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THE IFE LABOUR MARKET:
A NIGERIAN CASE STUDY

by

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THE IFE LABOUR MARKET: A NIGERIAN CASE STUDY

ABSTRACT

This essay is one of a series produced within the scope of the global project on women's roles and demographic issues supported by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. It is one of the recent micro studies demonstrating the processes and factors affecting sex segmentation in urban African labour markets (cf. Date-Bah, 1982). It combines a variety of data sources and methods of analysis including a survey of occupational experience, case studies of employers and establishments and a small select time budget study of hours allocated to women's several roles.

The setting is a fast growing and changing Yoruba university town, Ile-Ife, in a region where women have long been famous for their economic participation in trade, agricultural production and food processing. Mass formal education was introduced in 1955.

In the course of describing workers, employers and establishments, sex segregation in the labour market is depicted, where it appears to exist and the ways in which males have entered into jobs which were formerly dominated by females are explained. A particular concern is the potential conflicts between domestic activities and responsibilities and those of the work place. To study these, time allocation data are analysed within the context of family composition, formation and size.

The dichotomy in the division of labour in the Ile-Ife urban labour market is seen to persist, with high participation rates for both sexes continuing into late old age.

Constraints to women's employment are examined of various kinds, including the influence of husbands, domestic constraints and employers' views and strategies. A case study of a catering establishment provides an excellent

example of the way in which men may move into a formerly female dominated area as the size and formality of the work place change. Studies of two other medium sized privately run establishments show some of the factors predisposing employers to employ male labour. The small sample of time use data and women's activities show how occupational pursuits predominate while domestic and maternal activities vary considerably, depending upon the presence of infants and young children in the households and the presence or absence of husbands. If all types of activities are considered the women work long hours and their income earning activities are seen to be an important input into the domestic economy. Moreover current levels of role conflict are not sufficient to discourage women from participating in the labour force. However some aspects of the current situation are subject to change including the price of child-care which may affect women's perceptions and activities.

With regard to labour policies and programmes the point is made that with less than a quarter of the labour force in the modern non-agricultural sector, it is difficult to establish policies of universal relevance and applicability and the activities of labour unions are directed at the formal sector of employment. Again in a situation of surplus labour women are vulnerable and their absorption into the labour force will involve an expansion of employment opportunities. Any more widespread incorporation of women into the formal labour market will need to be accompanied by a parallel expansion of child-minding services.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this study is to provide a description of the labour market in Ife, a Nigerian university town. In the course of describing workers, employers and establishments, sex segregation in the labour market is depicted, where it appears to exist, and the ways in which males have entered into jobs which were formerly dominated by females all explained. A particular concern is the potential conflicts between domestic activities and responsibilities and those of the work place. To study these, time allocation data are analysed within the context of family composition, formation and size.

In the course of the study the following types of information were obtained:

- (i) background information on the changes in sex and labour force activity before and after the establishment of the University of Ife, Ile-Ife;
- (ii) a sample survey of workers' histories, attitudes and responses to facets of the labour market;
- (iii) a profile of two employers, using in-depth interviews to illustrate the basis of the employers' policies in the private, non-service sector;
- (iv) a profile of an establishment to demonstrate features of the modern catering industry influencing employer and employees' choices of jobs and the clustering of one sex in given sectors of the industry; and
- (v) a time budget study of a panel of women within and outside the labour market, focusing on the allocation of time to domestic and non-domestic roles.

There are very few employers of labour in the formal sector in Ile Ife. The government is the dominant employer and the few private employers depend either on family or "servant" labour and are accordingly outside the formal

urban labour market. Consequently the study is denied the advantage of the questionnaire sample survey of employers of the type administered to workers. The solution adopted was the in-depth interview of a few employers and the use of such material, in conjunction with the perception and responses of workers, to determine the extent to which employers' policies wittingly or unwittingly produce sex segregation and discrimination.

Women's Multiple Roles

One issue which is relevant to the study of sex segregation and discrimination is the link between changes in women's statuses, especially their work status, their comparative levels of income and other rewards, their maternal status and the continuity or cessation of child labour, and changes in their reproductive behaviour and aspirations. In the context of role conflict theory women as multiple actors will, in the process of changing priorities and roles, face the problem of the allocation of time as a scarce resource to different potentially conflicting roles including the occupational and familial (Oppong, 1982). These conflicts too may be linked to changing perceptions of employment outside the home, work inside the home and childbearing and may thus affect family size values and achievements. Thus in the current study time budget data of a selected set of women were collected and analysed so as to improve understanding of the ways in which time is allocated to different and potentially time conflicting roles inside and outside the home and possible factors affecting differences in levels of strain or conflict experienced. Although this type of data does not lend itself to massive sampling, on the reasonable assumption that case studies are indicative of widely occurring experiences it is valid to draw some analytical and policy deductions from such a small sample.

For discriminatory practices to be revised a clear appreciation of the household tasks facing female employees is required. Fitting the occupational role into the matrix of female roles depends on knowledge of the job situation and those features of the production system which are truly unalterable and those which are conventions.

The Setting: Ile-Ife

Very rapid and often dramatic changes have occurred in the circumstances of Ile-Ife in the last decade. Ile-Ife is one of the most famous examples of Yoruba pre-industrial population agglomerations and, as described by Mabogunje (1968), owes its size to the cultural and ethnic history of the Yoruba people. Ile-Ife lies in the midst of a rich agricultural region and is located about 80 km east of the Oyo State capital, Ibadan, and 250 km from Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. The basis of agricultural prosperity in the area is cash crops, such as cocoa, which were introduced in the 1920s and enjoyed a period of peak production and high prices in the 1950s. Other cash crops are timber, palm oil, rubber and kola nut trees, which have been exploited partly by local people and also by the in-migrants of other Yoruba sub-ethnic groups who have moved into the suburbs of Ile-Ife.

In 1963 the population of Ile-Ife was 130,000 and of Ife Division 515,194.¹ Separate labour force figures are not available for Ife town in the breakdown of the 1963 population census and so the divisional figures will be used. Yorubas form 96.4 per cent of the Divisional population, although there is a marked presence of Hausas in Ife

1. With the cancellation of the 1973 census results, the 1963 data is the most recent available.

Sabo Quarters and in one or two kolanut concentration centres such as Olode village.

In 1963, the population aged 15 and over (and constituting the employable population) amounted to 342,840 out of which the labour force was 236,605 or 69 per cent. The female participation rate is consistently lower than the male, although the rates for the women are much higher than for many other countries with 60 per cent of women aged 15 or over being active. Because of the predominance of self-employment, and the absence of pension schemes, people work for as long as possible. Consequently, activity rates stay high even into the old ages of 65 or over.¹ But by far the most relevant information is the occupation groups shown by sex and occupation in table 1. The most crucial features are:

- a. that farmers and production process workers account for 75 per cent of all males in the labour force;
- b. very few women are in agriculture, but 68.5 per cent of the female labour force is in the sales group; and
- c. the large unspecified group is probably made up of self-employed housewives. In effect, it is as if the division of labour in the traditional situation has been that men farm and women sell farm surplus or perform small-scale retailing of manufactured goods.

Based on observations of the Ile-Ife labour market, the following points can be made.

Firstly, the dichotomy of farm/trade specialisation by male/female sex persists in Ile-Ife, with the modification that the sale of non-agricultural produce attracts many women and a few men who are located in part-residential structures which still dot the main streets of the town.

1. This high recorded female activity rate is peculiar to the southern parts of Nigeria. National female activity rate is much lower at 28 per cent, but as Pittin (1982) has illustrated much female work goes unrecorded.

Table 1: Labour Force in Major Occupation Groups by Sex - Ife Division, 1963

ISCO Code	Occupation Groups	M A L E S		F E M A L E S		T O T A L		% Female
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
0	Professional, Technical & Related	5,029	3.5	1,247	1.4	6,276	2.6	19.9
1	Administrative, Executive (includes Business Managers, Chiefs, etc.)	1,008	0.7	115	0.1	1,123	0.5	10.2
2	Clerical Workers	5,496	3.8	730	0.8	6,226	2.6	11.7
3	Sales Workers	13,586	9.4	62,937	68.5	76,523	32.3	82.2
4	Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters & Related	85,948	59.4	2,268	2.5	88,216	37.3	2.6
5	Miners, Quarrymen & Related	41	0.0	6	0.0	47	0.0	12.8
6	Transport and Communication Workers	4,973	3.4	71	0.0	5,044	2.1	1.4
7/8	Craftsmen, Production Process Workers & Labourers	22,368	15.5	4,113	4.5	26,481	11.2	15.5
9	Service, Sports and Recreation	4,390	3.0	2,930	3.2	7,320	3.1	40.0
-	Inadequately described occupations (includes housewives claiming vague forms of employment)	755	0.5	17,067	18.6	17,822	7.6	95.8
TOTAL EMPLOYED PERSONS		143,594	99.2	91,484	99.6	235,078	99.3	38.9
Unemployed persons		1,091	0.8	436	0.5	1,527	0.7	28.6
TOTAL LABOUR FORCE		144,685	100.0	91,920	100.0	236,605	100.0	38.8

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1968), Vol. II, p. 171.

Secondly, the modern sector white-collar occupations (codes 0, 1 and 2) are largely to be found in Ile-Ife, with perhaps a scattering of school teachers, priests and health service workers in the rural areas. These occupations are predominantly male. In the professional category, there is 1 female to 4 males while among the administrative executive and managerial workers women are outnumbered 9 to 1. The lower educational requirement for participation in the clerical category notwithstanding, females accounted for only 11.7 per cent.

The occupations of the urban labour force in 1963 for all of Nigeria are shown in table 2. Although women accounted for about a quarter of the urban labour force, they are clustered into a few occupations. Teaching, nursing and midwifery form the focus of the clustering within the professional and technical occupation groups, while street vending attracts the majority of female workers. One other notable clustering is in the inadequately described occupations, a category made up mostly of housewives operating on the fringe of the urban labour market. It is quite feasible that, with equalisation of education opportunities for the sexes, a greater entry of females into those fields now dominated by men will occur.

The preparatory activities and the eventual transfer of the university from the temporary site in Ibadan in Ile-Ife in January 1967 produced changes in the industrial structure and the accompanying labour market. The first noticeable labour related change was the increased demand for construction workers and this demand began a chain reaction of demand for food, transport, social amenities and the expansion of existing services such as banking, insurance and recreational services. Small-scale service industries were also attracted to the town to serve the needs of the population.

