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ラオス農村住民の日常生活に対する時間地理学的分析

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Time-geographical Analysis on the Daily Lives of Village People in Laos

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要旨 この論文では，ラオス村落における人々の日常生活，とりわけ，生活活動の時空間的配置が現在進行している近代化・都市化・市場経済の浸透によってどのように変化しているのかを明らかにする．ラオスの首都ビエンチャン近郊のサイタニー郡は，市街地に近接した地域を中心に1990年代以降，都市化・産業化が進展している．しかしその一方で，複合的生業が営まれている農村地域も散在している．このような地域における，1990年代から現在までの人々の生活時間・空間について，以下の3つの側面から検討する．

1. 職業の地域差と日常生活活動の関係：職業構成の地域差は，地域労働市場の状況，自然資源の利用可能性などと関わる複合的生業の可能性とどのように関連しているか．
2. モビリティの地域的差異：地域で利用可能な交通機関・また自転車・バイク・自動車などの所有状況，また道路整備，乾期・雨期の季節変動と結びついた道路状況の影響をどのように受けているか．
3. 時空間利用におけるジェンダー差異：1・2と関わり，ジェンダーによって職業構成・モビリティにどのような差異が存在するか．

以上の検討を行うために，ラオス政府統計局によって行われたLECS(Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey: ラオス消費調査)2(1997 - 98に実施)・3(2002 - 03に実施)データを用いて分析を行った．

ラオス・サイタニー郡の職業構成の変化の特徴としては，1997・98年から2002・03年の間に賃労働者の増加は見られず，自営層の増加が著しかったことがあげられる(表1)．特に，女性が自営層の増加に大きく寄与している．モビリティの地域差の特徴としては，ヴィエンチャン中心市街地で徒歩が多く，ビエンチャン近郊地域でバイク利用が増加する．その一方で比較的ヴィエンチャンから離れた地域では徒歩が中心となる．

We would like to investigate how the daily lives of Laotian village people are changing under modernization, urbanization and the penetration of market economy. Our main focus is on the people's daily lives, especially the time-space allocation of the human activities. We would like to make clear these changes from three aspects. The first is the change of jobs and mobility. The change of the job type will directly effect to the spatio-temporal flexibility. And Laotian motorization from 1990's is expanding the daily activity space. The second is gender difference of time use. The third is the activity space

Tab 1: main economic activity in Vientiane Municipality

Year	Paid employee	Self-employed (Non-farm activity)	Farmer
1997/98	35%	19%	45%
2002/03	22%	47%	31%

Data: LECS(Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey)

