7 Ascribed Status of Currently Married Women

Arguments are often made that in patriarchal settings a woman derives her status from that of her husband, i.e., her husband's status is ascribed to her. The implication of such arguments is that the individual characteristics of married women may ultimately be less important for their status than those of their husbands. Research on some manifestations of women's status, such as decision-making autonomy, however, does not uphold the assumption of the *greater* importance of husbands' rather than own characteristics on women's status. Nevertheless, it does point to the saliency for women's status of husbands' education and employment *independent* of women's own characteristics (Kishor, 1995). Also, an argument could be made that the relevance of husbands' characteristics may be greater for some manifestations of status, such as the prestige women have in society, than for others.

In this chapter, the characteristics of husbands are compared to those of their wives. Specifically, wives and husbands are compared on their education and occupational characteristics. The following questions will be discussed: If indeed the husband's status (as captured by his education and/or employment) is ascribed to the wife, is this status always higher than that derived from the woman's own education and/or employment? Is the probability of women being in the labor force affected by their husbands' education or occupation? Do women who have husbands in agriculture also work in agriculture? If husbands are working their own land, are their wives more or less likely to be employed also in agriculture?

Wives reports of their current husbands' characteristics are used to make comparisons of the characteristics of husbands and wives. Consequently, the analysis of this chapter is restricted to only currently married women. Currently married women with information altogether missing on husbands are excluded, and the proportion of such women in any country is noted only if it exceeds 2 percent of all eligible women. In addition, in some countries, a nonnegligible proportion of women say that they do not know any educational or employment details about their husbands; the numbers of such women are noted specifically for each country in the appropriate table.

7.1 A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATION OF WIVES AND HUSBANDS

Wives are most likely to have either less or the same number of years of education as their husbands in almost all countries (Table 7.1). Of the 25 countries, there are 16 countries where wives are most likely to have lower education than husbands; and another seven countries where they are most likely to have the same amount of education. Only in Brazil and the Philippines are women most likely to have more education than their husbands and least likely to have less education than their husbands. Nonetheless, wives have more years of education than their husbands among at least 10 percent of couples in most other countries. Notably, the proportion of couples where the wife has more education is one-third or more in most Latin American and Caribbean countries, Madagascar, Namibia, and the Philippines.

However, in almost all countries, more males than females are educated, and the average number of years of education is higher among males than females (World Bank, 1990). Also, the "demand" for an educated wife is likely to differ by the educational level of the husband. Consequently, in all countries, educational differences between husband and wife are found to vary by the educational level of the husband as clearly evident in Table 7.1.

With regard to wives having the same education as their husbands, in all countries except Colombia and Paraguay, husbands who have no education are the ones most likely to have wives with the same education. However, the share of wives with no education among those with husbands who have no education varies widely. Specifically, for the countries in this report, this proportion ranges from over 80 percent in 10 countries—six in sub-Saharan Africa, and two each in North Africa and Asia—to about 25 percent in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay. Nevertheless, husbands with no education are more likely than husbands with either primary or secondary/higher education to have wives with more education in more than half the countries.

