CULTIVATION AND HOUSEHOLDS: THE BASICS FOR NURTURING HUMAN LIFE

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Summary

Human being is an extraordinary creature among the species born with integral value and dignity of her/his own. Humans are the only rational and responsible species in the universe, which is accountable for its behavior and management of the only planet suitable for its life and well-being. Today the economy and technology created by men threatens the life of other species on the Earth and the biosphere around the Planet. The survival of humanity itself is at stake, since the life of the human race is fully dependent on the life of other species. For the sake of his/her own survival human beings need to accept their own responsibility; and learn to "hold their own house" in such an order that it supports her/his own life, and the life of other creatures.

This paper seeks new perspectives to human economy with the view of finding a healthy balance between human culture and the whole living nature on Earth. In one century the situation of humanity vis-à-vis living nature has crucially changed. The technological capacity in the hands of man has reached such a strength and efficiency that it overrides the potential of nature to stand out against humanity. Therefore, now

the responsibility for preserving the prerequisites for life in this Earth falls fully upon humanity itself.

1. Introduction

Learning about the history and evolution of human economy can help us to perceive new ways of solving the problems of growing humanity to live in a globalizing economy. We all need to understand the prerequisites for sustainable livelihood for the whole of the humanity. We need to create a lifestyle in the North, which would allow us to bring about a dignified quality of life for all people within the ecological boundaries of the biosphere.

The presupposition in this paper is that human economy is composed of three major, distinct components instead of the one, the monetary industrial economy, as usually taken for granted in mainstream economics. Those components are **the household economy** and **the cultivation economy**, in addition to **the industrial business economy**. In fact, households and cultivation have existed long before money was invented and industry ever emerged, but they have remained invisible in the eyes of scientific economics.

This paper will focus particularly on the home and household, the very basic system supporting and nurturing human life. We will see the centrality of the household for the society and economy. The main emphases will be on the economic and social functions of the household in reproducing and caring human life. We will study the bringing about new generations and provisioning for the basic needs of the members of the human family, including the social and cultural needs as well as the material ones. We will study also the relationships of the human economy vis-à-vis the economy of living nature or ecology, which will be called as cultivation economy.

Hopefully, this paper would also prompt us to consider to what extent we would like to acquire more control over our livelihood and to decrease our dependency on factors beyond our control, i.e. the globalizing macro economy with all its consequences. We will make visible also the indispensable component of human economy, the unpaid and non-counted work and production outside the market, which primarily consists of women's economic, social, and cultural contributions to the livelihood and well-being of the humanity. We will also seek the options to handle the increasingly serious scarcity of basic resources, which humanity has to face in near future.

2. The Household—a Core of Human Economy

In fact, the household—literally holding the house—has originally implied the entire livelihood, the cultivation, animal husbandry, housekeeping, caring and nurturing an extended family. It has existed ever since the people learned to make fire and started to cook their food and cultivate the land, thousands of years before the economics was invented.

The household as a basic unit in the human economy and society lends itself easily to use as a new angle from which to look at the economic process as a whole. For all

human purposes, the household is **the primary economy**, which all other economic functions should serve as auxiliaries. If we start looking at production, trade and economic activities of any kind from the household point of view, the whole picture is changing.

2.1 The Origin of the Picture

In the course of history, at some stages of social evolution most societies have been agrarian communities consisting primarily of fairly self-sustaining farming families. Such families had their fate in their own hands for the good and the bad, i.e. they had much more self-reliance and control of their livelihood—though at a very modest level of living—than people living in the affluent, consumerist society.

The basic structure of the society at that stage was the often quite extended private family, which provided for most of the basic needs of the family members: for food, clothing, shelter, caring, entertainment etc. At the modest level, the ancient farming family was a fairly autonomous unit, depending only on the provisions of nature and the capabilities of its members.

In spite of the often very patriarchal nature of traditional agrarian families, women had a central role in this kind of society due to their vital contributions to the livelihood. Since only women knew certain essential tasks, this gave them leverage in the society, where the services and goods could not be bought at the market. Thus the gender-based distribution of labor into male and female tasks does not necessarily imply inequality, as so often maintained in the feminist debate. The ultimate power lever in the hands of women has always been their ability to deliver the offspring.

