

CHAPTER II

Women's Work Participation, Paid and Unpaid Work, Intra-Household Allocation of Labour Time And Women's Decision Making Status: A Review of Literature

2.1. Introduction

Traditionally, families – those living together in households and related by kinship– have been the social sites of biological reproduction and domesticity, of mutual trust, love, tension and dispute. Families are structured according to cultural, class and lifecycle factors, which shape their size and the number of dependents (Jelin, 1982). Within families, cooperative, conflictive and exchange relationships take place among the genders and the generations in complex hierarchical and asymmetric patterns. The gender division of labour, namely the productive and reproductive working time of women and men are among the many aspects families negotiate.

Defined in contrast to the classical concept of productive labour, reproductive labour is non-marketed, non-monetized, unpaid work that encompasses housework and care work, especially but not uniquely of the elderly and children (Elson, 1999). Still disproportionably borne by women, unpaid work crucially supports the daily reproduction of human life sustaining other types of work, particularly paid work (Picchio, 1995). It is in this latter sense that the paid and unpaid working times of all family members, and not only that of women, become deeply gendered (Wheelock *et al.*, 2003).

Macroeconomic crisis impacts families' income levels and stability as well as access to social security, health, education and other services, all factors that have a direct influence on well being. In times of crisis, families' paid and unpaid work balance is altered to absorb market disequilibria and adjust to them. Bearing this adjustment may be costly – or even not possible for some or all of its members– according to families' structure and the degree of inequality *within* them (Cagatay and Elson, 1995). In times of crisis, the welfare of all family members, and particularly that of women, depends on the interaction between macroeconomic functioning, family structure and state intervention

through social policy, all aspects that determine unpaid work burdens, employment opportunities and resource availability (Chant, 2003).

To understand how married people divide the household work, a wealth of research has examined the characteristics of the husband, the wife, and their household. Feminists, however, have long denounced the differences in gender roles as the linchpin of a patriarchal system of inequality that disadvantages women not only at home, but also at work, in politics, and in the broader culture of the society (Budig, 2004). The study of housework gained broader legitimacy when labour economists observed that men divided their time between market work and leisure, but women spent time in “home production” (Mincer and Polachek, 1974). Whether they produced tidy homes or children or household consumption foods, their household labour contributed to the well-being of their families. Under the banner of the “New Home Economics,” neoclassical economists applauded husband-wife differences in household responsibilities for bringing the efficiencies of economic specialization to the family (Becker, 1981).

Recently, researchers have begun to explore how couples’ sharing of housework varies within its socio-political as well as temporal contexts. While research has yielded somewhat conflicting evidence, most analyses to date have focused on policy effects on women’s equality in the public spheres such as education, employment, or political representation (Baxter, 1997; Fuwa, 2004). When employed full-time, wives spend many more hours doing housework than husbands, and they perform the more tedious tasks (Blair and Lichter, 1991; Dex, 2004). Compared with husbands, wives are more likely to “scale back” their career to prioritize family demands (Becker and Moen, 1999; Bielby and Bielby, 1989). The imbalanced division of housework has consequences for health and well-being. Perceiving the division of household labour as unfair raises the risk of depression. Wages are depressed by time spent in child rearing (Budig and England, 2001) and in housework (Hersch and Stratton, 2002) — or, at least by time spent on “female” chores (Noonan, 2001).

2.2. Review of Studies on Women's Work

The search for explanations of the distribution of household labour can usefully be divided between economic and cultural considerations (Brines, 1994), or between 'pragmatic strategies' and 'patriarchal' dynamics' (Becker, 1981). The economic perspective pays particular attention to the relative amount of income and other resources that spouses may exchange for unpaid work. It also focuses on the practical considerations associated with time availability and the demands on an individual's time. On the other hand, the cultural perspective considers the normative context of housework, and focuses in particular on the relationship between unpaid work and the social construction of gender. The pragmatic strategy approach is based on questions of specialization and efficiency. Parsons and Bales (1955) argued that a role differentiation based on male specialization instrumental activities and female specialization in expressive activities permitted a functional allocation of tasks within families. Thus the sexual division of domestic labour is a function of spouses' relative contributions of resources to the household. The person with more resources would do less domestic work. Becker (1965, 1981) bases his understanding of families on the efficiency that is obtained by spousal specialization in income generation and unpaid work respectively. In effect, these conceptions are based on the view that the key issue is not gender, but rather a pragmatic allocation of tasks. The patriarchal dynamics approach pays particular attention to the social construction of gender through the division of work and the allocation of unpaid work. Engels (1975) argued that the separation of domestic and economic spheres in the context of the historical development of class society led to the economic disempowerment of women and the evolution of the family as the primary site of women's subordination and exploitation. Delphy and Leonard (1992) interpret domestic work in terms of husbands exploiting the products of wives' labour. Similarly, Hartmann (1981) proposes that the family is the primary arena where men exert their patriarchal power over women's labour. In this framework, women's greater involvement in domestic labour is a key element in sexual inequality.