The impact of the university on the economy and employment situation of the town can be evaluated by the changes

Table 2: Women Reported to be in Selected Occupations - Urban Areas of Nigeria, 1963

ISCO	Occupational Groups	Urban Labour	F E M A L E S	
		<u>Force</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
0	<u>Professional, Technical and Related</u>	<u>142,946</u>	<u>27,666</u>	<u>19.4</u>
051/054	Nurses and Midwives	4,699	3,599	75.1
073	Teachers (non-University, Primary/Secondary)	59,131	16,600	28.1
071	University Teachers	383	43	11.2
1	<u>Administrative and Executive</u>	<u>20,957</u>	<u>1,581</u>	<u>7.5</u>
111	Business Managers	15,584	1,357	8.7
2	<u>Clerical Workers</u>	<u>161,427</u>	<u>15,462</u>	<u>9.6</u>
211	Typists	18,534	4,321	23.3
3	<u>Sales Workers</u>	<u>1,044,030</u>	<u>629,782</u>	<u>60.3</u>
351	Street Vendors	1,011,095	625,881	61.9
4	<u>Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters and Related</u>	<u>813,979</u>	<u>49,843</u>	<u>6.1</u>
5	<u>Miners, Quarrymen and Related</u>	<u>2,877</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.8</u>
6	<u>Transport and Communication Workers</u>	<u>167,246</u>	<u>2,504</u>	<u>1.5</u>
682	Messengers	8,580	110	1.3
7-8	<u>Craftsmen, Production Process Workers, etc.</u>	<u>284,316</u>	<u>93,900</u>	<u>33.0</u>
707	Machine Spinners	719	513	71.3
9	<u>Service, Sports and Recreation</u>	<u>214,316</u>	<u>36,767</u>	<u>17.2</u>
914	Domestic Servants	90,948	27,160	29.9
921	Barbers	18,076	2,493	13.8
	Inadequate Description	<u>154,271</u>	<u>130,034</u>	<u>84.3</u>
	TOTAL EMPLOYED	3,006,365	987,592	27.7

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1968), Combined Nation Figures vol. III, p. 41.

in the structure of the occupational composition observed in a sample survey carried out in 1979-80 (see table 3).

The following changes may be tentatively identified as related to changes in the relative positions of the sexes with reference to education, access to the professional occupations and an expansion of job opportunities associated with the advent of the university:

- a. The farming/trading dichotomy observed in the division of labour by sex in Ife Division in 1963 (table 1) remains in the 1970-80 survey data, with a greater concentration of females in the trading activities than was recorded in the 1963 census.
- b. Accompanying changes in male employment patterns are a reduction in the proportion employed in crafts and an increase of employment in the service occupations. These changes are to be expected in a situation where the greatest expansion in the labour market has been in the services - educational, health and commerce - and where increases in remuneration have made paid employment as temporary/seasonal labour competitive with returns to full-time employment in agriculture.

In the case of female workers, the period between the establishment of the university at Ile-Ife in 1967 and the survey in 1979-80 was marked not only by increasing demand for farm products to feed the non-agricultural population, but by a boom in the import and retailing of both essential and non-essential consumer goods. A doubling of public sector wages during the same period provided an added impetus to the clustering of female labour in the familiar trading activities. It remains to be seen how much the returns and the child-rearing compatibility of trading activities and other urban labour market factors may have aided this clustering.

One other feature of patterns of labour force participation in Ile-Ife over the 1963-80 period worth mentioning

Table 3: Occupation Structure of Male and Female Respondents in the Nutrition, Mortality and Fertility Project - Ife Division, 1979/80

ISCO Code	Occupation Groups	M A L E S		F E M A L E S	
		No.	%	No.	%
0	Professional, Technical & Related	24	4.1	14	1.6
1	Administrative, Executive (includes Business Managers, Chiefs, etc.)	9	1.5	3	0.3
2	Clerical Workers	7	1.2	5	0.6
3	Sales Workers	67	11.5	616	71.4
4	Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters & Related	380	65.1	112	13.0
5	Miners, Quarrymen & Related	0	0.0	0	0.0
6	Transport and Communication Workers	21	3.6	0	0.0
7/8	Craftsmen, Production Process Workers & Labourers	69	11.8	77	8.9
9	Service, Sports and Recreation	5	0.9	4	0.5
-	Inadequately described occupations (includes housewives claiming vague forms of employment)	2	0.3	32	3.7
TOTAL EMPLOYED PERSONS		584	100.0	863	100.0

Source: Morgan (1981).

is that the categories of workers in formal sector paid employment did not make very substantial increases because of the near absence of all but the very small-scale manufacturing industries. In effect, an overall surplus of labour competing for limited formal sector paid employment in occupation categories 1, 2, 3, and 8 marked the labour market situation. The combined proportion of these occupations was 8.8 per cent of the labour force in 1963. And although the increase to 14.4 per cent was reported in the 1970-80 sample survey, the later proportion still means that only about 1 in 7 openings in the labour market were for paid employment.

Turning to the changes in the social characteristics over the period, the most remarkable is the maturity of the programme of mass formal education which began in 1955. By 1980 it had created an increase in the literacy rate and a major correction of the imbalance of the education of the sexes. Combating the reluctance to invest in the education of female children, the advent of nearly free, mass formal education has reduced the direct cost of education and encouraged the education of females. The opportunity now open to females to emulate the achievements and reap returns on investment in education, has also been an added incentive to the education of females.

The position of the Ile-Ife urban labour market and of the relative participation of the sexes can be summarised as follows:

- a. The dichotomy in the division of labour persists, pre-dating the arrival of industrial urbanisation, which assigns agricultural activities to males and trading in agricultural and manufactured products to females;
- b. High participation rates are observed for both sexes, but male rates are consistently higher than female rates; observed rates show no sharp drop at the public sector retirement age of 60-65, the only slight drop occurring at age of 75 and over;

- c. The historical advantage enjoyed by male children in access to formal education has not been completely eroded by the advent of free formal education, though the position of women has improved in the access to education;
- d. An underlying assumption is that the preceding features interact with ascribed sex roles to produce the pattern and causes of sex segregation in Ile-Ife, which are discussed below.

II. THE WORKERS

This section reports the findings of the questionnaire survey of workers in various sectors of the Ile-Ife urban labour market. The sample of males and females was derived from an area stratified sample design. The town was divided into four areas, using the most comprehensive map. The areas are the university residential quarters and its immediate environs; the planned layout, consisting mostly of wage earners who are predominantly migrants; the mixed zones where migrants and natives live; and the native zone, consisting mainly of locals, especially farmers, artisans and traders. The last zone also includes the commercial, mainly trading areas of the town.

In the first area, all the women employed in the university system were approached for interviews at work. But in the other areas, a uniform sample quota of 100 households per zone was drawn; every fifth dwelling unit within each zone was visited and members of a household interviewed within each dwelling unit until the sampling quota was met. The head of household first provided census type information on every member of the household and those with work experience supplied additional information themselves. These included all persons over the age of 15 who were not in school and either had previous work experience or were looking for a job. The questionnaire on labour force participation covered personal characteristics, employment history, recruitment methods, condition of work, prospects and remuneration. Interviews with 263 males and 322 females, of whom 81 per cent were Yoruba, were completed.

Nearly all have primary education or more (table 4) and about 90 per cent are between the ages of 20 and 49 years.¹ A greater proportion of males than females are aged 40 and above (Table 5).

Table 4: Education of Workers by Sex and Establishment (in percentages)

EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY		OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Illiterate	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.7	5.6	18.6	2.7	5.0
Adult Education	1.1	0.0	2.1	0.0	4.0	0.0	2.7	0.0
Primary Education	24.4	7.0	14.6	2.7	36.0	22.0	28.1	7.8
Modern School	8.9	3.5	6.3	3.4	18.4	11.9	12.9	5.0
Secondary Education	27.8	19.3	25.0	14.8	16.8	5.1	22.1	14.6
Teacher Training	6.7	4.4	29.2	42.3	1.6	15.3	8.4	23.9
University	24.4	33.3	20.8	24.8	3.2	6.8	13.7	24.5
Technical	2.2	21.9	2.1	8.7	6.4	11.9	4.2	14.0
Not stated	4.4	7.0	0.0	2.7	8.0	6.8	5.3	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	90	114	48	149	125	59	263	322

Source: Authors' survey.

Table 5: Age of Workers by Sex and Establishment (in percentages)

AGE	UNIVERSITY		OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
10 - 19	3.3	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.7	1.1	0.9
20 - 29	32.2	31.6	37.5	42.9	40.0	47.5	36.9	39.8
30 - 39	33.3	48.2	31.3	28.2	27.2	25.4	30.0	34.8
40 - 49	23.3	7.0	14.5	16.8	20.8	13.5	20.5	12.7
50 - 59	3.3	2.6	8.3	2.7	7.2	3.4	6.1	2.8
60 & above	2.2	0.0	6.3	0.0	4.0	5.1	3.8	0.9
Not known	2.2	9.6	2.1	8.7	0.8	3.4	1.5	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	90	114	48	149	125	59	263	322

Source: Authors' survey.

The majority are married (77.2 per cent of females and 87.6 per cent of males). While 20.9 per cent of males and 9.6 per cent of females were single, a slightly higher proportion of females than males were widowed or divorced at the time of the survey. The differences in all these personal characteristics by type of establishment are not pronounced. Overall, 73.6 per cent of females reported that their husbands were working in the wage sector or were self-employed. In contrast, 33.5 per cent of the wives of the males were self-employed, 19.4 per cent were unemployed and another 19.4 per cent were in the wage sector at the time of the survey.

In both the university and the other public sector, the choice of occupation is very limited for either males or females. Teaching and nursing make up nearly all the professional, technical and related occupations (Table 6). The university has the bulk of the administrative and executive positions. The positions in the private sector are limited for persons within the white-collar jobs. Trading for women and the crafts and services for males form the bulk of occupations in the private sector.

Workers' Needs and Income Level

Under the assumption that the higher the income level, the higher would be the proportion of basic and secondary needs being met from primary occupation earnings, the degree of reliance on such primary sources of income was investi-

1. There was actually no respondent below 20. This is the result of the extended schooling which is encouraged by the advent of universal and free primary and secondary education in the south-western states of Nigeria (Bendel, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo and Lagos States).

Table 6: Occupation Groups Workers by Sex and Establishment (in percentages)

RESPONSES OCCUPATION GROUPS	UNIVERSITY		OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Professional, Technical & Related	24.4	47.4	66.7	83.9	4.8	16.9	22.8	58.7
Administrative, Executive, etc.	11.1	14.0	0.0	4.0	2.4	3.4	4.9	7.5
Clerical Workers	28.9	19.3	10.0	4.0	11.2	16.9	17.1	11.8
Sales Workers	1.1	7.0	2.0	3.4	11.2	28.8	6.1	9.3
Farmers, Fishermen, etc.	1.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	3.0	0.3
Transport and Communication Workers	7.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	3.8	0.0
Craftsmen, Production Process Workers & Labourers	7.8	0.0	10.0	0.1	37.6	3.4	22.4	0.9
Service, Sports, etc.	17.8	7.0	6.3	2.7	22.4	15.3	17.9	6.5
Unemployed/Maternity Leave	0.0	4.4	4.2	0.1	2.4	15.3	1.9	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	90	114	48	149	125	59	263	322

Source: Authors' survey.

gated. Although workers in the public sector are specifically prohibited from engaging in other income-earning activities,¹ workers in the private sector are less constrained in the use of their free time. Junior staff² in the public sector are also freer in the use of their time because of the difficulties of enforcing the prohibition order among such a large number of employees. The greater urgency for junior staff to supplement their meagre income from other sources to meet their needs in the inflationary urban economy may be another factor in the indulgence of such staff in private practice.

When asked about the disbursement of cash income, as expected, the senior staff met nearly all their basic needs from primary³ income; in contrast the junior staff stated a lower proportion of their needs was being met from salaries. A distinction in the use of income exists between married males and married females and this distinction is relevant to an understanding of the relative motivation to work by sex. The provision of basic needs appeared to devolve more on married males than on married females. The earnings of married females went more into supplementing basic needs, and served as the main source of secondary needs such as contributions to the education of children, maintenance of older relatives and extra expenses at festive occasions.