Table 7.1 Education of currently married women and their husbands

Percent distribution of the educational level of currently married women in relation to their husbands' educational level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	All couples: percent of wives whose education as compared to their husbands is:			Educational level of husband													
				None				Primary				Secondary or higher				Unknown	
				Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:			Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:			Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:			Total husbands	Total	Number of couples
	Lower	Same	Higher		Lower	Same	Higher		Lower	Same	Higher		Lower	Same	Higher			
Sub-Saharan Africa																		
Burkina Faso	9.4	83.6	6.9	83.9	NA	93.8	6.2	7.4	73.2	12.6	14.2	4.7	78.1	12.8	9.2	4.1	100.0	5,230
Cameroon	40.0	47.0	13.0	41.6	NA	89.1	10.9	28.6	55.6	22.7	21.7	26.4	86.2	6.8	7.0	3.4	100.0	2,863
Ghana	43.2	42.6	14.2	32.0	NA	82.2	17.8	44.5	62.4	28.1	9.6	19.8	69.9	11.1	19.0	3.7	100.0	3,144
Kenya	56.6	25.9	17.5	12.1	NA	68.3	31.7	51.5	58.7	18.3	23.0	35.2	73.0	22.5	4.5	1.1	100.0	4,581
Madagascar[1]	40.0	27.6	32.4	17.8	NA	59.8	40.2	44.7	43.6	23.4	33.0	26.1	61.1	12.7	26.3	11.4	100.0	3,615
Malawi	66.0	22.8	11.2	21.5	NA	77.0	23.0	66.9	83.4	7.7	8.9	10.7	89.3	8.6	2.0	0.9	100.0	3,463
Namibia[1]	35.4	31.7	33.0	28.4	NA	56.4	43.6	32.8	39.1	16.8	44.1	35.5	60.2	25.6	14.2	3.4	100.0	2,203
Niger	5.8	89.1	5.1	91.9	NA	95.1	4.9	4.6	81.1	11.0	7.9	2.3	88.2	5.0	6.8	1.2	100.0	5,526
Nigeria	27.7	62.8	9.4	57.9	NA	91.4	8.6	24.0	57.6	27.5	14.9	17.8	77.7	17.6	4.7	0.3	100.0	6,789
Rwanda	43.9	28.2	27.9	33.1	NA	62.9	37.1	59.9	64.5	10.7	24.8	6.1	79.3	12.2	8.5	0.9	100.0	3,761
Senegal	12.4	80.8	6.8	79.1	NA	93.5	6.5	7.3	70.4	16.5	13.1	7.4	87.6	8.0	4.3	6.2	100.0	4,375
Zambia	65.8	19.6	14.6	9.1	NA	58.8	41.2	49.5	62.3	19.7	18.1	40.5	84.8	10.7	4.5	0.8	100.0	4,424
North Africa																		
Egypt	44.7	40.0	15.3	32.3	NA	80.0	20.0	29.0	67.9	14.7	17.4	38.6	64.7	25.5	9.8	0.1	100.0	9,144
Morocco	30.2	62.1	7.7	61.3	NA	93.1	6.9	19.7	78.5	12.9	8.6	18.5	79.1	11.4	9.6	0.5	100.0	5,100
Asia/Near East																		
Bangladesh	44.6	43.3	12.1	44.8	NA	83.4	16.6	24.2	68.8	15.7	15.5	30.5	90.8	6.2	2.9	0.5	100.0	8,814
Indonesia	45.6	34.5	19.8	11.3	NA	66.4	33.6	59.9	44.3	32.5	23.1	28.8	66.1	26.3	7.6	0.1	100.0	21,015
Pakistan	44.1	51.1	4.8	48.8	NA	95.4	4.6	16.9	85.1	8.2	6.7	34.1	86.6	9.0	4.3	0.2	100.0	6,342
Philippines	31.4	33.5	35.1	2.4	NA	53.1	46.9	40.8	16.6	33.9	49.5	56.8	43.4	32.3	24.3	0.0	100.0	8,877
Turkey	49.0	42.4	8.5	8.0	NA	74.7	25.3	56.6	38.5	54.1	7.4	35.5	76.9	16.6	6.6	0.0	100.0	6,266
Latin America/ Caribbean																		
Bolivia	62.7	21.8	15.5	4.3	NA	69.2	30.8	37.3	62.4	18.1	19.5	58.2	67.4	20.7	11.9	0.2	100.0	5,312
Brazil	24.0	33.3	42.7	17.8	NA	51.8	48.2	66.7	26.5	27.3	46.2	12.7	44.3	39.1	16.5	2.8	100.0	3,536
Colombia	38.9	26.5	34.6	7.2	NA	26.2	73.8	46.9	29.6	28.7	41.7	45.8	54.7	24.2	21.1	0.0	100.0	4,400
Dominican Republic[1]	41.9	19.2	38.8	10.1	NA	26.8	73.2	47.1	34.7	18.6	46.7	36.5	62.9	17.9	19.2	6.2	100.0	3,951
Paraguay	42.3	27.6	30.1	2.0	NA	24.2	75.8	61.2	31.7	32.2	36.1	36.1	62.5	20.1	17.5	0.7	100.0	3,543
Peru	53.0	30.1	16.9	2.3	NA	69.5	30.5	32.7	48.1	28.8	23.1	64.7	57.4	29.3	13.3	0.3	100.0	8,728

Note: Husbands with information missing on the number of years of education are excluded from the distribution. Totals may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.
[1] Percent of couples with missing information is between 2 and 4 percent.
NA = Not applicable

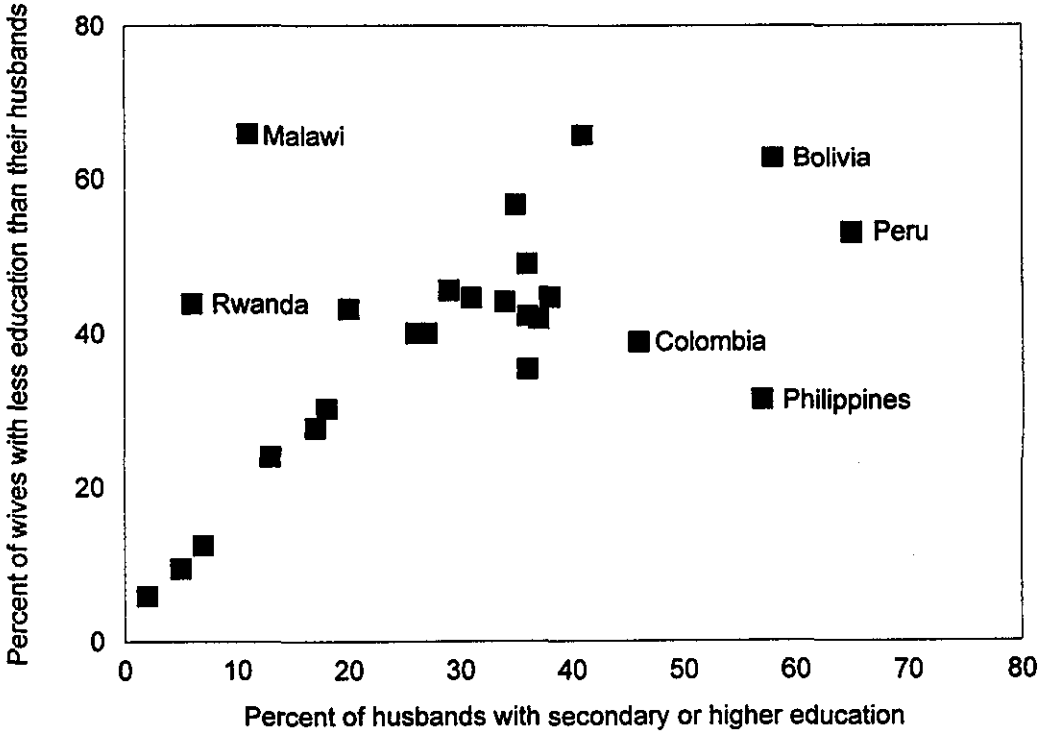
By contrast, in 21 of the 25 countries, the probability of the wife having more education than her husband is lower if the husband's education is above the primary level than if he has primary or no education. The share of wives with higher education among those whose husbands have secondary or higher education ranges from less than 3 percent in Bangladesh and Malawi to between 20 and 27 percent in Colombia, Madagascar, and the Philippines. In all the Latin American and Caribbean countries, at least one in 10 women whose husbands have secondary or higher education have more education than their husbands.