In the process of so-called modernization, industrialization, monetization, commercialization of the society, increasing part of traditional functions is transferred outside the family. Making of furniture and clothing, growing of food, child and health care, training and education, even entertaining, have been transferred outside the family and monetized. They have become either public services, provided by the society, or commodities purchased on the market. (See Figure 1).

A Swedish researcher, **Ulla Olin**, analyzed this process profoundly in her paper prepared for a seminar on women and development, just before the first UN World Conference on Women in Mexico City, 1975 (Olin, 1975). She considers the family as a general model of human social organization and thus also of a society at large. Since an emerging state formation increasingly takes over the functions earlier performed by the family, she suggests terming the nation state as a symbolic family or **public family**. This fits the Nordic welfare states in particular.

We have to study also the interplay between private and public families. In traditional cultures, the societal structure outside private families was fairly thin. In the process of modernization, the structures of industrial production, trade, administration, public services, security and education grew stronger and increasingly powerful.

In this process, the tasks and skills of people became dispensable. It became possible to

substitute almost everything with industrial products. This was the beginning of commercialization of human relations, too. Nobody is indispensable any more in the economic sense. For women, this development has been particularly fatal. As many of their skills and tasks have become dispensable, their very important leverage has decisively declined.

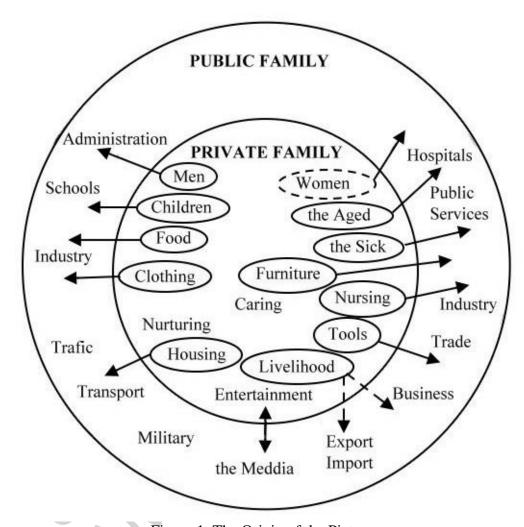


Figure 1. The Origin of the Picture.

In human history after the transition from the gathering economy to the cultivation economy the extended farming family has been a basic unit of society for long periods. Along the time the people's skills and means developed to enable qualitatively better satisfaction of their basic needs. This kind of "a house-hold" (note: holding the house/farm) was fairly independent and self-reliant economic unit at the modest level. The livelihood was based on the quality and accessibility of natural resources and skills and assiduity of the people living together.

In the course of time various kinds of production and trade, independent artisania, exchange of goods and services, public institutions and administration were emerging around the farming families. The public society and economy was in the making. A means of exchange came into the picture, and people started to buy and sell goods and

services. The labor and skills i.e. people and know-how started gradually move from the private families to the public market. The construction of monetary economy and public structures had started. Gradually the public society emerged around the private households and the transition process of functions and people from the private to the public has continued ever since. Women were the last ones remaining in the private sphere. Graph: Hilkka Pietila

In the course of this process, women were the last to remain in the private sphere, when men went to war, work and politics, children were sent to school, the sick were taken to hospital, and the aged were put into old people's homes. Thus women were also the last to enter the labor markets. That is why they got the most monotonous and mechanical jobs, or those requiring manual skills and patience. Men were not able or willing to do these kinds of jobs; therefore they are poorly paid even today (Friberg, 1983).

This process implied—in the course of history—that the public family, the production, politics, culture and organization of the modernizing society was designed, planned and built up by men, who possess neither the particular gifts nor the experience which women have acquired over centuries in managing the private family and nurturing its members. Ulla Olin considers this long-term imbalance between the male and the female rate of influence in planning and conduct of modern industrial societies to be the virtual source of most of the social, economic, human and international problems, which we face today.

In this process also the purpose of the work and production, exchange and trade has changed. Originally all the work and efforts of people aimed at providing livelihood for people and families, to satisfy their essential needs. The priorities were clear, to sustain and reproduce life. If the surplus remained, it was saved for next year or for the coming generations to have a better foundation for their life in the future than the previous ones had in the beginning of their life.

