

Disparities in the Distribution of Household Assets and Resultant Pattern of Employment and Income of Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh."

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Abstract: The present study has been undertaken with the current prevailing view, especially among those who are engaged in the major issues of gender discrimination, that much of women's work remains unrecognized and unvalued. This has an impact on the status of women in society, their opportunities in public life and the gender blindness of development policy. Women work both for the labour market as well as for the household sector. Some of this work is recognized and remunerated, while most of it is not enumerated and remains unpaid. Women's contribution to the household economy and society goes unrecognized since in most of the activities female are involved in, do not enter the sphere of the market and remain non-monetized. Most of the work undertaken by women is often interspersed with other household chores, making it difficult to separate the various tasks performed. The perpetuation of gender stereotypes and the social division of labour that typecasts women mainly as workers in the domestic sphere has been the chief barrier to the recognition of women's economic work participation. Non-recognition of women's participation in economic activities are not only an outcome of (a) their work being intertwined with household activities; and (b) being unpaid, making it difficult for enumerators to identify women as workers, but also stems from flawed definitions and the limited scope of economic activity. The role played by women in the care sector, predominantly their reproductive work (bearing, rearing, nurturing children and household maintenance), falls outside the national accounting systems. Many of the tasks 'non-working' women are involved in would be considered work if it is performed by a person hired for the purpose or unrelated to the household.

I. INTRODUCTION

The monetary valuation of work is a necessary means of turning "assumed" value into real value that would improve the well-being of women, children and their families. The unpaid work should be valued because the consequence of it has been noted long enough. Women are tired of being overworked, unpaid and underpaid. It is also vital that women need to increase their economic literacy. One needs to understand the structure of economic value and needs of women. Monetary valuation of unpaid work is also a key to challenging the system of under-valuation of even women's paid work that is a primary reason of women's economic insecurity. Valuing unpaid work can also further the understanding of the macro economic implications of unpaid work. Women provide household services, without the service provision being considered work, and without the value of that work being recorded. Even in developed countries, women are consistently found to spend more time than men on household responsibilities and childcare even if women are employed full-time in a paid job. (Gross and Swirski 2002)

Part of the goods and services consumed by the population are produced and consumed without undergoing monetary exchange transaction; this non-monetised consumption and the corresponding production go unrecorded in labour statistics and in the national accounts. These are the goods and services provided to the household by unpaid household members who are mostly women. Simon Kuznets had pointed out in the 1930s, that "housewives services" (as they were called at that time) constituted the largest single item left out of the national accounts.

A lot of surveys have been conducted (e.g. Brown 1996, Clermont 1998, Rajivan 1999, Pandey 2000, The Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, Manson, Hanson and Adams 2001, Gross and Swirski 2002, Allen 2004, Vans 2005, Sharma and Sharma 2006, Kundu 2007, Kelkar 2009, Kistwaria, Rana and Sood 2009, Ayyangar and Joshi 2010, Sharma and Devi 2012, Wadhawan 2013, George 2013) in different countries concerning the time spent on and amount of unpaid household work. A part of these surveys is devoted to developing appropriate methods for measurement of different categories of work and production done within the households outside the market economy. In an attempt to understand the critical dimension of women's work, this paper sets out to measure the scale and nature of women's contribution to the different categories of work done by women vis-à-vis the man within the sample household. Women's work is greatly under-valued in

economic terms. This is due in part to the restricted definition of economic activity and used under the system of National Income accounting. But part of the problem is the notion of value itself. To ensure full measurement of the paid and unpaid work of men and women, we have adopted a methodology which has been widely used for this purpose in both developed and developing countries.

Himachal Pradesh is a hilly state. The cropping pattern, the agricultural income and the consumption pattern of the farmers, therefore, vary with the altitude. On the basis of altitude, the cultivated land in the State has been categorized into four zones, viz., (a) low hill zone ranging between 1200 to 3000 feet, (b) mid-hill zone from 3000 to 5000 feet, (c) high-hill zone from 5000 to 14000 feet and (d) cold zone which is almost covered by snow for more than 6 months with altitude of 14000 ft. and above. In the valley area of low hill zone the main agricultural products are food grains, i.e. wheat, maize, paddy, pulses, sugarcane, oilseeds, etc. Whereas, due to suitable topography and climatic conditions the high-hill and mid-hill zone of the State is widely known for horticultural product, viz., apple, seed, potatoes, apricot, grapes, ginger and dry fruits etc. The agricultural activities in the mid-hill zone bear similarity in some areas to that of low-hill zone while in other areas to high hill zone. The agricultural activities in the cold-zone, due to the coverage of snow in most of the time in a year, bears similarity to some areas to that of high hill zone.