Finally, wives of husbands who have secondary or higher education are more likely in almost all countries than wives of husbands with primary education to have less education than their husbands. In most countries, the share of wives with lower education among those with husbands with secondary or higher education is between 1.1 and 1.5 times that of wives with husbands with primary education, except in Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, the Philippines, and Turkey where this ratio ranges from 1.7 to over 2. Only in Egypt is the reverse true, and in Morocco and Pakistan, the proportion of wives with less education than their husband is about the same irrespective of the level of the husband's education.

One question still remains regarding the relationship between the education of husbands and wives: To what extent does the probability that wives will have lower education than their husbands diminish as countries as a whole become more educated? This question cannot be answered directly; however, by using the proportion of husbands that have secondary or higher education as a proxy for the level of education in a society, an examination can be carried out on whether the share of women that have lower education than their husbands increases or decreases as the level of education increases across countries. Accordingly, Figure 7.1 shows the overall percent of wives with lower education than their husbands plotted against the percent of husbands that have secondary or higher education for each country.

The countries included in this analysis can be separated into two groups: the 21 countries where 40 percent or less of all husbands have secondary or higher education, and the four countries where this proportion exceeds 40 percent. In the first group of countries, the higher the share of highly educated husbands in the population, the more likely the wives are to have lower education than their husbands. As evident from the scatter plot, Malawi and Rwanda are outliers to this relationship. Indeed, if the percent of wives that have lower education (y) is regressed on the percent of hus-

Figure 7.1 Scatter plot of percent of wives with lower education than their husbands by percent of husbands who have secondary or higher education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



bands with secondary or higher education (x) for all countries except Malawi and Rwanda, where x<=40 percent, the result is the following regression line with 17 degrees of freedom:

$$y = 1.16x + 7.23$$
S.E.: (.13)
$R^2 = 0.82$

This equation reveals that, among countries where education levels are relatively low, over 80 percent of the variation in the percent of wives that have lower education than their husbands is explained by the one variable "percent of husbands that have secondary or higher education." This suggests that, among these countries, husbands are the first beneficiaries of educational expansion with the education of wives lagging behind.

However, by including all the countries except Malawi and Rwanda in one regression equation, the best fit of the data with 20 degrees of freedom is the estimated quadratic equation:

$$y = 1.93x - 0.02x^2 + 2.05$$
S.E.: (.36) (.01)
$R^2 = 0.73$

This quadratic represents an inverted U-shape with the turning point at about x=50 percent of husbands with secondary or higher education. Thus, among countries with a low share (<50 percent) of husbands with secondary or higher education, an increase in this share is associated with an increase in the proportion of wives who have less education than their husbands; however, once the 50 percent threshold is crossed, the percent of wives with lower education is likely to fall. Thus, cross-sectional evidence suggests that not only does the education of wives lag behind that of husbands as educational opportunities first expand, but the probability that a wife will have less education than her husband actually increases with continuing educational expansion before it begins to decline. However, given the relatively small number of countries in this analysis that have more than 50 percent of husbands with secondary or higher education, this conclusion remains tentative.

7.2 A COMPARISON OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WIVES AND HUSBANDS

This section explores whether a woman's employment status is associated with her husband's educational or occupational status. The educational and occupational status o husbands are also indicators of the socioeconomic status o the household to which the wives belong.

A priori, the relationship between husbands' educatio or employment and wives' employment is likely to depen on the interplay of several factors: cultural appropriatenes of women's work, the income effect associated with hus bands having well-paying jobs, and the exposure to an influence of modern ideas regarding women's autonomy self-fulfillment, and direct control over resources. In som traditional societies where women's work outside the hom is associated with low prestige (as is the case in some Asia cultures), anything which raises the socioeconomic status o the household will enable the households to increase thei prestige by having women withdraw from the labor forc (Agarwal, 1984). Also, regardless of whether women's pai labor is considered appropriate or not, highly educated me or men in high-paying modern occupations are more likel to be able to "afford" wives who do not work. On both thes counts, the effect of husbands' education and modern secto occupations are expected to have a negative influence on th employment of wives. The withdrawal of women from th paid labor force in upwardly mobile households would b consistent with Papanek's (1989) explanation of women' energies being redirected into "family status production" activities within the household as the socioeconomic statu of the household rises. However, higher socioeconomic stat us embodied in higher education of the husband and/or hus band's modern sector employment is, simultaneously, posi tively associated with exposure to modern ideas of women' autonomy, self-fulfillment and direct access to resources Thus, not only the extent to which husbands' characteristic affect women's employment but also the direction of the ef fect will depend on the separate strengths of the income cultural, and modernizing effects.

In this section, the effect of the husband's occupation on whether the wife is working without earnings is examined. A relationship is possible if, for example, the wives of husbands in agriculture or in service or sales occupations are assisting their husbands without getting paid for such work, while the wives of professional or technical workers have neither the opportunity nor the need to do work that is unpaid.