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1. Federal Republic of Nigeria 1977 Prohibition of Private Practice Decree.
 2. Income of junior staff on grade levels 01-06 ranges between US \$1,000 and US \$1,800 per annum while that of senior staff ranges from \$1,900 and \$21,000.
 3. In spite of the existence of the prohibition on private practice, senior staff of various establishments, especially those with professional skills which are in short supply, receive substantial incomes from private practice. Such incomes are however irregular and consequently regarded as secondary to salaries.

For single workers and for married junior staff, the need to supplement their income by finding additional resources in cash or kind is general. Trading in manufactured goods, especially retailing of consumer goods such as beer and soft drinks, with the small initial capital and high returns, offers the easiest and most familiar option for female employees seeking additional income. Backyard gardening and some substantial farming, primarily for subsistence and for some cash income from the sale of surpluses, are the usual supplementary occupations for the male employee.

The seasonality of employment for the very lowest levels of skills and education, either as gardeners or peak production workers, makes the practice of supplementary occupations a virtual necessity for survival. Trade union agitation has, however, discouraged this category of employment in the public sector in the past ten years, with the result that there is some restriction on the amount of seasonal/temporary employment. Instead, the employers keep a smaller workforce on the permanent staff to cope with the seasonal duties, as best as they can.¹

Differences by Sex

It would appear from the clustering of women in particular occupations that sex-typing constitutes a major consideration in job search, and by implication, differential incentives do exist for men and women. In open-ended discus-

1. The losers in this arrangement are the hundreds of temporary workers who are denied the vital opportunity of cash income.

sions which were part of the workers survey, an awareness of sex-typing of jobs was more pronounced among private sector employees than among university and other public sector employees. Males also appear to be more aware of sex-typing, especially in job design, than are women. On the other hand, women frequently cite male fear of competition and male's current domination of jobs as the basis for the perpetuation of sex-typing of jobs.¹

A second area where sex differentials may occur is in the recruitment systems; employees' views were obtained concerning the roles that sex, qualification, experience and personal contacts play in the chances of obtaining employment. There is a distinction between the view of public sector employees, that the role of sex of an applicant is not a crucial determinant in the chances of gaining employment, and the general reluctance of private sector employees to discuss the issue, under the pretext that the issue was not really applicable to the private sector employment situation. This reluctance is a possible indication of some controversy surrounding the role of sex in the employment process in all sectors of the labour market.

The same pattern marks the responses regarding the part played by qualifications in the recruitment process. While the university employees consider the educational qualification as the one most important criterion, private sector employees show a reticence about responding to the question. Consistent with the public sector view that the employment and recruitment processes are very fair, previous accumulated experience is considered much more crucial than the exploitation of a network of personal contacts. However, an

1. The observations in this paragraph and the next two were obtained from discussions between the authors and key employees responsible for the employment of other staff and for the interpretation of policies. This explains the lack of quantified evidence at this point in the discussion.

informal network or relations, friends, townspeople and old school mates serve as a source of information on available vacancies and the pre-interview process of finding accommodation and getting familiar with expected procedures.

Once on the job, the next aspect relevant to sex differentials is the objectivity of the basis of allocation of responsibilities. In much the same way as in the discussion of the relative importance of sex, qualification and experience in securing employment, sex of a person is rated as not so important in the allocation of responsibilities in the workplace. Fewer than 21 per cent of respondents both women and men feel that the sex of a person plays any role in the allocation of responsibilities. However, half of the workers in the private sector declared the question not applicable to them.

With respect to qualification, more than half of the women (55.6%) and just under a quarter of the men (23.8%) rate qualifications 'very important' in the allocation of responsibilities. Public sector and university employees perceived greater importance of qualifications than those in the private sector. Female employees were consistently more optimistic about the role of qualification in the workplace, over 70 per cent of those in the university considering them very important.

The role of experience in the allocation of responsibilities is rated high by nearly two-thirds of female workers in the sample and over 70 per cent of women in public and university sectors.

The corresponding proportion of male employees is much less at 46 percent. Accordingly, it is not surprising that only a minority considered the role of personal contacts or of 'networking' to be important or very important. In the pattern of responses, as with those discussed earlier, the reticence of workers in the private sector, particularly the males in responding to investigation of the employment policies of their establishments, is a constant feature.

Another aspect of the employment situation where sex differentials in incentives to join the labour force may occur is the satisfaction with the level or reward received for the level of skills and education and/or responsibilities achieved. Table 7 shows that about 58 per cent of male employees in the university and 52 per cent in the public sectors, as contrasted with 38.4 per cent of those in the private sector, agreed that their remuneration bears a close correspondence to their qualification. This is surprising since it is generally believed that private sector salaries are more generous than those of the public sector. An overall greater optimism is again shown by women employees, 57.1 per cent of whom are of the opinion that remunerations and qualifications are closely related. The absence of basic wage differentials by sex in the labour market may account for the relatively greater satisfaction expressed by women. It is possible, however, that women expect less of the employment situation in terms of reward and prospects, and this may explain the more optimistic attitude expressed by them. Such a lower expectation would be compatible with a possibly lower urgency of need for employment among married women with husbands earning.

The picture is somewhat different with respect to the relationship between remuneration and the responsibility attached to the job. Table 8 shows that most public sector employees indicated that the level of remuneration is not commensurate with the responsibility. The pay structure in the sector is rather inflexible unlike the private sector where salary is not only flexible but is used as an incentive for hard work, initiative, healthy competition among workers and a viable means of encouraging high productivity. Again a higher proportion of women than men are of the view that remuneration levels are in step with the responsibility carried by workers. This would be additional support for the suggestion that women may be more easily satisfied in the workplace and help explain the proverbial lower unionism

Table 7: Employees' Assessment of Correspondence of Remuneration to Qualifications
by Sex and Establishment

RESPONSES	UNIVERSITY		OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
It corresponds	57.8	50.0	52.1	65.8	38.4	49.2	47.5	57.1
It does not correspond	38.9	45.6	43.8	28.9	16.0	8.5	28.9	31.1
Not sure	3.3	3.5	4.2	5.4	0.0	0.0	1.9	3.7
Not applicable to me	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	45.6	42.4	21.7	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	90	114	48	149	125	59	263	322

Source: Authors' survey.

Table 8: Workers' Assessment of Correspondence of Remuneration to Job Responsibilities
by Sex and Establishment

RESPONSES	UNIVERSITY		OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE		TOTAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
It corresponds	31.1	36.0	33.3	55.0	26.4	42.4	29.3	46.0
It does not correspond	64.4	57.9	56.3	37.6	25.6	11.9	44.5	40.1
Not sure	4.4	4.4	10.4	7.4	0.8	0.0	3.8	5.0
Not applicable to me	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	47.2	45.8	22.4	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	90	114	48	149	125	59	263	322

Source: Authors' survey.

observed among female workers both in Nigeria and some industrialised countries (cf. Brown, 1976). It may be added that if sex-typing of duties tends to favour women with light duties, then remuneration, which is set by criteria other than productivity, will be found satisfactory. This is particularly true of the non-profit oriented, public sector establishments.

The final feature of the attractiveness of the work situation investigated from the worker's point of view is the overall career prospects in terms of assessment of chances for advancement, expansion of the establishment and corresponding enhancement of the individual's position within it. There is a greater degree of optimism among the public and university employees than among the private sector counterparts.¹ There is very little difference between the male and the female employees. However, with reference to the perception of the overall suitability of the conditions of service in the establishments in which they are employed, female satisfaction under the reward system is again apparent. While 44.7 per cent of female employees think that the conditions of service are good enough, just a little over a quarter of the male employees think so; the category most satisfied (52%) is women in the public sector other than the university.

In summary, employees' views of their employment are rather favourable. Competition is largely considered fair, remuneration is predominantly commensurate with responsibility and the chances of progress rated very good by about half of the workers. Despite a clear sex-typing of jobs, women view the internal functioning of the labour market more positively than men. Reasons for these differences in perception require further exploration.

1. 56% of males and 52% of females in university employment, 48% of males and 46% of females in other public sector employment, and 39% of males and 36% of females in private sector employment rated their career prospects as very good.

Constraints on Women's Employment

One constraint to women offering themselves for employment is the attitude of their husbands to their being employed and to the type of job they take. Traditional and legal authority remain vested in the husband who has the right to determine the activities of his wife (Ajayi-Obe, 1976; Akande, 1976).¹ A much lower proportion of men (38.8%) than women (74.2%) are favourably disposed to their spouses taking up a job. The pattern is uniform across establishments. The high rates of indifference reported by men are viewed as indicating to a large extent the sensitivity of this question.

When asked if there were any problems related to the fact that their wives were employed, men responded that the employment of wives may involve their taking up separate domicile in another settlement, or the trouble of extra travel to accommodate a journey to the job. Other complaints voiced were that the home was neglected, children were not well cared for, meals were irregular and the shortage of househelp complicated matters further. Among females, the main complaint was that the employed husband generated extra demand for domestic services in terms of cooking and laundering of clothes.

Another constraint may be the effect of childbearing on labour force participation. This is a complex relationship which is discussed further in a later section in terms of time used by employed mothers. But such is the nature of the

1. The willingness of the husbands with higher education to waive such authority for the sake of the spouse's contribution to the domestic budget is taken into consideration by employers, who use the employment of wives as a means of guaranteeing the stability of their male employees. The University of Ife has had this unwritten employment policy as a means of retaining members of the academic staff.

operation of the labour market and of the social support system for working mothers as described by Sudarkasa (1973) that only a fifth of both sexes claimed that labour force participation had some discernible effect on the number of children an employee has. Most workers reported that they would still prefer the same number of children, even if they went to another job, although a higher proportion of males (18% in comparison to 10% women) claim that a move to another job would prompt them to have more children.

Education status is generally directly correlated with employment chances, especially in the formal sector, and lack of education can therefore be an important constraint. One of the outstanding features of the survey data shown in table 4 is that nearly all the women in wage employment have secondary or higher education; the proportion with less education is 1 per cent, compared with 16 per cent of males.¹ It is against this background that the lack of education would appear to be a more important constraint on the employment of women than of men. A probable mechanism would appear to be the exclusion of women from the general manual occupations for which the lower education levels are admissible and for which males are either preferred or which females avoid.²

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1. Based on the university and other public sector employees only.
 2. An interesting case is the selectivity of female applicants in a recent recruitment exercise into the Catering Department of the University of Ife. The female applicants clustered on the very few openings for the lighter duties, and consequently put themselves at a relative disadvantage in the overall chances of selection.

Finally, some constraints are self-imposed by the employees. This category of constraints is particularly applicable to female employees. By combining the effect of subjugation to the will of husbands, a lower expectation from females by society and an almost obsessive demand that males in marriage be the provider, women readily give up all aspirations for labour force participation once they fulfil the roles of mother and housekeeper.¹ The real constraint may be the feeling of dependency on husbands, a lack of self-esteem or being easily satisfied. These are concepts which are difficult to quantify and consequently not directly addressed in the survey.

The discussion on the attitudes of spouses to labour force participation and the demands of childbearing in relation to such participation throw some light on the reality of the self-imposed constraints. Sex typing may also place a limit on the area of search by applicants. This is again taken up with reference to the discussion of sex segregation and discrimination emanating from features of the production processes in selected establishments.

