

5 Women's Work and Workload

Employment is widely accepted as an indicator of women's status. In general, this is because a woman who is employed is more likely than an unemployed woman to a) have direct access and control over financial resources; b) be able to function in the nondomestic sphere; c) be in contact with people other than the immediate family, and hence, have access to the world outside the home; d) be able to translate the autonomy required for and embodied in being employed to autonomy and control inside the home; and e) have exposure to and be generally more knowledgeable about the world outside the home. However, whether employment does have all, or even some of these overlapping beneficial effects depends on several different work-specific factors such as the nature of the work, where it is done, for whom it is done, whether cash is earned, as well as culture-specific factors, such as social acceptance of women's work outside the home, and patriarchal control over women's earnings (Dixon, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1982). In addition, without the cooperation of men, and adjustments in their workload, especially in societies where women's work outside the home is an innovation, employment for women may mean a doubling or more of workloads (Safa, 1992a). Thus, to understand the link between employment and women's status, ideally employment of women should be examined in combination with concepts of cultural acceptance of different types of work for women, women's total workload, and control over earnings.

In most countries, employment information is gathered in the DHS only at the level of the individual woman. Consequently, the discussion in this chapter is restricted to women in the reproductive ages of 15-49 years. The definition of employment used in the DHS is very broad so as to include all forms of women's labor force participation: formal and informal work, work inside and outside the home, and work for payment in cash, payment in kind, or no earnings. While an employment history for the last five years is available in a few of the DHS countries, this analysis is restricted to a comparison of current employment only since these data are available for all countries. To elicit information on women's current employment, the following question sequence is used in most countries: First, women are asked: "Aside from your own housework are you currently working?" If the answer is "no" to this question, then women are asked: "As you know, some women take up jobs for

which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things, have a small business or work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other work?" Women saying no to both these questions are considered "not employed." Women saying "yes" to either of these two questions are then asked whether they earn cash for this work, what their occupation is, where work is done (at home or away from home), and for whom work is done (family member, someone else, self-employed).¹ In addition, for women who are employed and have a child less than five years of age, information is obtained on whether the respondent has the child with her when she works, and if not who takes care of the child.

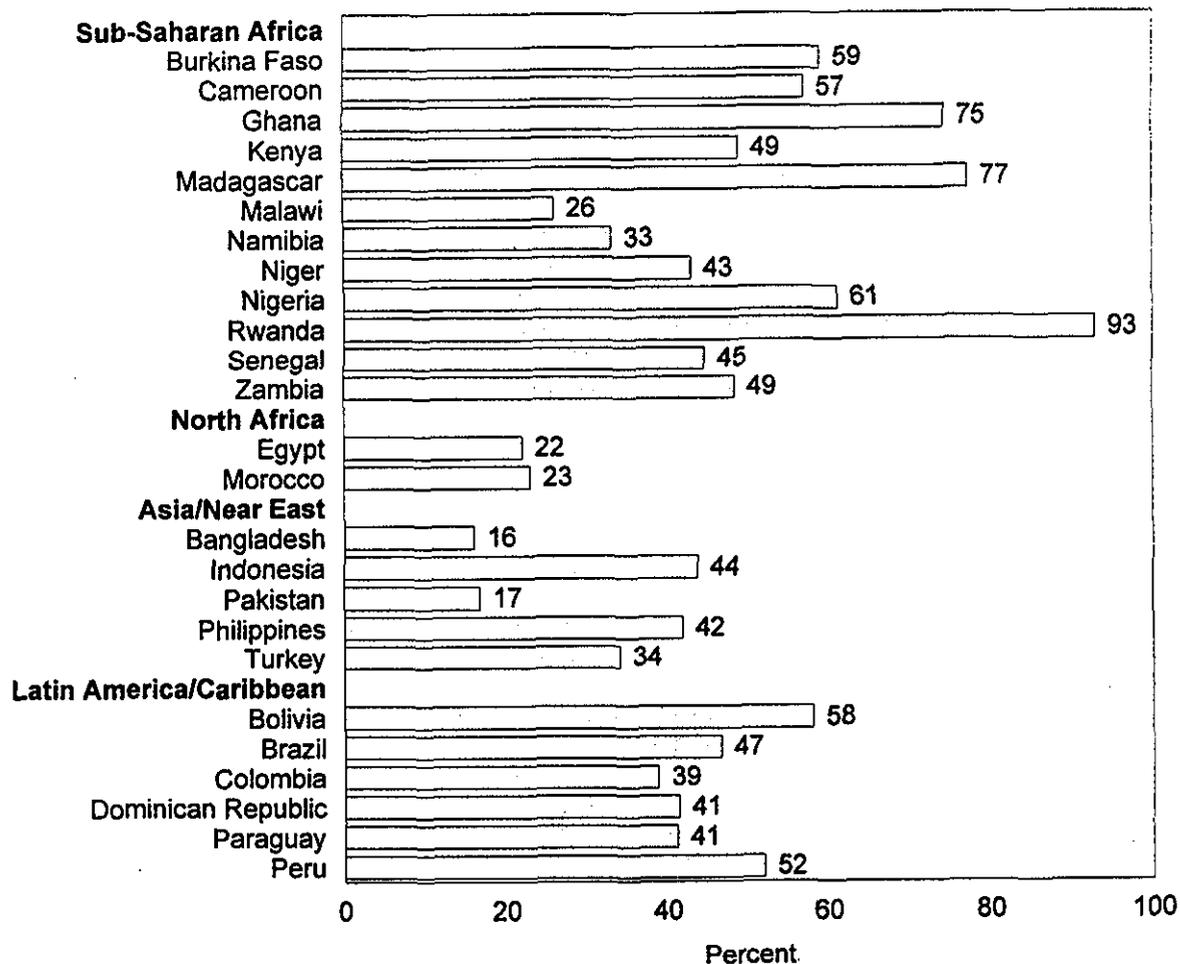
This sequence of questions permits an examination of many different aspects of women's employment discussed previously with the important exception of women's control over their earnings. First, the extent and nature of women's employment are compared. Second, the characteristics of working women are explored and then compared with those of nonworking women. The employment information for women is combined with other background information available in the DHS to compare alternative measures of women's workload, including childcare options, across countries. Finally, on the assumption that employment, in combination with education, is a better indicator of women's status than employment alone, the proportion of women that satisfy different combinations of education and employment criteria is also examined.

5.1 EXTENT OF WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Figure 5.1 reveals that the percent of women employed varies from a maximum of 93 percent in Rwanda to a mini-

¹ Women were counted as currently employed only if they simultaneously satisfied the following two conditions: answered "yes" to the question on being currently employed, and were not coded as "not working" on the occupation question. A woman who said that she was currently employed but was coded as "not employed" on the occupation question was treated as missing on the current employment variable. In all other cases, women who were coded on the current employment question were counted in the employment estimates even if they were missing on the occupation question.

Figure 5.1 Percent currently employed among women age 15-49, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



num of 16-17 percent in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The rates of employment are clearly highest in sub-Saharan Africa where in eight of the 12 countries, at least one in every two women is currently employed. Further, in the three countries of Ghana, Madagascar, and Rwanda, three or more out of every four women work. The only countries in sub-Saharan Africa where the percent of women employed is relatively low are Malawi with 26 percent and Namibia with one-third of women employed. Among the remaining countries, only in Bolivia and Peru does the proportion of women employed exceed 50 percent. In other Latin American countries as well as Indonesia and the Philippines, between 40 and 50 percent of women work. Less than 25 percent of women work in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco, and Pakistan. Several cultural and structural factors, especially those associated with the practice of spouses maintaining "separate purses," underlie the high rates of women's labor force participation in sub-Saharan Africa. These factors include the

continuing practice of polygyny, marital instability, and the fact that husbands and wives have separate expenditure obligations towards their natal kin, children and households (Blumberg, 1989).