2.2 The Basic Needs

Meeting basic needs is naturally a very old concept and objective, too. People at all ages and stages of development have always striven in their own activities to meet the basics of life first. In the traditional non-monetary cultures the human work provided directly with the satisfaction of needs; cultivating the crops and domesticating the animals produced food, building the house gave the shelter and home, dressing leather or weaving a fabric produced the material for cloths. When the aim of the work, satisfaction of perceived needs was achieved, all the work was done, it was enough, the bliss.

At that time there was a clear notion about, how much is enough. But in the course of "development" money was invented to be a means of exchange and soon it became the cause of its own value. The work and production started to be paid for, and earning money was taken as the purpose of the work. Thus the clear notion of sufficiency disappeared and so did the understanding of how much is enough. The perception of the link between needs and purpose of work was blurred. Consequently, the constant growth became an end in itself.

It is very important to make distinction between the basic needs and deliberate, optional needs. This distinction was made very clear in the UN Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution, Social Progress & International Division of Labor, in Geneva 1976.

This World Employment Conference—called so for brevity—took up an issue, why do people work, instead of discussing only about the need to create one billion jobs before the year 2000, as the global need of jobs was then perceived. And they found an answer that people work for satisfaction of their needs. Therefore the critical issue was a holistic perception of the notion of livelihood. It would help people to put their needs in the priority order and realize different options for making their living. The Conference proclaimed as a fundamental principle, that the "Strategies and national development plans should include explicitly as a priority objective the promotion of employment and the satisfaction of the basic needs of each country's population".

The Conference then adopted as the final document The Basic Needs Strategy, which defines the basic needs and highlights their priority and importance in development policies (ILO 1977). The outlines for the strategy were presented in the document "Employment, Growth and Basic Needs, the One-World Problem," which was the analytical and comprehensive background document for the Conference (ILO, 1976):

The basic human needs are defined in the documents as

- First, certain minimum family requirements for private consumption: adequate food, shelter, and clothing, as well as certain household equipment and furniture.
- Second, essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health, educational, and cultural facilities.

The objective of the Basic Needs Strategy is to make the distribution of income more just within each society and therefore the poorest people should be given the priority in development. It also emphasizes the democratic right and basic need of the citizens to participate in planning and decision-making in matters concerning their life. If the people concerned have no say in the decision-making process, there is no guarantee that their interests will be taken into account. This was the realistic point of departure for a strong emphasis given on public participation in the Basic Needs Strategy.

The Employment Conference was only concerned with material needs. However: "Man does not live by bread alone". Prior to the Conference a very distinguished group of development thinkers, and researchers convened in Cocoyoc, Mexico in 1974. They elaborated the issue of human needs in a more holistic way. In addition to the material basic needs they brought up the issue of people's non-material needs, which are basic for the dignity of life as human beings, such as:

social needs, togetherness, human relations, and appreciation; freedom of speech and thought; the right and the opportunity to participate in society; and the need to find their life and work meaningful.

This meeting adopted the Cocoyoc Declaration, which particularly emphasized these needs: "Development includes freedom of expression and impression, the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus. There is a deep, social need to participate in shaping the basis of one's own existence, and to make a contribution to the fashioning of the world's future. Above all, development includes the right to work, by which we mean not simply having a job but finding self-realization in work, the right not to be alienated through production processes that use human beings simply as tools" (Development Dialogue, No 2/1974).

Widening the Basic Needs Approach to include non-material basic needs makes it a useful tool for evaluating the quality of development also in developed countries. Development and underdevelopment are like two sides of the same coin. If one sees only the material side, then developed countries seem to be highly developed, even overdeveloped. But if one seeks such qualifications of development as warm and close human relationships, meaning in one's work and life, attitudes towards children and old people, many developing countries seem to be far ahead. Along with our material development we have lost or ignored many essential values when it comes to our basic needs.

As a matter of fact, it is a question of getting development back on the right track, be guided by people's essential needs. The mechanisms and impact of market forces, the desire for power and the greediness of individuals estranged from social responsibility have caused it to run off the rails.