In Table 7.2, the percent of wives employed according to the husbands' level of education is presented. Excluding women whose husbands' educational level is unknown, there are seven countries—Bangladesh, Bolivia, Cameroon,

Table 7.2 Women's employment by husband's education

Percentage of wives employed by husbands' educational level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Wife employed			
	Husband has no education	Husband has primary education	Husband has secondary or higher education	Husband's education is unknown
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	59.9	66.1	56.0	67.4
Cameroon	73.4	66.0	48.0	48.2
Ghana	85.0	85.0	78.6	82.1
Kenya	47.6	53.5	59.2	49.5
Madagascar	79.2	82.7	74.6	75.7
Malawi	21.7	24.4	38.7	26.6
Namibia	30.8	33.8	51.1	30.0
Niger	44.3	36.9	48.0	32.3
Nigeria	60.2	78.6	71.7	*
Rwanda	98.9	98.0	89.1	96.0
Senegal	48.2	45.8	49.4	44.1
Zambia	48.9	52.0	54.4	51.3
North Africa				
Egypt	19.2	14.7	28.3	*
Morocco	19.1	13.3	27.9	7.7
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	16.8	13.8	10.3	22.5
Indonesia	50.0	42.1	39.1	*
Pakistan	18.6	19.5	11.2	*
Philippines	45.6	40.0	44.9	NA
Turkey	34.4	36.4	28.4	NA
Latin America/ Caribbean				
Bolivia	65.9	63.9	56.3	*
Brazil	43.5	42.5	55.5	36.9
Colombia	27.1	27.6	43.2	*
Dominican Republic	32.3	37.6	50.3	35.3
Paraguay	25.3	31.2	44.2	*
Peru	63.5	55.4	51.6	40.4

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.
NA = Not applicable

Ghana, Indonesia, Peru, and Rwanda—where the probability that a wife will be employed decreases as the husband's education increases. In another seven countries—Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Paraguay, and Zambia—the probability that a wife is employed increases with the education level of her husband. In the remaining countries, there is no consistent relationship. From another perspective, there are 12 countries where wives with husbands who have at least secondary education are the ones most likely (or equally likely) as other wives, to be employed; however, in another 11 countries, wives of husbands with secondary or higher education are the ones who are least likely to be employed. Thus, while women's employment does appear to vary by husbands' education, whether women are more or less likely to work if their husbands are highly educated depends on the individual country.

Table 7.3 presents the percent of wives employed according to the occupation of the husband (modern occupations: professional, managerial, technical, and clerical; services; sales; manual labor; and agriculture). Wives of husbands in the modern occupations, who account for no more than one-third of all wives, are the ones most likely (or equally likely) to be employed in 15 countries and least likely to be employed in four countries—Bangladesh, Pakistan, Rwanda, and Senegal. Wives of men in agriculture, who account for between 15 percent and 80 percent of all wives, are the ones most likely to be employed in the six remaining countries. Notably, wives with husbands in service occupations are the ones least likely to be employed in 12 countries and most likely to be employed in no country. Thus, for reasons not evident, having a husband in a service occupation appears to discourage wives from working in the maximum number of countries.

If "never worked" is considered as a possible fifth occupational status (which accounts for at most 5 percent of all husbands), wives of these husbands are most likely to be employed in five countries and least likely to be employed in another five countries as compared to wives of husbands in other occupations. Thus, husbands not working is not associated consistently with a higher probability of a wife being employed. This may be due to the possibility that "never worked" could imply not involuntary (due to loss of job or ill-health, etc.) but voluntary unemployment because these husbands are "independently wealthy."

Finally, in Table 7.4, the association, if any, between noncash work and husbands' education and employment is examined. Overall, the percent of wives working without cash ranges from a high of between 35 and 40 percent in Morocco and Rwanda to a low of about 4 percent in Brazil and Colombia. In Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, and Pakistan, over one-fourth of wives who work do so without cash earnings.

In most countries, the lower the education of the husband, the more likely that the wife is working without cash earnings. The percent of women working without cash among working women with uneducated husbands ranges from a low of less than 10 percent in Malawi, Senegal,