The overall labor force participation rate masks the variance in the labor force participation rates of women with different characteristics. Is labor force participation higher among rural or urban women? Do labor force participation rates increase with age and education? How does marital status affect labor force participation? The experience of industrialized countries during their process of industrialization suggests that women are likely to withdraw from the labor force at marriage or after the first child. To what extent does this inherited wisdom apply to the currently developing world? An analysis of these questions is presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. The underlying distributions of working and nonworking women according to the same character-

Table 5.1 Employment status by residence

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 by employment status according to rural-urban residence, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Residence | Employed | Not employed | Total | Number |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|--------------|-------|--------|
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | Urban | 54.3 | 45.7 | 100.0 | 1,290 |
| | Rural | 60.3 | 39.7 | 100.0 | 5,058 |
| Cameroon | Urban | 42.8 | 57.2 | 100.0 | 1,625 |
| | Rural | 67.4 | 32.6 | 100.0 | 2,247 |
| Ghana | Urban | 66.5 | 33.5 | 100.0 | 1,720 |
| | Rural | 79.3 | 20.7 | 100.0 | 2,842 |
| Kenya | Urban | 54.9 | 45.1 | 100.0 | 1,337 |
| | Rural | 47.7 | 52.3 | 100.0 | 6,196 |
| Madagascar | Urban | 65.0 | 35.0 | 100.0 | 1,251 |
| | Rural | 80.5 | 19.5 | 100.0 | 5,001 |
| Namibia | Urban | 47.8 | 52.2 | 100.0 | 2,075 |
| | Rural | 24.1 | 75.9 | 100.0 | 3,334 |
| Niger | Urban | 42.4 | 57.6 | 100.0 | 1,106 |
| | Rural | 43.3 | 56.7 | 100.0 | 5,370 |
| Nigeria | Urban | 62.2 | 37.8 | 100.0 | 2,187 |
| | Rural | 60.9 | 39.1 | 100.0 | 6,594 |
| Rwanda | Urban | 68.3 | 31.7 | 100.0 | 408 |
| | Rural | 94.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 | 6,141 |
| Senegal | Urban | 42.2 | 57.8 | 100.0 | 2,629 |
| | Rural | 46.5 | 53.5 | 100.0 | 3,672 |
| Zambia | Urban | 46.6 | 53.4 | 100.0 | 3,636 |
| | Rural | 50.4 | 49.6 | 100.0 | 3,423 |
| North Africa | | | | | |
| Egypt | Urban | 21.2 | 78.8 | 100.0 | 4,596 |
| | Rural | 22.9 | 77.1 | 100.0 | 5,268 |
| Morocco | Urban | 24.5 | 75.5 | 100.0 | 4,544 |
| | Rural | 21.7 | 78.3 | 100.0 | 4,698 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | |
| Bangladesh | Urban | 17.9 | 82.1 | 100.0 | 1,096 |
| | Rural | 15.7 | 84.3 | 100.0 | 8,393 |
| Indonesia | Urban | 38.0 | 62.0 | 100.0 | 6,670 |
| | Rural | 46.2 | 53.8 | 100.0 | 16,162 |
| Pakistan | Urban | 13.0 | 87.0 | 100.0 | 2,014 |
| | Rural | 18.5 | 81.5 | 100.0 | 4,579 |
| Philippines | Urban | 45.2 | 54.8 | 100.0 | 8,487 |
| | Rural | 37.6 | 62.4 | 100.0 | 6,518 |
| Turkey | Urban | 21.9 | 78.1 | 100.0 | 4,176 |
| | Rural | 55.8 | 44.2 | 100.0 | 2,335 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | | |
| Bolivia | Urban | 52.4 | 47.6 | 100.0 | 5,376 |
| | Rural | 67.7 | 32.3 | 100.0 | 3,224 |
| Brazil | Urban | 48.3 | 51.7 | 100.0 | 4,059 |
| | Rural | 43.4 | 56.6 | 100.0 | 2,157 |
| Colombia | Urban | 42.8 | 57.2 | 100.0 | 6,315 |
| | Rural | 27.1 | 72.9 | 100.0 | 2,172 |
| Dominican Republic | Urban | 46.7 | 53.3 | 100.0 | 4,997 |
| | Rural | 30.0 | 70.0 | 100.0 | 2,312 |
| Paraguay | Urban | 48.9 | 51.1 | 100.0 | 3,277 |
| | Rural | 31.2 | 68.8 | 100.0 | 2,548 |
| Peru | Urban | 50.5 | 49.5 | 100.0 | 12,291 |
| | Rural | 57.2 | 42.8 | 100.0 | 3,570 |

Table 5.2 Employment of women by selected background characteristics

Percentage of women employed, by age, education, marital status, presence of child less than five, and household headship, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Age group | | | | Level of education | | | | Marital status | | | Has child less than five years | | Is household head ¹ | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|---------|------------|--------|----------------|---------|----------|--------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|------|
| | 15-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | None | Primary | Second-ary | | Never married | Married | Wid-owed | Divorced/ separated | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| | | | | | | | | Higher | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 47.4 | 58.1 | 65.6 | 67.0 | 60.6 | 62.1 | 33.9 | (64.0) | 46.9 | 60.6 | 76.3 | 68.6 | 60.8 | 56.4 | 76.9 | 58.7 |
| Cameroon | 32.8 | 52.5 | 73.5 | 78.9 | 72.7 | 57.5 | 32.7 | (37.0) | 25.7 | 63.7 | 75.3 | 66.0 | 62.9 | 50.8 | 79.6 | 57.2 |
| Ghana | 33.6 | 74.9 | 89.3 | 90.9 | 84.2 | 70.6 | 58.8 | 79.2 | 35.7 | 83.6 | 89.9 | 84.6 | 82.2 | 65.3 | 85.4 | 70.3 |
| Kenya | 24.2 | 52.5 | 60.9 | 59.5 | 51.1 | 47.0 | 51.7 | (66.8) | 32.3 | 55.1 | 60.5 | 66.4 | 53.8 | 44.4 | 66.4 | 45.2 |
| Madagascar | 66.1 | 78.2 | 82.5 | 83.8 | 79.3 | 82.6 | 66.0 | 59.0 | 68.2 | 79.3 | 92.7 | 85.8 | 79.7 | 74.9 | 87.8 | 76.3 |
| Malawi | 19.2 | 25.2 | 30.5 | 31.0 | 21.4 | 29.0 | 46.7 | 48.2 | 21.7 | 25.4 | 43.9 | 34.9 | 25.2 | 27.4 | 33.9 | 24.8 |
| Namibia | 10.7 | 35.2 | 44.7 | 43.9 | 30.8 | 26.5 | 40.9 | 78.4 | 26.6 | 39.1 | 44.0 | 46.5 | 34.0 | 32.6 | 63.6 | 30.1 |
| Niger | 31.8 | 39.5 | 49.5 | 57.6 | 43.4 | 43.5 | 32.5 | * | 35.0 | 44.0 | 51.2 | 44.1 | 42.6 | 43.9 | 50.8 | 42.9 |
| Nigeria | 27.0 | 62.5 | 73.9 | 75.6 | 63.4 | 66.3 | 46.4 | 66.9 | 31.0 | 66.9 | 83.3 | 75.3 | 67.8 | 53.7 | 85.4 | 59.7 |
| Rwanda | 80.9 | 94.8 | 97.8 | 97.5 | 97.8 | 94.2 | 60.5 | * | 82.8 | 97.8 | 97.6 | 97.1 | 97.9 | 87.5 | 98.1 | 93.1 |
| Senegal | 29.6 | 39.5 | 55.6 | 60.0 | 47.3 | 41.0 | 31.0 | (44.4) | 33.5 | 47.9 | 44.1 | 60.3 | 46.3 | 42.9 | 63.0 | 44.1 |
| Zambia | 28.4 | 51.1 | 63.4 | 59.1 | 50.0 | 47.3 | 47.2 | 91.2 | 29.9 | 52.8 | 71.0 | 64.4 | 54.1 | 42.5 | 79.8 | 46.2 |
| North Africa | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Egypt ² | 8.0 | 17.7 | 27.8 | 22.3 | 18.0 | 14.4 | 32.8 | 57.9 | NA | 21.4 | 31.4 | 30.8 | 20.8 | 23.8 | 41.1 | 21.3 |
| Morocco | 19.1 | 22.5 | 26.6 | 23.8 | 21.2 | 26.6 | 23.6 | 45.2 | 26.3 | 19.6 | 31.0 | 37.3 | 19.6 | 25.0 | 35.9 | 22.5 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bangladesh ² | 8.8 | 15.8 | 20.3 | 15.0 | 18.6 | 13.2 | 8.3 | 25.3 | NA | 14.1 | 40.0 | 43.9 | 13.6 | 18.6 | 36.4 | 15.1 |
| Indonesia ² | 25.3 | 37.2 | 48.7 | 51.0 | 54.4 | 41.4 | 38.9 | 61.2 | NA | 42.1 | 64.7 | 62.1 | 37.8 | 48.9 | 64.6 | 42.7 |
| Pakistan ² | 16.7 | 13.9 | 18.8 | 19.0 | 17.9 | 10.8 | 12.5 | 27.8 | NA | 16.2 | 35.6 | 24.8 | 16.2 | 17.7 | 24.1 | 16.5 |
| Philippines | 22.4 | 39.6 | 50.5 | 55.9 | 46.8 | 43.7 | 34.3 | 50.6 | 37.9 | 42.9 | 67.9 | 64.9 | 36.3 | 45.1 | 65.7 | 41.0 |
| Turkey ^{2,3} | 22.8 | 28.9 | 38.4 | 37.3 | 33.1 | 33.7 | 27.5 | 73.9 | NA | 33.4 | 47.2 | 56.3 | 27.2 | 38.9 | 41.6 | 33.8 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 38.9 | 55.6 | 67.2 | 71.6 | 73.1 | 63.4 | 48.0 | 63.2 | 49.1 | 59.6 | 90.0 | 80.9 | 58.4 | 57.9 | 82.5 | 55.7 |
| Brazil | 33.3 | 44.2 | 57.2 | 52.5 | 47.5 | 41.4 | 59.4 | 83.8 | 44.9 | 44.2 | 64.0 | 68.6 | 41.6 | 49.2 | 67.5 | 45.2 |
| Colombia | 22.3 | 38.4 | 51.0 | 41.8 | 34.5 | 34.8 | 37.4 | 64.8 | 38.2 | 34.8 | 47.2 | 61.4 | 31.8 | 42.1 | 64.7 | 36.6 |
| Dominican Republic | 24.4 | 41.4 | 52.4 | 49.7 | 36.2 | 34.9 | 41.9 | 70.7 | 35.8 | 41.6 | 52.2 | 51.8 | 37.3 | 43.5 | 56.7 | 40.0 |
| Paraguay | 31.2 | 40.3 | 48.3 | 44.3 | 35.1 | 38.3 | 42.3 | 65.9 | 45.3 | 36.1 | (69.1) | 72.1 | 33.3 | 46.9 | 74.0 | 39.6 |
| Peru | 30.2 | 53.1 | 62.4 | 62.3 | 64.6 | 57.1 | 42.4 | 59.7 | 46.2 | 53.1 | 77.3 | 75.5 | 51.6 | 52.3 | 78.6 | 50.6 |