1. This opting out of the labour market by married women is to be distinguished from those occasions when the decision is enforced upon them by husbands.

III. EMPLOYERS: CASE STUDIES OF TWO MEDIUM-SIZED ESTABLISHMENTS

In this section, the information from focused interviews with the proprietor and manager of two medium-sized establishments in the private sector form the basis of identifying some of the considerations on which the employer may base recruitment of workers. The first establishment, Company A, was a motor repair company employing 29 persons. The other, Company B, was a petrol and motor retailing company with 150 employees.

In the first case it was the sole employer of labour who was interviewed. In the other it was an administrative manager who provided the necessary information. Both were informed of the general focus of the study and the need to understand the employment policy and the possible segmentation of employment. They were then encouraged to elaborate on different aspects of employment in their establishments. The interviews were conducted by the investigators themselves, notes of such interviews forming the basis of the discussions.

This approach thus relied upon the knowledge of key persons in establishments who could provide information on various aspects of the running of the institutions, including information on the production processes, the making of policy and its interpretation as well as information on the problems of segmentation of employment.

Regarding the latter they gave the impression that they could initiate and perpetuate some discriminatory practices to meet their own needs and those of the establishment.¹

1. The needs of the establishment are those arising from the production system and which the employer has not much ability to alter, without compromising the profit motive.

They also suggested that the employees themselves can, unwittingly, contribute to discriminatory practices by being selective in the jobs they take or reject.

The most striking feature of the private sector is the priority given to the profit motive. This is in sharp contrast to the service-orientation of public sector enterprises. For example, in Company A,¹ it was possible to increase gradually the size and complexity of the labour force in terms of skills and occupations. The expansion was more restrained by the employer, on the basis of the nature of current activity, and the margin of profit derivable from taking on additional employees. This flexibility was in direct contrast to the programmed expansion of the University of Ife, which was more related to regular allocation of funds than to any consideration of profitability of additional labour force.

Next to the manipulation of numbers of employees, the profit motive is pursued by the employer through the manipulation of items of remuneration or privileges. In the conditions of service of the motor retailing company, six months probationary period is required before an employee is given permanent appointment. Thereafter, resignation or termination of appointment requires that a month's notice be given the employer or the employee respectively. As in other medium-sized to large establishments, there is an annual promotion exercise based on work performance. Both males and females are considered for promotion on the basis of evaluation of productivity.

1. The company was chosen because it represented the most formalised of a number of such companies which have been established since the arrival of the University in Ile-Ife. The Administrative Manager who had been with the company since its inception was the informant. The interviews were conducted by the fifth author.

Unlike public sector employment, however, there is no annual leave, no insurance and no pension scheme for the employees. The alternative social security scheme is the National Provident Fund, jointly financed by the employee and the employer. The employer in the public sector is responsible for paying all the contribution to the fund. The extent to which these unfavourable conditions deter female employees from entering the private sector is difficult to assess. But it is noteworthy that as of January 1980, only five of the 150 employees of Company B were female. The lack of female employees is the outcome of the scarcity of the clerical and 'light duty' positions, such as those of receptionists and accounts clerks, in the establishment. Another factor influencing the lack of female employees is the competition for places by males who are more in the labour market and are under great pressure to find 'bread-winning' jobs other than subsistence farming. This pressure forces males to compromise in job selection earlier than the women who are under relatively lower pressure to play the breadwinner's role.

From the employers' point of view, the following reasons have influenced a low female labour participation. The cost of maternity leave to the employer, which is considered an unnecessary subsidy to the employee's family, is found unacceptable. The loss of the three months leave period and the two hours early closing every working day for another three months after the maternity leave constitute a level of social support that few private entrepreneurs are prepared to afford. The management of the company reports a subtle type of sex-typing of jobs by employers. For example, females are preferred as cashiers, on the assumption or myth that female employees are less prone to embezzling funds. There are, unfortunately, not many cashier positions in the establishment.

The high level of trust in female employees is more than offset by the general belief of employers that the

least efficient of male employees can be made to perform sufficiently well to justify their preference over the most willing of female employees. Consequently, from the profit motive viewpoint, employers prefer to hire males. An underlying principle is that male employees are considered easier to discipline than their female counterparts.

In a male dominated management, the remote possibility of being accused of sexual harassment of their subordinates makes it difficult to maintain an even-handed disciplinary policy. That such harassment does occasionally take place makes its avoidance more desirable to employers.

Far more damaging to the chances of employment of females is the view of some private employers that paper qualifications alone do not sufficiently make up for the perceived deficiencies in female employees in the middle level cadre from which most private establishments draw their supervisory staff. Female employees are considered as lacking in leadership qualities, either in situations involving an all-female workforce, or particularly in situations in which males are also in the workforce.

There are instances when employers require the participation of females in their workforce and do not have any objections to their employment, but prevailing sex-typing of jobs results in females not making a move into such enterprises. Such is the experience of the proprietor of the other medium-size establishment specialising in the repair and restoration of damaged road vehicles.¹

1. Examples of repair workshops with as many as 20 apprentices and partners are rare in the country, outside of the very large urban centres. The choice of this particular establishment was for the obvious reason of its convenience. The in-depth interviews were conducted with the sole proprietor by the fourth author.

The Motor Repair Company

All of the 29 trainees and two proficient panel beaters are male.

In recruiting the apprentices and journeymen, there is no formal advertisement. Interested individuals just walk in and introduce themselves. They are then interviewed and, if found appointable, are recruited there and then. Once recruited, apprentices undergo training on the job and once qualified, they are free to leave the establishment. A few offer their services for a while after their 'freedom'.

Compared to the public sector, with its 40 hour working week, the 72 hours put in by the employees of this establishment appear daunting. Except for major annual or national holidays and religious festivals, the public holidays are not observed, nor are there designated leave periods. In spite of the imperfect employee status in the apprenticeship situation, the establishment still illustrates the instances when employers' liberal attitudes do not get translated into action.

According to the proprietor, the absence of females from his establishment is purely externally imposed by the lack of female applicants. There are aspects of the panel beating and restoration processes that women can do as well as, if not better than, men because of their superior artistry. But the convention that motor repair and related occupations are for men explains the difficulty of finding females seeking employment in the establishment.

The recognition by this employer of special or suitable aptitudes which women can bring into his establishment does not preclude the existence of some conventional views about women. Specifically, he identifies some shifting, lifting and pushing duties in his establishment as not suitable for women. But he is of the view that this is not the same as discrimination. He further suggests that if a pioneer

applicant can come into the field, then its demonstration effect could be as dramatic as was the case of the entry of women in Ile-Ife into the field of photography and the barber's art.

In effect, the constraint on employers maintaining equity in their employment could be the very reluctance of employees to break out of the moulds created by sex-typing of occupations and professions, that is, until a set of circumstances in the urban labour market upsets the status quo. One such upset is the near reversal of sex roles that is taking place in the catering industry, as a result of which conventional female roles of cooking and catering in the domestic realm have been all but reversed by a domination of the catering trade by males. The set of circumstances leading to this reversal of roles form the topic of discussion of the functioning of the urban labour market with reference to the factors relating to the nature of the establishment in the next section.

Catering: A Case of Male Entry into a Female-dominated Area

There are two types of public catering in Nigeria. The first is the small scale units (one self-employed caterer with one or two assistants), in which food is cooked and served in very much the same way as in the traditional domestic situation, with leaves for plates and hands for forks. The second is the modern catering establishment in which the methods of food preparation and food presentation involve an elaborate division of labour and formalities associated with formal table conventions and manners.

Apart from the elaborate premises required for cooking in the modern catering unit, peripheral activities include the sale of drinks from the bar; floor space for the night club, and a few rooms for overnight guests. Most operations of such establishments are round the clock. Food and drinks

are served during the day, with peak demands at meal times, especially at dinner time, when clients can then stay on for the night club activities. Drinks are also provided at night when the night club is active and especially at the weekend when the provision of music for dancing is an additional attraction.

Without any exception, the traditional catering trade, carried out in makeshift structures at roadsides, motor parks, and construction sites are wholly female-owned and operated. In contrast the modern catering trade in Ile-Ife is fully male-owned. To understand those factors that lead to the male dominance of the modern catering industry, attention is focused on the features of one establishment¹ which effectively determine the operational choices open to the proprietor in attracting or discouraging women or men, or which directly determine the attractiveness or otherwise of the establishment to potential employees.

The major reason for the male ownership of modern catering lies in the greater financing needed for the establishment of the services and in the male bias currently influencing banking and financial decisions (Ajayi-Obe, 1976). It is relatively easier for men to acquire landed properties in which the catering and, often, the associated hotel services will be housed. The traditional male inheritance system, over most of Yorubaland, assures that properties are in male hands. In addition, access to properties with which to guarantee bank loans increases the chances of obtaining such loans.

1. The choice of establishment was aimed at minimising similarities in its operational methods and those of the larger but still traditional catering establishments. The presence of the full complement of catering and related activities was another consideration in the final selection. In-depth interviews with the proprietor were conducted by the first author.

One immediate implication of the capitalisation and size of the modern catering services is the implicit assumption of profit motive and the difficulty of conducting business as if it were 'family business'. The range of services provided from these catering establishments and the accompanying range of skills and division of labour are beyond what can be coped with by transfer of domestic cooking skills into modern establishments.

Another establishment feature of the modern catering service is its location. This tends to be independent of the domicile of the proprietor, staff or clients. This is because the clientele of the modern catering services is much less clustered than the case of the large number of unskilled workers at building sites or at motor parks, upon which the sedentary traditional catering services are based. The implication of this location principle for the staff of the catering services is the separation of home and work, a factor of potential conflict for married women or mothers of young children.

In discussing the division of labour in the catering industry, it is necessary to make a distinction between the 'received' conventions and the stereotypes of the industry as practised in industrial societies and the features of the same stereotypes that have been subjected to modifications in response to the market. The distinctions that emerged in the in-depth study of this Ile-Ife catering establishment are presented below, not as a comprehensive list, but as representative of some of the possibilities and to show how the nature of an establishment and the functioning of the labour market can decide employment policies and practices.

The proprietor of the establishment came into the catering trade with limited experience; his knowledge of the trade was gained as a baker during his student days in Britain. When asked what he perceived as the fundamental division of labour by sex in the trade, he suggested that the conventional nomenclatures were indicative of the sex

preferences for the given positions. There were the 'bell boys' to run errands, the 'chamber maids' to make beds, and the tacit assumption that the receptionists would be female.¹

With reference to the categories of cooking staff, the sex preferences were less clear cut. The chef, pastry cook, etc., could either be male or female. However, he felt that because of the line of authority implied in the different categories, some higher positions carry a male sex implication. This is on the basis that the line of domestic authority was supposed to flow from the husband to the wife, and that it was easier for supervisory control in the work situation to stick to the traditional line of authority, particularly in a non-industrial society such as Nigeria.

In the staffing of the different sections of the establishment, the proprietor explained that there was a clear difference between what would be the desirable combination of male and female employees in each section or shift, and what actually operates. This difference was the product of the reluctance on the part of the proprietor to put females in some positions as well as the reluctance of females to accept some positions. However, where the sex preference of the employer for a position agrees with the market trend, the other sex not preferred could be effectively excluded or discriminated against. For example, the convergence of the views of the proprietor and the employment market trend that females make good symbols and image-makers in the visible side of the catering industry results in a form of discrimination against males. This is one of the few cases of discrimination against males in the industry.