2.2.1. Women's Work in Developing Countries of the World

The studies reported in the following paragraphs deal with the women's participation in the market sphere i.e. as wage labourer or self-employed worker. The female

participation in trade and commerce is generally high in South East Asia and low in South Asia (Boserup, 1970, Stoler, 1977). However, women's participation is greater in agriculture than in the non-agriculture sector in most Asian countries (Durand, 1975). The variation in pattern of paid agricultural activities among rural women cut across sub-regionalities. Boserup (1970) observed that the proportion of women as agricultural wage labourers was 44 percent in India, 40 percent in Srilanka, 39 percent in Malaysia and 35 percent in Thailand. Many Latin American countries have high proportions of women in non-agricultural occupations and very few women in agriculture (Papola, 1992). While China has had considerable success in incorporating women into the general workforce, Cuba has been much less successful (Bengelsdorf and Hageman, 1978).

In third world countries, the trend is more frequently that mechanization leads to the acquisition of new skills by men and loss of employment for women. In large-scale industry, mechanization has led to a greater demand for highly skilled labour (Schmitz, 1985). A study by Nelson (1981) in Nairobi suggests that women are more limited in their range of productive activities than men, with less access to alternative ways of acquiring new skills. The apprenticeship system which is widely prevalent in small scale production as a method of training and access to future employment is often closed to women; boys and men are considered to be permanent future workers whereas women are not (Bromley and Gerry, 1979). Studies of women in Iran and Bangladesh where the hold of Islam and the practice of *purdah* secludes women show that only landless women have to go for wage employment (Afshar, 1988, Kabeer, 1985). For women workers, control over the workforce is not only on their situation as workers, but also incorporates patriarchal aspects (Elson and Pearson, 1981). In Indonesia, similar trends are seen in factories in West Java, where young unmarried girls are recruited. But there politically important men from village act as patriarchal mediators between management and the women workers who work at lower wages. (Mathur, 1985).

2.2.2. Women's Work in India

In India, as the women folk are left with no alternative to earn their livelihood they are pushed into less skilled, low paying, more time consuming and drudgery prone activities (Kaur, 1987, Verma, 1992). Discussing the diminishing female work participation rate since 1901 in India, Sailabala Devi (1991) attributes this to the decline of traditional

household and cottage based industries that employed women to a great extent. The segmentation of female labour market has led to the confinement of women to few occupations enabling the employers to pay them low wages (Banerjee, 1985; Mukhopadhyaya, 1975). An inter-state analysis of women's participation in labour force revealed a high participation rate in the states of northeast where tribals following a matriarchal society constitute an important percentage of the overall population. The rate is unduly low in large and populous states like UP, Punjab, West Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. (Sen, 1988). In Bastar District of Rajasthan, a large number of women were found to be involved in mining, factory, building construction and even in domestic service. They were picked up by contractor's trucks early in the morning but paid lower wages for similar work performed by men (Ranade, 1975; Joshi, 1989). For India, Kalpagam (1994) reports that, women have lost their jobs in food processing, textile/clothing and *beedi* industries due to mechanization.

In construction activity, labourers were deprived of service benefits such as medical aid, maternity leave, casual leave etc. Even basic amenities like drinking water, toilets, etc., were not provided to the women labourers. In spite of all the hardships nobody thought in terms of the formation of a union or any such organized protest forum. This was so because of the fear of losing the job. (Sinha, 1975, Mukhopadhyaya 1982, Bhatia 1988, Agarwal 1988, Tiwari 1988, Gupta, 1990; Trivedi, 1991, Rathore, 1992). Studies by ICSSR and other organizations have revealed that women, though productively engaged in industries are not earning income; they are badly exploited by the employers and work in very insecure and miserable conditions (Sinha and Ranade 1976; Mathew 1979, Nair 1979; Bhatta 1980; Monohar, 1981).

Economic participation of rural women as an agricultural labourer is perhaps the most widely prevalent wage earning employment documented by different researchers (Choksi, 1973; Majumder, 1975; Devi, 1979; Mishra, 1980; Subramaniam, 1981; Saikia 1983; Gulati, 1984; Yadav, 1986; Chowdhury, 1993). Even though the Minimum Wages Act has been introduced to eliminate exploitation, wage disparity between genders and between employment types are still prevalent in many parts of India. The wages of agricultural women labourers in Coimbatore for example were only one half of what their

counterparts in house construction received. They were generally not aware of Minimum Wages Act (Sudha, 1982).