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Household head calculations exclude women who are visitors.

² Ever-married sample

³ Includes children less than age five not living with their mother

NA = Not applicable

istics are presented in Appendix Table A.2. This table provides a resource to evaluate the relative share of women with different characteristics by their labor force participation status.

Women's labor force participation varies only in some countries by area of residence. Specifically, in Bolivia, Cameroon, Madagascar, Rwanda, and Turkey, the labor force participation of rural women exceeds that of urban women by 15 to 34 percentage points; and in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and Paraguay, the labor force participation of urban women exceeds that of rural women by 15 or more percentage points.

Further, the women's labor force participation rate rises steadily with age in almost every country, so that, in general, women age 15-19 are least likely to be working and those age 30 years or more are most likely to be working (Table 5.2). In most countries, the labor force participation rate of those age 40-49 is about the same or a little higher than the 30-39 year age group. However, in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries and in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco, the Philippines, and Zambia, the proportion employed among women 40-49 years is slightly lower than those age 30-39 years.

Women's employment does not appear to bear a consistent relationship with education across countries. In only

only three countries, Colombia, Malawi, and Paraguay, does the labor force participation of women rise steadily with education. Nevertheless, women with education higher than the secondary level are the ones most likely to be employed in 17 of the 23 countries where information is available for this group of women. Among these countries are Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, Paraguay, Turkey, and Zambia where women with "higher" education are about twice as likely to be working than those with no or primary education. Overall, labor force participation among those with higher education ranges from 25 percent in Bangladesh to over 90 percent in Zambia. Secondary education, however, is not associated with high labor force participation in at least half of the countries. A curvilinear association between education and employment is found in eight countries including Ghana. Rwanda is unique in that employment of women falls steadily with education. This variation in the employment-education relationship across countries is also noted in the analysis of World Fertility Survey data (United Nations, 1987).

The variation of women's labor force participation with marital status is examined separately for countries where the DHS individual level sample includes ever-married and never-married women, and for countries (Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan and Turkey) where the survey sample contains only ever-married women. In the majority of the 20 countries where all women were included, the divorced/separated or widowed women have the highest labor force participation rates, and the never-married women have the lowest labor force participation rates. More specifically, widowed women are most likely to be employed in 12 of these countries, whereas divorced women are most likely to be employed in another seven. Divorced women are the second most likely to be employed in another 11 countries, and widowed women take second place in another six countries. Rwanda is the only country where labor force participation is highest among married women. The higher employment rates of divorced or widowed women may, in part, be due to the greater economic necessity for such women to work.

Even in the countries where only an ever-married sample is available, it is the divorced/separated or widowed women who have the highest labor force participation rates, and currently married women who have the lowest. The difference in the employment rate between married women and formerly married women is largest in Bangladesh and Pakistan where only 14 to 16 percent of currently married women are employed. Specifically, the labor force participation

rate of married women in Bangladesh is about one-third that of the labor force participation rate of widowed and divorced/separated women; and in Pakistan, it is less than half of the labor force participation of widows there.

In all of sub-Saharan Africa except in Malawi and Niger, women with a child less than five years of age have a higher labor force participation rate than women who do not have a child less than five years of age. Further, in at least half of these countries, the percentage point difference in employment between those with and without a child less than five years is at least 10 points. This pattern is opposite of the one in most countries of North Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean where women with a young child are much less likely than those with no young child to be in the labor force. The suggested positive association of labor force participation and childbearing in sub-Saharan Africa can in part be explained by the cultural importance of women's economic contributions for the maintenance of their children (Whitehead, 1994; Blumberg, 1989). Where economic dependence of women and children on the male head of household has been culturally more acceptable and economically sustainable, women have traditionally withdrawn from the labor force at marriage or childbirth to concentrate their energies on what Papanek (1989) terms "family status production work."

Finally, in every country, a woman who is a household head has a much higher probability of being employed. In addition, the difference in the labor force participation rate of household heads and nonhousehold heads can be very large. Indeed, there are 14 countries where the labor force participation rate of women who are household heads is at least one and a half times the labor force participation rate of women who are not household heads. Overall, this ratio ranges from a low of 1.1 in Rwanda to a high of 2.4 in Bangladesh. This finding is in keeping with the definition of household headship which emphasizes the economic contributions of the household head.

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The beneficial effects of employment on women's status are contingent on several characteristics of the work that they perform. The specific characteristics examined include whether the employment is for cash, where the work is done, for whom it is done, and the type of occupation.

The prevalence of work without cash earnings across countries is examined first.² There is little research that explores the relationship of employment without cash earnings and women's status. Such research is needed, especially in light of the increased monetization of economies which is associated with economic development. Early research examining the effect of development on women's status suggests that women's traditional work, which is often non-market and noncash work, is devalued as urbanization and monetization progress with consequent negative effects on women's status (Boserup, 1970). Whitehead's (1994) writing on Africa faults Boserup's characterization of women being "relegated to the subsistence sector" on the grounds that the reality is far more diverse and complex. Whitehead emphasizes the conflict arising from the increasing duality in African women's roles—the continued emphasis on independent production for the maintenance of their children coupled with an increasing demand by husbands for their unpaid labor on cash crop production. The increased time spent in unremunerated work does not translate into greater access to domestic resources and conflicts with the time required for fulfilling other economic obligations. Recently, Dixon-Mueller (1993) has listed unpaid work, even if it is productive and contributes to the household consumption, as work unlikely to bring about change in gender relations or in fertility. More specifically, work without cash earnings has been found to be negatively associated with some aspects of women's autonomy in Egypt (Kishor, 1995). This is not surprising given that work without cash earnings eliminates, at a minimum, one of the most important single benefits of employment—direct access to and control of financial resources. Any associated benefits, such as a greater voice in household decisions, may also be minimized when women's work is not seen as directly contributing to family resources, which can happen if women do not earn cash.

From Table 5.3, it is clear that not all women work for cash. In seven countries, namely Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Rwanda, at least one in

four working women are working either with no remuneration or for remuneration in kind only. In Rwanda, which also has the highest employment rate of all countries, the proportion of working women working without cash earnings is 38 percent. In most other countries, between 10 and 20 percent of working women do not work for cash. The only countries where this proportion falls below 5 percent are Brazil and Colombia.

Table 5.3 Women not working for cash by residence

Percentage of women age 15-49 not working for cash among all working women, by residence, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Urban working women | Rural working women | Total working women |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 8.3 | 16.5 | 14.9 |
| Cameroon | 12.8 | 30.4 | 24.9 |
| Ghana | 10.3 | 21.5 | 17.7 |
| Kenya | 4.5 | 21.0 | 17.7 |
| Madagascar | 4.3 | 12.1 | 10.8 |
| Malawi | U | U | 8.8 |
| Namibia | 6.4 | 25.8 | 15.1 |
| Niger | 6.1 | 14.4 | 13.0 |
| Nigeria | 26.6 | 24.5 | 25.0 |
| Rwanda | 28.1 | 38.5 | 38.0 |
| Senegal | 3.2 | 9.5 | 7.0 |
| Zambia | 3.3 | 17.9 | 10.7 |
| North Africa | | | |
| Egypt | 3.7 | 45.8 | 27.0 |
| Morocco ¹ | 3.4 | 55.0 | 28.1 |
| Asia/Near East | | | |
| Bangladesh | 5.4 | 9.0 | 8.6 |
| Pakistan | 6.0 | 30.1 | 24.4 |
| Philippines | 3.1 | 16.6 | 8.4 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | |
| Bolivia | 6.1 | 52.3 | 26.3 |
| Brazil | 1.2 | 9.7 | 3.9 |
| Colombia | 2.1 | 8.5 | 3.2 |
| Dominican Republic | 6.5 | 17.2 | 8.9 |
| Paraguay | 1.2 | 34.1 | 12.0 |
| Peru | 5.7 | 43.1 | 15.0 |

¹ 3.8 percent of eligible women who are working are missing responses on type of payment.