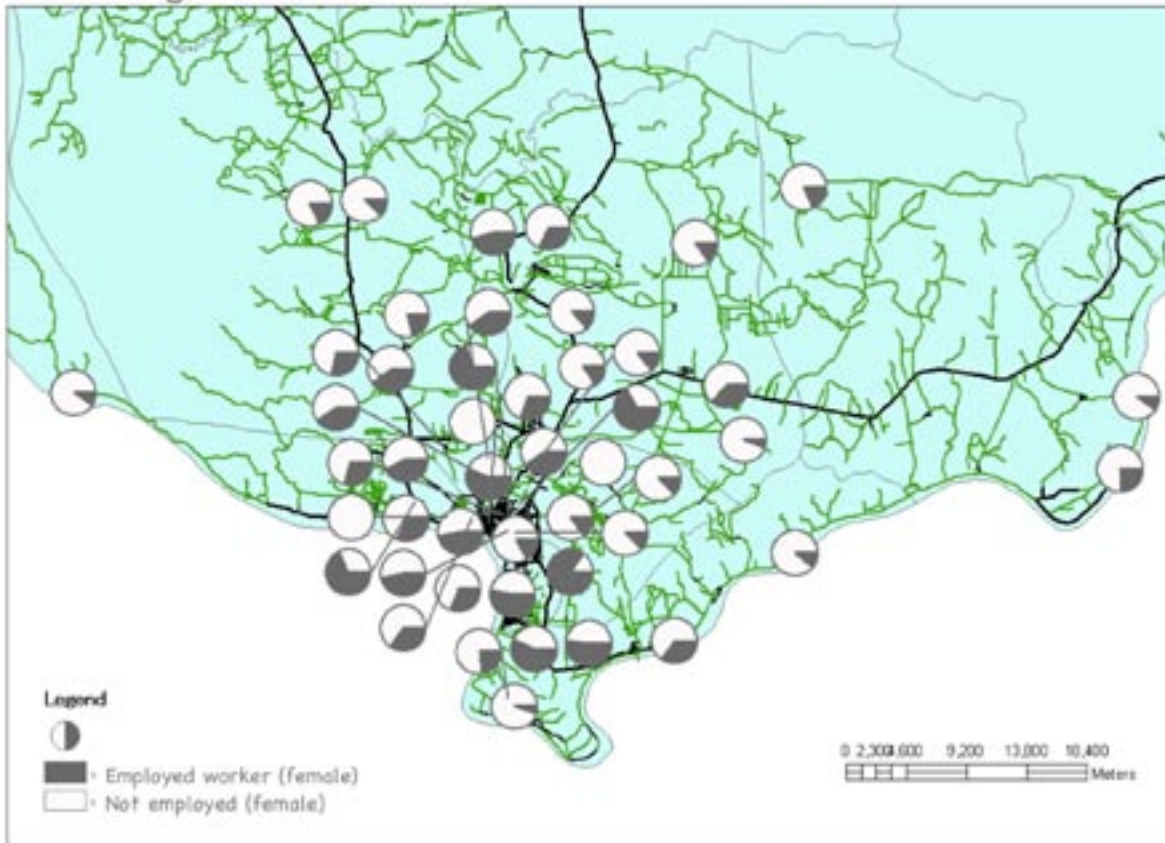


Fig1: Job status of Adult Female in Vientiane M.

of the children.

Our research Methods consists from two parts. The first is the interview survey to village people and the some employees of factory in Vientiane municipality. The second is statistical analysis of LECS (Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey). It is conducted by National Statistical center of Lao government. And there is the support of Swedish International Development cooperation agency

1. LECS

LECS consists by many types of micro scale survey related household economy. There are consumption survey, agricultural survey family business survey, employment survey, health survey, time allocation survey and so on. LECS have been conducted three

Tab.2: possession ratio by household

Vientiane Municipality			Laos (whole country)		
Year	Vehicle	Motor cycle	Year	Vehicle	Motor cycle
1997/98	14%	52%	1997/98	4%	15%
2002/03	15%	65%	2002/03	4%	22%

Data: LECS (Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey))

times. We will use LECS 2 and 3 data because the time allocation survey is undertaken at LECS 2 and 3. LECS 3 sample is about 8,100 households in 540 villages. The data was collected from about 45,000 people.