1. Discussions with Miss W. Smith, Catering Officer, Queen's College, Birmingham, U.K. in March 1981, confirm the validity of this tacit sex-typing, even in present day catering in the United Kingdom.

In the case of the drinks and bar section and the position of administrative manager, the preference for males was on the basis that it was easier to arrange 'legal' security with men than with women who have some legal constraints on their contractual rights. In effect, the management was keeping to legal convention and at the same time to the principle that males make more hardy workers for the bar and more authoritative figures as administrative managers. But the dominant consideration was the awareness of the difficulty of obtaining redress against women if they break trust, without arousing some suspicion that the action was merely one of sexual victimisation.

There were other occasions when it was not legal conditions or the preference of the management that counted. Such was the case with the table service for which the proprietor would prefer females, on the assumption that they generated more 'interactions' and, therefore, more business than males. But the refusal of females to apply for this position and the clustering of female applications in clerical positions stymied the management, and produced a male bias where none was intended. In this instance, it was the image of the establishment and of the public contact of the job that were partly to blame. The modern catering trade with its allied activities of hotel and night life are not particularly highly regarded in moral terms. Consequently, females are in a difficult position if they serve in aspects where their very femaleness may be considered the bait for patronage.

One feature of the catering industry that has consequences for the placement of males is the need for group activities, a sharp contrast to the limited group activities involved in domestic or the small-scale catering. The variety of skills and individuals involved in modern catering call for well-defined lines of authority. Consequently, cooking, which in the home and small-scale catering is exclusively done by women, is not restricted to females in the modern catering situation. The inclusion of males in the

cooking section assures the appropriate supervisory control needed in group activities. According to the proprietor, the leadership problem was not necessarily solved for women by their qualification or experience. But he conceded that the problem may be localised to the middle and semi-educated levels, because the fact is that, at professional levels, the combination of very high education, responsibility and authority work for women.

The working conditions and production processes of an establishment are in some sense an integral part of the establishment, within which there may only be limited room for manoeuvre, if the establishment is to retain its productivity. These conditions, in turn, have a way of setting limits to the choices open to employers and employees alike. The hours, provision or non-provision of accommodation and the public image are such conditions. The types and timing of services provided are part of the production processes.

All positions except those of daily paid casual labour are advertised in local newspapers. Rarely are the sexes required specified. When they are, it is likely to be the desire for female applicants for specified positions. There are no written conditions of services, but employees are assured of the continuity of employment, on the usual public sector basis applicable to intermediate and junior staff. There is no accommodation for employees on the premises of the establishment. Since the establishment is open for 24 hours, the employees in the non-clerical areas work shifts 6 a.m. to 2 p.m.; 1 p.m. to 9 p.m. and the night shift starts from 8 p.m. until specified closing time in the early hours of the morning, depending on the level of activity.

The night shift is important in two ways. It is the period when activities peak in both the catering, hotel and disco arms of the establishment. Secondly, it is the time when the management would prefer to have additional attractions, in the form of more female presence on the floor, to encourage dining and hotel activities. Three problems arise for the women on the type of shift duty described above and

constitute a variant of the general inconvenience of shift duty for women in general. The first is that night duty is incompatible with some women's role in the domestic realm. The second is that at closing time, the journey back home carries both real and imagined risks for female employees. And finally, the very attraction which the females on night duty constitute to the clientele is the type which husbands, relatives and guardians would want them to avoid.

Although this section has dwelt on the features of the establishment, it is important to make a note of other factors that interact with the features of the establishment in producing given situations of sex segregation and discrimination. One such factor is what the proprietor of the establishment has described as the eagerness of male applicants'. The eagerness is shown at interviews and stays with them at work and in their attitude to constituted authority. There are a number of likely explanations. One is the greater pressure on males to find positions to fulfil their roles as family breadwinners. This is an explanation to which an earlier reference has been made in the section on the factors of discrimination emanating from employees. Another explanation of male eagerness may be that female employees are more aware of their femaleness in the work situation, so that, in comparison with the male employees, they exhibit a lower eagerness. It would be natural from the employers' point of view to exploit this relative eagerness in the allocation of rough jobs to male employees, in the belief that they will be more conscientious than the female employees. It is also relatively easier to discipline male workers and this must be obvious to male employees. Allegations of victimisation on account of their sex are not easy to substantiate or to make plausible.

In this section we have looked at three medium-sized privately run establishments and seen some of the factors predisposing employers to employ male labour. In the next section we turn to the time use data of selected women.

IV. TIME BUDGETS OF WORKING MOTHERS

In order to take a closer look at the various roles of women and their links with labour force participation, time budgets of 36 employed and self-employed women engaged in gainful activity were collected in the course of this study.

Data Collection

The employed mothers were purposely selected from different socio-economic strata of Ile-Ife from the households within the sample areas identified for the work experience survey. Particular attention was paid to select currently working mothers at different levels of education including illiterates, since the level of education has been found to be a major influence in the participation of women in the urban labour market. Attempts were also made to reflect various stages in the life cycle of women, from early marriage to the menopausal period.

The time budget was recorded on a five-minute interval schedule by an interviewer who acted as the observer and recorder of the activities performed by the respondents during a 24-hour period, spending the day-time with each woman; the night-time activities of each woman were recorded the following morning. Literate respondents were encouraged to fill in the time budget sheets sometimes with the help of the interviewer the next morning. Observations took place on weekdays. (Sundays were omitted as the pattern of routines differed significantly from those of other days.)

The time budget of 36 mothers were thus obtained for 1 day each.

In addition to the time budgets, about half the respondents had the observation period tape-recorded so that some insight into the circumstances of the observer participation, and the effect on the data, could be gained. In an 'open' traditional society such as the Yoruba's the presence

of a non-family member in the household over an extended part of the day is not so much of a disturbing factor as it would be in societies with small privately enclosed nuclear families. The free movement of people in and out of the household as the observation continued is a noticeable feature of the tape-recordings. The interviews on other aspects of the study, and on different days apart from the observation day were also tape-recorded. The occasions of the taped interviews seemed to give the women an opportunity to express aloud some of their strong feelings about the difficulties of combining work and childbearing, feelings which only women friends or relatives had ever listened to before.

Another part of the enquiry dealt with personal and socio-economic characteristics of all members of the household in which the women were living. In addition information was obtained from the selected mothers on their place of birth, migration history, marriage, husbands and parents, and membership in formal organisations as a proxy for community involvement. Work history, income, fertility history, circumstances of domestic activities, allocation of domestic chores, family budget, domestic authority, absenteeism, profitability of economic activities, influence of work on number of children, and knowledge and use of family planning were also investigated.

These data were collected within a normative context in which within the domestic domain older relatives still wield power and influence and male authority and precedence are largely taken for granted. In addition domestic tasks are strongly sex segregated with women carrying out most child-care and domestic tasks, domestic units being generally open to help by relatives and paid helpers who may live in conditions approximating fostering rather than defined contractual obligations. Teenage girls irrespective of schooling are expected to play an active part in chores and child-care. Working mothers will thus under many circumstances have help

available from female kin or domestic helpers unless through poverty or migration these are unavailable.

The Working Mothers

The average age of those interviewed was 35.6 years, although the modal age-group was 30 to 34 years, to which ten of the 36 women belong. About a quarter had secondary or higher education and two-fifths primary education and the same proportion no formal education. Given the recent expansion of educational opportunities, the younger women were the better educated.

Those with little or no education were in the informal sector of the economy, carrying out such non-agricultural manual occupations as food processing. Some were traders, an occupation which attracts some women with post-primary education as well. The traders included two-thirds of those aged 50 years or more, who were either living with their married sons or had grandchildren living with them. Women tended to combine two or three economic activities at the same time.

With the exception of two widowed respondents all were married. The majority (24) had their husbands present in the same house. The remaining 10 women were not in the same household as their husbands.

Half or more of the women in each educational category were members of organisations, except for the three highly educated women who were not.

Of the 21 members of formal organisations, 19 were members of religious organisations.¹ A number of the women

1. This is a reflection of the apparent revival and expansion of indigenous sects of Christian churches.

were volunteer workers in the churches to which they belonged while others joined clubs within the churches.¹ It has been suggested that church-based organisations offer women more scope for participation than the erstwhile traditional religions and that syncretist cults, which combine elements of traditional, Islamic and Christian doctrines, specifically favour women evangelists over men (Little, 1973, p. 61). Church-based organisations and religion play significant roles in the lives of women in connection with family and fertility related problems.

One woman had joined a formal family organisation. Another joined a socio-cultural group based on her ethnicity. In general, the clubs and their activities did not create a conflict for the women since the activities take place mostly during the weekends.

Analysis of the women's occupations by age and by education shows that the non-manual workers are younger and better educated. This contrasts sharply with the wider age spread of those in non-agricultural manual occupations and trade. The recent upsurge of trading activities resulting from the oil boom economy in Nigeria in the late 1970s has attracted a few women with secondary or higher education into trading.

Trading offers a number of advantages over formal sector employment. First, there is the absence of rigid conditions of participation as to age, education, capital or location. As Adeokun (1981) points out, the occupation is open to all ages and education levels and offers the very old a form of activity to occupy their time, even if the

1. Although 'volunteer work' of this type is not usually considered as falling within labour force participation, the amount of time devoted to such work can create conflict between responsibilities in the home and continued involvement in formal organisations.

economic returns are very limited. Along with the flexibility in capital outlay is the variety of the items of trade. Entry is, therefore, readily gained into one or the other facet of trading. There is, however, a hierarchy of aspirations among women traders, so that those who are trading in processed food would someday like to move into textiles and later into such expensive items of trade as jewellery (Adekun, 1971).

Another feature of the employment situation of traders in the sample was that most were self-employed and some were employers of labour. Overall 25 of the 36 women were self-employed. The main outcome of being self-employed is an escape from the regimentation of work-time and time devoted to other activities. The flexibility in the use of time is expected to be of immense advantage to those women who are in the informal sector, in their effort to combine domestic and occupation activities.

Role Activities: Evidence from Time Use Data

The adoption of observational methods for collecting the time use data, and the small time-interval for the recording of activities, made possible a high level of accuracy of the information. Yet there were some analytical problems which arose and which should first be indicated.

The first problem was that of distinguishing between economic activities and domestic duties, particularly when both duties are performed simultaneously.¹ This problem was resolved by observing the duration of an activity and its immediate effect, either in facilitating the performance

1. This and subsequent problems are fully discussed in Mueller, Eva (1978): Time Use Data (Michigan: Population Studies Center; mimeo).

of a domestic obligation or of an income-earning action.¹ The collection of information on the secondary activity performed at every five-minute interval, as well as information on the assistance from any other person, allowed the impact of every activity on the respondent to be fully assessed. A woman who was nursing a baby and had access to assistants to whom she could give instructions on how to perform income-earning duties would consider her primary activity, at the point in time, as economic and the domestic chore of breast-feeding as a convenience of her informal work situation.

The need to recognise borderline activities was reduced by distinguishing between duties for which a paid performer could be obtained from those duties for which the traditional performer was a household member. Consequently, while food prepared in the home is the norm in Yoruba society, the use of commercial sources of performing such chores as grinding or pounding of foodstuff is generally in use in urban areas. When duties of this type were performed by household members, it was considered as a form of cost-substitution and, therefore, an indirect earning through the saving of the cost of such tasks.