U = Unknown (not available)

¹ In Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Morocco, Paraguay, Peru, and the Philippines, working women were not directly asked whether they were working for cash or not. Whether women were paid for the work they did had to be inferred instead from the "type of work" question which assigns working women into one of three categories: paid employee, self-employed and unpaid employee. Self-employed women were assumed to be earning cash. This assumption clearly biases the estimates so that the extent of noncash work is likely to be underestimated in these eight countries.

Further, most of the work done with no cash earnings is being done by rural rather than urban women. The share of rural women working without cash earnings is at least twice that of the corresponding percent of urban women. Only in Nigeria, do more urban than rural women work without cash. The percent of urban working women not working for cash is 10 percent or less in all countries except Cameroon, Nigeria, and Rwanda; by contrast, the percent of rural women not working for cash is below 10 percent only in Brazil, Colombia, and Senegal. Notably, also, in Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan,

Paraguay, Peru, and Rwanda, one-fourth to over one-half of rural working women work without cash earnings. Thus, for a fairly substantial proportion of rural women, employment does not carry the benefits associated with cash earnings.

Exploring work and work without earnings further, in Table 5.4, employment for cash and without cash by socioeconomic status as measured by the API is examined. Although the percent of women working does not vary consistently by socioeconomic status across countries, the percent of employed women working without cash earnings

Table 5.4 Employment by type of payment and API level

Percentage of all employed women and those not working for cash by Amenities and Possessions Index (API) level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | All employed women | | | | Employed women not working for cash | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------|--------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------|--------|
| | API level | | | | API level | | | |
| | High | Medium-High | Medium | Low | High | Medium-High | Medium | Low |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | (45.5) | 51.9 | 60.0 | 57.0 | * | 7.1 | 15.7 | 14.0 |
| Cameroon | 33.6 | 36.7 | 61.9 | 83.7 | (9.7) | 9.0 | 27.1 | 31.8 |
| Ghana | 54.9 | 67.9 | 75.5 | 82.6 | (5.1) | 8.2 | 17.7 | 40.8 |
| Kenya | 48.7 | 59.1 | 48.5 | 43.2 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 18.3 | 31.3 |
| Madagascar | (58.6) | 60.2 | 74.9 | 85.3 | * | 2.5 | 8.8 | 15.5 |
| Malawi | (57.9) | (32.9) | 25.8 | 28.4 | * | * | 8.6 | 15.9 |
| Namibia | 53.9 | 50.1 | 28.1 | 15.0 | 4.8 | 4.3 | 22.2 | 21.9 |
| Niger | * | 43.2 | 42.8 | 49.4 | * | 7.0 | 13.4 | (6.1) |
| Nigeria | 53.9 | 60.4 | 60.5 | 67.6 | 13.5 | 22.7 | 23.4 | 39.8 |
| Rwanda ¹ | (58.7) | 55.5 | 93.9 | 97.4 | * | (1.2) | 38.3 | 43.7 |
| Senegal | 48.1 | 38.1 | 46.4 | (33.3) | 0.0 | 4.1 | 7.8 | * |
| Zambia | 46.7 | 46.7 | 49.4 | 43.1 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 10.4 | 22.8 |
| North Africa | | | | | | | | |
| Egypt | 37.8 | 21.0 | 22.3 | * | 1.0 | 18.2 | 47.4 | * |
| Morocco | 34.4 | 20.5 | 22.6 | 14.7 | 2.0 | 7.1 | 52.7 | (64.5) |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 15.5 | 11.6 | 16.2 | 16.0 | (9.6) | (7.1) | 8.5 | * |
| Indonesia | 48.5 | 41.6 | 43.4 | 57.0 | U | U | U | U |
| Pakistan | 11.6 | 10.2 | 18.5 | 11.7 | * | 7.5 | 26.2 | (63.2) |
| Philippines | 66.4 | 48.9 | 36.9 | 43.1 | 1.3 | 2.2 | 10.8 | 37.1 |
| Turkey | 26.5 | 31.4 | 48.4 | * | U | U | U | U |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 55.7 | 53.2 | 60.9 | 72.9 | 3.0 | 9.2 | 39.1 | 68.1 |
| Brazil | 57.0 | 48.2 | 42.9 | 41.8 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 7.0 | 8.0 |
| Colombia | 52.3 | 40.1 | 28.1 | (57.1) | 1.0 | 2.6 | 7.0 | * |
| Dominican Republic | 57.2 | 45.2 | 32.7 | 38.5 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 11.5 | 51.8 |
| Paraguay | 55.1 | 45.3 | 30.4 | * | 0.1 | 5.0 | 33.4 | * |
| Peru | 57.8 | 49.9 | 52.8 | 61.4 | 3.1 | 6.1 | 31.7 | 46.6 |

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

¹ About 4 percent of respondents are missing on API level and employment.

U = Unknown (not available)

does. Specifically, as the API value falls from HIGH to LOW, the percent employed increases more or less consistently in four countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Madagascar and Nigeria), falls in three countries (Brazil, Namibia, and Paraguay), and does not vary unidirectionally in the remaining countries. However, the percent of employed women who work without cash earnings rises more or less steadily as the API falls in almost all countries. This suggests that although women belonging to poor households are not necessarily the ones most likely to be working in every country, among those that work, it is the poor women in every country, who are most likely to be working without cash.

Employment also benefits women by broadening their horizons and introducing them to new forms of authority that compete with family hierarchies (Dixon-Mueller, 1993). However, any such benefits are likely to be greatly weakened if employment does not take women beyond the domestic threshold into social organizations outside of the kin organization. Both the location of women's economic activities, and for whom work is done will have some bearing on the social and individual benefits of such work. Thus, in Table 5.5, the percent of working women who work away from home is compared across countries. In addition, the distribution of working women across different combinations of work location, payment mode, and for whom

Table 5.5 Women's employment by location and type of work

Percent distribution of employed women by the location of work and type of work, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Women working away from home | Type of work | | | | | | Total women employed |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------|----------------------|
| | | Paid employee | | Self-employed | | Unpaid worker | | |
| | | Away | At home | Away | At home | Away | At home | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 71.6 | 6.5 | 0.7 | 53.4 | 26.9 | 11.7 | 0.8 | 3,731 |
| Cameroon | 77.3 | 13.6 | 2.8 | 51.1 | 19.1 | 12.7 | 0.8 | 2,207 |
| Ghana | 77.0 | 14.8 | 2.2 | 49.7 | 18.8 | 12.4 | 2.0 | 3,378 |
| Kenya | 58.2 | 28.2 | 10.6 | 25.3 | 26.8 | 4.7 | 4.4 | 3,637 |
| Madagascar ¹ | 76.6 | 19.5 | 8.5 | 46.8 | 13.3 | 10.3 | 1.6 | 4,337 |
| Malawi | 50.1 | 15.7 | 8.2 | 33.3 | 40.9 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 1,264 |
| Namibia | 71.2 | 59.5 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 17.4 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 1,776 |
| Niger | 53.2 | 4.7 | 0.8 | 45.3 | 45.7 | 3.3 | 0.3 | 2,775 |
| Nigeria | 65.4 | 6.4 | 0.7 | 57.7 | 33.5 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 5,305 |
| Rwanda | 91.1 | 57.1 | 4.7 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 33.8 | 4.2 | 6,067 |
| Senegal | 78.5 | 14.3 | 1.4 | 60.4 | 19.4 | 3.9 | 0.6 | 2,774 |
| Zambia | 71.3 | 23.4 | 3.6 | 44.0 | 24.1 | 3.9 | 1.1 | 3,403 |
| North Africa | | | | | | | | |
| Egypt | 93.7 | 58.1 | 2.2 | 9.3 | 3.4 | 26.3 | 0.6 | 2,180 |
| Morocco ¹ | 66.1 | 36.7 | 5.8 | 6.7 | 22.7 | 22.7 | 5.5 | 2,052 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 37.5 | 26.0 | 54.7 | 6.3 | 6.1 | 5.3 | 1.7 | 1,515 |
| Pakistan | 53.7 | 32.3 | 33.8 | 4.8 | 7.8 | 16.7 | 4.7 | 1,104 |
| Philippines | 71.9 | 48.1 | 6.5 | 18.4 | 18.6 | 5.4 | 3.0 | 6,285 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 73.7 | 25.3 | 6.7 | 37.6 | 16.8 | 10.7 | 2.9 | 4,725 |
| Brazil | 74.8 | 48.5 | 7.2 | 22.9 | 17.6 | 3.5 | 0.5 | 2,889 |
| Colombia ¹ | 68.4 | 55.7 | 14.4 | 12.0 | 14.7 | 0.7 | 2.5 | 3,284 |
| Dominican Republic | 69.2 | 55.6 | 7.4 | 8.5 | 19.5 | 5.0 | 3.9 | 3,027 |
| Paraguay | 57.5 | 47.2 | 3.7 | 8.9 | 28.2 | 1.4 | 10.7 | 2,376 |
| Peru | 68.9 | 33.6 | 7.5 | 24.3 | 19.6 | 11.0 | 4.0 | 8,244 |

¹ The percent of observations with missing information on location and type of work exceeds 2 percent of working women in Madagascar with 10.4 percent missing, Morocco with 3.8 percent missing, and Bolivia with 5.5 percent missing.

work is done is also compared. Of these combinations, a cautious expectation is that unpaid work of all kinds, especially unpaid work at home, is likely to have the least beneficial effects for women who work. Also, if self-employment is in low-productivity occupations, its benefits are likely to be minimal (Dixon-Mueller, 1993).