Table 7.3 Women's employment by husband's occupation

Percentage of women employed by husbands' occupation, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Occupation of husband											
	Professional, managerial, technical or clerical		Services		Sales, skilled and unskilled manual labor		Agriculture		Never worked		Unknown	
	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burkina Faso	2.7	64.8	4.3	57.8	15.6	62.3	76.1	60.6	1.0	37.1	0.3	*
Cameroon	15.4	55.9	2.8	70.3	31.0	54.0	50.9	76.9	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Ghana	15.0	81.2	4.2	78.2	25.8	76.4	52.6	88.8	2.5	72.5	0.0	NA
Kenya	15.2	60.6	8.7	48.1	38.8	54.8	34.8	53.6	2.1	62.9	0.5	*
Madagascar	7.6	76.1	1.2	57.4	19.4	73.0	70.7	82.1	1.0	61.6	0.1	*
Malawi	10.6	28.8	5.5	22.9	31.8	27.7	52.1	23.5	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Namibia	15.3	51.0	16.8	44.2	33.0	44.4	16.1	30.3	0.0	NA	18.8	23.5
Niger	2.2	44.5	0.5	42.0	19.0	44.0	76.7	43.6	1.3	58.9	0.2	*
Nigeria	11.7	74.1	13.6	72.6	13.2	69.6	60.2	63.4	0.5	50.5	0.8	75.8
Rwanda	3.8	84.9	3.7	85.5	10.6	94.8	81.5	99.3	0.4	*	0.0	NA
Senegal	10.5	42.7	2.1	47.2	41.7	43.0	44.2	54.6	1.5	54.1	0.0	NA
Zambia	10.8	61.9	6.5	44.0	39.2	51.4	41.1	53.2	2.3	45.8	0.1	*
North Africa												
Egypt	21.8	35.6	10.7	17.9	38.4	13.0	28.0	23.3	0.0	*	1.0	16.6
Morocco	11.9	31.6	9.4	11.6	41.9	15.3	32.0	24.2	4.7	10.9	0.0	NA
Asia/Near East												
Bangladesh	6.3	10.8	0.2	*	49.4	16.1	40.0	12.7	1.1	9.2	2.9	5.9
Indonesia	12.3	39.2	7.1	30.3	31.1	34.8	48.9	49.3	0.6	32.1	0.1	*
Pakistan	10.5	10.8	7.2	11.7	44.9	14.4	31.5	21.0	2.4	27.7	3.6	13.0
Philippines	9.1	54.0	7.3	39.8	43.8	42.0	37.9	41.6	0.1	*	1.7	41.4
Turkey	13.5	33.8	14.5	25.4	45.2	25.5	17.6	64.5	0.9	36.8	8.4	24.1
Latin America/ Caribbean												
Bolivia	14.9	61.4	2.9	42.3	47.2	55.0	33.0	66.5	2.0	68.3	0.0	NA
Brazil	11.5	59.1	5.5	47.4	44.1	42.1	38.3	42.1	0.4	*	0.0	NA
Colombia	18.6	47.6	6.1	38.7	48.8	35.9	26.5	22.9	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Dominican Republic	14.6	57.6	10.0	36.9	46.9	42.1	24.1	33.1	3.0	44.8	1.3	38.7
Paraguay	11.7	42.8	10.1	42.6	39.1	41.0	38.3	25.8	1.0	59.6	0.0	NA
Peru	30.1	57.8	4.3	47.9	35.4	48.3	27.9	55.6	1.0	54.1	1.4	39.6

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.
NA = Not applicable

Table 7.4 Women not working for cash by husbands' education and occupation

Percentage of working wives not working for cash by husbands' education and occupation, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

	Working wives not working for cash								
	Husbands' education			Husbands' occupation					
Country	None	Primary	Secondary or higher	Professional, technical, managerial, clerical	Services	Sales and manual labor	Agriculture	Never worked	Total wives working
Sub-Saharan Africa									
Burkina Faso	16.3	6.7	4.8	3.1	5.0	5.9	17.4	4.9	14.5
Cameroon	30.7	23.2	14.7	12.2	18.9	17.0	32.1	NA	25.3
Ghana	31.9	10.3	6.0	4.4	5.8	8.7	23.7	15.5	16.5
Kenya	23.1	21.1	13.1	9.9	18.4	18.8	21.3	22.7	18.2
Madagascar	12.8	10.1	5.9	3.1	0.0	4.9	10.9	5.7	9.1
Malawi	6.7	10.0	6.0	9.6	7.1	7.3	9.6	NA	8.7
Namibia	21.9	13.6	6.0	6.7	14.3	14.8	15.2	NA	12.0
Niger	13.0	9.3	2.0	2.4	0.0	6.9	14.1	21.1	12.5
Nigeria	19.0	32.2	22.4	25.3	20.2	25.3	23.6	10.1	23.5
Rwanda	39.7	37.8	26.5	20.9	49.4	36.1	38.2	*	37.8
Senegal	6.9	5.7	3.4	2.1	4.8	4.5	8.7	3.0	6.4
Zambia	19.4	11.9	5.3	4.8	4.2	5.1	16.5	9.2	9.9
North Africa									
Egypt	48.1	53.8	7.8	3.8	26.0	20.4	66.5	*	28.9
Morocco	49.5	28.4	6.1	6.8	12.5	25.4	61.0	19.2	35.0
Asia/Near East									
Bangladesh	8.6	5.4	3.9	1.8	*	7.1	6.9	0.0	6.9
Pakistan	30.4	23.8	15.4	5.1	17.1	15.3	40.3	18.4	25.5
Philippines	38.2	16.4	4.2	0.6	3.4	3.2	21.8	*	9.7
Latin America/ Caribbean									
Bolivia	62.0	38.9	16.4	6.1	10.9	12.5	57.1	9.5	27.8
Brazil	8.0	3.7	0.0	2.2	2.3	1.5	7.4	*	3.8
Colombia	14.4	7.2	1.7	1.1	1.5	3.6	13.0	NA	4.4
Dominican Republic	21.9	12.8	4.9	0.9	1.7	10.7	21.0	0.0	9.5
Paraguay	44.6	17.6	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.9	38.7	0.0	11.6
Peru	49.5	31.7	8.8	3.7	6.9	7.3	47.7	2.5	17.8

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.
NA = Not applicable

Bangladesh and Brazil to a high of about 50 percent in Morocco and Peru. In all, there are 10 countries with 30 percent or more women working without cash among all wives who work and have husbands with no education. By contrast, among working women whose husbands have primary education, in all countries except Egypt, the percent of women working without cash ranges from 10 percent or less in nine countries to 30-40 percent in Bolivia, Nigeria, Peru, and Rwanda. In Egypt alone, half of the wives who work and have husbands with primary education work without cash. Finally, among working women whose husbands have secondary or higher education, there are only six countries that have more than 10 percent of wives working without cash earnings, and in only two countries, again Nigeria and Rwanda, does this percentage exceed 20 percent.

Further, in all countries except Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Rwanda, working wives of men in agriculture are the ones most likely to be working without cash earnings. (Note that in the case of Malawi, working wives of husbands in

agriculture and in professional occupations are equally likely to be working without cash.) Specifically, this percent ranges from a low of about 7 percent in Bangladesh and Brazil to a high of 67 percent in Egypt. Morocco with 61 percent and Bolivia with 57 percent are the only other countries besides Egypt where more than half of working wives of agricultural men work without cash.