In a survey report on women in agriculture and productive work, Bardhan (1983) stated that women in north and western India did vast amount of work necessary for income generation like growing vegetables, preservation of food, etc. They also carried out labourious and skill intensive operations like bee keeping and mushroom growing. Studying the income generating activities of rural women in Coimbatore district, Devdas (1985) narrated that poultry keeping, making incense sticks, brooms, candles, chalk, pickles, masala powder, basket weaving and tailoring as self employing tasks were performed by women.

The Birhor tribal women inhabiting the trijunction of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal are engaged in making of rope and rope made products. The surplus is disposed off in weekly markets jointly by men and women. But the authority lies with the males (Adhikary, 1984). In another study of kissan tribal women of Western Orissa, women were found to work as wage labourers, as gang coolies in construction sites and rendered assistance to male workers; they also used to earn usually during leisure time by engaging in stitching leaves to prepare leaf plates and leaf cups (Rath and Behera, 1986).

2.3 Review of Studies on Women's Work Participation and Control Over Resources

Women's participation at home and in farm activities is dependent upon social, cultural and economic conditions in the area. It also varies from region to region and even within a region, their involvement varies widely among different farming systems, castes, classes and socio-economic status (Swaminathan, 1985).

In the literature on labour-force participation, standard sources begin with the supply of labour (Ellis, 1993) and quickly move on to mention human-capital aspects of labour supply (Mathur, 1994). According to this view, 34 percent of adult Indians participated in the labour market in 1991, and this figure comprised 16 percent among women and 51 percent among men (*ibid*: 470). 30 percent of the women in rural areas were working, as recorded in the National Sample Survey of India using a combination of principal and

subsidiary employment status, compared with 53 percent of men (Srivastava, 2003). Only 14 percent of urban women were working, by this measure (*ibid.*, 131). Using NSS data the rural percentage in the labour force fell by 10 percent among women and by 4 percent among men between 1993/4 and 1999 (Jacob, 2001). The urban percentage in the labour force fell to 11 percent among women and there was no change among men. (*ibid.*: 55).

From human capital theory, one would expect an upward tendency in the labour force participation rate as we move across education levels. Thus if they have a degree of education, the opportunity cost is high since their workplace productivity is likely to be reckoned by employers to be high (Mathur, 1994).

Maximum participation rates for women have been recorded in Rwanda where 96 percent of all adult women were included in 1970 (Lucas, 1976) and it should be noted that Rwandan women manage to combine sole responsibility for growing the staple food crop, beans, with a total fertility rate of 7.8 (US Bureau of the Census, 1979). Whilst farm wives are usually classified as unpaid family workers, the 1964 Botswana Census took the stand that women were partners in the family enterprise and thus classified them as self employed.

Minimal participation rates are all found in Muslim countries where it is shameful for men to admit that their wives are anything than house wives (Mitra. J, 1997). Thus, in the Algerian Census of 1966 only 23,315 women were returned as agricultural workers, but official estimates were that some 1, 20,000 women regularly involved in farm work were not reported as economically active (Durand, 1975). In Egypt and Bangladesh where only women in wage earning employment are counted, the proportions are 7 percent and 4 percent respectively (ILO, 1979).

Anthropologists have approached the measurement of women's participation from a different viewpoint: that of the overall sexual division of labour (Brown, 1969 and 1970). Many feminists have argued that all sexual inequalities are based on the sexual division of labour and that its abolition would result in overall equality between the sexes (Dixon, 1978). This means, not only that women need to participate equally in the public spheres of life but also that, men should participate equally in the private spheres. If men are

equally involved in cooking, cleaning and childcare it is impossible for them to maintain an authoritarian stand as lords and masters (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974)

Youssef (1974) in a study provides the reasons why women's labour force participation should be so much higher in Latin America than in the Middle East. Even in the developed countries there are clearly cultural differences in the acceptability of married women going out to work (ILO, 1979). In India, though women constitute almost 50 percent of the population and 50 percent of the electorate and bear more than half of the work burden, their political and economic participation and decision making has been very insignificant, their share in earned income is also meagre (Shaukatn Azim, 2001). In both Asian and the African continents, existing studies indicate that it is usually men who have primary control over the family's cash income (Chakraborty and Tiwari, 1979, Heyzer 1981, and Breman 1981).

According to an ILO (1955) study, men make most of the decisions about the allocation of resources within the household and they also control earnings from increased crop yields. While performing a number of important tasks in the rural sector, women continue to be handicapped in many ways. Women all over the world suffer from a common disadvantage in that they seldom hold ownership rights over land in their own name (Mandelbaum, 1959; Gore, 1968; Myntli 1978; Ghai, 1984; Charyulu and Reddy, 1987 Mencher, 1982; Shah and Banerjee, 1991). In rural society, access to other resources i.e., credit, fertilizers, training, etc., are often determined by access to and control over land. Family traditions, inheritance systems and women's acceptance of subordination stand in the way (Majumder, *et al.*, 1979). Even land reform programmes in most regions overlook the interests of women producer with the result that their economic insecurity has increased. These findings were supported by several empirical researches (Fernandez, 1985; Tiwari, 1981; Tadesse 1982; Ahmed, 1984).