The small sample size that can be effectively covered in the observer type time budgeting is another problem. It allows a high level of accuracy for the limited sample, but sets limits to the extent to which the findings can be generalised with confidence. The care taken in the selection and the writers' understanding of the functioning of the domestic unit, however, allow a much higher reliability to be placed on the observations than would otherwise have been possible.

1. In order to avoid double counting, the allocation of time was based on the dominant outcome of the five-minute period of observation.

After resolving these and related problems, the following categories of activity were recognised as the basis of analysis. 'Maternal' activities refer to child-care and child-minding in which the respondents were physically involved.¹ 'Occupational' refers to those activities related to the employment or trade of the women (including travel). 'Conjugal' covers the interaction of women with their spouses but includes some tasks performed exclusively for the benefit of the spouse, even when the spouse was not present. 'Domestic' is the residual activities needed for the upkeep of the household in general. 'Kin' refers to the meeting of obligations to relatives, whether or not they were resident in the household. 'Community' is self-explanatory and refers to activities involving non-related persons engaged in a non-economic common goal. A number of tasks were performed by the respondents for their own well-being, including attendance to physical needs. These are classified as 'Personal'/'Individual'. In the peculiar circumstances of polygamy and the possibility that exists for each wife to maintain a separate domestic economy, interactions between co-wives tend to be limited to those of a customary nature and involve the performance of some tasks by a junior wife, in the assistance of a senior wife. Activities involving co-wives have been added to the category of kin/affines.

Table 9 shows the time allocated to each of the seven categories recognised above, by different employment, educational, age and marital sub-groups of the 36 respondents. From these averages, some uniformity and some variations in the allocation of time to various activities emerge. Such

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1. Physical involvement makes the classification of these activities easier to quantify and reduces the double counting resulting from concurrent activities which tend to be supervisory and involve giving orders to others to carry out other tasks once the women are physically engaged in child-care.

Table 9: Average Amounts of Time Allocated to Activities in 24-hour Periods
of Observation by Selected Socio-economic Characteristics

	Maternal	Occupational	Conjugal	Domestic	Kin activities (inc. co-wife)	Community	Individual/ Personal
<u>Employment Status</u>							
Employer/self-employed (n=25)	2 h 23 mn	3 h 51 mn	45 mn	2 h 45 mn	33 mn	58 mn	33 mn
Employee (n=11)	1 h 27 mn	3 h 32 mn	30 mn	4 h 23 mn	32 mn	1 h 11 mn	2 h 13 mn
<u>Education</u>							
Primary or less (n=28)	2 h 19 mn	2 h 28 mn	44 mn	3 h 26 mn	34 mn	1 h 02 mn	2 h 17 mn
Secondary or more (n=8)	1 h 19 mn	4 h 46 mn	28 mn	2 h 38 mn	31 mn	1 h	3 h 04 mn
<u>Age</u>							
Under 35 years (n=21)	3 h 26 mn	2 h 49 mn	55 mn	4 h 13 mn	31 mn	53 mn	2 h 24 mn
35 years or more (n=15)	2 h 11 mn	7 h 25 mn	19 mn	1 h 54 mn	24 mn	1 h 14 mn	2 h 31 mn
<u>Marital Status</u>							
Husband present (n=24)	1 h 55 mn	3 h 38 mn	55 mn	3 h 59 mn	33 mn	54 mn	2 h 22 mn
Husband not present (n=12)	2 h 28 mn	3 h 59 mn	11 mn	1 h 48 mn	31 mn	1 h 17 mn	2 h 39 mn
All (n=36)	2 h 05 mn	3 h 45 mn	40 mn	3 h 15 mn	33 mn	1 h 02 mn	2 h 27 mn

Source: Authors' time budget survey.

similarities and differences are viewed against the overall average figures (both row and column totals) which reveal that nearly all demographic and socio-economic sub-groups cluster around the daily average of 13 hours 49 minutes of activities, the remaining time being spent resting and sleeping. The two departures were respondents aged below 35 years who put in nearly 1 hour and 40 minutes extra a day, nearly all of it in maternal activities, and respondents who lived apart from their husbands. The latter group averaged 55 minutes below the sample average; the savings came predictably from low conjugal activities and from lack of contact with co-wives.

Before embarking on the relationship between the allocation of time to occupational activities and other activities, the overall pattern of daily activities may be summarised as follows.

Except for those respondents under 35, the highest allocation by any sub-group was for occupational activities with an average of 3 hours and 45 minutes. The short hours spent on 'occupation' result from the practice of various forms of taking time off work during acknowledged open hours. In the case of employees it includes trips away from work to attend to other activities related to the different roles. In the case of the worker on her own account, it is one of the conveniences of being self-employed that she can have flexible use of time and flexible open hours. Domestic, personal and maternal activities come next with 3 hours 15 minutes, 2 hours 21 minutes and 2 hours and 6 minutes respectively. Community comes next while conjugal activities take sixth with an allocation of 40 minutes. Kin and affines were allocated 35 minutes. Given the general uniformity in the setting of priorities and in the allocation of time to most house-based activities and community involvement, it is possible and indeed easier to focus on the relationship between maternal activities and occupational activities

which are the two predominant considerations in the hypothesis of conflicting roles.

Allocation of time to maternal activities is influenced primarily by the age of women which, in turn, determines the number of children they have as well as the ages of those children. As mentioned earlier, this principle explains why the highest allocation by any one group to maternal activities was by the 21 women under 35 years. Although older women may have higher parity, it is the younger women who have younger children to look after. Table 10 shows the relationship between the ages of the youngest child¹ in residence and the allocation of time to activities. The allocation to maternal duties was highest for mothers with either an infant or a three-year old toddler in residence, allocations being almost equal at 174 and 175 minutes respectively. There was a drop to 122 minutes for those with one-year olds and some recovery to 147 minutes for those with two-year olds. From age 4, where the allocation was 100 minutes, there was a rapid decline in the time devoted to maternal duties to about an hour for those who had older children.

There are a number of reasons for this pattern of allocation to maternal duties. The high demand on mother's time in infancy is a universal phenomenon. But the sudden drop in the next year may derive in part from the participation of other household females in child-care and child-minding. Women who are employers of labour and others who have apprentices could also delegate the care of the one-year old to others. The upward trend from age 2 onwards to the peak at age 3 may occur because the increasing mobility of the toddler requires more of the mother's time and attention.

1. The youngest child in residence need not be that of the woman since grandchildren were taken into account. This will not, however, alter the caregiver-caretaker relationship between children and female household members which customarily exists among the Yoruba.

Table 10: Working Mothers' Average Allocation of Time to Daily Activities
by Age of Youngest Child in Residence

Age of Youngest Child	No. of Women	Average Time in Minutes Allocated To				
		Maternal	Occupation	Personal	Domestic/Others	Total
0	7	174	261	107	308	850
1	10	122	188	191	227	728
2	5	147	155	143	487	932
3	4	175	126	160	411	872
4	1	100	275	130	280	785
5 - 10	3	68	227	162	363	820
11+	4	63	368	125	351	907
No child	2	52	350	90	252	744
Total	36	126	225	147	331	829

Against the background of the preceding comments, it is tempting to postulate that the time gained from maternal duties will translate into greater time devoted to occupational activities. Within the limitations of small sample, the evidence suggests that it is not occupational activities. Mothers of infants spent more than the average time in occupational activities but spent below average time in personal and domestic activities. It would also appear that the increasing demand on the mother's time in the second and third years was accompanied by a corresponding increase in time devoted to other domestic duties. But the real proof of the relationship between maternal duties and time in occupation was the time allocation made by mothers with grown children or those who have no children in residence.¹ Such women spent two extra hours a day in their occupational activities. Women with no children in residence also spent the lowest time in domestic activities.

The positive relationship between the time allocated to maternal duties and to occupational activities, by the age of the youngest child, can also be accounted for by the greater motivation of those who spend much time in child-care to make up for time so lost by working harder at their trade. This feedback from maternal responsibilities to occupational effort will also be consistent with the greater awareness of other, non-maternal needs of a child, which can only be met from increased economic activities. We hasten to add that this is counter to the trend for industrial societies, but can be explained by the fact that most of the women are in the informal sector where there is greater flexibility in the use and patterning of time.

1. It is a comment on the ubiquity of the maternal role in Yorubaland that those with no children in residence still put about an hour a day into maternal duties for their own and other's children.

Turning back to table 9, and the effect of employment status on the allocation of time to various activities, those who are self-employed devote 60 more minutes to maternal duties than those who are employees. But this allocation is more than balanced by the 100 extra minutes which employees put into domestic activities. It may appear at first that the self-employed category may have access to higher income with which to obtain help for domestic activities, to the benefit of their maternal duties and a somewhat higher time allocated to their occupation. But the employees, most of whom are in the public sector, earn four times the average income of the self-employed women who are all in the informal sector. The average income during the 12 months preceding the interview for the former was N1,878 compared with N472 for the latter.¹ In effect, it is access to cheap labour in the form of apprentices rather than access to higher income that enables the self-employed to delegate some domestic duties.

The effect of the formal/informal dichotomy on the allocation of time to the maternal and occupational roles is best illustrated by reference to the pattern shown in the allocation of time by education. Those with secondary or higher education are mostly in the formal sector and those with lower education are all in the informal sector. The time devoted by the better educated to their occupation constituted one-third of their total active time. Moreover occupational pursuits stood out as being the most important time consumer for these respondents. It is this same group that had the highest time of any sub-group allocated to personal care. The 184 minutes they spent on such personal activities as bathing, dressing, sewing own clothes and relaxation came second to the time allocated to occupational activities. They also spent less time on domestic duties and had the lowest allocation to maternal duties of any sub-group.

1. N1.00 = U.S. dollar 1.50.

It has been suggested (Olusanya, 1977) that the greater attention to occupational pursuits and the relative or apparent neglect of domestic and maternal duties by the educated is the outcome of their access to cash income and, therefore, the means for obtaining housemaids and other mother substitutes who relieve them of the domestic and maternal duties. The survey evidence predictably confirms the higher income levels of the eight women with post-primary education which stood at N3,274 for the preceding 12 months compared with the N223 earned by those with primary or no education. For each of the eight women with post-primary education, also, the presence of domestic help plays an important part in the accommodation of the problems of child-care and child-minding infants and pre-school children during the rigid working hours which they are forced to keep in the formal sector. One possibility for the future, however, is that the rising cost of hiring nursemaids and other househelps may eat into the working mothers' income to such an extent that withdrawal from the formal sector into the informal sector, with its greater flexibility in the use of time, becomes a viable solution to the problems of child-care and child-minding.

The possible effect of the presence of a husband on the use of time can be deduced from the evidence in table 9 showing the differences for the different marital groups. The 24 women living with their husbands worked an average of 80 extra minutes each day compared to the 12 whose husbands lived elsewhere. The notable differences in the allocation of time between the two groups were the much higher time devoted to conjugal duties by the former group and the two extra hours they devoted to domestic duties, at the expense of lower time allocation to personal care, maternal and even occupational tasks. One can surmise that the amount of cooking and entertaining would increase due to the presence of husbands. This is particularly relevant in a society such as the Yoruba's where custom expects that the woman welcomes,

feeds and pays respect to her husband's friends and relatives.