Notably, in Nigeria and Rwanda, between one-fifth and one-half of all employed wives work without cash in every category of the husbands' occupations. Indeed, these are the only two countries where over 20 percent of employed wives of men who are in professional, technical, managerial and clerical jobs, work without cash earnings. The only other countries where this percentage is 10 percent or more are Cameroon, Kenya, and Malawi. The countries where at least 10 percent of working wives of men in both services and sales and manual labor work without cash are Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Rwanda. Working without cash among the working wives of unemployed men accounts for at most 15-25 percent in only Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Niger, and Pakistan.

It has been noted that having a husband employed in agriculture does not necessarily imply that women are more likely than wives of husbands in any other occupation to be employed; further, if these wives work, they often tend to do so without cash earnings. One variable which might help to give better insight into the relationship between women's cash and noncash labor force participation and having a husband in agriculture is ownership of land. Household ownership of land is likely to influence women's labor force participation in at least two ways. In some cultures, like those in South Asia, landed households are more "traditional" (Agarwal, 1984) than nonlanded households, and women from such households are much less likely to work outside their home. On the other hand, even in cultures where there are no negative effects on household prestige of women working outside their homes, land ownership may have an income effect reducing the need for women to work outside their home.

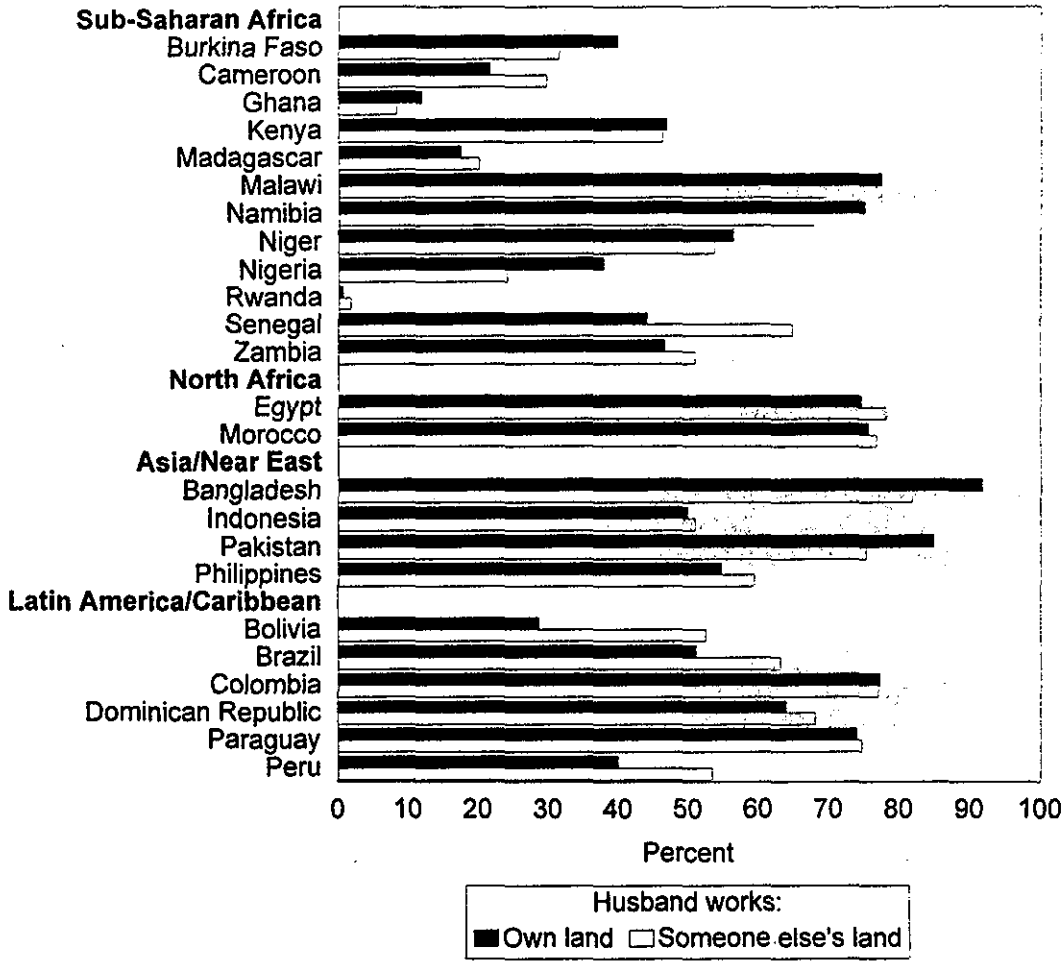
Before discussing the data on labor force participation of women whose husbands are in agriculture, some limitations of the data and analysis need to be pointed out. The DHS standard question on this topic asks whether husbands in agriculture are 1) working their own (family's) land, 2) renting land, or 3) working someone else's land. There are at least two problems with these three response categories which confound analysis: for one, the categories are not necessarily exclusive; thus, a husband could be working his own land and also renting land. As a result, there is no way to distinguish those who are purely agricultural laborers from those who are not. Further, the links between land ownership and tradition-bound behavior are likely to depend not just on ownership of land but on factors such as the amount and kind of land, and how long the family has been "landed." Aside from these conceptual problems, there are also some practical considerations. In most of the sub-Saharan African countries, only a very small percentage of husbands in agriculture work someone else's land. Thus, it is necessary to group together husbands who rent land and husbands who work someone else's land further limiting comparisons. Also, there are four countries—Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and Zambia—where 14 percent or more of husbands in agriculture are not coded for type of land. With such a high proportion of missing cases, the data on husbands in agriculture presented below may not be representative for these four countries.