Women's lack of control over the disposal of their labour and income is to some extent related to their lack of control over access to resources, particularly land (Chakraborty and Tiwari, 1979). This places them at a disadvantage as regarding the terms and conditions on which they provide their labour irrespective of whether they are unpaid family workers, agricultural labourers or workers on construction sites etc (Ahmed 1984). As regards control over the fruits of their labour several studies have shown that earnings are by custom or tradition typically handed over to the male head of the household (Bremen, 1981; Heyzer, 1981; Sen, 1988). Majumder (1989) reported that although

agricultural participation of women outnumbered men and they remained major partners in agriculture their power in decision-making was hardly visible.

Women are generally more dependent on resources provided by men as a result of societal gender stratification and thus may be less able to opt out of less prestigious and perhaps less rewarding unpaid work (Howard and Hollander, 1997). Nonetheless, bargaining models assume a gender-neutral process in which either partner, male or female, can use resources to negotiate favourable outcomes. On the other hand, men's higher resources from education and employment allow them to get out of housework, not because it is more efficient for them to do market work instead, but because of their bargaining power.

2.4. Division of Labour and Allocation of Time across Activities

Economic models of time use posit that households rationally and efficiently allocate resources to optimize their outputs and utility, commonly through specialization of one partner in paid work and the other in unpaid work. Specialization in certain types of activities is more efficient because it yields greater output, and women generally specialize in unpaid household labour and men in paid market labour because of human capital and biological differences that generate comparative advantages for each in their respective concentrations (Becker, 1991). A variant of the economic model is the "time availability" perspective that employment demands—in particular, hours of paid work—affect how much time is "left over" for housework. According to this perspective, employment reduces housework because it sets parameters on time available for other activities (Coverman, 1985).

Women's work in the household, in subsistence agriculture and such other activities is either not accounted for or is grossly undervalued in conventional data collection on work. One possible way of accounting women's contribution is to measure the time women spend on different activities (Bhatia, 2002).

Women's market plus non-market work requires significantly longer hours and allows them less personal or leisure time than men, particularly in developing countries (Bruce, 1989; Haddad, 1991; Tinker, 1990). Using time allocation data from four countries,

Indonesia, Burkina Faso, India and Nepal, Tinker shows that the total amount of time allocated to survival activities was considerably more for women than men, with men's total work time ranging from as little as 56 per cent of women's total work time in India to a maximum of 78 per cent in Burkina Faso (1990).

Where men's time has been largely withdrawn from social reproduction at household or community level, women have sometimes been obliged to substitute their time for that of the men, reducing or disguising the real cost. For example, women have become increasingly involved in local leadership and communal solidarity roles as men's work tends to remove them from the community, especially where it involves extended absences due to commuting, circulation or migration (Moser, 1989)

In general, the male allocates about 6.25 hours per day to economic production activities and only about 3.22 hours to home production activities. The female, on the other hand, spend the bulk of her time that is 8.18 hours per day on home production activities and only 1.35 hours on economic production activity (Becker, 1965; Gramm, 1974; Malathy, 1994).

A study of Ghana (Dasgupta, 1977) pointed out the respective time contribution by women and men to be 23.83 and 16.59 hours per week respectively in farming. Earlier Wilde (1967) and Cleave (1974) also reported similar results for Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Discussing time devotion during peak agriculture season, Cleave (1970) witnessed a 45 hours week for women and 30 hours for men. Similar time records have also been shown by Mitchnik 1972, Pala 1976 and Schofield 1979.

There is hardly any difference in time utilization in agricultural activities in Asian setting. Quizon and Evenson (1978) in a survey conducted on small farm families in Philippines revealed that men put in an average OF 8.50 hours per day while women devoted 8.95 hours per day. Women in Nepal put in substantially more time (9.91 hours) than men (5.86 hours) per day (Acharya and Bennett, 1982).

2.4.1. Time Allocation Studies in India

Time use studies conducted in different parts of India report largely similar findings. Rural women were found to devote up to 8.25 hours per day to agricultural activities in

Rajasthan (Saxena, 1986), while in Himachal Pradesh, two-thirds or more of rural women were found to expend more than 8 hours on such activities during the agricultural peak season and between 4-6 hours per day during other seasons when farm work was slack (Hiranand, *et al.*, 1988). In a study in Haryana that documented time commitments to various constituents of farm activity, the highest contribution by women was to harvesting, amounting to 141.15 hours during the principal kharif season and 100.18 hours during the rabi season (Kaur, 1987). Time commitments by women to weeding activity amounted to 109.07 hours during kharif and 44.02 hours during rabi, while threshing and other post-harvest activities cumulatively occupied 73.86 hours following the kharif season and 92.78 hours following rabi. Broadly similar findings were also reported in other regions of the country (Munjal *et al.*, 1985, Kaur and Punia, 1988). In terms of class origins, women from poorer rural households were found to devote the maximum time to farm-related activities (Debi, 1987, Ahuja and Oberoi, 1993), while a multi-state study carried out in three prominent rice-growing regions of the country showed that the average contributions by women to the earnings of landless rural households generally exceeded those of men, where both men and women functioned as wage-workers (Saradamoni, 1982; Mencher and Saradamoni, 1982).