In all countries except Bangladesh, at least half of the working women work outside the home, and in about half of the 25 countries, at least 70 percent do so. Examining the distribution of women by combinations of location and type of work, the findings indicate that among paid employees, the share of those working away from home exceeds the share of those working at home in all countries except Bangladesh and Pakistan. This is also true of unpaid workers in all countries except Colombia and Paraguay. Among the self-employed, in about half of the countries, women working at home either equal or exceed those working outside the home. Overall, the self-employed who work at home and who work away from home together account for the largest share of women workers in 12 countries. However, in Namibia, Rwanda and in all North African, Asian and Latin American/Caribbean countries except Bangladesh, Bolivia, and Pakistan, women who work as paid employees outside the home account for the largest share of all working women. Finally, it is notable that women working as unpaid workers at home account for the lowest share of all working women in the majority of countries.

Employment of women in modern sector occupations, such as professional, managerial, technical or clerical occupations, is most likely to be associated with higher autonomy and status. This is only partially due to the greater education and training embodied in women who succeed in obtaining and keeping such jobs; gains in status and autonomy also accrue because these occupations are likely to offer the maximum opportunity for both exposure to new ideas and for joining networks well outside those of the kin-group. In this context, the traditional, mainly agricultural, occupations are least likely to afford women increased autonomy and status, especially if such work is unpaid and for the family.

Examination of the occupational distributions of women workers across countries reveals that in almost all countries, women are generally concentrated in one or two occupations which together account for at least one-half to two-thirds of all working women (Table 5.6). These occupations are all either agricultural, sales or manual occupations. Only in the Philippines and in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries are working women more evenly distributed across occupations.

Agricultural occupations are the highest or second highest employers of women in all countries except Bangladesh, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Paraguay, and Peru. In the remaining countries, agricultural occupations account for between 15 percent of women in the Philippines to 93 percent of women in Rwanda. Further, in most of these countries the share of women self-employed in agriculture is much greater than the share of those who are employees in agriculture. Sales occupations on the other hand account for more than 20 percent of working women in 16 countries; in Burkina Faso they account for over 60 percent of women and in Niger and Nigeria, they account for over 40 percent of women. Manual labor accounts for at least 20 percent of women in eight countries, and in most of these countries, skilled labor is a larger employer of women than unskilled labor occupations.

The professional, technical, managerial and clerical occupations are not significant employers of women in most countries. Specifically, the professional, technical and managerial occupations account for less than 10 percent of working women in all countries except Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, the Philippines, Turkey, and all of the Latin American/Caribbean countries. Egypt is the only country which has over a quarter of its working women in the professional, technical and managerial occupations, and Peru has about a quarter working in these occupations. Even clerical jobs, which in general, require less training and education than the professional and technical ones, do not account for more than 10 percent of working women in any country except Colombia, Egypt, and Namibia.

Neither domestic service nor other kinds of services account for a large proportion of working women in most countries. Overall, the service occupations account for less than 5 percent of working women in Egypt, Pakistan and nine of the 12 sub-Saharan African countries, and for 10-25 percent in most of the remaining countries. Colombia and Namibia are the only two countries where the service sector employs about one-third or more of working women.

There are 16 countries where data are available separately for domestic service employment. In 10 of these countries, domestic service accounts for more than half of the employment in the service sector. Notably, in Morocco, Namibia, and Rwanda, over 90 percent of women in the service sector are employed in domestic service. Domestic service also dominates women's service sector employment in Brazil, Colombia, and Peru, but not in Bolivia and the Dominican Republic. While work as a domestic servant is likely to minimize exposure to the nondomestic sphere, it

Table 5.6 Occupational distribution of employed women

Occupational distribution of all women who are employed, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Services ¹ | | | | | | Manual labor ¹ | | | Agriculture ¹ | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|----------|-------|------------------------------|----------|-------|---------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------------|-------------------|------|-------|
| | Professional Technical, Managerial | Clerical | Sales | Household and domestic | | Other | Total | Skilled | Unskilled | Total | Self- employed | | Total |
| | | | | Employee | Employee | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 1.6 | 0.0 | 61.8 | U | U | 2.0 | 2.7 | 15.7 | 18.4 | U | U | 16.3 | |
| Cameroon | 3.8 | 1.9 | 30.2 | 0.7 | 1.4 | 2.1 | 0.1 | 5.0 | 5.1 | 36.3 | 20.6 | 56.9 | |
| Ghana | 3.5 | 1.4 | 28.5 | 0.3 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 16.1 | 0.8 | 16.9 | 41.9 | 4.2 | 46.1 | |
| Kenya | 7.6 | 3.8 | 28.8 | 5.9 | 2.8 | 8.7 | 5.8 | 3.8 | 9.6 | 21.1 | 20.4 | 41.5 | |
| Madagascar | 2.4 | 1.0 | 12.1 | U | U | 0.6 | 19.0 | 4.8 | 23.8 | U | U | 60.0 | |
| Malawi | 2.6 | 2.4 | 22.8 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 2.6 | 7.1 | 36.6 | 43.7 | U | U | 25.9 | |
| Namibia | 15.5 | 14.7 | 3.5 | 35.4 | 2.1 | 37.5 | 4.0 | 23.7 | 27.7 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | |
| Niger | 1.3 | 0.6 | 41.2 | U | U | 0.1 | 21.6 | 1.4 | 23.0 | 29.5 | 4.3 | 33.8 | |
| Nigeria | 6.3 | 0.5 | 47.5 | U | U | 4.8 | U | U | 1.6 | U | U | 39.3 | |
| Rwanda | 1.4 | 0.4 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 92.4 | 1.0 | 93.4 | |
| Senegal | 1.3 | 2.0 | 38.1 | U | U | 14.2 | U | U | 9.1 | U | U | 35.2 | |
| Zambia | 5.7 | 4.1 | 38.3 | U | U | 3.2 | 15.0 | 2.2 | 17.2 | U | U | 31.6 | |
| North Africa | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Egypt | 31.6 | 11.2 | 9.5 | 0.9 | 3.5 | 4.4 | 7.0 | 0.3 | 7.3 | U | U | 36.0 | |
| Morocco | 11.6 | 4.0 | 1.7 | 9.2 | 0.1 | 9.3 | 39.7 | 4.2 | 43.9 | 24.5 | 4.9 | 29.4 | |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bangladesh ² | 4.4 | 0.0 | 34.6 | U | U | 16.5 | 12.4 | 28.2 | 40.6 | U | U | 3.9 | |
| Indonesia | 5.7 | 3.1 | 22.1 | U | U | 6.2 | 9.0 | 0.5 | 9.5 | U | U | 53.4 | |
| Pakistan | 6.6 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 4.9 | 38.5 | 9.0 | 47.5 | 16.6 | 21.6 | 38.2 | |
| Philippines | 12.2 | 9.6 | 29.5 | 11.3 | 8.4 | 19.7 | U | U | 13.9 | U | U | 15.2 | |
| Turkey ² | 10.7 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 0.7 | 11.4 | 12.1 | 0.4 | 10.4 | 10.8 | U | U | 61.5 | |
| Latin America/ Caribbean | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 10.4 | 3.4 | 27.2 | 0.0 | 15.5 | 15.5 | 10.1 | 0.4 | 10.5 | 23.3 | 9.7 | 33.0 | |
| Brazil | 18.8 | 4.3 | 8.8 | 17.4 | 4.1 | 21.5 | 15.3 | 9.4 | 24.7 | 5.9 | 16.1 | 22.0 | |
| Colombia ² | 17.1 | 12.6 | 18.9 | 21.6 | 11.2 | 32.8 | 13.6 | 1.8 | 15.4 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 3.1 | |
| Dominican Republic | 17.4 | 9.9 | 27.3 | 11.1 | 14.0 | 25.1 | 14.9 | 0.7 | 15.6 | 0.2 | 4.5 | 4.7 | |
| Paraguay | 10.4 | 8.3 | 25.4 | U | U | 25.8 | 13.3 | 3.2 | 16.5 | 13.0 | 0.7 | 13.7 | |
| Peru | 24.0 | 9.2 | 24.4 | 10.8 | 3.6 | 14.4 | 9.9 | 0.5 | 10.4 | 3.2 | 14.4 | 17.6 | |

¹ In several countries, it is not possible to differentiate between household and other services, skilled and unskilled manual labor, and self-employed agricultural workers and agricultural employees.