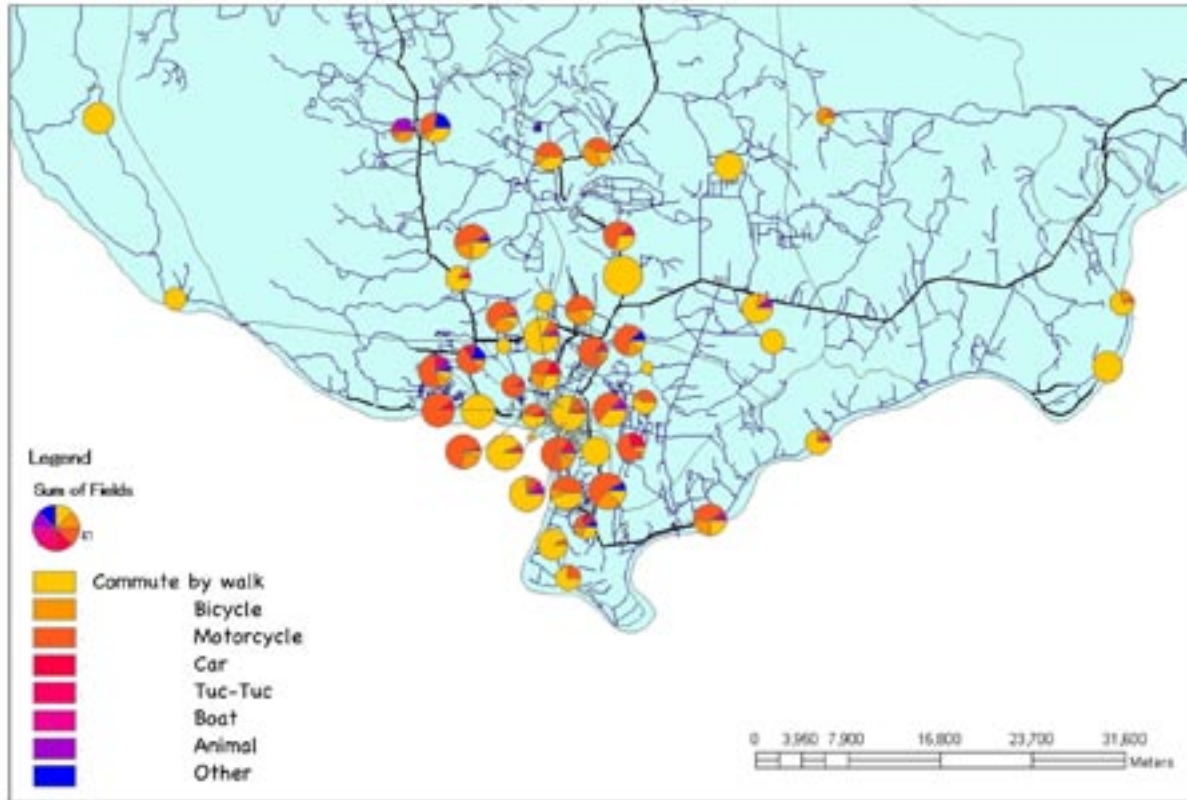


Fig 2: Travel mode in Vientiane M.

2. The changes of the jobs

Urbanization and introduction of market economy in Laos is characterized by growth of self-employment in Vientiane municipality

(Tab. 1)

The percentage of paid employee decrease these 5years, because the employment of old public sector was radically decline and the employment in private sector is unstable and the rapid growth of the employment in private sector is not revealed.

The ratio of employed worker and not employed is varied from the villages in Vientiane municipality.

The village near central Vientiane, the ratio of employed is relatively high, and the villages far from central Vientiane the ratio is low (Fig. 1). For example, the self-employment such like trader who selling the agricultural or natural products or the merchant who conducting small store in the villages is increasing.

Motorcycled suburbs

Vientiane M.	Ave. commuting time
commute by walk	1.30
commute by bicycle	1.23
commute by motorcycle	1.10

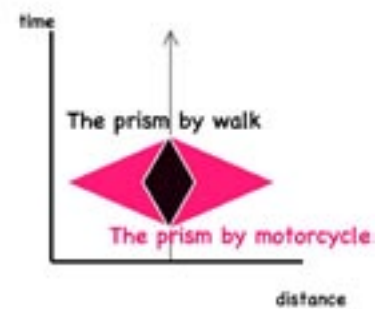


Fig.3 expanding of activity space

3. The changes of the mobility.

These tables show the changes of Household possession of durables in Vientiane Municipality. To compare with whole country, the possession of motorcycle is growth in Vientiane Municipality (Tab. 2).

Tab 3: time use on main activities by sex, hours per day

	Employed work	Own business work	farming	household work
Male (Vientiane M.)	2.64	1.37	1.16	0.49
Female (Vientiane)	1.28	2.12	0.93	2.27
Male (rest)	0.58	0.54	2.39	0.56
Female (rest)	0.19	0.65	2.37	2.61

Data: LECS (Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey) 2002/03

The ratio of commuting activity by transportation method has different by village in Vientiane municipality (Fig. 2). In the central Vientiane, commuting by walk is high. In the suburban area of Vientiane, commuting by motorcycle is major activity. In the distanced area from central Vientiane, commuting by walk is dominant.

The motorization can change the daily activity. The people who have automobile or motorcycle can easily access to distant place (Fig. 3). Because the average commuting time is not so different by the transportation mode, we can suppose the activity time-space is expanding by using motorcycle and the possibility of activity is rising.

These changes effect to the temporal spatial flexibility of each parson' s daily life. The self-employed can get more flexible daily life than employed person. Because most of the employed person has rigid working time, they cannot coordinate the allocation of the daily activities by themselves. The relatively distanced village have small ratio of the employed. Though these villages have the limited access to the cash income, they can practice various kinds of the activities by flexible style. For example, most of activities related to natural resources (farming, gathering, hunting, fishing) have to be coordinated flexibly because the natural environment of Laos has much fluctuation.