The status of Himachali women in society has been viewed differently with regard to her role in different places of the society. The main occupation of the women in the State is agriculture including horticulture. The women labour accounts for 61 per cent of the total farm work, their participation being greater in activities like animal husbandry than in crop production. But there is some tendency towards sexual division of labour in Himachal Pradesh. The hill women work hard with the men folk and robust. Himachal, like every other society, has latent reserves in its human resources especially in women, who generally work for much longer hours than men. Despite a relatively higher contribution of women in the development of economy, they lack an equal access to opportunities and other resources. Gender equality can be a potent force for initiating acceleration of development and placing it on a sustainable path.

II. OBJECTIVES

The present study has been taken up for detailed empirical verification with a view to achieve the following objectives:

1. To study the socio-economic conditions of the sample households among the different size of holdings; and
2. To examine and valuate the contribution of female labour in household activities of the sample households among the different sizes of holdings.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Sample Households:

Out of the total 300 sample households, 150 households fall in the category of marginal farmers having land less than one hectare, 90 households fall in the category of small farmers, having 1-2 hectares of land, 45 households are the medium size of holdings (2-4 hectares) and remaining 15 households fall in the category of large farmers (4 hectare and above). Out of the total population of 1941, 983 are males and 958 are females. The average size of family is the highest on the medium size of holdings as compared to the other class of holdings, followed by large, marginal and small size of holdings group respectively. The average size of family among all the sample household came out 6.47, which is larger as compared with average size of family at the state level as a whole, i.e. 4.97 (According to Census, 2011). The percentage of labour force has been worked out 72.35, 72.30, 73.65 and 60.40 per cent on the marginal, small, medium and large size of holdings group respectively. Among all the land holdings together this percentage came out 72.49. The percentage of dependants is the highest on the large size of holdings group (i.e. 39.60 per cent) as compared to the other class of holdings, followed by marginal size of holdings group (i.e. 27.65 per cent) and medium size of holdings group (i.e. 26.35 per cent).

Table 1Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Sample Household

Sr. No.	Particulars	Marginal Holdings	Small Holdings	Medium Holdings	Large Holdings	All Holdings
1.	Total Number of Sample Household	150	90	45	15	300
2.	Total number of family members	973	533	334	101	1941
3.	Average Size of Family	6.48	5.92	7.42	6.73	6.47

4.	Percentage of Family work force					
	(a) Male	69.35	75.27	73.68	62.22	71.41
	(b) Female	75.47	73.28	73.61	58.92	73.59
	(c) Total	72.35	72.30	73.65	60.40	72.49
5.	Percentage of Dependants	27.65	25.70	26.35	39.60	27.51
6.	Literacy Percentage					
	a) Male	85.88	87.82	89.47	91.11	87.28
	b) Female	80.50	82.06	83.43	85.71	81.73
	c) Total	83.24	84.99	86.52	88.11	84.54

The lowest percentage of dependants is on the small size of holdings group (i.e. 25.70 per cent). Among all the holding groups together the percentage of dependants came out 27.51. The literacy level of sample households has been shows that illiteracy was more among women (i.e. 18.27 per cent) as compared to men (i.e. 12.72 per cent). In the sample as a whole 84.54 per cent of the population is literate, out of which 87.28 per cent are males and 81.73 per cent are females. The literacy percentage is the highest on the large size of holdings i.e. 88.11 per cent and it decreases to 86.52, 84.99 and 83.24 per cent on the medium, small and marginal size of holdings respectively. About 16.07 per cent women had education up to primary level and about 24.84 per cent could go up to Matric level only. At post graduation level the percentage is very low (i.e. 4.27 per cent). This shows that education level of women in the study area is not so satisfactory yet. On the other hand about 32.15 per cent male had education up to Matric level and 10.98 per cent up to primary level. The percentage of higher education among females is very low because females often fear that education will make a girl less attentive to household chores and less willing to obey both her parents and household. This is why they discontinue their education at an earlier stage as compared to men. Therefore, they have virtually no choice than to accept life as it is made up of combination of household and agricultural tasks. The per household total area operated has been worked out 0.57 hectares on the marginal, 1.78 hectares on the small, 2.67 hectares on the medium and 7.41 hectares on the large size class of holdings. Among all the sample households, together per household total area operated has been worked out 1.59 hectares. (Table 1)

Sex-wise Distribution Pattern of Annual Work Time of Sample Households among SNA, E-SNA and Non-Economic Activities

The time allocation of males and females of the sample households among the SNA, E-SNA and non-economic activities in hours during 2009-10 has been presented in Table 2. The Table reveals that under SNA activities, males accounted their 66.03 per cent of the total hours available to them. Out of the above referred percentage, they utilized maximum of their time for trade, business and services followed by secondary activities which included construction and manufacturing activities. The lowest time was allocated to primary sector activities which included crop farming and animal husbandry. The division of male time which they allocated to SNA among these sectoral activities. primary, secondary and tertiary, has been shown separately and discussed in a subsequent section.