The generally low time allocation to conjugal duties deserves some explanation. At first sight, this would appear to be a confirmation of the observation that there is lack of closeness in the husband/wife relationship among the Yoruba (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1977). In fact, only one woman informed us that she and her husband slept in the same room. This is in accord with the male chauvinist view that the wife is inferior in intellect and that interactions should be limited to moments of sexual needs if discipline is to be maintained. There are, however, other factors which should be taken into account in assessing the thesis of lack of emotional warmth and interaction in marriages. One such is the customary reliance on breast-feeding, abstinence and even separation, as elements of appropriate child-care and birth spacing. Next is the absence of marital privacy in the crowded households and the reticence of people to discuss details of marital relationship, unless under suitable interview situations (Adeokun, 1981a). To these factors must be added the observation that successful child-caring and rearing are the greatest ambitions of Yoruba mothers and, in the urge to succeed, emotional and sexual relationships with husbands can legitimately be sacrificed (Adeokun, 1983, p. 129).

As expected, the women who were not living with their husbands spent an average of twenty minutes more daily on their occupation than those living with their husbands. The probability of having to maintain their children, with or without additional support from husbands, encourages greater work in such women. But this is more than compensated by the lower time allocated to conjugal and domestic activities. The bulk of home-based activities were personal and maternal duties.

Given the various circumstances described so far, which make it possible for the women to find alternative arrange-

ments for child-minding, it is not surprising that there is no negative relationship between employee status and family size. In table 11, the eleven women who were employees and were nearly all in the formal sector had more children ever born (3.64) than the self-employed women (3.04) despite their younger age.

One reason may be their higher educational level, which is a factor in more efficient fertility performance, such as lower pregnancy. In addition, it has been shown, in the discussions so far, that access to a higher wage and to a cheap source of labour for child-minding are contributory factors which reduce the difficulties in combining domestic roles with wage-earning activities outside the home.

One additional point is that the children of those women in the formal sector were older than those of women in the informal sector. In view of the evidence presented that the age of the youngest child in residence is crucial to the maternal demands on working women, it is a possibility that employees may be rescheduling their family formation, by compressing their childbearing into a shorter span, to leave them enough time for occupational activities later in life without the constraint of child-caring. Conversely, the women in the informal sector were the less educated and more traditional but were better able to combine the care of small children with their trading activities.

In summary, from the time budget study of this sample of working mothers, occupational pursuits emerge as the predominant activity. Next are domestic duties and maternal duties which vary from woman to woman, depending on the presence of infants and young children or the presence or absence of husbands in the household. The women worked very long hours, which, excluding the two and a half hours of personal care, still left about 11 1/2 hours of daily routine.

In spite of the differences in the returns to time in the formal and informal sectors, with the wage level being

Table 11: Working Mothers' Children by Employment Status

Indices	Self-Employed/Employer	Employee
Mean age of mothers	35.56 yrs	33.90 yrs
Average children ever born (CEB)	3.04	3.64
Average age of children	6.57 yrs	7.01 yrs
Average age of youngest resident child	2.76 yrs	4.36 yrs
N =	25	11

Source: Authors' time budget survey.

about four times higher, per unit of time, in the formal sector, the daily input of women into occupational activities was fairly uniform. It would appear that, in spite of the stated opposition of husbands to their spouses working, the reality is that female participation in the labour force contributes a vital input into the domestic economy. But by far the most important feature of the status quo is that, except for the use of mother substitutes in child-minding, other domestic activities are still receiving the attention of the women. The effect, however, is the physical fatigue and premature aging which is characteristic of working mothers. As long as society still considers the 'good' wife as an obedient servant of her husband and family, such side-effects of long hours and hard work may continue, that is, until education and trial of alternative lifestyles encourage a revolt from the traditional norms.

Finally, the ability of working mothers to reconcile their maternal responsibilities and their occupational pursuits, no matter the strategies adopted to achieve this end, indicates that current levels of conflict in roles are not enough to discourage female labour force participation. Some aspects of the current situation may change; the wage level in the informal sector and the price of mother substitutes, as well as the perceived quality of child-care given by mother substitutes, are such aspects which are undergoing changes. Greater flexibility in the formal sector as to the scheduling of working hours could also remove some of the conflict which discourages women from entering this section.

Among the Yoruba of South West Nigeria, where this study was conducted, the roles and statuses of women are defined not strictly by law but by norms and conventions. She is traditionally a trader, providing helping hands on the farm and marketing the produce as well as taking charge of household chores and child-minding. In the process, she receives assistance from older women, co-wives and teenage girls. However, education, migration and rising aspirations

and expectations are fast eroding the stability of occupational and familial roles of women and men, both expectations and activities.

This study of women's participation in an urban labour market is based on a series of data sets including a household survey, a time budget study and profiles of small-scale industries. The context is one in which there are no legal provisions inhibiting labour force participation by sex nor discriminatory laws with regard to pay and promotion. However, domestic norms remain patriarchal and social interactions and division of labour inside and outside the home tend to continue to be segregated by sex. Women do domestic tasks and care for children and employers tend to prefer women for certain tasks such as clerical and financial aspects, leaving the supervisory and 'heavy duty tasks' for males as was seen in the case of the two small-scale enterprises examined in detail.

In spite of this female employees expressed satisfaction with the congruence between remuneration and responsibilities attached to their jobs. It was argued that women in general are under less pressure than men to secure employment and that when employed most of them are easily satisfied with conditions of service, which in the public sector involve three months maternity leave with pay and shorter working days for another three months. In the private sector, however, entrepreneurs are reluctant to support such generous provisions. This, in part explains the reluctance of women to take up apparently female jobs which are currently occupied by males in this sector.

The focused interviews with selected small-scale entrepreneurs indicated that the apparent sex discrimination in job-typing is an outcome of the interplay of unfavourable working conditions and reluctance by women to participate in such jobs even when their skills are required.

The analysis of the time budget survey indicated that women place first priority in terms of time spent on their

occupational pursuits, either in the formal or informal sectors. On average, women work very long hours; their domestic duties, as well as maternal duties to their children and spouse, are combined with routine duties in the home, quite apart from the calls of their occupation. The contribution of women to the family budget, almost obligatory for poor families, and helpful for more affluent ones, institutionalises their participation in the labour force. Women are able to reconcile their maternal responsibilities and occupational pursuits, often with the help of mother substitutes. Nevertheless in a few cases, working women's roles within the family - child-care, housekeeping - tend to suffer.

V. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Three main implications of the outcome of the study are discussed below. They concern the needed response to the domination of the labour market by the informal sector of a dual economy, the relationship between the provision of education and the absorptive capacity of the economy and the removal of barriers to the participation of willing women in professional activity.

Dual Economy and Labour Laws

With less than a quarter of the labour force in the modern non-agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy, it is difficult to establish policies and programmes that have universal relevance to the labour force. The Labour Laws¹ appear adequate for the protection of the rights of workers of both sexes in the public sector. But the situation is different in the private sector. Unfortunately, the composition of national labour unions is heavily weighted in favour of employees in the government, parastatal, commercial and large-scale establishments. Consequently, the activities of such unions are directed at these formal sector employers. The medium and small-scale establishments are outside the effective control of government or the influence of labour unions.

In view of the apparent free hand that employers enjoy in the private sector, to the disadvantage of their employees, there should be a policy of standardisation of employment conditions for all categories of employers and employ-

1. Federal Labour Code, Cap. 91. Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos, 1953 edition.

ees. There should also be an effective monitoring of compliance. Such a policy will need to go beyond the statutory, but unenforced setting of minimum wage levels. The design of appropriate programmes and institutions for executing such a policy will require detailed study.

Education and Employment Generation

In as much as there is a prevailing situation of surplus labour, women are, by the functioning of both the labour market and the domestic unit, vulnerable. Consequently, any effort at integrating women into the mainstream of the economy will require not just a one-sided solution of providing them with formal education, but increasing the absorptive capacity of the economy through the generation of employment opportunities.

The present emphasis on the capital intensive exploitation of petroleum and the accompanying expansion of the distributive trade in consumer goods creates only a superficially large volume of employment in which women readily participate. Such informal participation, however, shows a dramatic decline once the economic climate of boom and large imports of goods disappear.

Domestic Roles and Professional Activity

Finally, there would appear to be a turning point in the low price of labour and access to family support for child-minding. This is likely to produce a reduction in the ability of women to combine effectively, as before, their domestic roles and professional activity.

Women's organisations are pioneering solutions and easing of problems of working mothers through the provision of day care centres, which are now common features of urban

centres. In this connection, when the employment generated can cope with the volume of labour generated by the mass formal education, government and socially motivated efforts will be required in the establishment, control and maintenance of standards in the provision of childminding services which encourage unhindered professional activity by willing mothers.

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- Oppong, C. (1980): A synopsis of seven roles and status of women: An outline of a conceptual and methodological approach (Geneva, ILO; World Employment Programme research working paper, restricted).
- Oppong, C. (1982): Maternal role rewards, opportunity costs and fertility (Geneva ILO; World Employment Programme research working paper, restricted).
- Oppong, C. (ed.) (1983): Female and Male in West Africa, London, George Allen & Unwin.

- Pittin, R. (1982): Documentation of Womens' Work in Nigeria: Problems & Solutions, Population & Labour Policies Programme. Working Paper No 125, ILO, Geneva, restricted.
- Standing, G. (1978): Labour force participation and development (Geneva, ILO).
- Standing, G. (1980): Analysing women's labour force activity: Insights from Sri Lanka (Geneva, ILO; World Employment Programme research working paper; restricted).
- Sudarkasa, N. (1973): Where women work: A study of Yoruba women in the market place and in the home (Ann Arbor, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan; Anthropological Paper No. 53).
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Selected Publications of the Population and Labour Policies
Research Programme¹

1. General Material on the Research Programme

ILO: World Employment Programme: Population and development - A progress report on ILO research with special reference to labour, employment and income distribution (Geneva, April 1982), 4th edition, Reference WEP 2-21/PR.7. (*)

This report includes a full bibliography. This publication (3rd edition, summer 1981) is available in French. (*)

2. Books and Monographs

[A number of free copies are available for individuals and institutions in less developed countries. Requests for these should be addressed to the Documentalist, Population and Labour Policies Branch, Employment and Development Department, ILO, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.]

R. Anker: Research on women's roles and demographic change: Survey questionnaires for households, women, men and communities with background explanations (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

R. Anker and M. Anker: Reproductive behavior in households of rural Gujarat: Social, economic and community factors (New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1982). (***)

R. Anker, M. Buvinic and N. Youssef (eds.): Women's roles and population trends in the Third World (London, Croom Helm, 1982). (***)

R. Anker and J.C. Knowles: Determinants of fertility in developing countries: A case study of Kenya (Liège, Ordina, 1982). (***)

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R.E. Bilsborrow: Surveys of internal migration in low-income countries: Issues of survey and sample design (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

---: Surveys of internal migration in low-income countries: The need for and content of community-level variables (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

S. Braganca et al.: The simulation of economic and demographic development in Brazil (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

M.G. Castro, L.M. Fraenkel et al.: Migration in Brazil: Approaches to analysis and policy design (Brussels, Ordina, 1979). (***)

L. Goldschmidt-Clermont: Unpaid work in the household, Women, Work and Development No. 1 (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)

W.J. House and H. Rempel: The Kenya employment problem (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1978). (***)

M. Molyneux: State policies and the position of women workers in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 1967-77 (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)

¹ Availability code: * available on request from ILO, Population and Labour Policies Branch; ** available for sale from ILO Publications; *** available for sale from a commercial publisher.