The both of the rising of employed workers and the dominant position of motorcycle are observed in the suburban area of Vientiane. We can understand these results as the changing of the daily life as the part of the urbanization process.

And third aspect is gender role in the activities (Tab. 3). Development of self-employment played significant role in the process of labor division between male and female. The increase of self-employment will significant in Vientiane municipality. Especially Female self-employment is noticeable. In Vientiane, male dominates employed work. On the other hand, farming is major work in all the rest of prefectures. The gender difference is not clear in such region.

Tab 4. Age structure of some countries

Age	Laos (2000)	Viet Nam (1992)	Thailand (2001)	World Developing Countries (2000)
0-14	44%	40%	23%	33%
15-64	53%	55%	70%	62%
65+	4%	5%	6%	5%

Tab 5. time use on main activities by age, hours per day

	Adult (≥ 15 yr)		Child (≤ 14 yr)		Little Child (≤ 6 yr)
	male	female	male	female	
Work	7.9h	8.8h	4.1h	5.6h	7.9h
(Agriculture)	(3.4h)	(2.5h)	(1.8h)	(2.0h)	No statistics
(Hunting and gathering)	(1.6h)	(1.0h)	(1.1h)	(1.0h)	No statistics
(Household works)	(0.7h)	(3.1h)	(0.7h)	(1.7h)	(1.7h)
School	0.4h	0.5h	3.7h	3.1h	0.7h
Sleeping, eating, leisure time	14.1h	13.7h	14.8h	14.0h	14.2h
Others	1.5h	1.0h	1.4h	1.3h	1.2h
total	24h	24h	24h	24h	24h

Data: LECS 2 (Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey) 1997/98

These situation caused by time-spatial segmentation. It means that the spatial segmentation between workplace and home, and also temporal segmentation between working hours and non-working hours will be occurred

It will be the cause of labor division among members in a household. When one household member is working where far from home, other household member have to do all the household work. Such a change is reported recently in the countries like China, which is under the economic transition from the socialist to the capitalist.

4. The activity space of the children.

Ratio of child population of Laos is 44%. It exceeds other Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam and Thailand. This ratio is considerably high compared with the estimate value in the entire developing country in the world. In Laos, ratio of child population is high in rural regions. We can say that the farm village in Laos is a society where the child occupies many.

According to time-budget survey, the average working hour a day by children is considerably long. The total working time is 4.1 hours for a boy and 5.6 hours for a girl 14 years old or less. In the case of one young child 6 years old or less, it is about eight hours, which equals an adult working hour.

However, much of works by children might be considered as an activity where labor is inseparably related to playing rather than pure labor. Adults spend a lot of time on agriculture and hunting and gathering. Children accompany them and help their work while making these activities playing.

Children acquire various kind of knowledge concerning the environment through labor and play. Such knowledge is indispensable to the labor for farming, fishing, hunting and gathering. Therefore, the place of labor is also a place of play and a place of education. What of the environment the child learns, and how the knowledge is used in play and labor becomes a key for the reproduction of a cultural base of the regional society.

In recent years, a social reproduction in the farm villages of developing countries have received a big influence by social and economical changes which are mostly from outside of the nation as Cindy Katz showed in Sudan. She says as the follows.

The relation between a productive activity and a social reproduction is being transformed in a Laotian village because of the inflow of the commodification and the increase of employment outside agriculture. Such transformation is remarkable especially in urbanization front of Vientiane Municipality.

The knowledge acquired through labor in the child age might be useless for children after their grown-up due to the change of agricultural technology, increase of non-agricultural employed work and so on. The transformation of social reproduction process would change the village people's relationship with environment, especially their recognition to nature.

5. Findings

We find these matters

- 1: Urbanization effect the daily life in Vientiane Municipality
- 2: the expanding of activity space.
- 3: gender differentiation by job type
- 4: fragmentation of daily life. The boundary between work play and education make clear.

Many Japanese scholars have studied the modernization process in Don Daeng village in Northeastern Thailand more than 40 years.

We would like to make clear the changes of the villages in Vientiane plain follow same urbanization process or not. We think the key point is the increasing of self-employment. It means the guarantee of the flexibility in daily life or the transition phenomenon from sociologist economy to capitalist economy.

Katz,C.(1991): Sow what you know: the struggle for social reproduction in rural Sudan. *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 81-3.