Table 2 Sex-Wise Distribution of Annual Work Time of Sample Households Among SNA, E-SNA and non-Economic Activities

(Hours during 2009-10)

Sr. No.	Category	SNA	E-SNA	Non-Economic Personal Activities	Total Work Hours
1.	Male	2742.53 (66.03)	928.48 (22.36)	482.25 (11.61)	4153.26 (100.00)
2.	Female	1080.67 (22.27)	3423.92 (70.56)	347.62 (7.17)	4852.21 (100.00)
3.	Total (1+2)	3823.20 (42.45)	4352.40 (48.33)	829.87 (9.22)	9005.47 (100.00)

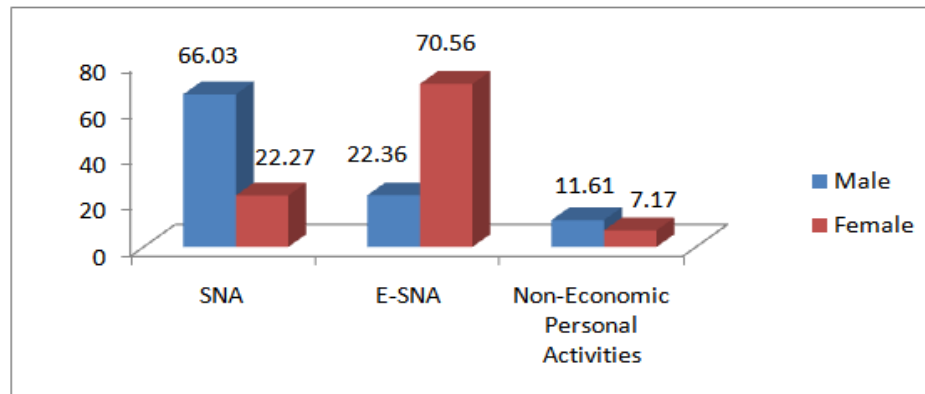
Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage to the total.

On the other hand, the contribution of women in SNA activities has been worked out 22.27 per cent of the total time utilized for all activities in a year. They also adhere to same pattern of time utilization as men for their respective activities but the percentage of work allocation was very low. It is amply evident from the above Table that the time utilization in SNA activities by the females was only one-third in comparison to that of men which indicates that women did not participate equally in all activities under SNA category. As regard farm

jobs, such as visit to market for buying farm inputs and selling of produce, land preparation, manuring. (Manual transportation of manure from cattle shed to field) and in sowing activities etc., relatively more labour was put in by men.

However, the data reveals that women participated in farm activities such as inter-culture, harvesting, threshing and winnowing etc. Moreover, maximum activities under SNA are hazardous in nature and involve a lot of physical labour. Women are said to be a weaker sex. Their biological structure puts restriction on them to undertake arduous and hazardous jobs. In addition to that, women cannot remain out of their home for nine to ten hours daily at the cost of neglect of their homes.

Figure I Sex-Wise Distribution of Annual Work Time of Sample Households among SNA, E-SNA and non-Economic Activities



The next category is E-SNA activities which mainly related to the household work. This is the type of activity which is intermediate between SNA and non-economic personal activities. This category of activities is also such that if males and females of the sample households go out for work these can be performed by hired labour like cooking, cleaning utensils, and scrubbing the floor etc. That is why these are given the name of E-SNA activities. This category of activities is time-consuming and women remain busy almost throughout the day in household chores namely meal preparation and serving it, cleaning utensils and the surroundings, care of clothes (sorting, mending, washing, ironing), physical care of children, elderly, sick, the disabled family members and care of animals etc.

As would be expected, in a patriarchal social system and in social customs and traditions, men spend very little time on extended SNA activities, an average of only 22.36 per cent of the total time utilized in all activities during the year. Under this category the males kept themselves engrossed in animal-care-related activities and the rest of it was accounted for by home management, community services and family care activities. On the other hand and by contrast, the women of the study area allocated an average of as much as 70.56 per cent of their time to this category of activities out of the total time utilized in all activities.