In Figure 7.2, the percent not working among wives of men in agriculture is plotted according to whether husbands work their own land or someone else's land. There are only a few countries where the probability of a wife working varies by 10 or more percentage points by ownership of the land the husband is working on. These countries are Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, and Senegal. In Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Pakistan, wives are much more likely to not work if their husbands work their own land; whereas, in Senegal and the Latin American countries, wives are much more likely to not be working if their husbands work someone else's land.

Further, working wives of agricultural workers are more likely to be employed in agricultural rather than nonagricultural occupations in more than half of all countries regardless of whether their husbands are working their own land (Table 7.5). However, the proportion of wives working in nonagricultural occupations is higher if their husbands are working some else's land than if they are working their own land in most countries.

Whether or not the husband works his own land does not appear to consistently affect the probability of wives working without cash. There are 13 countries where wives of men working their own land are more likely to be working without cash than wives of men working on someone else's land, and there are 10 countries where the reverse is true. Also, irrespective of whether the husband works his

Figure 7.2 Percent of women not working among wives of men in agriculture by ownership of land which husband works, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



own land or not, women in agriculture are more likely to be working with cash in most of the sub-Saharan African countries, Bangladesh and Brazil, and more likely to be working without cash in Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Morocco, Paraguay, and Peru. The type of land that the husband works on affects the probability of women working without cash earnings in only seven countries.

Thus, there is no consistent relationship across countries between the ownership of land that husbands work on and women's employment status, and also whether the women work in agriculture for cash or not. However, in most countries it appears that if husbands are not working their own land, wives who work are more likely to work in nonagricultural occupations than if husbands are working their own land. The greater likelihood of women working without cash in agriculture if their husbands work their own land is upheld in only half of the countries considered in this analysis.

7.3 DOUBLY-EMPOWERED WIVES

Acknowledgment of intrahousehold inequalities in control over and access to household resources and decision making leads directly to the question of the different sources of bargaining power within marriage (Hartmann, 1981; Bruce, 1989). Several different sources of bargaining power are identified in the literature including intraspousal differences in earnings and education (Safa, 1992b; Sen, 1989, 1990; Kerber, 1994). As discussed earlier, countries vary greatly on the percent of couples among which wives have

Table 7.5 Work status of women whose husbands work in agriculture

Percent distribution of agricultural work status by type of payment for women whose husbands work in agriculture, according to land ownership, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