Empirical researches have also endeavoured to record the time utilization pattern devoted by rural women in livestock and poultry activities. Thus a number of studies conducted in Haryana have worked out the hours per day devoted by rural women in taking care of livestock and poultry to be 3 to 5 hours (Dubey and Singh 1978, Verma and Malik, 1984, Gandhi 1986; Sangewan, 1986). Similar findings were observed in Punjab that rural women devoted between 3.30 to 5 hours daily on cattle management and of this the maximum time was spent on collecting fodder (Chowdhuri, 1993)

In a Rajasthan study, Bhatnagar and Saxena (1987) deduced that type and size of family, age of children, size of land holding and number of farm equipment used had significant effect on daily time utilization in cattle care by tribal and non-tribal women. Sharma (1993) in his study on Haryana found that rural women were devoting 165.02 minutes per day in animal related activities. Those belonging to backward regions were spending more time, i.e., 177.54 minutes as compared to those belonging to advance regions (152.4 minutes). Among those in backward regions who had little access to modern technology,

the time spent on cattle care was 207.90 minutes while high adopters of technology in advanced regions took only 145.66 minutes. Saikia (1984) in a study on Assam found that in the case of large scale farmers, women spent on an average two hours per day on livestock / poultry activities.

2.4.2. Household Economics, Marketed and Non-Marketed Activities and Allocation of Time

Household production involves the generation of goods and services by household members, using combinations of labour and capital. The capital could include land and appliances while labour contributed to the process is unpaid (Ironmonger, 2001). Households can also purchase goods and services through the market place, and indeed maximize their utility by choosing combinations of market goods and home produced goods subject to both available technology and time constraints (Bryant, 1995). In short, household members have three decisions about where to devote their time: to leisure, wage labour, or household production. As a result, the theory of the allocation of time is (Becker 1965) useful here. If a household member can acquire more goods and services through an extra hour of market work than can be produced through an extra hour of unpaid work at home, the individual will choose to participate in the labour force and use the income earned to purchase the goods and services. This is known as the production substitution effect (Bryant, 1995). Marxist scholars and others have also acknowledged the significant presence of household production to demonstrate that household work supports participation in the formal market system through the production and reproduction of labour (Gibson-Graham 1993, Luxton, 1985). A focus on household production, however, opens an window on economic activity which exists outside that market system, an opening that may identify capitalism as a crisis (Gibson-Graham, 1993) and help us think of other, and perhaps more sustainable, ways to organized all sectors of economic life (Catherine Reid, 2004).

A more complete measurement and imputation of GDP provide an indicator of how much a country produces not just for the market but also for sustenance of the society (Hirway, 2003). Conventional data on GDP do not include the goods and services produces for self-consumption within the household. However it has been estimated that the value of such goods and services can be very high up to 50 percent to 60 percent of the national

GDP (Ironmonger, 1997 and Luisella Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1996). This means that by excluding the value of unpaid goods and services, the conventional data on GDP underestimate considerably the total income of a nation and overestimate the poverty of these countries (Boserup, 1970; Beneria 1992). In short, it is necessary to estimate the time spent on unpaid domestic activities through a well-designed time use survey and compute its value at least in a satellite account to start with (Hirway, 2003). These accounts are to be separate from but consistent with the traditional main accounts of market production. It has already been proposed that the value added by household should be called gross household product (GHP) and that a more pure measure of the product flowing through the market should be called gross market product (GMP) [Ironmonger 1994, 1996].

As UNDP has defined, 'development is the process of expansion of choices in life through improved capabilities' (UNDP, 1999). Since these capabilities such as health, education, nutrition etc., are improved not only by economic activities but also by unremunerated activities of men and women in the family, it is important to include this 'care' in the total welfare of the society (UNDP, 1999).

A number of other writers have also noted that governments and development planners often assume implicitly that women's time can stretch to accommodate new burdens without cost. This suggests that women's time is perceived as extremely, even infinitely, elastic (Moser, 1991; Elson, 1989). By contrast, the time allocation literature suggests that the time of poor women, particularly in rural areas, is extremely inelastic (Tinker, 1990). This view is supported by the experiences of a number of rural development projects whose failure was partly due to constraints on the availability of women's time. Thus, while the empirical time allocation literature suggests that the opportunity costs of women's time are very high, the planning literature suggests that they can be ignored because they are low.