The majority of time allocated by them was found to have been used for household and domestic chores. The reasons for low work participation by males in the above category of activities was that the former prefer to undertake work mainly outside their homes, like buying and selling in the market and moving out of their houses to earn their daily bread. The much higher percentage of time spent on this type of activity by females clearly indicate that preparation of meals and serving it, cleaning utensils and the surroundings, physical care of children, sick and elders has traditionally and customarily fallen within the domain of women's work. The reason behind this is that from time immemorial women have been subjected to do this type of household activity. Incidentally, it was observed that in most of the cases in E-SNA activities, women acted as main caretaker of all the work related to household activities. Here, it is pertinent to mention that this category of activity is neither recognized nor valued by the society. This indeed has been a division of work between males and females since time immemorial, and in the contemporary world, such division of duties is held strongly responsible for gender discrimination and exploitation of the females. Although, the share of burden borne by females in this study area was more, yet it has been noticed that their status within the households or the society has remained unchanged.

The third categories of activities are called by different names, like non-productive activities or non-economic personal activities. These include learning, personal care, participation in social and cultural events and self maintenance. Women in the study area allocated about 7.17 per cent and men 11.61 per cent of their time to this category. Out of this percentage men spent more time on learning and personal care activities, such as drinking alcohol, engaging in physical exercise, listening to music, smoking and reading the newspaper. On

the other hand, women spent more time on leisure and religious activities. Moreover, it is also observed that men and women spend about the same amount of time on gossiping/ talking with others.

Comparative analysis of time allocation in all the activities (SNA, E-SNA and non-economic personal activities) by males and females has been presented in Figure I. This figure clearly indicates that out of total working hours available male utilized their major share of time on SNA activities (i.e. 66.03 per cent) followed by E-SNA activities (i.e. 22.36 per cent) and non-economic personal activities (i.e. 11.61 per cent)

On the other hand, the biggest share of the females' time was spent on Extended-SNA activities (i.e. 70.56 per cent). Women as a whole performed a much larger portion of unpaid work than their male counterparts. In absolute terms, men spent much more time than women on SNA activities. In other words it can be concluded that men spent significantly longer hours on paid work than women. Comparing the relative average time spent on SNA, E-SNA and non-productive activities, men spend one third of their time on E-SNA activities as compared with SNA activities, while women spend more time on E-SNA activities. Moreover, the total burden of work, women carried on an average 53.88 per cent and man carried 42.12 per cent. This clearly indicated that women worked longer hours than men in the study area. Alternatively, it can be concluded that the male-female gap in time spent on SNA activities (more by males) was dramatically reversed and widened in E-SNA activities, which was performed (more by females). A large part of E-SNA activities were non-market and therefore, not valued, thus ignoring women's contribution. No significant sex-wise gap was observed in time spent on non-economic personal activities. Moreover, it was also found in the study area that as far as literacy and levels of education are concerned, the higher a women's level of education, the less time she spent on unpaid work i.e. E-SNA activities like household maintenance and care work because that was done by hired labour.

Actual and Imputed Values of Income of Household Male and Female Workers from different activities

The pattern of valuation of human labour under SNA and E-SNA activities during the reference year has been presented in Table 3. SNA activities were valued at the actual wage rates received by males and females of the sample households. The tabulated values of these activities included the value of primary, secondary and tertiary activities. The valuated percentage of income, for males came out 75.41 of the total valuated income during the year. Out of the above referred percentage, they earned maximum income from trade, business and services, followed by secondary activities which included construction and manufacturing activities. The lowest income was earned from primary sector activities which included crop farming and animal husbandry.