² Missing observations (excluded from the distribution) are between 3 percent and 5 percent of all working women.

U = Unknown (not available)

has nonetheless been found to encourage innovative demographic behavior (Basu and Sundar, 1988).

Among the countries being compared, Namibia stands out as having an unusual occupational distribution. While one-third of women work in modern occupations, the rest work either in domestic service or in unskilled manual labor. Thus, despite relatively high levels of education, more Namibian working women are found in occupations requiring low levels of education than in occupations requiring high levels of education. Rwanda which has, as noted

earlier, the highest female labor force participation rate of all countries considered, is also unique in that almost all of its workers are self-employed in agriculture.

In Table 5.7, the three occupations that are the largest employers of women who earn cash and those who do not are compared. Since most employed women are working for cash, the occupational distribution of female cash workers is similar to the occupational distribution of all women workers. There is, however, one notable difference between the occupational distributions of cash workers and all fe-

Table 5.7 Major occupations for working women by type of payment

Percentage of occupations that account for more than 10 percent of working women by type of payment, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Occupations with more than 10 percent of working women | | | |
|---------------------------|--|------|----------------------|------|
| | Working for cash | | Not working for cash | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | Sales: | 69.9 | Agriculture: | 75.3 |
| | Manual labor (U): | 17.2 | Sales: | 15.6 |
| Cameroon | Sales: | 39.6 | Agriculture (E): | 50.0 |
| | Agriculture(SE): | 33.1 | Agriculture (SE): | 46.1 |
| | Agriculture (E): | 10.9 | | |
| Ghana | Agriculture (SE): | 36.7 | Agriculture (SE): | 67.0 |
| | Sales: | 32.7 | Agriculture (E): | 10.3 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 17.3 | Manual labor (S): | 10.3 |
| Kenya | Sales: | 33.8 | Agriculture (E): | 44.7 |
| | Agriculture (SE): | 16.2 | Agriculture (SE): | 43.7 |
| | Agriculture (E): | 15.2 | | |
| Madagascar | Agriculture: | 56.8 | Agriculture: | 85.9 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 20.2 | | |
| | Sales: | 13.3 | | |
| Malawi | Manual labor (U): | 39.6 | Agriculture: | 85.9 |
| | Sales: | 24.9 | | |
| | Agriculture: | 20.2 | | |
| Namibia | Services (H&D): | 36.3 | Manual labor (U): | 51.6 |
| | Manual labor (U): | 18.7 | Services (H&D): | 30.2 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 17.5 | | |
| | Clerical: | 16.6 | | |
| Niger | Sales: | 45.6 | Agriculture (SE): | 52.1 |
| | Agriculture (SE): | 26.1 | Agriculture (E): | 20.2 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 22.7 | Manual labor (S): | 14.2 |
| | Sales: | 11.4 | | |
| Nigeria | Sales: | 52.6 | Agriculture: | 54.3 |
| | Agriculture: | 34.3 | Sales: | 32.4 |
| Rwanda | Agriculture (SE): | 89.0 | Agriculture (SE): | 97.9 |
| Senegal | Sales: | 40.0 | Agriculture: | 73.5 |
| | Agriculture: | 32.4 | Sales: | 13.8 |
| | Services: | 15.1 | | |
| Zambia | Sales: | 42.0 | Agriculture: | 87.3 |
| | Agriculture: | 25.0 | | |
| | Manual labor (S): | 16.4 | | |

Table 5.7—Continued

| Country | Occupations with more than 10 percent of working women | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|------|----------------------|------|
| | Working for cash | | Not working for cash | |
| North Africa | | | | |
| Egypt | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 42.1 | Agriculture: | 88.3 |
| | Agriculture: | 16.6 | | |
| | Clerical: | 15.4 | | |
| | Sales: | 11.5 | | |
| Morocco | Manual labor (S): | 49.2 | Agriculture (SE): | 75.8 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 16.2 | Manual labor (S): | 13.1 |
| | Services (H&D): | 12.7 | | |
| Asia/Near East | | | | |
| Bangladesh | Sales: | 36.7 | Services : | 64.9 |
| | Manual labor (US): | 30.0 | Sales: | 11.5 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 13.1 | | |
| | Services: | 12.0 | | |
| Pakistan | Manual labor (S): | 44.7 | Agriculture (SE): | 36.5 |
| | Agriculture (E): | 19.1 | Agriculture (E): | 29.7 |
| | Agriculture (SE): | 10.1 | Manual labor (S): | 19.6 |
| Philippines | Sales: | 30.9 | Agriculture: | 75.7 |
| | Manual labor: | 15.0 | Sales: | 14.5 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 13.1 | | |
| | Service (H&D): | 12.0 | | |
| Clerical: | 10.4 | | | |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | |
| Bolivia | Sales: | 34.2 | Agriculture (SE): | 60.8 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 13.7 | Agriculture (E): | 23.9 |
| | Agriculture (SE): | 10.0 | | |
| Brazil | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 19.5 | Agriculture (E): | 64.6 |
| | Service (H&D): | 17.8 | Agriculture (SE): | 11.0 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 15.8 | Sales: | 10.1 |
| | Agriculture (E): | 14.1 | | |
| Colombia | Services (H&D): | 22.2 | Sales: | 41.9 |
| | Sales: | 18.1 | Agriculture (E): | 17.8 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 17.5 | Services: | 10.7 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 13.7 | Manual labor (S): | 10.2 |
| | Clerical: | 12.9 | | |
| Services: | 11.3 | | | |
| Dominican Republic | Sales: | 25.4 | Sales: | 46.5 |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 18.8 | Agriculture (E): | 26.3 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 15.5 | | |
| | Services: | 14.9 | | |
| | Services (H&D): | 11.6 | | |
| Clerical: | 10.7 | | | |
| Paraguay | Services: | 28.7 | Agriculture (SE): | 87.0 |
| | Sales: | 28.4 | | |
| | Manual labor (S): | 15.1 | | |
| | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 11.8 | | |
| Peru | Professional, Technical, Managerial: | 27.5 | Agriculture (E): | 60.9 |
| | Sales: | 26.3 | Sales: | 13.8 |
| | Services (H&D): | 11.9 | Agriculture (SE): | 11.4 |
| | Manual labor (S): | 10.9 | | |
| | Clerical: | 10.7 | | |

SE = Self-employed; E = Employee; U = Unskilled; S = Skilled; H&D = Household and domestic

male workers: agriculture is a less important employer of cash workers than for all female workers in most countries, especially those outside sub-Saharan Africa. The flip side of this difference is that in all countries, except Bangladesh, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia, women working without cash are most likely to be employed in agriculture. Besides agriculture, sales and manual labor are the only other major employers of noncash earning women.

While large numbers of women, especially in several sub-Saharan African countries, are employed, and most

work outside the home, few are in modern occupations and a fair proportion work without cash earnings. On the whole, it appears that the beneficial effects of employment, such as greater autonomy and exposure, are likely to be minimal. This is likely to be even more true if women, in addition to being employed in low productivity jobs, are also uneducated. Thus, in Table 5.8, employment of women is examined in combination with alternative educational levels to determine what proportion of women simultaneously score high on both indicators of status—employment and education.

Table 5.8 Women's education and employment for cash

Percentage of women by different combinations of education and type of employment for cash, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Women who have completed secondary education and work in modern occupations | Women who have completed primary education and work in mixed or modern occupations | Women who have some education and work for cash |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 0.5 | 4.4 | 7.9 |
| Cameroon | 0.8 | 8.9 | 22.2 |
| Ghana | 1.6 | 23.1 | 39.8 |
| Kenya | 1.1 | 13.3 | 32.8 |
| Madagascar | 0.8 | 12.4 | 55.3 |
| Malawi | 0.7 | 3.8 | 14.8 |
| Namibia | 4.3 | 13.5 | 24.2 |
| Niger | 0.2 | 1.1 | 3.6 |
| Nigeria | 2.1 | 12.4 | 17.1 |
| Rwanda | 0.5 | 2.3 | 35.6 |
| Senegal | 0.7 | 5.0 | 9.5 |
| Zambia | 2.8 | 20.8 | 36.9 |
| North Africa | | | |
| Egypt | 8.8 | 9.5 | 11.5 |
| Morocco | 1.9 | 6.7 | 8.6 |
| Asia/Near East | | | |
| Bangladesh | 0.6 | 2.4 | 4.9 |
| Indonesia | 3.5 | 10.3 | NA |
| Pakistan | 0.5 | 2.0 | 2.4 |
| Philippines | 8.7 | 24.8 | 37.6 |
| Turkey | 3.7 | 7.5 | NA |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | |
| Bolivia | 6.9 | 21.6 | 38.1 |
| Brazil | 6.6 | 12.1 | 36.1 |
| Colombia | 9.3 | 21.4 | 36.0 |
| Dominican Republic | 9.2 | 20.4 | 35.8 |
| Paraguay | 6.0 | 19.6 | 35.2 |
| Peru | 14.2 | 30.5 | 41.8 |

Note: Modern sector occupations include all professional, technical, managerial, and clerical occupations. Mixed occupations include sales, and skilled and unskilled manual labor occupations.

