00 a.m	Helping children to go to school, taking them to school	1.5	R
8.00 a.m-8.30 a.m	Breakfast	0.5	R
8.30 a.m-10.00 a.m	Engaging in pottery	1.5	P
10.00 a.m-10.15 a.m	Tea	0.25	R
10.15 a.m-12.30 p.m	Engage in pottery	2.25	P
12.30 p.m-1.30 p.m	Going to school to bring back children	1. 0	R
1.30 p.m-2.30 p.m	Lunch with children	1. 0	R
2.30 p.m-5.00 p.m	Engaging in pottery	2.5	P
5.00 p.m-6.00 p.m	Having a bath	1. 0	R
6.30 p.m-7.00 p.m	Preparing dinner	2. 0	R
7.00 p.m-10.00 p.m	Taking dinner while watching T.V and going to bed	2. 0	O

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time
Reproductive = 8.75 hrs, Productive = 6.25 hrs. Other = 2 hrs
Source: Survey Data, 2009

Appendix 8: Daily Activities of Present Generation Women in Bandagiriya Village

Time	Activity	No: of Hours	Role
5.00 a.m-7.00 a.m	Waking up, preparing breakfast, cleaning house and helping children	2.0	R
7.00 a.m-7.30 a.m	Breakfast	0.5	R
7.30 a.m-10.30 a.m	Engaging in household activities and watching television	3.0	O
10.30 a.m-11.30 a.m	Working in garden vegetable plot	1.0	P
11.30 a.m-1.00 p.m	Preparing lunch and take lunch to field and consume lunch	1.5	R
1.30 p.m-2.30 p.m	Rest	0.5	O
2.30 p.m-3.30 p.m	Working in garden vegetable plot	1.0	P
3.30 p.m-7 p.m	Community work such as participating in meetings	3.5	C
7.30 p.m-8.30 p.m	Prepare dinner	1.0	R
8.30 p.m-10.00 p.m	Take dinner and chat with household members and watch TV	1.5	R
10.00 pm	Going to bed		

R – Reproductive Time, P – Productive Time

Reproductive = 6.5 hrs, Productive = 2.5 hrs, Other = 3.5 hrs, Community = 3.5 hrs

Source: Survey Data, 2009

References

Amarasinghe, S., (1990). *Mobilizing Rural Women for Development: Experience of Social Mobilization Programme and Janashaki Programme*. Rural Development Training and Research Institute. Sri Lanka.

Athukorala, K., (1996). "The Need for Gender Analysis in Strategic Planning for Effective Water Management in Sri Lanka'. Water Resource Development, Vol.2, No.4.

Bravo-Baumann, H. (2000). Capitalizations of Experiences on the Contribution of Livestock Projects to Gender Issues. Working Document. Bern. Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation.

Buvinic, M., Lycette, M.A. and Mc Greevey, W.L.,eds (1983). *Women and Poverty in the Third World.* Baltimore and London. The John Hopkins University Press.

Central Bank of Sri Lanka. (2007). *Annual Report*, Colombo.

Central Bank of Sri Lanka. (2007). *Annual Report*, Colombo.

Dhanapala, K., (1998). The Situation of Women in Sri Lanka's Agricultural Sector; Likely Changes in a Transitional Economy and its Implications. Working Paper, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Dharsini, A.R., (1989). *Agricultural Transformation and Changing Labour Relations: Implications for Peasant Women in Sri Lanka. The Hidden Face of Development. Women's Work and Equality in Sri Lanka*. Centre for Women Research, Sri Lanka.

Fielding, N., (1993). Ethnography in Gillbert, N. (1996) (ed.). *Researching Social Life* (pp.154-171) Sage: London; Stage.

Food and Agricultural Organization (1997). *Gender: the key to sustainability and food security.* SD Dimension.

Gunawardena, L., (1990). *Database for Women in Agriculture and Rural Development in Sri Lanka, Regional Expert Consultation on Database for Women in Agriculture and Rural Developmt.* FAO Regional Office for Asia and Pacific Bangkok, Thailand.

Gunawardena., L., (1995). "Women in Peasant Agriculture". Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Harvey, L., (1990). *Critical Social Research.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Jayathilleke, S.R.de (1990). "Women in Agricultural Labour: Discrimination of the Sex". Second National Convention on Women's Studies 20th-22nd September, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Kurian, R., (1991). "Options for the Plantation Sector in the 1990'. *The Thatched Patio,* May/June.

Lund, R., (1984). A Survey on Women's Working and Living Conditions in a Mahaweli Settlement Area with Special Emphasis on Household Budgets and Household Surplus, Colombo; Peoples Bank.

Maguire, P., (1984). *Women in Development – An Alternate Analysis,* Massachusetts; Centre for International Education, University of Massachusetts.

Mehta, M., (1991). "*The Policy Options for Women Plantation Workers". The Hatched Patio,* May/June.

Moser, C,D.N., (1993). *Gender Planning in Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs.* World Development, 17 (11), (pp. 1799-1825).

Moser, C.D.N., (1993). *Gender Planning and Development – Theory Practice and Training,* Routledge.

Sirisena, W.M., (1986). "Invisible Labour: A Study of Women's Contribution to Agriculture in Two Traditional Villages in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka." Modern Sri Lankan studies, December, Peradeniya.

Siriwardena, M., (1990). "Why do Rice farmers in the Dry Zone Prefer to use Women Seasonal Migrant Workers?" Second National Convention on Women's Studies. 20th – 22nd September, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Schrijver, J., (1985). *Mothers for Life Motherhood and Marginalization of Peasant, Women in North-Central Province of Sri Lanka*. Delfty: Kanters Albasserdam.

Schrijver, J., (1993). "Question on Gender in Development Planning: Women's Experience in a New Settlement of the Mahaweli Project in Sri Lanka", *Asia Pacific Journal of Rural Development,* Vol. III, July 1993, No.1.

Ulluwishewa, R., (1995). "Development, Environmental Degradation and Rural Women", A Case Study in Kirindi Oya Irrigation and Settlement Project in Sri Lanka. Department of Gender Studies in Agriculture, Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen, the Netherlands.