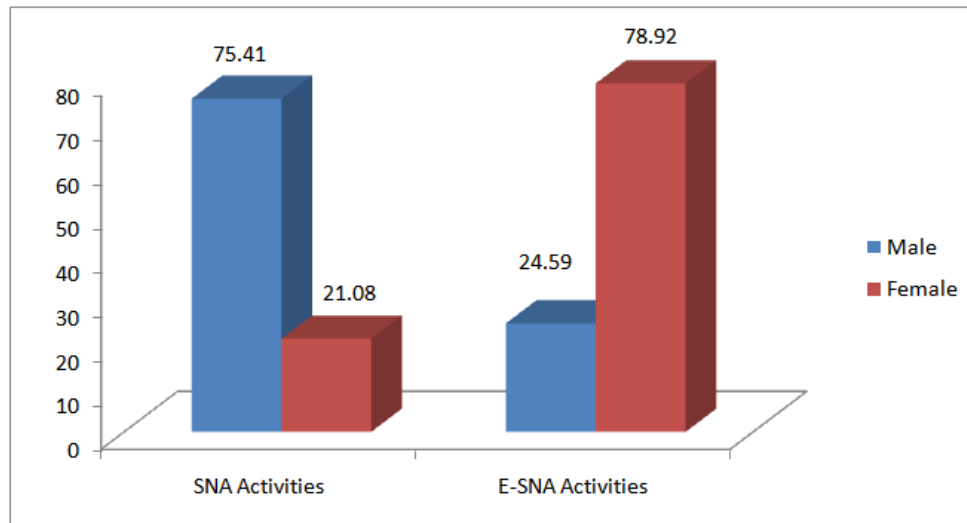
Table 3 Actual and Imputed Values of Income of Household Male and Female Worker from different Activities during 2009-10(Value in Rs.)

Sr. No.	Category	SNA Activities	E-SNA Activities	Total
1.	Male	46280.19 (75.41)	15087.80 (24.59)	61367.99 (100.00)
2.	Female	14859.21 (21.08)	55638.70 (78.92)	70497.91 (100.00)

Note:

- i) Non-economic personal activities are not evaluated because these are strongly personal and exchange in them is not involved.
- ii) Figures in parenthesis denote the percentage from the total.

Figure II Sex-Wise Actual and Imputed Values of Income of Sample Households Male and Female Worker from Different Activities



On the other hand, the percentage of valuated income of females in SNA activities has been worked out 21.08 per cent to the total valuated income during the year. The highest share of evaluated earnings among females was in primary sector, followed by tertiary and secondary sector activities. The percentage of valuated income of females was only one-fourth in comparison to that of the male in the same activity which is substantially high and indicates that women did not participate equally in all activities related to SNA Activities. In a matrilineal society like the one in the study area, women have very little say in money matters and they do not work outside their homes. It is the responsibility of the male members to take their farm produce to market for selling purposes. In services entail outdoor employment, sometimes employees have to remain away from their homes for years together separated from families due to exigencies of services. Elders in families do not like to allow their females to work outside their homes for fear of molestation and sexual harassment. Moreover this yawning gap in valuated income can also be attributed to wage discrimination between sexes, less flexibility of women's work due to periodical personal problems like pregnancy, menstruation, and child birth etc., tendency of employers not to employ women, household responsibilities and social restraints.

The next category is E-SNA activities, which is mainly related to household work. It is well accepted that non-market economic activities within the household usually have not been recorded and valued properly and therefore the contribution of human labour within the household in the calculation of National Income Accounts is generally undervalued and overlooked. However, a sincere attempt was made to evaluate the contribution of both males and females in respect of this category of activities.

Due to our patriarchal social system, men's contribution was very little on E-SNA activities. Therefore, when the value of males work performed under this category was valued at the imputed wage rate, an average of only 24.59 per cent of the total earnings during the year went to the male worker. Under this category, the imputed earnings of the males were the maximum from animal related activities followed by home management, community services and family care activities. On the other hand the females earned imputed average income from these E-SNA activities was much higher as 78.92 per cent of their valuated income. The majority of imputed income earned by them was found to have come from household domestic chores, followed by family and animal care activities. The reason for low earnings by males in the above category of activities was that the former prefer to undertake work mainly outside their homes. The much higher percentage of imputed income on this type of activity by females clearly indicates that preparation of meals and serving it, cleaning utensils and surroundings, physical care of children, sick and elders, help to neighbors in household affairs has traditionally fallen within the domain of females work. Moreover, this yawning gap of earning percentage between males and females (i.e. 54.33 per cent) clearly reflects that as far as E-SNA activities are concerned the females have proved to be more caretakers of all the work related to household activities like caring, loving and sympathetic and compassionate activities.

The comparative data shown in Figure II reveals that males earned their major share of income from SNA activities i.e. 75.41 per cent (as paid work) and on the other hand, females earned their maximum valuated income from E-SNA activities i.e. 78.92 per cent (as unpaid work). The total earned income (actual and imputed) by males came out 46.54 per cent and by females 53.46 per cent. Here, it is pertinent that if women's E-SNA activities work is properly valued, it is quite possible that women would emerge in most societies as the main bread earners or at least equal bread earners, since they put in more hours of work than men.

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