The doctrine of the market maintains that the human needs are endless, unlimited and all needs are equally important. This argument is used for justification of the constant growth of production and conspicuous consumption in the industrial affluent economies. This is the disguise of the business to impose constantly new needs on people and make them to buy and consume ever more goods, services, excitement and pleasures. But it is also the excuse of constantly increasing exploitation of natural resources, imposing the uncological methods on agriculture, pollution of air and water and finally causing a destructive process in the whole biosphere.

2.3 The Non-market Work and Production for the Support of Human Life

Most of the work done in the households is supporting life of and creating well-being directly to the members of the household or family living together. Economically all sectors of human economy meet within the household:

- 1. The households provide labor to the labor market.
- 2. The members of the household are earning income money in paid work.
- 3. Thus the households can buy goods and services from the market.
- 4. The public economy provides social support and services to the family.
- 5. A lot of non-market work and production is done within the households.
- 6. The farming households produce basic products for humanity through cultivation economy.

This indicates the crucial position of the households as basic units of the human economy. From within the household we have also an insight into the interplay and dynamics which prevail between the home-based subsistence production of goods and services, on the one hand, and the public services and markets on the other (Figure 3.). We concentrate here on making visible the part of the household economy, which remains invisible in the mainstream economic thinking and policies, the non-market work and production within the households for the direct support of the human life.

It is usually taken obvious that the amount of unpaid work is important part of livelihood in the developing societies, but the amount and value of non-market, home-based production of goods and services is very significant also in the industrialized countries. Even though industrial production and public services have taken over a major part of caring and servicing in the affluent countries, a lot of work is still done in homes and families even here. But nowhere the amount and value of the unpaid work in the households is counted in the economic statistics and calculations.

However, plenty of work is done for developing appropriate methods for measurement and valuing of the work and production done within the households outside the monetary economy and market.

A lot of surveys has been made in different countries concerning the time and value of unpaid work in the households (INSTRAW, 1995).

The usual pattern of approaching this issue is that first the amount of work done in the households is measured in time, hours and minutes. These are called time-use surveys. Even this is a complicated matter, since the housework usually implies several jobs being done parallel, for example tending to children while cooking and laying the table or ironing and mending the cloths. Is the issue just counting the hours spent or counting the hours per function as to how many hours for tending to children and how many hours for cooking and laying the table?

The value of work and production in the households should also be calculated in money in order to make the household statistics compatible with the ordinary national statistics. This is even more problematic. What is the time wage or market price of the work, which has an incalculable human value—like taking care of lively and dear children—and, which requires a command a great number of skills? Or the work, which is composed of low paid and highly paid components like washing the cloths requiring simple washing work plus the knowledge of the technician for managing the washing machine and the chemist knowing the composition and effect of the detergent?

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD has done a lot of work for creating the data sources and methods for measurement of non-market household work and production in the OECD countries (OECD, 1995). The main categories of methods they have elaborated are the following:

• The "opportunity cost" method, which is based on the potential salary, what is the wage opportunity lost by a woman who does unwaged work, for example caring for her children or parents or doing subsistence farming instead of doing a paid job.

- The "global substitute" method, whereby a general housekeeper's wage rate on the market is taken as a substitute value for all unpaid housework, and which rests on the assumption that housework does not require any particular qualifications.
- The "specialist substitute" (also called "the replacement cost") method, which relates various types of household tasks to the wage levels for the type of work, performed by professionals such as cooks, nurses, gardeners etc.

All these ways of measurement are applying the so-called input-based method, because they measure the household production through the inputs to the process, in particular the working hours. The UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, INSTRAW, suggests a method not mentioned in the study above, such as:

the "output-based evaluation," which implies the valuation of the non-market production in terms of the market value of the outputs produced, whereby the products and services produced in the household are assigned a value equivalent to the price of similar market goods and services (such as the meals served in the restaurant, the cleaning performed by a professional firm, etc). Output-based evaluation method does not necessarily require time-use data.

It is obvious that the estimates of the value of household production depend on the method used. An OECD researcher **Ann Chadeau** considers the specialist substitute method to be the most plausible and at the same time feasible approach for valuing the non-market work and production in the households.