The division of the total labour force in a household into paid and unpaid work generates the hierarchy within the household that is reflected in the lower status of women in household as well as in the labour market. This unpaid work of women which is invisible in conventional statistics, has implications for employment and welfare policies, which

tend to neglect women's needs. Time use surveys can make the invisible work of women visible (Hirway, 2003).

The national statistical offices in some countries (including Australia) have already published estimates of the value of unpaid work (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990, 1994). Time use surveys have provided the starting point for household production estimates in a systematic way since 1960's and also organized a cross-national time budget study in 12 countries under the sponsorship of UNESCO and the International Social Science Council (Szalai, 1972).

According to Whitehead (1990), the opportunity costs of women's time devoted to market work have been ignored partly because of the influence of the dichotomous work/leisure choice of conventional neoclassical labour market theory. Although New Household Economics recognises that a positive cost is involved, it has so far focused more on measuring the opportunity costs of women's time spent on domestic and childcare activities in terms of the value of their market time than on measuring the opportunity costs of market time itself. The opportunity cost of the "household" time of all members of the household is conventionally measured in terms of the wages they might have earned had they worked the equivalent amount of time in the market. While technically this has no effect on empirical results, the use of money wages as the numeraire to measure the value of time has been seen to imply that the "next best" use of household labour time is always market work.

Thus, the specification problem leads to the opportunity costs of women's time being ignored or undervalued. Despite the contribution of the New Household Economics, planners and policymakers continue to make decisions that imply that women's time is costless. In particular, the contribution of women to human capital formation in the form of the health, education and "quality" of the next generation is consistently undervalued. As a result, on the one hand the potentially high social costs of increased women's market participation are ignored while, on the other hand, the comparative disadvantage that the burden of social production imposes on women in the labour market is also overlooked.

During the earlier stages of development, women's labour is usually not transferred to the market, so women must rely on cash provided by males in the household. At the same

time, resources formerly utilised within the subsistence economy move into the market, where they also become more subject to the effect of macro policies. For example, land formerly used to produce the family's food in a totally subsistence economy may be converted to the cultivation of crops for sale in the market, and thus may become subject to the effect of exchange rate and other macroeconomic policies. Thus women become increasingly dependent on men, and both become increasingly vulnerable to the effects of the market and macroeconomic policy (Greenhalgh, 1985).

On the whole, distribution of task responsibility and help received for housework and economically extended work was gender biased and divided along traditional lines, irrespective of women's work status. It may be because of the cultural view that women do the housework and men do the outdoor work (Sethi, 1988). Taylor (1985) points out that there can be few generalizations, which hold as true throughout the world as 'unpaid domestic work is everywhere seen as women's work, women's responsibility'. Thus, there is 'men's work' and there is 'women's work'. Many women do additional work outside the home, where as few men would dream of doing any additional work inside it. Therefore, 'women's work' simply ends up being 'more work'.

2.5 Time Use Research: A Global Perspective

Proposals for the development of national time accounts had been set forward in Rome and Amsterdam meetings of the International Association for Time Use Research (Ironmonger, 1993, 1994). The comparisons prepared in 1995 for the United Nations Human Development Report Office provide the basis of average (micro) hours and hence total (macro) hours of time used in the market economy (Goldschmidt-Clermont and Pagnossin-Aligisakis, 1996).

A number of tables of household production for various years have been published for Australia e.g. (i) input-output table of household production for 1975-76 (ii) input-output tables of leisure activities for household for 1975-76 and 1991 (iii) input-output tables for households at nine different life stages, and (iv) value of unpaid household work for 1990 and 1994.

Canada prepared household input-output tables for 1981 and 1986 and estimated the value of unpaid household work with the household activities as an extension to the full input-output tables for SNA activities. An important improvement in the Canadian tables was the use of capital stock estimates of household vehicles, equipments to provide estimates of the annual capital cost components of household outputs.

In Finland, women spend much more time in Non-SNA activities than SNA activities for both average hours and total hours of time used in the market economy. The Norwegian estimates are particularly useful because they compare the results for five different types of households - a single woman, a single man, a couple with no children, a couple with small children and a couple with older children in 1996. Some notable contributions to the estimation of the value of unpaid work and the discussion of the form of the household accounts have been made in France and Britain in 1986 and 1990-1991. The Federal Statistics Office of Germany has made a number of estimates of the value of household production and in particular, of the concept of "extended consumption". An input-output table of household production for United States households has been prepared for 1985 using time use data from the 1985 University of Maryland TUS and expenditure data for 1985 from the US Bureau of Labour Statistics continuing survey of consumer units. In America, collecting time use information from more than one member of a household could shed more light on the labour force participation and could afford more information on the division of time and tasks within households. In Korea, a time use survey was conducted by NSO to integrate paid and unpaid work in the SNA and evaluate the economic value of the paid work.