Very few women in the countries considered have at least secondary education and are employed in the modern sector. Among all of the sub-Saharan African, North African, and Asian countries included other than Egypt and the Philippines, less than 5 percent of all women have more than secondary education and are currently employed in a professional, technical, managerial, or clerical occupation. In the Latin American and Caribbean countries, in addition to Egypt and the Philippines, the proportion satisfying these criteria is not much higher—at the most 14 percent in Peru.

Relaxing the education requirement to include women who have at least completed primary education, and relaxing the employment criterion to include not only work in modern occupations but also in mixed occupations, i.e., sales, and skilled and unskilled manual labor, there is a substantive increase in the proportion of women who qualify. Nonetheless, the percent of qualifying women ranges from 1.1 percent in Niger to a maximum of only 30.5 percent in Peru. There are seven countries where the proportion of women qualifying is below 5 percent. Only in seven countries—Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, Peru, the Philippines and Zambia—does the share of women with at least complete primary education who work in mixed or modern occupations exceed 20 percent.

Finally, the minimal requirement that women have some education and work for cash is the only one that nets at least one-third of women in about half of the countries—five in sub-Saharan Africa, none in North Africa, one in Asia and all of the six Latin American and Caribbean countries. Even so, only in Madagascar do more than half of all women have some education and work for cash. In Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Morocco, only 5-10 percent of women satisfy these minimal requirements, and in Bangladesh, Niger, and Pakistan, less than 5 percent do so.

5.3 INDIRECT INDICATORS OF WOMEN'S WORKLOAD

Traditionally, women are the ones responsible for household tasks such as feeding, cleaning, looking after children, and providing care for the sick and the elderly. If, in addition, women work outside the home, their workloads are likely to be doubled or more, unless they are able to shift some of their domestic duties onto others. In this section,

some interesting aspects of women's workloads are indirectly examined. First, the ability to shift the burden of child care of working women who have a child less than age five is explored. In this analysis, it is first determined what kind of childcare arrangements, if any, women have; and then, what proportion of women who work outside the home have a child with them when they work. Finally, two alternative indicators of women's workload not related to employment are examined: the dependency ratio and indicators of the scarcity of water.

A significant proportion of women who work and have a child less than five years of age do not shift child care responsibility to others while they work (Table 5.9). The proportion ranges from a low of 28 percent in Brazil and Egypt to a high of 74 percent in Niger. In most countries, the respondent herself is the primary childcare provider even as she works.

Alternative childcare providers tend to be older children, or other relatives in almost all countries. Together, the three options—child with respondent, child with older children, and child with other relatives—are the childcare options used by at least 70 percent of working women with a child less than five in every country. Further, except in most Latin American, Caribbean and North African countries and Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, and the Philippines, as many as 90 percent of women are using only these three options. Notably, husbands are the childcare providers in less than 3 percent of the cases in all countries except the Philippines, where 8 percent of women leave their child with their husband/partner when they work.

In addition, the majority of working women who have a child less than five years of age, work away from home (Table 5.10). Indeed, women who work away from home constitute between 28 percent of working women with a young child in Bangladesh to 92 percent in Egypt and Rwanda. Further, working away from home does not preclude working women having the child with them when they work. In more than half of the countries considered, two-thirds or more of the women who work away from home and have a young child say that they at least sometimes have their child with them when they work; and in all but seven countries, close to one-third of these women always have the child with them when they work.

Table 5.9 Childcare arrangements of working mothers

Percent distribution of women who are employed and have a child less than five years of age by childcare arrangement, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Takes care of child when mother works | | | | | | | | Number |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|-------|--------|
| | Mother | Husband/ partner | Older child | Other relatives | Neighbors/ friends | Servants | School/ childcare | Other | |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 64.1 | 0.8 | 19.7 | 13.1 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 2,376 |
| Cameroon | 48.5 | 2.1 | 29.3 | 14.3 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 1,260 |
| Ghana ¹ | 53.8 | 1.3 | 10.6 | 24.7 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 7.1 | 0.1 | 1,963 |
| Kenya | 32.5 | 2.0 | 23.9 | 24.6 | 3.0 | 11.2 | 2.0 | 0.8 | 1,959 |
| Madagascar | 57.1 | 1.4 | 18.2 | 19.3 | 0.9 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 2,518 |
| Malawi ¹ | 59.5 | 1.4 | 16.7 | 9.5 | 6.1 | 6.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 575 |
| Namibia | 32.6 | 1.5 | 12.9 | 34.5 | 3.4 | 9.5 | 5.1 | 0.5 | 755 |
| Niger | 73.8 | 0.5 | 11.6 | 11.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 1,605 |
| Nigeria | 58.6 | 0.9 | 20.6 | 12.2 | 3.6 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 3,168 |
| Rwanda | 53.7 | 1.1 | 31.0 | 10.8 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 3,321 |
| Senegal | 52.0 | 0.4 | 18.5 | 23.7 | 1.2 | 3.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 1,525 |
| Zambia | 55.4 | 0.7 | 20.7 | 19.2 | 0.6 | 2.8 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1,944 |
| North Africa | | | | | | | | | |
| Egypt | 28.0 | 2.0 | 13.7 | 40.7 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 13.3 | 0.8 | 1,556 |
| Morocco | 52.8 | 0.3 | 14.0 | 20.1 | 1.6 | 6.4 | 4.1 | 0.6 | 636 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | | | | | |
| Bangladesh ¹ | 70.5 | 1.1 | 13.7 | 11.5 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 620 |
| Pakistan | 63.3 | 1.3 | 11.7 | 20.6 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 616 |
| Philippines ¹ | 28.8 | 8.3 | 21.3 | 32.1 | 1.1 | 8.3 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 1,877 |
| Turkey ^{1,2} | 38.2 | 0.5 | 9.6 | 42.7 | 1.6 | 4.0 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 689 |
| Latin America/ Caribbean | | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia ¹ | 58.6 | 2.6 | 18.0 | 14.0 | 0.4 | 4.8 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 2,183 |
| Brazil | 27.8 | 1.8 | 25.4 | 31.9 | 2.2 | 6.2 | 4.6 | 0.3 | 874 |
| Colombia | 36.2 | 1.3 | 4.8 | 30.4 | 3.5 | 10.0 | 13.1 | 0.7 | 845 |
| Dominican Republic ¹ | 47.8 | 2.9 | 4.7 | 31.5 | 4.5 | 6.2 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 866 |
| Paraguay ¹ | 48.6 | 2.9 | 9.9 | 26.6 | 0.9 | 9.9 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 794 |
| Peru ¹ | 58.4 | 2.3 | 10.0 | 22.0 | 0.5 | 4.7 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 2,813 |

Note: In Ghana, the cutoff was children age four years and for Bangladesh the cutoff was children age three years. However, some women with children a few months older than these ages were also asked these questions and are included in the tabulations.

¹ Respondents with missing data are greater than 2 percent of eligible cases. Maximum data missing are in Malawi where childcare information is not available for about 12 percent of eligible women.