- A.S. Oberai: Changes in the structure of employment with economic development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- : Demographic and social information in migration surveys: Analytical significance and guidelines for data collection (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Migration, production and technological change: Analytical issues and guidelines for data collection and analysis (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- (ed.): State policies and internal migration: Studies in market and planned economies (London, Croom Helm, 1983). (***)
- A.S. Oberai and H.K. Manmohan Singh: Causes and consequences of internal migration (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1983). (***)
- P. Peek and G. Standing (eds.): State policies and migration: Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean (London, Croom Helm, 1982). (***)
- M. Rasevic, T. Mulina, Milos Macura: The determinants of labour force participation in Yugoslavia (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- G.B. Rodgers, M.J.D. Hopkins, R. Wéry: Population, employment and inequality: Buchue-Philippines (Farnborough, Saxon House, 1978). (***)
- G.B. Rodgers and G. Standing (eds.): Child work, poverty and underdevelopment (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (**)
- G. Standing: Labour force participation and development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- : Income transfers and remittances: A module for migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Migrants and the labour process: A module for migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Unemployment and female labour: A study of labour supply in Kingston, Jamaica (London, Macmillan, 1981). (***)
- : Conceptualising territorial mobility in low-income countries (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)
- : Analysing inter-relationships between migration and employment (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (*)
- : Measuring population mobility in migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1983). (*)
- G. Standing and G. Sheehan (eds.): Labour force participation in low-income countries (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- G. Standing and R. Szal: Poverty and basic needs (Geneva, ILO, 1979). (**)

3. Recent Articles

- I. Adelman, M.J.D. Hopkins, S. Robinson, G.B. Rodgers and R. Wéry: "A comparison of two models for income distribution planning", in Journal of Policy Modeling, 1979, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- R. Anker: "An analysis of fertility differentials in developing countries", in Review of Economics and Statistics, Feb. 1978, Vol. lx, No. 4.
- R. Anker and G. Farooq: "Population and socio-economic development: The new perspective", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), 1978, Vol. 117, No. 2.

- R. Anker and J.C. Knowles: "An empirical analysis of mortality differentials in Kenya at the macro and micro levels", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Oct. 1980, Vol. 2^o, No. 1, pp. 165-85.
- M. Hopkins: "Employment trends in developing countries, 1960-80 and beyond", in International Labour Review, July-Aug. 1983, Vol. 112, No. 4, pp. 461-478.
- W.J. House: "Occupational segregation and discriminatory pay: The position of women in the Cyprus labour market", in International Labour Review, Jan.-Feb. 1983, Vol. 112, No. 1.
- W.J. House and H. Rempel: "Labour market pressures and wage determination in less developed economies", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 1978.
- J.C. Knowles and R. Anker: "An analysis of income transfers in a developing country: The case of Kenya", in Journal of Development Economics (Amsterdam, North Holland), 1981, Vol. 8, pp. 205-226.
- A.S. Oberai: "Migration, unemployment and the urban labour market", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), Mar.-Apr. 1978, Vol. 115, No. 2.
- : "State policies and internal migration in Asia", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), Mar.-Apr. 1981, Vol. 120, No. 2, pp. 231-44.
- A.S. Oberai and H.K. Manmohan Singh: "Migration, remittances and rural development: Findings of a case study in the Indian Punjab", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), Mar.-Apr. 1980, Vol. 115, No. 2.
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- : "Migration, urbanisation and fertility: The case of the Indian Punjab", in Artha Vijnana, Sep.-Dec. 1981, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, pp. 260-298.
- : "Migration, production and technology in agriculture: a case study in the Indian Punjab", in International Labour Review, May-June 1982, Vol. 121, No. 3, pp. 327-343.
- C. Oppong: "Household economic demographic decision-making: Introductory statement", IUSSP Proceedings of 1978 Helsinki Conference, 11 pp.
- C. Oppong and W. Bleek: "Economic models and having children: Some evidence from Kwahu, Ghana", in Africa, 1982, Vol. 52, No. 4.
- C. Oppong and E. Haavio-Mannila: "Women, population and development", in P. Hauser (ed.): World population and development: Challenge and prospects (New York, Syracuse University Press, 1979).
- P. Peek and G. Standing: "Rural-urban migration and government policies in low-income countries", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), Nov.-Dec. 1979, Vol. 118, No. 6.
- J.L. Petrucelli, M.H. Rato, and S.L. Bragança: "The socio-economic consequences of a reduction in fertility: application of the ILO-IBGE national model (BACHUE-Brazil)", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), Sep.-Oct. 1980, Vol. 119, No. 5.
- G.B. Rodgers: "Demographic determinants of the distribution of income", in World Development, Mar. 1978, Vol. 6, No. 3.
- : "Income and inequality as determinants of mortality: An international cross-section analysis", in Population Studies, 1979, Vol. 33, No. 2.
- : "An analysis of education, employment and income distribution using an economic-demographic model of the Philippines", in Research in Human Capital and Development, 1981, Vol. 2, pp. 143-180.

- : "A cluster analysis of Bihar districts according to indicators of agricultural development and demographic characteristics", in Journal of Social and Economic Studies, 1981, Vol. IX, No. 1.
- : "Population growth, inequality and poverty", in International Labour Review, July-Aug. 1983, Vol. 122, No. 4, pp. 443-460.
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- R. Wéry: "Manpower forecasting and the labour market", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), May-June 1978, Vol. 117, No. 3.
- R. Wéry, G.B. Rodgers and M.J.D. Hopkins: "Population, employment and poverty in the Philippines", in World Development, 1978, Vol. 6.
- R. Wéry and G.B. Rodgers: "Endogenising demographic variables in demo-economic models: The BACHUE experience", in Pakistan Development Review, Autumn 1980, Vol. XIX, No. 3.

4. Recent Working Papers in print¹

WEP Working Papers are preliminary documents circulated informally in a limited number of copies solely to stimulate discussion and critical comment. They are restricted and should not be cited without permission. A set of selected WEP Research Working Papers, completed by annual supplements, is available in microfiche form for sale to the public; orders should be sent to ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. Many, but not all, of the papers in this series exist or may be issued in microfiche form.

- WEP 2-21/WP.82 Feasibility study for the construction of an economic-demographic model for Indonesia
- by Andrew Elek, January 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.84 Bachue modules: Population, household income and labour market
- by René Wéry, January 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.86 Endogenising demographic variables in demo-economic models: The Bachue experience
- by René Wéry and Gerry Rodgers, April 1980.

¹ These working papers are available free, while stocks last, from ILO, Population and Labour Policies Branch, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

- WEP 2-21/WP.87 The exploitation of children in the "informal sector": Some propositions for research
- by Alain Morice, May 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.90 Household and non-household activities of youths: Issues of modelling, data and estimation strategies
- by Mark R. Rosenzweig, June 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.93 The Labour Market of Bahia-Brazil
- by Maria Helena da Cunha Rato and Sergio Luiz de Bragança, September 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.94 A synopsis of seven roles and the status of women: An outline of a conceptual and methodological approach
- by Christine Oppong, September 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.101 Patterns of migration in Tanzania
- by Henry Bernstein, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.102 Concept and measurement of human reproduction in economic models of fertility behaviour
- by Ghazi Farooq, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.103 The political economy of investment in human capital
- by Irma Adelman and Jairus M. Hihn, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.106 A field guide to research on seven roles of women: Focussed biographies
- by Christine Oppong and Katie Church, May 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.109 How child labour was eradicated in the USSR: Integrating school and society
- by V.N. Yagodkin, July 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.110 The impact of public policies on migration and development in Ghana, with special reference to the Asutsuare sugar cane project area
- by N.O. Addo, August 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.114 Employment of women in Mauritian industry: Opportunity or exploitation?
- by Catherine Hein, March 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.115 A guide to anthropological study of women's roles and demographic change in India
- by M. Nag, R. Anker and M.E. Khan, March 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.116 Patterns and determinants of female labour force participation in Cyprus
by William J. House, April 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.117 Labour market segmentation: Evidence from Cyprus
by William J. House, April 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.119 Circulation and proletarianisation
- by Guy Standing, September 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.121 Seasonal labour migration in Tanzania: The case of Ludewa District
- by Christopher Lwoga, November 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.122 Sex inequality in an African urban labour market: The case of Accra-Tema
- by E. Date-Bah, November 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.124 Familial roles and fertility: Some labour policy aspects
- by Christine Oppong, December 1982.

- WEP 2-21/WP.125 Documentation of women's work in Nigeria: Problems and solutions
- by Renée Pittin, February 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.126 Craftswomen in Kerdassa, Egypt: Household production and reproduction
- Patricia D. Lynch, with Hoda Fahmy, February 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.127 Population growth, poverty and inequality in an international perspective
- by G.B. Rodgers, December 1982.
- WEP 2-21/WP.128 Women in fishing villages on the Kerala Coast: Demographic and socio-economic impacts of a fisheries development project
- by Leela Gulati, March 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.129 Interdependence between female employment and fertility in Hungary
- by Barnabás Barta, András Klinger, Károly Miltényi and György Vukovich, March 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.130 Poverty ten years on: Incomes and work among the poor of rural Bihar
- by Gerry Rodgers, May 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.131 Circulatory migration and social differentiation in the Andes
- by Julian Laite, April 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.132 On circular migration: From the distaff side: Women left behind in the forests of East Kalimantan
- by Carol Colfer, May 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.133 Les sept roles et le statut des femmes: Ebauche d'une approche conceptuelle et methodologique
- by Christine Oppong, May 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.134 Paternal costs, role strain and fertility regulation: Some Ghanaian evidence
- by Christine Oppong, May 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.135 Population growth, poverty and inequality in an international perspective: Mark II
- by Gerry Rodgers, June 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.136 Female labour force activity in developing countries: A critique of current data collection techniques
- by Richard Anker, July 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.137 Effect on reported levels of female labour force participation in developing countries of questionnaire design, sex of interviewer and sex/proxy status of respondent: Description of a methodological field experiment
- Richard Anker, July 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.138 The role of women and demographic change in Cuba
- by Alfonso Farnós, Fernando González and Raúl Hernández, August 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.139 A labour status approach to labour statistics
- by Guy Standing, August 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.140 Class, caste and landholding in the analysis of the rural economy
- by P.H. Prasad and G.B. Rodgers, August 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.141 Women workers in an Indian urban labour market
- by T.S. Papola, September 1983.
- WEP 2-21/WP.142 Predicting long-term changes in Yugoslav personal consumption with a comprehensive regionalised economic-demographic model
- by B. Popović, M. Macura, R. Wéry and P. Cornu, January 1984.

WEP 2-21/WP.143 The changing maternal role of Ghanaian women: Impacts of education, migration and employment
- by Christine Oppong and Katharine Abu, February 1984

WEP 2-21/WP.144 The Ife labour market: A Nigerian case study
- by L. Adekun, A. Adepoju, F. Ilori, A. Adewuyi, J. Edigbola, March, 1984.