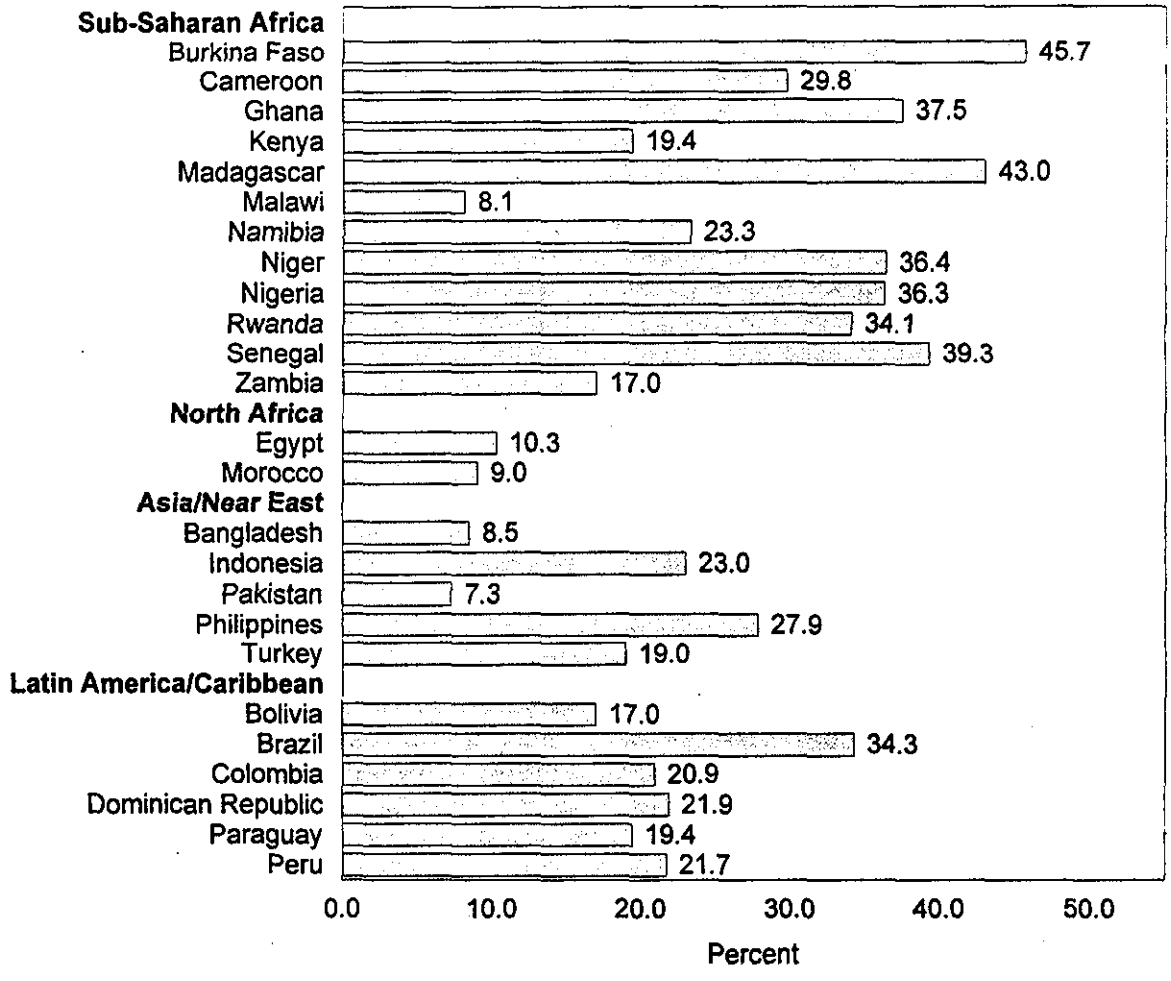
	Husband in agriculture									
	Works own land				Works someone else's land					
	Wife employed				Wife employed					
	Works in agriculture		Non agri-cultural work	Total husbands in agri-culture	Works in agriculture		Non agri-cultural work	Total husbands in agri-culture	Total husbands in agriculture with type of land unknown	Number of couples
Country	Cash	Noncash			Cash	Noncash				
Sub-Saharan Africa										
Burkina Faso	3.8	9.0	47.4	96.5	2.1	12.2	54.1	2.3	1.2	4,039
Cameroon	34.3	25.7	18.3	92.8	16.5	26.8	26.9	5.5	1.7	1,278
Ghana	44.7	24.4	19.0	76.5	57.6	12.5	21.7	21.7	1.8	1,552
Kenya	24.6	10.2	18.4	77.3	22.7	13.3	17.7	18.6	4.1	1,529
Madagascar	55.3	8.2	19.0	89.9	45.2	5.2	29.5	9.9	0.2	2,441
Malawi	6.7	1.2	14.6	80.9	9.4	5.9	15.1	16.5	2.6	1,816
Namibia	0.0	0.0	24.9	18.5	3.0	0.5	28.7	66.7	14.8	348
Niger	13.5	4.8	25.2	96.8	9.9	4.2	32.1	2.4	0.9	4,221
Nigeria	22.8	11.1	28.2	90.6	37.8	18.0	20.1	7.1	2.2	4,119
Rwanda	60.9	37.2	1.3	94.0	53.5	42.7	2.2	5.1	0.8	3,074
Senegal	34.4	4.6	16.9	92.2	14.8	0.0	20.4	5.8	1.9	1,849
Zambia	29.3	8.6	15.5	78.2	17.6	4.1	27.4	7.5	14.4	1,821
North Africa										
Egypt	3.2	20.0	2.1	51.4	7.7	10.7	3.5	48.5	0.0	2,419
Morocco	2.3	14.9	7.1	71.2	3.1	12.0	8.0	27.5	1.2	1,630
Asia/Near East										
Bangladesh	0.2	0.1	8.1	58.4	1.3	0.2	16.6	41.4	0.3	3,516
Indonesia	42.3[a]	U	7.8	67.5	37.6[a]	U	11.4	28.9	3.6	10,268
Pakistan	4.8	5.8	4.6	56.1	8.4	7.4	8.8	42.7	1.2	1,747
Philippines	9.4	12.3	23.6	44.8	15.0	8.4	17.2	50.6	4.6	2,679
Latin America/ Caribbean										
Bolivia	18.6	42.6	10.1	84.1	11.5	16.5	19.5	14.3	1.6	1,672
Brazil	29.0	5.5	14.4	44.3	21.6	1.3	13.9	54.8	0.8	1,315
Colombia	3.9	4.1	14.9	29.9	1.8	1.0	20.1	50.6	19.5	1,170
Dominican Republic	4.4	9.4	22.2	50.2	4.5	1.5	25.8	27.2	22.5	976
Paraguay	2.0	10.3	13.7	81.5	2.4	10.7	12.3	18.3	0.2	1,263
Peru	12.1	32.0	15.8	78.8	13.6	14.7	18.3	20.6	0.5	2,188

[a] Includes cash and noncash payments. (Data on type of payment are not available.)
U = Unknown (not available)

either the same or higher education than their husbands, and also on women's cash and noncash employment by husbands' occupation. In this section, information on wives with the same or more education than their husbands is combined with that of wives who are employed for cash. To the extent that wives are able to bring not only equality in education but also earnings to intrahousehold negotiations, they are believed to be better off, or "doubly-empowered," compared to wives who bring only one or the other.

Figure 7.3 gives the percent of wives who have the same or higher education than their husbands and who are currently employed for cash. Burkina Faso has the highest share of wives (46 percent) who qualify as doubly-empowered even though it is known from Table 7.1 that the equality of education stems largely from both husband and wife having no education. By contrast, in Madagascar, where 43 percent of currently married women have at least as much education as their husbands and work for cash, two-thirds of these women have primary or higher education. In addition to Burkina Faso and Madagascar, there are five other sub-Saharan African countries, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Senegal, and one Latin American country, Brazil, where at least one-third of wives qualify as "doubly-empowered."

Figure 7.3 Percent of women who have at least the same number of years of education as their husbands and who work for cash, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



Note: Data for Indonesia and Turkey include women working without cash earnings.

At the other extreme, in Bangladesh, Egypt, Malawi, Morocco, and Pakistan, 10 percent or less of currently married women have as much or more education than their husbands and work for cash. All other countries, including all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean except Brazil, have between 17 percent and 30 percent of all wives who qualify as "doubly-empowered."