² Includes children less than age five not living with their mother

Table 5.10 Indicators of women's workload

Percentage of employed women age 15-49 who have children under five by work location and presence of child at work, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Employed women who have children less than age five ¹ | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|-----------|-------|
| | Work away from home | Work away from home and have children with them | | |
| | | Usually | Sometimes | Never |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 70.0 | 59.4 | 22.9 | 17.6 |
| Cameroon | 77.5 | 39.1 | 27.6 | 33.3 |
| Ghana ² | 76.6 | 48.3 | 26.1 | 25.5 |
| Kenya | 55.4 | 17.5 | 19.1 | 63.4 |
| Madagascar | 77.8 | 51.8 | 21.3 | 26.8 |
| Malawi | 48.9 | 43.6 | 27.1 | 29.3 |
| Namibia | 68.1 | 17.4 | 9.4 | 73.2 |
| Niger | 51.3 | 67.4 | 18.5 | 14.1 |
| Nigeria | 64.8 | 46.5 | 20.3 | 33.2 |
| Rwanda | 91.5 | 52.5 | 29.9 | 17.5 |
| Senegal | 77.2 | 43.6 | 14.7 | 41.7 |
| Zambia | 69.5 | 45.1 | 20.3 | 34.6 |
| North Africa | | | | |
| Egypt | 92.4 | 23.7 | 19.5 | 56.8 |
| Morocco | 65.4 | 31.0 | 18.0 | 51.0 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 27.5 | NA | NA | NA |
| Pakistan | 53.9 | 48.5 | 19.0 | 32.6 |
| Philippines ² | 67.7 | 10.5 | 21.7 | 67.8 |
| Latin America/Caribbean | | | | |
| Bolivia | 75.6 | NA | NA | NA |
| Brazil | 77.7 | 10.7 | 19.1 | 70.2 |
| Colombia | 69.5 | 13.8 | 31.9 | 54.4 |
| Dominican Republic ² | 71.0 | 32.4 | 9.6 | 58.0 |
| Paraguay ² | 50.7 | 18.6 | 10.7 | 70.7 |
| Peru ² | 71.7 | 45.2 | 22.9 | 31.9 |

¹ In Ghana, the cutoff was children age four years. However, some women with children a few months older than four years were also asked these questions and are included in the tabulations.

² Respondents excluded due to missing data range from 2-5 percent of all eligible respondents.

NA = Not applicable

Thus, most working women clearly have few childcare options, and a large majority have their young child with them even as they work away from home.

Finally, in Table 5.11, two alternative indicators of women's workload are examined: the number of dependents per woman age 15-49 years, and indicators of the scarcity of water. To assess the workload of women, the dependency ratio is defined as the number of children under age five and

persons above the age of 60 per woman in the age group of 15-49 years. This is a conservative estimate of persons dependent on adult women. Only children under five are included since older children, though dependent, may also be helping to reduce women's workload by assisting in domestic and childcare tasks (Oppong, 1987). A high ratio indicates a greater workload for women.

The dependency ratio is never less than 0.6 in any country examined, and is as high as 1.1 dependents per woman in the reproductive ages in Burkina Faso and Niger. Indeed, in all of the sub-Saharan countries except Zambia, the dependency ratio is at least 1.0 implying that these women are taking care of at least one child or elderly person. Clearly, even in terms of this conservative estimate of women's workload, sub-Saharan women appear more burdened than those in most of the other countries.

Finally, water scarcity is explored using the proportion of women who live in households without water on the premises and the time spent in the fetching of water. If a woman has to fetch water, her workload is directly increased. Additionally, the time spent fetching water will compete with the time she needs to complete all her other domestic tasks, including childcare, which she is unlikely to be able to shift onto others (Desai and Jain, 1994). However, the DHS data do not inform us about who in the household actually fetches water. The role children play in assisting in domestic tasks, including the fetching of water, is widely recognized (Adepoju, 1994; Oppong, 1987; World Bank, 1989). Indeed, water fetching may be done as much by children as by the women themselves. Further, the amount of time needed for fetching water will depend not only on the distance from the water source, but also on the amount of water needed and the time spent at the water source for purposes unrelated to the fetching of water. There is no information in the DHS that would allow a separation of the different components of time spent on fetching water.

The shortcomings of the data imply that the DHS data on time spent fetching water cannot be used as a *direct* measure of women's workload. Nonetheless, these data are meaningful as an indirect indicator of women's workload on three counts: 1) Water is so essential to the efficient completion of household chores that its scarcity itself is likely to increase women's workloads. The time taken to fetch water in this context is a measure of this scarcity. 2) Ensuring that water is available for household drinking and chores is a part of women's domestic responsibilities. Even if children assist with it, the fetching of water is an additional responsibility for women. Finally, 3) if children spend time fetching

Table 5.11 Household-level indicators of women's workload

Dependency ratio for women age 15-49 and percentage of women in households without household water on premises and time to water source for women age 15 years or more, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | Dependency ratio ¹ for women age 15-49 | Women age 15 years or more in households without household water on residential premises ² | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | | Total | Time to water source and back | | |
| | | | Under 15 minutes | 15-30 minutes | Over 30 minutes |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | | | | | |
| Burkina Faso | 1.124 | 84.2 | 37.9 | 39.1 | 23.1 |
| Cameroon | 1.037 | 87.0 | 47.1 | 36.4 | 16.5 |
| Ghana | 0.997 | 81.9 | 50.3 | 38.2 | 11.5 |
| Kenya | 1.001 | 81.2 | 38.7 | 38.9 | 22.4 |
| Madagascar | 0.988 | 84.6 | 53.7 | 39.2 | 7.1 |
| Malawi ³ | 1.027 | 95.1 | 38.1 | 40.2 | 21.7 |
| Namibia ³ | 1.029 | 60.0 | 36.3 | 34.8 | 28.9 |
| Niger | 1.096 | 87.8 | 57.1 | 30.2 | 12.8 |
| Nigeria ⁴ | 1.035 | 89.0 | 46.0 | 34.4 | 19.6 |
| Rwanda | 1.014 | 98.1 | 28.1 | 41.8 | 30.0 |
| Senegal | 1.058 | 64.9 | 51.1 | 31.3 | 17.6 |
| Zambia | 0.952 | 66.9 | 52.7 | 32.6 | 14.7 |
| North Africa | | | | | |
| Egypt ⁵ | 0.776 | 22.9 | 59.2 | 33.9 | 6.8 |
| Morocco | 0.777 | 44.6 | 27.4 | 45.0 | 27.6 |
| Asia/Near East | | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 0.769 | 95.6 | 90.0 | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Indonesia | 0.644 | 89.3 | 91.5 | 7.6 | 0.8 |
| Pakistan | 0.910 | 69.0 | 71.3 | 15.0 | 13.7 |
| Philippines | 0.791 | 37.7 | 82.7 | 13.0 | 4.4 |
| Turkey | 0.636 | 22.6 | U | U | U |
| Latin America/ Caribbean | | | | | |
| Bolivia ⁵ | 0.887 | 42.4 | 68.2 | 25.8 | 6.0 |
| Brazil ³ | 0.831 | 23.4 | 55.8 | 32.1 | 12.0 |
| Colombia ³ | 0.657 | 10.2 | 74.6 | 19.4 | 5.9 |
| Dominican Republic | 0.711 | 61.9 | 72.1 | 18.4 | 9.5 |
| Paraguay ⁴ | 0.946 | 62.2 | 91.1 | 7.8 | 1.1 |
| Peru | 0.740 | 30.0 | 74.0 | 20.6 | 5.4 |

¹ Dependency ratio = (Population under five years + 60 years or more)/ women 15-49 years

² Water on premises includes: water piped into residence or property, well on property, bottled water and rainwater.

³ Respondents excluded due to missing data on time to water source range from 2-5 percent of eligible respondents.

⁴ Data on water are restricted to women age 15-49

⁵ Based on time to drinking-water source rather than household-water source
U = Unknown (not available)

water, they are less available to help out in performing other tasks which would help reduce women's workloads.

A very large proportion of women age 15 or more years live in households without household (nondrinking) water on the premises (Table 5.11). In nine of the 12 sub-Saharan African countries, and in Bangladesh and Indonesia, at least 80 percent of women live in households that need to fetch their water from outside their residential premises. In fact, this number reaches almost 100 percent in Malawi and Rwanda. Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Peru, and Turkey are the only countries where less than one-third of women live in such households.

In addition, in most of the sub-Saharan African countries excluding Madagascar, Niger, Senegal, and Zambia, for at least half of the women living in households with no household water on the premises, it takes 15 minutes or more to get to the water source and back. Notably too, for over 20 percent of these women, it takes at least 30 minutes to go to the water source and back in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malawi, Morocco, Namibia, and Rwanda. In all the remaining countries, between 56 and 92 percent of women who live in households without water on the premises need 15 minutes or less to fetch the water.

Thus, even though the data do not show definitively who has to fetch the water, they do suggest that in most countries the fetching of water must add greatly, directly or indirectly, to women's workloads. This is most true for women in the sub-Saharan African countries where a consistently high proportion of women live in households without household water on the premises and the amount of time needed for fetching water is relatively high.

Overall, from this study of employment and women's workloads in different countries, women are most likely to be employed in the sub-Saharan African countries and least likely to be employed in most of the Asian and North African countries. A significant proportion of these women who work, especially in several sub-Saharan African countries, work without earning cash. Further, working women are concentrated in agriculture, sales, or manual labor occupations. Most of the women who work without cash are found in agriculture. Finally, women's labor force participation is not linearly correlated with education. Indeed, in several countries, women with no education or women with very high education are the ones most likely to be working. Working women in most of sub-Saharan Africa are also unique in that they are more likely to have a young child than nonworking women. Further, sub-Saharan African women appear to have the greatest workloads both in terms of the per capita number of young and elderly dependents, and in terms of the time spent on fetching water.