Two major surveys on time use has been conducted in Japan. One is the survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities (by the Statistic Bureau) and the other is NHK's Time Use Survey (Nihon Hosokyokai, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation). The Fiji Broadcasting Commission conducted a time use survey in Fiji using questionnaire in 1987 and 1993.

It is obvious that each method-detailed diary or stylized interview used in time use measurement will have its own bias against 'reality'. Work by Juster and others at the University of Michigan has provided some information on the extent of these biases [Juster 1985; Juster and Stafford, 1991]. The paper on the methodology of measuring unpaid work by Regular Herzog at the Ottawa 1993 Statistics Canada meeting,

considered a series of stylized questions which could be used to collect data of unpaid work and leisure (Herzog 1999). A. Pollak in his paper, "Notes on theories of Time Use", provides a theoretical framework for estimating structural and behavioural relationships with time use data where four components of this framework are identified as, technology, preferences, intra-household allocation and individuals sort into marriage to form a multi-persons household. Linda J. Waite & M. Nielson in their paper examined the allocation of time by individuals and households between work in the market, non-market and household work. (Waite & Nelson, 1999).

According to J. Steven Landefeld, and Stephanie H. Meculla (1999) time use data can be used to produce estimates that account for non-market household production in the national income and product accounts. John, P. Robinson (1999) criticized the reliability and validity of time diary method. Whereas in Canada, Jiri Zuzanek (1999) used Experiential Sampling Method (ESM) in studying time use. Michael Bittman (1999) in his paper in the workshop organized in National Academy of Sciences described two broad theoretical motives for collecting time use data, the first is interest in condition of economic progress and the second motive for collecting time use data is to better understand social changes.

During the second half of the twentieth century, and particularly during the last decades of the century, then surveys were used to measure "invisible" domestic work of women to estimate their contribution to human well being. Since this need was first expressed by feminist groups in developed countries, several of these countries started using time use surveys to estimate the time and value of unpaid work of women. In the 1990s, time use surveys acquired a new focus. Developing countries saw that time use surveys could throw useful light on economic work also, which is frequently not captured adequately through conventional methods because of conceptual and methodological problems.¹ There is also a realization that time use surveys can be useful in understanding new characteristics of the flexible labour market emerging in developed countries, (Hoffmann and Greenwood 2003). Several developed countries find time use surveys as an important tool for collecting information on informal workforce emerging in these countries.¹

2.6. Status of Women in Intra-Household Decision Making

A woman with independent earnings and property is able to exercise more social power and to participate directly in social decision making process. Male dominance in decision making in the household and economy has continued even in areas where women are the key providers of labour because the influence of women has not been recognized. The women have more or less been relegated to play second fiddle position in homes and the economy. Women's tasks tend to be relegated to the lower ends of occupational hierarchy while their work burden generally increases, their work tend to become so devalued that they are not even defined as work, despite the fact that their tasks continue to be essential and important to the economy and society (Boserup 1970).

Women's access to and power to control and dispose of resources is invariably an important indicator of the status of rural women in terms of decision-making. In a Swedish study, Thompson (1963) reported that decision-making power of women was influenced by their socio-economic status. The effect of women employed in making activity was different from non marketing activities. Silver (1977) in a study of France indicated that in the rural sector, participation of women is essential for the functioning of the farm and the economic survival of the family. Research studies conducted in Pakistan (Blumberg 1978), Nepal (Acharya and Bennett 1982), and Bangladesh (FAO 1981, Sultana 1984) documented that in societies where women participate in the market economy in some way and where women have direct access to cash, their power is greater in intra-household decision making and the status of women is higher in these communities.

But, withdrawal of women from 'visible work' in the field to 'invisible work' at home may end their access to resources and hence, diminish their status in the household as well as in the society (Harris, 1979). In the case of men it was relatively simple to assume that any adult male who was neither a student nor an invalid, was in the labour force even if only as an unpaid family worker. But in case of women, except those who work for wages, housewives and other women who did some work on the family business or subsistence agriculture did not get any recognition (Blacker, 1979).

The literature in sociology is both empirically and theoretically rich with studies on household decision-making; literature in economics until the last two decades has treated the household as monolithic, homogeneous and undifferentiated units, synonymous with a single consumer. Households are intermediate institutions between policies, programs and the targeted individuals. An understanding of household decision-making is essential for tracing the effects of the programs and for evaluating their policy impacts. Studies that evaluate the impact of policies on households and ignore intra household decision-making in their analysis may lead to misleading conclusions (Blumberg 1988; Blumberg and Coleman 1989; Due and Gladwin, 1991).