INSTRAW deplores, that in the past there have been very few attempts to estimate the value of household output instead of input, while it is technically possible and less time-consuming than the surveys based on time-use measurement (INSTRAW 1995).

The thorough surveys of non-market housework were made in Finland in 1980 (Housework Study, 1981) and 1990 (Vihavainen, 1995). The monetary value was assessed according to the current salary of municipal home-helpers i.e. the so-called "global substitute" method. In the 1990 survey the monetary value was counted also, for comparison, using the average wage on the labor market for all employees.

Both surveys included all the unpaid work in the households irrespective, whether women, men or children did it, and the gender distribution was also assessed. In 1980 the time spent in unpaid labor in average Finnish families was 6.7 and in 1990 6.3 hours a day. The women's share of this work was in average about 70%, although it had declined somewhat in 1990 in comparison to men's share.

The total monetary value of the unpaid labor in households in Finland in 1980 was about FIM 80 000 million, which was then equal to 42% of the GNP. (For comparison: In the same year, the sum total of the Finnish national budget was FIM 50 000 million.) In the 1990 calculations, according to the current salary of municipal home-helpers, it made FIM 232 000 million (about 45% of the GNP), and according to the average wage

of all employees it was about 300 000 million FIM (ca 60% of the GNP). (The sum total of the Finnish state budget in 1990 was FIM 140 000 million.) Thus the non-market household work and production was worth more than one-and-a half to two-times the amount of the state budget in the corresponding year, depending on the method used in assessment.

"Whatever valuation method is used, the value of unpaid housework is substantial in relation to GDP. Non-market household production is an important component of household income, consumption and welfare," concludes Ann Chadeau in her paper (1992). In Finnish calculations for both 1980 and 1990, its value was between 42–60% of GDP, depending on the method of estimation, which is comparable with the results from various countries shifting between 30–60% of GDP (INSTRAW, 1995). Thus the conventional SNA statistics give a grossly distorted picture of the magnitude, composition, and trends of productive activities in each country.

"For the last fifty years national income statistics have been widely used for monitoring economic developments, for designing economic and social policies and for evaluating the outcomes of those policies. Had household production been included in the system of macro-economic accounts, governments would have had quite a different picture of economic development, and may well have implemented quite different economic and social policies," says Ann Chadeau.

The women's movement in many countries has insistently demanded that the value of women's unpaid work should be counted as part of the national income in each country and included in the System of National Accounts (Waring, 1988). It would be an official recognition of the amount and value of this enormous amount of work, which is continuously performed in all countries for the sustenance and support of human life universally.

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Biographical Sketch

Hilkka Pietilä, M.Sc. is an independent researcher and author, Helsinki, Finland. She was born on a small farm in a rural village of Finnish countryside in the 1930s, when Finland was primarily an agrarian country. The farms used traditional cultivation methods consisting both grain and cattle farming as well as forestry, thus providing fairly sustainable livelihood for families. During the course of centuries an

experience had been gained and methods developed, which were appropriate for provision of livelihood even in the harsh Northern climate, where all the land is covered by snow and ice for two-thirds of the year. It was natural for her to subscribe into the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry of Helsinki University 1950, although she chose to study nutrition, microbiology, and household economics, the combination of studies called the degree on household sciences. This gave her an option to combine the experiences and skills gained at the home farm with scientific knowledge and learning.

Hilkka Pietilä passed her examination in Helsinki University in 1956, and worked on her professional fields until 1963, when she became the Secretary General of the Finnish UN Association until 1990. In this work she gained insight into the global situation on her field, nutrition, as well as to the development problematics globally, and locally both in developing countries and Finland. She has published articles widely on development issues, peace, and international cooperation, the United Nations, and advancement of women, ecological, and feminist issues etc. in different languages, in addition to hundreds of articles in Finnish. She is also an author of several books in English. Recently she has been working particularly on feminist ecological economics and became a member of the International Association for Feminist Economics, IAFFE, in 1996. In this field she has published e.g. the article The triangle of the human economy: household–cultivation–industrial production. An attempt at making visible the human economy in toto in the *Journal of Ecological Economics*, Vol. (20) No.2 (Feb.1997), which is a special issue on Women, Ecology and Economics, and the first publication so far focusing on feminist ecological economics.