Acharya and Bennet (1982) in an intensive survey of decision making in the subsistence economy of Nepal observed high level of women's participation in farm management decisions commensurate with their high labour input in agricultural production i.e. 60.40 percent seed selection done independently and 20 percent jointly; organic manure decisions were taken almost entirely by women while chemical fertilizer decisions were taken by men. Another study of Nepal by Chavtri and Joshi (1980) also supported this findings by reporting 85 percent women's participation in agricultural decision-making among tribal groups.

Sajogya et al.(1978) in a study in Indonesia found joint agricultural decision-making by husband and wife regarding purchase and sale of land. Even greater influence of women was found over short and medium term farm decisions. However, Dixon (1982) and Dixon and Mulller (1985) in their study of South East Asia highlighted men's dominance in decisions like buying and selling of land, ploughing, irrigation and sowing cash crops. Decisions relating to sowing, weeding, harvesting and crop transportation were taken in consultation with wives.

Rath (2001) in his study found that wives tend to under-report their household decision-making power. Within couples where both partners were educated and in couples where women worked for pay, both partners were significantly more likely to report that both of them participated in the final decisions than was the case with couples without education or the wife did not work for pay. Singh (1992) conducted a study on modernity and decision making in upbringing of the children, and the study revealed that 69.5 per cent of the respondents of all categories expressed that both husband and wife should take

decisions on this matter. No respondent perceived that wife only should be a decision maker in giving education to the children. It was found that 90.8 per cent of the respondents who were in high level of modernity, 74.0 per cent of the respondents whoever in the medium level of modernity and only 20.3 per cent of the respondents who were in low level of modernity, considered that both the husband and wife need to take decisions regarding the education of the children.

According to Mumtaz (1982), there are various family matters on which men generally take decisions. Women are quite often not even consulted. This is because of the feeling among men that women are incapable of expressing their decisions, due to illiteracy among them. It would mean if women are educated they would acquire the capacity to participate in decision making.

On the matter of farm decision, Puri (1968) studied decision-making pattern in Mehrauli village near Delhi and reported that in deciding about selection of crop (57 percent), and adoption of improved agricultural practices (63 percent) the male head dominated. Women were consulted the least in the cases of loans, followed by farm related tasks. Identical findings were documented by several empirical researches with slight variation (Verma 1992) where male dominated in taking decisions about crop selection, adoption of improved agricultural practices, taking loans, buying farm machinery, purchase of seeds, fertilizer and plant protection, agricultural marketing, use of chemical fertilizer or trying new crop variety. However, rural women were also actively involved in some of the agricultural decision making.

Kaur (1987) studied the role of women in agricultural decision-making in Haryana and reported that education increased the role of farm women in decision making of farm aspects. Further, she felt that for increasing the say of farm women in decision-making there was the need to increase women's access to knowledge regarding new varieties of crops, fertilizers, agro-chemicals, credit and marketing. Women's participation in farm decision-making was higher in nuclear families than in joint families. Farm women of higher socio-economic status did not enjoy as much of involvement in decision making process regarding farm operations as those of middle or lower class families (Sharma 1993). Sharma in her study of the hill region in Uttar Pradesh found male domination over decision relating to ploughing, marketing of farm produce, payment of wages to

labourers, and purchase and sale of lands and participation in farm decision making had significant association with age, employment status, landholding size and relational position of women.

Chole(1977) in the study of Maharashtra found that employment of daily paid labour, processing and marketing of agricultural produce were in general the important issues relating to farm in which all categories of farm women and particularly mothers, played important role in decision making and according to him women in nuclear families performed greater role in decision making as compared to those in joint or extended families. He also observed that level of income to be negatively correlated with involvement of farm women in decision making. On the other hand age of farm women and their sociable nature was positively correlated with their involvement in decision making. Rani (1981) highlighted that farm women were decision makers for labour employment and they desired more active participation in decisions regarding expenditure pattern. The personal and socio-economic factors of rural women like age, social participation, socio-economic status, value orientation and leadership role were positively related with the type and extent of their participation in decision regarding farm activities and expenditure pattern. Education was negatively related with type and extent of participation in farm tasks but positively related with participation in decisions relating to farm expenditure pattern.

Marieke (2001) argued in his study that perception of social support were based in part in the structural conditions of individual marital arrangements, specifically household division of labour and decision making. The study suggested that the structural arrangements within marriages are likely to impact individuals perception of social support and that the closer couples come to equal labour and decision making in the household, the more supported each partner is likely to feel.

End Note:

1.Developing countries such as Benin, India, South Africa, Philippines, Mexico, Madagascar, Mongolia, Laos PDR, Morocco, Nepal, Thailand conducted their first time use survey between 1990and 2000. A major objective of was to get improved estimates as well as and improved understanding of the workforce.